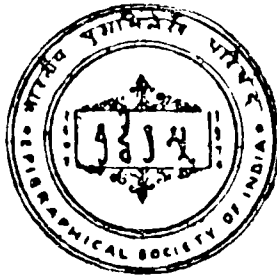


JOURNAL
OF THE
EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]
(BEING VOL. VIII OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)
VOLUME EIGHT: 1981



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DHARWAR

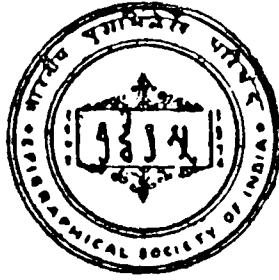
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EDITORIAL

About ourselves :

Thanks to the unstinted co-operation of the members, the Epigraphical Society has successfully completed eight years of useful existence. It is indeed no beating of our own drum if we state that the Society has achieved its one important role of bringing together all those interested in epigraphical studies into one fold. The deliberations of the Society for these eight years have indeed contributed to the growth of epigraphical studies on the one hand and, on the other, in creating an interest in and awareness of the epigraphical studies among the younger scholars.

We are sorry that two of our desires, expressed in the Editorial of the last volume, could not be fulfilled. We thought, we would be able to include in this issue, all the papers with us awaiting publication. We could not do so; but we have covered fairly good number of them and only a few remain, which we hope to include in the next issue, along with the ones presented in this Session. We had also expressed a desire to give a summary of last year's proceedings in this journal; but that also we could not do, owing to unforeseen difficulties. We hope, we make good the lapses in our next issue.

New Discoveries :

Not many new discoveries in the field of epigraphy have been reported this year. But one or two deserve notice. We hear of the discovery of a Brāhmī inscription at Jambai, Tirukoyilur Taluk, South Arcot District, Tamilnadu by the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu, Madras. The inscription has indeed roused the curiosity of the scholars since it purports to mention *Satiyaputa*. The inscription is worth a critical study from the palaeographical and chronological points of view. A new Sātavāhana inscription was discovered at a deserted village known as Vāsana in the Dharwar District of Karnataka State. It is worth noting that this is the first inscription of its kind discovered in the northern part of Karnataka.

Felicitations :

It is a matter of delight for all of us, the members of the Society, that one of our esteemed members, nay, one of the founder members and the pillar of the Society, Dr. K. V. Ramesh has been elevated to the position of the Chief Epigraphist. We congratulate this young, dynamic scholar whose stewardship of the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India will reach new horizons of epigraphical researches in our country. The Society is particularly proud that one of its former secretaries has achieved this height and the Society looks forward to his continued support in its objectives.

Our gratitude :

As usual, our members have stood by us in our difficulties, financial as well as academic. Most of them have been very regular in renewing their membership and in presenting papers and participating in the deliberations of the Annual Congresses regularly. It is with their co-operation that it has been possible for us to bring out the issues of the Journal regularly. We also remember here with gratitude the unfailing help of the Indian Council of Historical Research which has enabled us to make these annual numbers of the journal a regular feature of the Congresses. We are beholden to the authorities of the Council for their appreciation and encouragement of our activities.

Our condolences :

We notice with deep regret the sad and unexpected demise of Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, Nagarjuna University, Nagarjuna Nagar in November 1981. Dr. Subrahmanyam was one of our strong supporters deeply interested in Archaeological and Epigraphical studies. We pay our homage to this Friend of the Society and a scholar of repute.

Vote of Thanks :

The printing of the Journal has been accomplished in a remarkably efficient manner within the short time at their disposal by our friends Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Dr. S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, and Dr. C. R. Srinivasan. Our sincere thanks are due to them. No less is the co-operation of Shri S. K. Lakshminarayana, the enlightened printer and proprietor of Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House, Mysore and his energetic Assistant Shri R. Venkatesh. We thank them heartily.

Shrinivas Ritti

Secretary and Executive Editor

ISSUED
IN MEMORY OF
Prof R. SUBRAHMANYAM



(23-2-1923 — 30-11-1981)

1. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS *

S. R. Rao

I am greatly indebted to you and the Executive Committee of the Epigraphical Society of India for having done me the honour of asking me to preside over the deliberations of the Seventh Session of this learned body. I am fully aware of my limitations because it is only recently that I qualified myself to be deemed an epigraphist. With the guidance of my senior colleagues in the field and with the help of all of you I hope to discharge my duties to the best of my ability.

We are meeting in this historic city of Calcutta which has been the hub of intellectual activity for centuries and its contribution to art, science, literature and philosophy is no less than what it has done for the economic progress of the country. It is here that the famous Asiatic Society took its birth 200 years ago, and as a pioneering research body, it played a leading role in conducting research in the humanities and, more so, in epigraphy, archaeology, anthropology and allied subjects. It is again here that the Asiatic Museum was established and the present Indian Museum is its worthy successor. With a vast collection of inscriptions in Indian and foreign languages and with an excellent Epigraphical Gallery it is rendering great service to the cause of epigraphical research. It is indeed gracious of the Museum authori-

ties to have hosted the Society.

This city has a renowned epigraphist in Dr. D. C. Sircar, the former Government Epigraphist, who has edited more than 200 inscriptions and has to his credit a large number of books on epigraphy and related subjects. His books *Indian Epigraphy*, *Some Inscriptions of the Early Medieval Period from Eastern India*, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, *Early Indian Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies* and *Asokan Studies* are very useful. It is therefore a pleasure and a privilege to be in this city of scholars and learned institutions.

Before trying to unravel the mysteries of the Indus Script I may be permitted to make a brief survey of the epigraphical work done last year by individual scholars and institutions. The Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, examined several important inscriptions among which the following deserve mention. Two Maitraka Copper Plate Charters discovered in village Āmmalāśa of Junagarh District of Gujarat and now preserved in Bahādurkhan Museum at Junagarh are dated in Gupta Saṁvat, the first one mentioning the year 208 (A.D. 527) and the second 290 (A.D. 609). The first charter mentions the grant of village Āmalakavasatī to a Buddhist *vihāra* in the village by the ruler Dhruvasēna I styled as *Mahāsāmanta*

* Delivered at the VII Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Calcutta on 16th, 17th and 18th January, 1981

Mahārāja. The *dūtaka* was Pratiḥāra Mammaka. The second charter records the donation of the village Maday[a]-ntikā in the Kubēranagara - vishaya for the maintenance of the resident itinerant monks of the *vihāra* as well as for its repairs, etc., by the king Śilāditya I. The *dūtaka* was Kharagraha.

The stone inscription built into the ceiling of the Durgāmbā temple at Haḷē-biḍu, District Hassan, consists of two parts, but the text is incomplete. The first part of this stone inscription written in Kannaḍa language and characters refers to the victory of the Hoysaḷa ruler *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vīra-Ballāḷa II over Rāyamurāri, Kēśava and Nārasiṅga. It is further stated that the king caused a temple to be built. The second part dated in Śaka 1111 (A.D. 1189), refers to the Kalachuri ruler Vīra-Bijjaladēva and to a number of officials including Chenna-Kāḷamma-sāhaṇi, who is endowed with a string of titles and epithets.

THREE HERO-STONE INSCRIPTIONS, VEDARTATTAKKAL, DISTRICT DHARMAPURI, TAMILNADU: The earliest of these epigraphs, in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the 7th century, is set up in a field near a hill at Vēḍartaṭṭakkal near Santhūr village. Dated in the seventh year of the Pallava king May[in]diraparumar (i.e. Mahēndravarmān I), it records the death of a servant (name not clear) of Perumbāṇ-iḷavaraiśar. The other two Tamil inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the 7th-8th century erected in an open field at Vēḍartaṭṭakkal and having similar texts are dated in the 35th regnal year of Kaṭṭiṇaiparumar and records the death of two servants of Perumbāṇ-iḷavaraiśar

along with a person called Vaḷaṅgiyār when he attacked a village (name not clear) in Puṇamalai-nāḍu from Perumugai of Veḷāl-nāḍu.

KONGU-CHOLA INSCRIPTION, RASIPURAM, DISTRICT SALEM: Engraved in Tamil characters of 13th century on a stone set up in front of Poṇ-Varadarājaperumāḷ temple this inscription, dated in the 14th regnal year of Rājārāja, refers to the setting up of *vīra-paṭṭaṇa-kal* granting all the provisions to the *nagarattār* of Rāśipuram by Vīrapēdaniraviyār of Palamaṇḍalam.

CHARTER OF SASAMKA, EGRA, DISTRICT MIDNAPORE

This copper-plate issued while *paramamāhēśvara* Śaśāṃka was ruling and addressed to the officers of the Ēkatākaksha-vishya records the creation of a perpetual endowment of land in Kapardipadraka to be yet brought under the plough in order to provide for the maintenance of Bhaṭṭa Dāmasvāmin of the Kauśika-gōtra by *antaraṅga* Dōshatuṅga for the merit of his parents and himself.

The Epigraphy (Arabic and Persian) Branch of the Archaeological Survey, Nagpur has brought to light the following inscriptions :

Inscriptions of the Gujarat Sultan Ahmed Shah I and his successor Mohmud Shah I, and Muzaffar Shah II found at such places as Dhrangadhra and Sara in Surendranagar District, and Khakhrechi in Rajkot District, of Gujarat, recording the construction of mosques. (in *Darbārgaḍhs*) furnish evidence of the Sultanate's hold over the Jhalawar region. They also provide names of high noblemen not known from other sources. An epigraph of Mohmud Shah I, from Himmatnagar, Sabar Kantha

District of Gujarat, recording the construction of a mosque in A. H. 875 (1471 A.D.) furnishes the name of the fief-holder of Diadar, viz. Mubarak, son of Taj Sherani, and also shows that Diadar was called Muhammadabad. This inscription is particularly important for showing the presence of Sherani Pathans in Gujarat during this period.

At least two 15th century records from Khakhrechi show that the town was named Ambiyabad. Bari in Bharatpur District of Rajasthan has yielded a number of epigraphs mentioning the names of a few prominent historical personages of the Lodi period, some known from other sources and some unknown. They include epitaphs of a number of these Afghans who were evidently officials and members of their families. They also furnish various other sorts of important information.

The Mughal epigraphs from Sir Mathura in Bharatpur District, Kotra of Jalaun District of Uttar Pradesh, and other places furnish names of Mughal officials like Muh-taram Baig and his subordinate Gokal Das (of the time of Mughal emperor Humayun), Baqi Khan the fief-holder (*jagirdar*), Kunjbihari and Purkh(sh)ottam, the revenue officials (*amil*) and Yar Baig the *kotwal*, Shah Muhammad, the *munshi* (secretary), Daulat Qadam the *kotwal*, Mir Muhammad the *jagirdar* (of the reign of Shah Jahan) and Molia, the *Dai* of Rai Pratap Singh (A.H. 1166/1752-53 A.D.). A bilingual epigraph of Aurangzeb, from Chainpur in Nimar West District of Madhya Pradesh, refers to the construction of a step-well for his own merit by a local chief Maharana Bhav Singh. An epitaph from Visnagar in Mehsana District of

Gujarat dated A. H. 1176 (1765-66 A.D.) recording the martyrdom of one Mirza Ahmad who hailed from Khurrāmbad province of Iran shows how at such a late date also contact between the two countries had continued.

A late epitaph from Amroha in Muradabad District of Uttar Pradesh gives interesting details of the life of Nawwab Ali Khan Bahadur, a high mansab-holder and the *Mir Bakhshi* and *Ard-i-Mukarrar* of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar (1712-19) and Muhammad Shah (1719-48) and his sons. The Epigraphy Branch, Mysore published *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XXIII—Inscriptions of 1907, *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*, 1969-70, 1970-71 and *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII, pt. VI.

During the year under reference Prof K. V. Raman of Madras University made the following discoveries :

A fragmentary hero stone inscription found at Ādaṇūr (Dharmapuri district) datable to 5th cen. A. D. on palaeographical grounds mentions the title *Parumaṅku*, but not king's name. The *puḷli* (dot) is clearly marked. The characters are in *vaṭṭeḷuttu*. The inscription of Kulōttuṅga III, found at Tiruppattūr (Lalgudi taluk, Tiruchirapalli district) mentions the trade guild of blacksmiths. A member of *Nānādeṣi-taṭṭāṇ* is said to have built a *maṇḍapa* in the Ayyanār (Hariharaputra) temple in that village. More than 5 wives are known so far for Uttamachōla, the predecessor of Rājārāja I. One more wife of Uttama, with the name Nakkaṇ Nārāyaṇiyar is known from an inscription found in the temple at

Pāchchil (Lalgudi taluk, Tiruchirapalli district). About 5 inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja I, with his *prasasti*, are found in that temple. A 17th century inscription dated in the cyclic year Rudhirōdgāri is somewhat important, as it records the erection of four pillars by a *ūrkkāval* officer (village police) for using them as resting place for the *vāhana* of the local goddess (*piḍāri*) in the village Tandanturai (Lalgudi taluk, Tiruchirapalli district).

The discovery of 20 stone inscriptions (epitaphs) on the Stūpas of Buddhist monks in the burial ground at Kanheri (near Bombay) in 1975 by Dr. Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale has thrown new light on the architectural history of Kanheri. Her observation that, while the memorial constructed in the name of the Buddha is called the Chaitya, those constructed in the name of a monk are called Stūpas is significant. The inscriptions under reference datable to the fifth century A. D. mention names of Sthaviravādi monks, and the language is Prakrit. My excavations in Kanheri Caves 25-26 in 1969 revealed that the monks did not confine themselves to religious preachings, but supervised the work of metal-smiths. The furnaces and their contents confirm this view.

Among important publications mention may be made of Dr. C. R. Srinivasan's book 'Kanchipuram through the Ages' which emphasises the need for revision of South Indian history. Smt. S. Tripathy, Epigraphist of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar has published important research papers on the stone and copper-plate inscriptions and coins of Orissan

royal families of early medieval period in various journals including that of the Epigraphical Society.

I published in 1973 a very brief account of the methodology of my decipherment of the Indus Script (Rao 1973), and in 1979 a slightly elaborate account of the methodology and a few examples of reading seal-inscriptions were published (Rao 1979). I am glad to let you know that my long-awaited book *The Decipherment of the Indus Script* is out just now. I shall welcome any constructive criticism, so that I may revise my readings, if necessary.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF INDUS SCRIPT

Introduction

Till recently the Indus script was considered undecipherable as neither the language nor the script used in the inscriptions was known. But it must be remembered that Linear B, which presented similar difficulties, was deciphered by Michael Ventris in 1953. Hence one need not throw up hands in despair. The issue can be clinched even without the aid of bilingual seals if a thorough internal analysis of the script is undertaken and objectivity is maintained in determining the nature of the script and in assigning value to individual signs. It should, however, be remembered that the Indus writing cannot be worked piecemeal; it is not a technical problem unconnected with the Indus Civilisation and its technology. It forms an integral part of the civilisation and should be related to the whole body of archaeological evidence.

The initial picture of the Indus

Civilisation produced by the early (1921-32) excavations of Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Chanhudaro and other sites has been considerably altered by the recent excavations at Lothal, Rangpur and Kalibangan and by the fresh excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro (1965). The Indus Civilisation can no more be considered a static and conservative civilisation which lived in isolation without making any substantial contribution to the progress of mankind. On the contrary, recent researches have shown that its contribution was very substantial for the material and spiritual progress of man, especially in developing a scientific attitude. When I gave credit to the Harappans for some 'firsts' (Rao 1973, p. 189 ff.) in the world there was some criticism of my inferences. But as research makes progress, I have found that my statements are fully substantiated.

Scientific and technological development in Indus Civilisation

Unless we know the level of scientific progress made by the Harappans it is not possible to assess their progress in the field of communication of thought through writing. The index to the scientific progress made by them is provided by the accuracy achieved by them in measuring the physical fundamental units of length, mass and time which are used even now for the expression of the physical law of nature. To prove my point I give a couple of examples, which, we shall presently see, have a bearing on the thoughts recorded in the seals.

Measurement of space :

The divisions marked in the decimal system on the ivory scale of Lothal are

the smallest ever known in the pre-Christian era. Each division measures 1.704 mm and ten such divisions approximate to the *angula* (17.78 mm) of the *Arthasāstra*, which was the basic unit for measurement in the Mauryan days. The entire series of length measures specified in the *Arthasāstra* falls in the pattern of the Indus scales found at Lothal, Harappa and Mohenjo-daro which are interrelated. It is further interesting to find that the width of the wall of Lothal Dock (foundation) is 1.78 m equal to 40 large graduations of Lothal scale (25.56 mm), while the width of the wall above ground (1.04 m) is 1000 times the small graduation (1.7 mm). The length of the east-west wall (36 m) is 20 times the width.

Measurement of mass :

The smallest weight in one series from Lothal has a mean mass of 1.8233 gm and in the second series the smallest weight is 1.2184 gm. Taking the two systems together Mainkar (Mainkar 1968), Director of Weights and Measures, Government of India, has found the decimal system in operation with the ratio running 1 : 2 : 5 : 10 : 20 : 100 : 200 : 500 and so on. If the lower unit weight of the second series is 27.584 gm the smaller denominations are in decimal division of this unit, the smallest being 0.05 times the lower unit weight. The accuracy of the Indus weights is remarkable for the age. What is more significant is that the Greek uncial of 27.2 gm seems to have been based on the lower weight of the Indus Civilisation, namely 27.584 gm. Mainkar's observations in this regard are highly significant. He says, "It is high time that we give up the tendency to establish

that other countries like Egypt and Assyria influenced Indus weight system." Another remarkable discovery made last year at Lothal is that a series of gold discs preserved carefully in a pot in the Bead Factory weigh 50 mg., 100 mg., 2500 mg., 2750 mg., 2800 mg., 2900 mg., 3000 mg., and 3250 mg., showing a definite ratio and the adoption of the decimal system. A few intermediate weights are found in other Harappan sites. All these days metrologists were puzzled about the correct weight of the *guñja* referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* and *Manusmṛiti* and used even today for weighing gold. Mainkar says that he has taken the arbitrary weight of 109 mg for the *guñja* which varies from 105 to 120 mg depending on the region and climate. But the Lothal gold weight system shows that the weight of the *guñja* should be 100 mg. What is more significant is that the Harappans had weight for $1/2$ *guñja*, namely 50 mg., also. It is equal to a *dhānya* of the *Arthaśāstra*. The Harappans were so accurate in their measurements that they evolved the smallest unit of mass and unit of linear measurement ever known in the ancient world. They seem to have used gold for exchange purposes, for, they produced gold discs which bear the exact ratio of 1 : 2 : 10 corresponding to the *dhānya*, *guñja* and *masaka* of the *Arthaśāstra*.

The scientific instruments and tools such as the compass for measuring angles up to 30 degrees, the twisted drill and the circular saw bear testimony to the inventive genius of the Harappans.

Measurement of time :

Walter A. Fairservis (Jr.) has suggested

that the Mohenjodaro scale (Fairservis 1977-III, p. 11; figs. 6 and 7) marked with 22 divisions was used to count the lunar month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days and that the dotted circles in the 11th, 13th, 15th-16th and 21st-22nd divisions indicate the phases of the moon. This may be true, but other suggestions of his about the naming of the month are not convincing.

The Harappans were a highly disciplined people with an analytical mind whose approach to various problems of life, as seen above, was scientific. It is therefore no wonder if their approach to the problem of recording their thoughts and achievements in writing was also scientific. Those who could plan their cities neatly and administer them efficiently and also evolve minute measurements of space and mass would not accept a primitive system of writing such as the pictographic or ideographic and even if they did initially, they would improve upon it in course of time. Let us see what transpired in the course of 600 years of their Civilisation in the Indian subcontinent.

Terminology :

For purposes of convenience I have called the writing of the mature Harappan period (2500-1900 B.C.) as 'Harappan Script' and that of the Late Harappan Period (1900-1500 B. C.) as 'Late Harappan Script.' The latter, however, continued to be in use in the post-Harappan Period in Gujarat and elsewhere almost up to 1000 B. C., and again, its survival is suggested by the graffiti on Megalithic pottery of the Deccan and South India. Where both Harappan and Late Harappan Scripts are

meant I have used the term 'Indus Script.' I owe an explanation for the retention of the term 'Linear Script' as applicable to the non-pictorial signs of the Indus writing. Prof. I. J. Gelb has used it in the limited sense of lines showing numerals, and for the rest, the term 'cursive' is used by him (Gelb 1962). I have used the term 'Linear Script' to connote both cursive and linear signs because it has been in use for a long time. Michael Ventris has also used it in an inclusive sense for linear and cursive writing. The term pseudo-picture is applicable in my publications including the present one to compound linear signs which look like pictures, but are different from the true pictures of birds, insects, plants, etc. The Harappan Script is a mixed writing involving the use of pictures, pseudo-pictures and linear signs, whereas the Late Harappan Script is a pure Linear Script.

I do not intend dwelling at length on the various models proposed by different scholars for the decipherment of the Indus Script, nor on the interpretations of motifs and scenes depicted on the seals, but it must be admitted that many of them have made some contribution towards finding a solution to the vexed problem. If I have succeeded in deciphering the script, as held by eminent epigraphists and linguists, it is because of the identification of the basic signs as a result of analysing the pseudopictures and because of proceeding from the known to the unknown and from the simple to the complex in assigning phonetic value and reading inscriptions.

Earlier attempts at Decipherment:

With a view to enable the non-

specialists to follow my model and readings and to appreciate or criticise it with reference to the approaches made by others I shall make a brief survey of the methodology followed by others.

Among those who made a limited analytical study of the Indus Script mention must be made of A. S. Ross (Ross 1953), P. Meriggi (Meriggi 1934), S. Langdon (Marshall 1931) and G. R. Hunter (Hunter 1934). Though Hunter's analysis is more comprehensive than that of others he did not extend the analysis to most of the compound signs. While Langdon tried to establish connection between Harappan and Brāhmī characters, Hunter went a step further in showing the resemblances with Proto-Elamite and Sumarian signs. Heras (Heras 1958) believed that the Indus Script was pictographic-cum-logographic and its language to be Dravidian. Despite clues to the contrary many scholars have been harping on the theory of Heras primarily because of the widely-held view that the Indus cities were destroyed by the invading Āryan hordes and the inhabitants were the enemies of Āryans. To a great extent it is the archaeologists who are responsible for misinterpreting the evidence from excavations and exaggerating the significance of a stray axe or a pin, to the exclusion of the overwhelming evidence of destruction of Indus settlements by natural calamities such as flood. Some of the readings given by Heras are fantastic. At the other extreme, Pran Nath (Pran Nath 1946) and Swami Sankarananda (Sankarananda 1964) have interpreted the seals as products of Āryan culture and the language to be Sanskrit.

Recently the Soviet, Finnish and other scholars have attempted a structural

analysis of Indus Script with the aid of computers. The Finnish scholars (Parpola 1968, 1969) have concentrated on the linguistic interpretation assuming the language to be Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian and given a word-value to most of the signs, from which they derive syllabic values. The Soviet scholars (Knorozov 1972) have assumed that certain signs which are invariably terminals served as inflexional suffixes. They argue that because the Indus language has only suffixes, it is Dravidian, ignoring the fact that Indo-Aryan also has suffixes. Further, the signs which they consider variables have themselves some variables and many a time they are not terminals. To make them terminals some arbitrary 'cuts' have been made in inscriptions by Finnish, Soviet and other scholars. Even if they are terminals they could be spellings or case-endings.

Mahadevan (Mahadevan 1973-1980) and Fairservis (Fairservis 1977, III) have also treated the pseudo-pictures and even simple linear signs as pictures. For instance, the separately appearing D and U signs are considered as 'bow' and 'jar' when short strokes are attached to them. When these accented signs are attached to a sign looking like 'man' the pseudo-pictures are interpreted as 'archer', 'load-carrier', etc. Apart from the fact that they are neither pictures nor ideographs, it may be noted that alternate interpretations of the so-called pictures are possible. The Soviet scholars have themselves pointed out that Parpola's interpretation of the so-called 'comb' sign as a gender-indicator and the 'jar' or 'boat' sign as a case-indicator runs counter to the rules of grammar in ancient Dravidian (*Tolkāppiyam*).

As regards the Soviet interpretation of

'jar' and 'bearer' signs, the comments by Mahadevan who follows the same methodology of treating most signs as pictures or ideographs are interesting. He says (Mahadevan July 1980): "Gurov (1968) pointed out the most apt word in Dravidian to describe the 'bearer' sign, viz. *Kā* 'poles with ropes hung on each end used to carry loads on the shoulder, a yoke' (DED 1193). Gurov also resorts to the technique of homonymy to explain the intended meaning of the sign. The homophone selected by him is *Kā* 'to guard, protect' (DED 1192). Gurov interprets the bearer sign accordingly to mean 'Protector', and epithet applied to deities in the so-called sacrificial inscription' (engraved on tiny tablets occurring at Harappa). Gurov also suggests that the sign could represent a protective formula (like Tamil *kāval*, *kāppu*) when used on amulets or donative texts as in the case of latter Indian inscriptions". Mahadevan adds that "Gurov himself provides an extra-linguistic alternative when he suggests the ideographic value of 'weight, burden' to the bearer sign. Another more serious problem with Gurov's interpretation is his treatment of the bearer sign as a substantive, but the jar sign as a derivational morpheme (Dravidian oblique case—*t* in the Soviet model). This conflicts with the well established fact arrived at by textual analysis that the jar and bearer signs belong functionally to the same class or category of signs..... The Finnish team attempted to fit all the three signs (jar, lance and bearer) in an integrated paradigm of suffixes on the basis of observed functional similarity—an attempt which failed for other reasons as noticed earlier". From the above observations it is clear that the

Soviet and Finnish models are not acceptable to Mahadevan, although all the three assert the language to be Dravidian and take most of the signs as pictures giving them an ideographic, and occasionally, a syllabic value.

Now let us see how Mahadevan himself approaches the problem. In the first model produced by him (Mahadevan 1970, 1973) he gave the value *ānr* to jar sign and *āḷ* to man sign and read their combination as *ānrāḷ* equating it to *Āndhra-bhṛitya* or *Velāl*. He discarded this model and his latest one (Mahadevan 1980 July) treating the Indus writing as ideographic runs as follows :

"It is possible to study the inscriptions in the Indus Script and comprehend their context in a broad manner by observing the parallels between the ideograms in the script and their possible survivals in their later Indian tradition. Such parallels can be found both in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian traditions and can be explained on the basis of the substratum influence of the Harappan Culture on later traditions. The advantage of the method is that it is not necessary to make any 'a priori' assumption about the linguistic affinity of the Harappan language. The limitation of the method is that the diversity of the later traditions would preclude us from assigning any specific phonetic values to the ideograms of the Indus Script." Giving some examples for his ideogram theory Mahadevan says "Ligatured signs namely jar-bearer and lance-bearer have exact parallels in the royal names. The former is read *sata-vāhana-Sātavāhana* and the latter *salya-vāhana = Sālivāhana*." If this model is

accepted one has to attribute ideas to all signs irrespective of their being, or looking like, pictures, but no language can be ascertained as he himself admits that it "precludes the possibility of assigning any specific phonetic values to the ideograms." The alternative is that one can impose alternate ideas and express them in any language, modern or ancient. Such 'free for all' methods lead us nowhere. Fair-servis, another protagonist of the Dravidian authorship of the Indus Civilisation, has started recognising my analysis given in 1973 and accepts that the signs are accented. But soon he reverts to the idea of finding ideographs in Indus script since he can use Dravidian words for the ideographs. For instance (Fairservis 1977, III, fig. 29), after giving the 'man' sign the logographic meaning 'man', he derives the syllabic value *āḷ* in Tamil thereby presuming a language. The 'man with a stick' sign is given the word-value 'overseer or smith', and its syllabic value is *kollan*. It must, however, be pointed out that the 'so-called picture may not stand for an 'overseer' or 'smith' and even if it did, a word in Sanskrit or Sumerian or any other language can be used for 'overseer'. The *a priori* presumption of a language in this model is highly subjective, and the very assumption that the sign is a picture is wrong since it is a compound of two basic signs joined together. They occur independently and are accented. Each has a phonetic value.

Before I explain the methodology of my decipherment I must refer to John E. Mitchiner's model (Mitchiner 1978) which I did not have the occasion to examine before my book *The Decipherment of the Indus Script* (Asia) went to the Press. He

accepts my conclusion reached after a careful analysis of individual compound signs that the Indus Script is phonetic (Rao 1973) and that the signs were accented. Though he endorses my view that the Indus language belongs to the Indo-Aryan family, he assumes that the terminal signs 'jar' and 'lance' were case-endings denoting Genitive and Dative cases respectively. He gives the 'jar' sign the phonetic value—*sa* corresponding to—*as* in Sanskrit and—*as* in Prakrit. He gives the 'comb' sign the value—*ja* and when the two signs are written together he reads—*saja* and equates it to—*sya* in Sanskrit. The 'lance' sign is given the value—*ai* which is equated to—*e* in Sanskrit. 'The bearer' sign is given the phonetic value—*ām*. In all these instances he has assumed the language to be Sanskrit or Prakrit or both. Even if this is admitted it is not understood how he can determine the phonetic value of other signs. A solution offered is to assume that the signs preceding the case-endings are proper names of regions and persons. This assumption is not at all warranted for they may be religious texts mentioning religious formulae or ceremonies or the epithets of Gods. Another objection is that even if the signs discussed above are grammatical elements, especially case-endings, the language could be Dravidian as supposed by Parpola.

Evolution of Indus Script

The stratigraphic evidence from Lothal and Rangpur excavations helps to establish the chronological order of seals and inscribed pottery, which was not possible earlier with regard to seals from Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. A careful study of the morphic structure of the Indus Script phasewise has shown that the writing

underwent gradual change from a picture-cum-linear script to a purely linear one, dropping in the process pictures of birds, insects, plants and non-living beings such as hill, field etc (Rao 1979, pp. 170-213; 261-268). This process of simplification of the writing (Fig. 1) thereby reducing the number of signs had begun in the late levels of the mature Harappa Culture at Mohenjo-daro and Lothal. The inscriptions on twenty seals from the latest structural levels of Mohenjo-daro excavated by G. F. Dales (Dales 1976) contain linear signs except for a single picture of 'field'. At Lothal, too, pictures were dropped in the late levels. The continuance of the simplified linear script in the Late Harappan and Post-Harappan periods is amply borne out by the seals from Lothal, Rakhi Shahpur, Desalpar, Balakot and Rupar besides inscriptions from Rangpur, Rojdi, Lothal, Daimabad, etc., (Fig. 1). There is now ample evidence for Late Harappan Script in the form of 30 seals and 25 inscriptions on pottery.

In my view the decipherment of the unknown script of the Indus Valley is not possible unless the stage of the development of the writing is determined. This is possible only when the number of basic signs in the script is determined. Pictographic and Ideographic scripts have thousands of signs, while Logographs like the Egyptian, Sumerian and Hittite scripts, have signs ranging from 700 to 450. Phonetic Scripts have 100-150 signs, e.g., Sumerian, or even less, e.g., Hittite syllabic writing. All signs in the Indus Script cannot be considered basic signs, for, many have additional strokes or diacritics attached to them, and hundreds of signs are compound signs formed by

joining two or more basic signs or by doubling the same sign and accenting it, that is, adding diacritics to the basic or doubled or compound sign. In the circumstances stated above, it was felt necessary to carry out the structural analysis of compound and accented signs so as to arrive at the correct number of basic signs in the Indus Script. Such an analysis has not been carried out by most scholars who have considered the pseudo-pictures, that is compound and accented signs (Fig. 1), also as pictures and Ideographs and have included them among basic signs. Basic signs are those elemental forms of linear signs and pictures which occur independently in inscriptions of two or more signs and are not accented or ligatured, i.e., joined to other basic or ligatured signs. The process of joining different signs can be easily followed and the compound signs can be analysed as shown in Figs. 2 and 3. By a permutation and combination of a limited number of basic signs the Indus scribes could write hundreds of picture-like looking signs, some examples of which are given in Fig. 4 where 84 compound signs are produced from 10 basic signs. Hence a thorough analysis of Indus Script has shown that there were only 22 basic signs in the Late Harappan Script and 40 linear and 22 pictorial basic signs in the Harappan Script. Eighteen out of 40 linear signs of Harappan Script are homomorphs (alternate signs) as can be seen in Fig. 5: With as few as 62 basic signs the Indus Script could not be pictographic, or Ideographic; it could not be anything other than phonetic, that is, syllabic or alphabetic with occasional rebus use of pictures and numerals.

Samyukta aksharas and Vocalic indicators :

What was the purpose of adding short strokes and joining two or more basic signs? The answer to the question can be had from the Brāhmī and Dēvanāgarī scripts of later days. Short strokes were added to Brāhmī consonantal signs to indicate the vowel value. The Indus scribes, too, did the same. The only difference is that the medial vowel-value depended on the number and direction of short strokes attached in Brāhmī script, while in Indus writing it is only the number of strokes that determined the medial vowel. Both accented the initial vowel signs. The Harappans used U sign for initial *a*, *ā*, *ae* and *ao* by adding strokes, while the Brāhmī scribes developed different signs for initial *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o* and accented them by adding strokes. The purpose of joining different basic signs in Brāhmī was to form conjunct consonants such as *pta*, *ṛka*, *tra* etc. The Indus scribes, too, joined signs to write conjunct consonants and syllables in the initial stage and only for writing conjunct consonants in the later stages. In brief, the two unique features of accenting for indicating medial vowels and forming compound signs for writing *Samyukta aksharas* in Brāhmī and Nāgarī scripts were evolved by the Indus scribes. Thus we notice the continuity of these principles from the Indus Age to the present day. By combining signs the Indus people could effect economy in the use of extremely limited space available on seals for writing names etc.

Direction of Writing :

Hunter and Lal (Lal 1974) have demonstrated that the direction of Indus Script was from right to left. There is no convincing evidence for Fairervis' supposition that it was from left to right. The over-

lapping of the sign on the left over the sign on the right seen on pottery and seals of clay is a pointer to the leftward writing. Kharōshthī was also written leftward and the Yerraguḍi inscriptions of Aśōka run boustrophedon. The second line in some of the Indus seals runs leftward, but a few instances of boustrophedon are not wanting.

Phonetic Value of basic signs :

In assigning phonetic value I have proceeded from the known to the unknown. It was stated earlier that the Late Harappan Script consisted of 22 linear basic signs; these signs and their alternates had their origin in the Harappan Script. Having found that the Indus Script was phonetic, I have chosen the basic linear signs of Harappan and Late Harappan scripts for evaluation on the basis of a known script which was contemporary at some stage and the majority of signs in which are identical with the Indus signs. Such a script, the users of which had established trade contacts with the Harappans and Late Harappans, is, the Semitic Script. In the present context 'Semitic Script' should be taken to mean the writing of the people speaking Phoenician and South Arabic languages and generally known as West Semitic and South Semitic Scripts. Since the earlier forms of the alphabetic signs in these scripts especially Phoenician and South Arabic are traced to the Sinaitic Script (Driver [Revised Edn.] 1976) such as the Gezer and Sechem inscriptions (1600-1500 B. C.) the latter are also taken into account. The inscriptions of Shafat ba'l (16th cent. B. C.), Laschish (1300-1200 B. C.), Tellel-Hesy, Deir Allā (Transjordan) and Byblos (Ahiram 11th-13th cent. B. C.) are important for our purpose of analogy.

The inscriptions of Deir Allā are dated 1500-1200 B. C. and 1200-900 B. C., but it is the former we take note of. As regards Semitic contacts with India it is well known that during the Akkadian (third millennium B. C.) period there was brisk trade between Indus and Sumerian cities. During the Isin-Larsa and post-Larsa period the Semites acted as intermediaries. The Phoenicians, a branch of the Canaanites, who participated in the trade with Levant, Egypt, the Persian Gulf and Makran coast and perhaps Gujarat too, are identified by scholars with the Pharis of the *Ṛigvēda*. They are said to be miserly and did not offer sacrifices.

A comparison of basic linear signs of the Late Harappan Script with those of the Semitic writing has revealed that out of twenty commonly occurring ones, sixteen in the former are identical with those in the latter. Further, thirty two linear basic signs of the Harappan Script, which include alternatives for the Late Harappan signs, occur in Semitic Script (Fig. 5) and stand for 19 sounds recognisable in Semitic. Since more than 70 per cent of the Harappan and Late Harappan linear signs are identical with those in Semitic, the former are given the same phonetic value which similar signs in Semitic script have. There is no room for any *a priori* assumption of phonetic value or the language of the Indus Script.

Five stages of reading Indus inscriptions (Fig. 6)

The first stage of reading Indus inscriptions consists in selecting those inscriptions (fifty-six) in which linear signs

identical with Semitic signs occur. With the phonetic value of Semitic signs already known we are proceeding from the known to the unknown. As the basic Indus signs are accented (unlike Semitic signs), the vowel-value of consonantal signs of Indus script can be ascertained. In the first stage itself several meaningful phonemes are identified by reading Indus inscriptions. In the second stage, the U sign which is similar to the one in Semitic, si given the phonetic value *a* (short) and its accented forms *ā*, *ae*, *ao* etc. As many as 81 inscriptions, in which the U sign and 16 others similar to Semitic ones occur, are read, thus accounting for 137 simple inscriptions which provide a fairly adequate data for ascertaining the language of Indus seals. A few meaningful phonemes derived are listed below :

ama 'strength, power' (RV) *āta* 'illuminated' (*ātan* 'illuminate' RV) *taras/tara* 'strong, powerful' (*taras* 'strength, velocity, power' RV); *aokkā* 'abode' (*okas* 'home, abode' RV); *aoma* 'friend, protector' (RV); *da/dā* 'give, bestow' (RV); *ppa/pa/pā* 'protect' (RV); *pag* 'mighty, strong' (*peg* 'strong' IE; *pājus* 'power, strong, firm' RV); *parā* 'supreme' (*para* 'supreme, highest' RV), *ppat/pat/pata* 'govern, governor' (*pat* 'to master, govern, control, rule' RV); *phag/bhag* 'Lord, bountiful, God' (*bhaga* 'dispenser, gracious lord, bounteous' RV); *mada* 'pleasant' (*mad* 'delight, pleasing' RV); *mana* 'knowledge', also name of a person (*mana* 'knowledge' RV); *maha*, 'great' (RV); *Śās/sār* 'rule' (RV); *Sap* 'curse' (RV); Apart from these words which have the same meaning as in the Indus language, the words used in Indus seals for numerals one, seven, ten and hundred,

namely *aeka*, *hapt*, *dasa* and *sata* respectively are Indo-European words. Semantically and etymologically the Indus words are closely related to those in Old Indo-Aryan, that is, the Vedic language.

Before proceeding further on the basis of Indo-European affinity of the Indus language, it was considered necessary to examine the possibility of its being Dravidian or Sumerian, the latter being suggested by Waddel (1924) long ago and by Kennier Wilson recently (Kennier Wilson 1974). There are some Indus inscriptions in which the nominal stems have suffixes corresponding to those in Old Indo-Aryan and Avestan, for instance, *paka-ae-baka-ā* meaning 'to guardian from Baka.' Baka is either a name of a person (Baka Dālbhya) or a homophone of *baga* 'god'. In this inscription *ā* is the suffix of Instrumental case and *ae* is the suffix of Dative case in Indus, Vedic and Avestan languages. We have also inscriptions reading *paka-ha* and *Baka-ha* conveying the sense 'of guardian' and 'of Baka' respectively. Obviously *-ha/h* is the suffix of Genitive case in Indus and Avestan languages. In Old Indo-Aryan it is *-sya* or *-sa*. Indus language has features of both Avestan and Old Indo-Aryan, in the use of suffixes and the word *hapta* for *sapta* etc. It is also observed that it used *pah*, *pahas*, *pa* etc. for 'protector' or 'protect' 'keep oath' etc. as in Hittite, another Indo-European language. We shall see in due course that not only words but even concepts common to most of the Indo-European-speaking groups were expressed by the Indus people. For the present we may note that the Indus language was inflexional. whereas the

Sumerian language was agglutinative, that is, non-inflexional. Hence, we have to rule out the possibility of Indus language being Sumerian.

The presence of consonantal clusters and conjunct consonants such as pra, pta etc. in Indus inscriptions precludes the language being Dravidian, for, the oldest of Dravidian languages, namely Tamil, was not aware of conjunct consonants. This can be confirmed by a reference to *Tolkāppiyam*, the oldest Tamil Grammar. The protagonists of the Dravidian origin of Indus language, who are aware of the absence of conjunct consonants in Tamil, have tried to avoid the issue by treating the pseudo-pictures of Indus Script representing conjunct consonants as ideographs. Another consideration in excluding Dravidian from the purview of Indus language is the presence of distinct signs for voiced and voiceless stops in Indus language, while Tamil has one letter for k, kh, g, gh, one for t, th, d, dh and one for p, ph, b and bh.

Having found that the Indus language belonged to the Indo-European family and had close relation with the Old Indo-Aryan, the next step in deciphering the Indus script is taken. The two frequently occurring non-Semitic signs, namely 'man' and 'fish' are given phonetic value. Their phonetic character is established by the fact that they are fully accented and serve as alphabets. The value *r* (vowel) given to 'man' sign is based on the consideration that the word for 'man' in the *Rigvēda* is *nr̥/nar*. Other values derived from alternate words for 'man' are unsuitable. Similarly the value *ś* given to 'fish' sign is derived from *śahula*, a variety of

fish mentioned in the *Rigvēda*. More than 500 inscriptions in which these two non-Semitic signs occur along with Semitic signs have been read and a wide range of phonemes and their meaningful sequence have been recognised. These words are closely related to Old Indo-Aryan words in semantics and etymology. The structure of the Indus language is found to be similar to that of the *Rigvēda* in the formation of nominal compounds. A couple of roots involving the use of 'man' sign may be noted here. *Dr* 'pierce', *pr* 'protect', *tr̥d* 'split', *dr̥h* 'strong (*dr̥nh* 'strengthen' RV), *br̥h* 'make big', *sr̥* 'flow' etc. All these roots have the same meaning in the *Rigvēda*. Similarly the words involving the use of 'fish' sign show affinity with the words in the *Rigvēda*. For example, *śada* 'eminent', *śama* 'calm', *śās* (*śās*) 'rule', *śah* (*śah*) 'be victorious', *śaka* 'powerful' etc.

In the fourth stage of reading inscriptions the signs for numerals 1 to 9 and 12 indicated by the corresponding number of vertical lines have been given the word-value on the basis of the alphabetically written words for 1, 7, 10 and 100 which correspond to those in Old Indo-Aryan and Avestan languages. In doing so, the absence of signs for palatals and cerebrals in Indus Script has been taken note of. The following are the words for numerals in Indus language :

aeka=one, *dva*=two, *tr*=three, *qātr*=four, *pant*=five, *shash* or *śaś*=six, *hapt*=seven, *asht*=eight, *nav*=nine, *daśa*=ten, *dvādaśa*=twelve, *śata*=hundred. The numerals are often used as logographs in a rebus way with phonetic transfer. For instance, III is used to express the sound

tr in writing the word *parātrka* 'supreme Triad' or 'supreme saviour'.

The fifth and last stage of decipherment which is concerned with assigning phonetic value to true pictures of birds, insects, pipal leaf, etc. on acrophonic principle is quite complex. The phonetisation of pictures is evident from the use of the vowel sign *U* and the laryngeal sign *h* by attaching them to pictures. Thus the picture of scorpion is given the value *vṛś* from *vṛścika* and the pipal leaf gets the value *aśv* from *aśvattha*.

In all, 1800 inscriptions have been read so far and 1200 of them have been published in *The Decipherment of the Indus Script* (Asia Publishing House (P) Ltd, Bombay, 1981) which also gives a Chrestomathy of 250 words and a list of 70 roots common to Indus and Indo-European languages.

Salient Features of The Indus Language :

The Indus Script has 40 linear signs including homomorphs for 21 sounds (Fig. 7), but there appears to be no sign for palatals and cerebrals. There are five signs for three laryngeals and five for three sibilants. It is interesting to find that as in the case of Avestan and Hittite languages the Indus Script retained all the the three laryngeals, whereas the Old Indo-Aryan had dropped two and retained one. This is one of the considerations for treating the Indus language as Pre-Old-Indo-Aryan, the other considerations being the limited number of case-endings, the non-development of feminine gender and use of root-nouns more frequently than in old Indo-Aryan.

The use of circumgraphs and enclosures, as in the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, facilitates

identification of proper names and hono-
fics, while the hood-separators, such as single or double short vertical lines detached from signs, are helpful in recognising phonemes and groups of phonemes without resorting to arbitrary 'cuts', as has been done by Soviet and other scholars to arrive at 'blocks' and 'words'.

Besides using root-nouns the formation of nominal stems by the addition of primary and secondary suffixes such as *-a*, *-ta*, *-an* + *ta* etc., falls in the pattern seen in the Old-Indo-Aryan. For example, *sak* + *a* = *saka*, *Mah* + *a* + *t* = *Mahat*, *Vṛś* + *an* + *ta* = *Vṛśanta* or *Vṛśhanta*.

The verbal forms are very few in Indus seal-inscriptions, the reason being the very nature of the contents of inscriptions. They mention names and epithets of owners of seals or of consignees and sometimes religious formulae, too, which, however, do not necessitate use of verbal forms. This need not imply that the Indus language had not developed verbal forms. Although the forms could not be as rich as in the *Rigvēda*, a few verbal forms can be traced in the Indus inscriptions. For example, *trp*—*trpta* (past participle), *sak*—*śasāka* (perfect); *rdh*—*ṛddha* (past participle)—*ṛdhat* (subjunctive) etc. The formation of intensives of verbs was not infrequent in the Indus language. For instance, *dṛ*—*dadṛ*—, *pṛ*—*papṛ*, *trā*—*trātṛ* etc.

So far as the syntax is concerned there was no hard and fast rule about the order of words or of parts of speech (SVO and SOV). The substantive and qualifying elements exchanged positions. For example, some Indus inscriptions read: *Mahāśada* 'great eminent'='greatly eminent'; *śāsa*—*mahā* 'ruler great' and *mahā*—*śaktṛ* (= *tra*)

—*maha* 'great powerful saviour great'. Prof. J. Greenberg (Greenberg 1963) observes that "the qualifying word generally follows the substantive, e.g. 'body bright' in most languages especially the Proto-Indo-European." This is more common in the Indus language than in Old-Indo-Aryan or in Avestan, as Indus language was an earlier form of both.

The absence of connecting link is not infrequent in the Indus language. For example *pak-tra-sāpa-pār*, 'guardian saviour, protector from curse'. Similar instances of absence of links can be quoted from the *Ṛigvēda* also. For example, *vaśasam viravat-tamam*. Again as in the *Ṛigvēda* repetition of word was common in the Indus language. For instance *eka-eka* 'every one' in Indus and *dive-dive* 'every day' in the *Ṛigvēda*.

Some of the major categories of Nominal Compounds (*samāsa*) occur frequently even in the short inscriptions on seals. *Hapta (sapta) sāsā* 'ruler of seven' is an example of *Tatpurusha* in which the first member hardly retains the case-ending. An example of *Karmadhāraya* is provided by the inscription reading *sah-pat* 'conqueror governor' = 'conquering governor', in which the first member stands in adverbial relation to the second'. Iterative compound in which substantive pronouns, adjectives etc. are repeated were also present. For example, *para-para* 'most supreme'. Compounds have been used as personal names in Indus and other I E languages.

Origin of the Alphabet (Fig. 8).

The early Harappan Script used most pictures syllabically and a few logographically along with linear signs which had a single-sound value. There are a few instan-

ces where vowelless consonantal signs were used, but generally the vowel values were indicated. Gradually, pictures and syllabic formation of linear signs were dropped retaining, however, the conjunct consonants so that the writing could be alphabetic, in which only linear signs were used even for difficult expressions like *tra*, *sva* etc., for which the syllabic pictures stood. At a stage when pictures were almost completely dropped and only linear signs were used in *circa* 15th century B. C. the Semitic people seem to have borrowed the Indus linear signs for their consonantal value.

It is argued by some scholars that Semitic alphabets had their origin in Egyptian hieroglyphs, and therefore they cannot be traced to Harappan Script. The Egyptian origin is neither substantiated nor accepted by most epigraphists. On the other hand, the hitherto unknown pre-alphabetic stage of the Semitic Script, namely, the logographic-cum-syllabic stage can now be traced to the Harappan Script. In this connection Rozanville's observations about the supposed Semitic origin of the alphabet are significant. He says (Rozanville in *Melanges de l'universite de Beyrouth*, XII 3-40) "The inscription of Ahiram argues a long period of gestation for the Semetic alphabet before the development of its perfected form: and the peculiarities of the Aramaic and especially of the South Arabian varieties of the script prove that it cannot have owed its existence to a single initial effort. So the South Arabian alphabet which can be clearly traced back to a West-Semitic prototype contains some forms clearly older than any in the Phoenician or Aramean script Consequently Phoenicians cannot be held responsible for the instantaneous

invention of a word system, only improved by the Greeks by the addition of signs not required for the Semitic languages, until fresh discoveries have proved it." Hopkins (in Driver 1976, p. 251) observes in regard to the equation between Semitic alphabetic signs and their names from Egyptian prototypes, that "many of the identifications put forward are either dubious or impossible."

Present researches show that the Harappans were pioneers in evolving an alphabetic system which became the basis for the Semitic consonantal system. The Harappans used vowels, too, though not all.

Contents of Indus Seals :

Except tiny seals an overwhelming majority of the medium and large seals are engraved with real and fabulous animals, plants, insects, birds, reptiles, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms, scenes involving divine and human beings and animals besides a number of motifs such as the solar symbol, swastika, boat, seed-drill etc. It is not my intention at this stage to interpret the purpose and significance of animals on the seals except making an observation that the animals appear to have been deified and worshipped by various groups of people comprising the Indus population. Two seals depict veneration of animals. In one instance the bull is being carried in procession and in another a tiger is placed on a platform after it passes through a gateway, and a *yōgi* is also seated there. The Daimabad bronzes (Rao 1978 March) confirm that the Late Harappans continued the Harappan tradition of taking animals in procession, which must be obviously due to the fact that they were worshipped.

The purpose of the seals was primarily commercial as indicated by the terracotta sealings bearing impressions of packing material found in the warehouse at Lothal (Rao 1973, p. 119 ; 1979, p. 111). But there are a number of seals from Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Chanhudaro, Kalibangan and Lothal which do not permit of any clay impression being taken. Such ones, like the copper tablets, were used as tokens issued on some occasion or may have served some other purpose. Even seals used for commercial purpose may contain sometimes a religious formula or reference to a God of the owner's choice. These possibilities have been examined in a large majority of seals read so far. Generally speaking, the inscriptions contain name of the individual or his honorifics or designation or both or only designation. The suffixes 'of' and 'from' suggest that it is the owner who is referred to in some seals, as for example, in *Baka-āh* 'of Baka' or in a *Baka-ā* 'from Baka'. Sometimes, the abstract quality was concretised and used as a proper name; for example, *śaka*, which means 'powerful' is placed in bracket to indicate that it is the name of an individual. Similarly, the word *pa* may mean 'protect' or 'protector'. In the former case it may be an appeal to the protector who may be the heavenly God or an earthly ruler. Thus alternate interpretations of the readings are possible and have been referred to in my book. As I felt that in a few instances revised reading and interpretation is desirable I shall refer to some of them under 'Religion of the Indus People'.

Generally, the words *pa/pā*, *pak* (*paka*), *śāsa*, *tra* (*trada*) and *pat* (*pata*)

—*maha* 'great powerful saviour' 'great'. Prof. J. Greenberg (Greenberg 1963) observes that "the qualifying word generally follows the substantive, e.g. 'body bright' in most languages especially the Proto-Indo-European." This is more common in the Indus language than in Old-Indo-Aryan or in Avestan, as Indus language was an earlier form of both.

The absence of connecting link is not infrequent in the Indus language. For example *pak-tra-sāpa-pār*, 'guardian saviour, protector from curse'. Similar instances of absence of links can be quoted from the *Ṛigvēda* also. For example, *vaśasam vīravat-tamam*. Again as in the *Ṛigvēda* repetition of word was common in the Indus language. For instance *eka-eka* 'every one' in Indus and *dive-dive* 'every day' in the *Ṛigvēda*.

Some of the major categories of Nominal Compounds (*samāsa*) occur frequently even in the short inscriptions on seals. *Hapta (sapta) sāsa* 'ruler of seven' is an example of *Tatpurusha* in which the first member hardly retains the case-ending. An example of *Karmadhāraya* is provided by the inscription reading *sah-pat* 'conqueror governor' = 'conquering governor', in which the first member stands in adverbial relation to the second'. Iterative compound in which substantive pronouns, adjectives etc. are repeated were also present. For example, *para-para* 'most supreme'. Compounds have been used as personal names in Indus and other I E languages.

Origin of the Alphabet (Fig. 8).

The early Harappan Script used most pictures syllabically and a few logographically along with linear signs which had a single-sound value. There are a few instan-

ces where vowelless consonantal signs were used, but generally the vowel values were indicated. Gradually, pictures and syllabic formation of linear signs were dropped retaining, however, the conjunct consonants so that the writing could be alphabetic, in which only linear signs were used even for difficult expressions like *tra*, *śva* etc., for which the syllabic pictures stood. At a stage when pictures were almost completely dropped and only linear signs were used in *circa* 15th century B. C. the Semitic people seem to have borrowed the Indus linear signs for their consonantal value.

It is argued by some scholars that Semitic alphabets had their origin in Egyptian hieroglyphs, and therefore they cannot be traced to Harappan Script. The Egyptian origin is neither substantiated nor accepted by most epigraphists. On the other hand, the hitherto unknown pre-alphabetic stage of the Semitic Script, namely, the logographic-cum-syllabic stage can now be traced to the Harappan Script. In this connection Rozanville's observations about the supposed Semitic origin of the alphabet are significant. He says (Rozanville in *Melanges de l'universite de Beyrouth*, XII 3-40) "The inscription of Ahiiram argues a long period of gestation for the Semetic alphabet before the development of its perfected form: and the peculiarities of the Aramaic and especially of the South Arabian varieties of the script prove that it cannot have owed its existence to a single initial effort. So the South Arabian alphabet which can be clearly traced back to a West-Semitic prototype contains some forms clearly older than any in the Phoenician or Aramean script Consequently Phoenicians cannot be held responsible for the instantaneous

invention of a word system, only improved by the Greeks by the addition of signs not required for the Semitic languages, until fresh discoveries have proved it." Hopkins (in Driver 1976, p. 251) observes in regard to the equation between Semitic alphabetic signs and their names from Egyptian prototypes, that "many of the identifications put forward are either dubious or impossible."

Present researches show that the Harappans were pioneers in evolving an alphabetic system which became the basis for the Semitic consonantal system. The Harappans used vowels, too, though not all.

Contents of Indus Seals :

Except tiny seals an overwhelming majority of the medium and large seals are engraved with real and fabulous animals, plants, insects, birds, reptiles, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms, scenes involving divine and human beings and animals besides a number of motifs such as the solar symbol, swastika, boat, seed-drill etc. It is not my intention at this stage to interpret the purpose and significance of animals on the seals except making an observation that the animals appear to have been deified and worshipped by various groups of people comprising the Indus population. Two seals depict veneration of animals. In one instance the bull is being carried in procession and in another a tiger is placed on a platform after it passes through a gateway, and a *yōgi* is also seated there. The Daimabad bronzes (Rao 1978 March) confirm that the Late Harappans continued the Harappan tradition of taking animals in procession, which must be obviously due to the fact that they were worshipped.

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conveying the sense 'protector', 'guardian', 'ruler', 'saviour' and 'governor' respectively are deemed to be applicable to the earthly ruler. Where the terms *dyu* (*dva*), *bhā* 'shining', etc. are used the seal may refer to God or a holy person. But it is necessary to note here that the attributes of God and King appear to be the same, for, the words *sada* 'eminent', *bhaga* 'bountiful', *vṛṣa* 'mighty', *makha* 'benevolent', *sah* 'victorious', *bhadra* 'auspicious', etc. are used as attributes of rulers as well as gods. On the whole, it must be admitted that the qualities of God and King in the Indus Civilisation are found to be the same as those mentioned in the *Ṛigvēda*. Some seals refer to God as *adṛha* 'without malice', *satṛ—tra* or *satṛ—pa* 'protecting from the enemy' and *sāpa-pār* 'protecting against curse'. A hierarchy of rulers is suggested by the terms *pa*, *paka sāsā*, *sāsā-sāsā*, *pat* and *pata-pat* respectively standing for 'protector', 'guardian', 'ruler', 'ruler of ruler', 'governor' and 'governor of governor'. From the provenance and frequency of seals containing these designations it is suggested that smaller units of administration were under the care of Guardian and Protector while larger units were under the Ruler or Governor and the Head of the Province or the Empire was the 'Ruler of Rulers' or the 'Governor of Governors'. The seals of the latter are found at Mohenjo-daro and Lothal only. Some territorial divisions are indicated by the term *dvappa/dvapa=dva+apa*, a homophone of *dvīpa* meaning 'island' or 'land between waters'. We have names such as *Ekudvapa*, *Pantadvapa*, *Hṛptadvapa*, *Bhadramadvapa*, etc. The Kalibangan seal suggests that the Sarasvati

Valley was *Bhadramadvīpa*, 'the most auspicious land'—a term justified by the special sacrificial altars found there. Names of persons mentioned in seals are Kaśapp, Aṭṛ, Aśva, Keśa, Śara, Śaśa, Dasa, Paṛ, Vṛshan, etc.

Some commodities are also referred to in the seals. For example, *kaṣa*, 'cotton or cotton cloth', *avva=avya* 'wool', *tṛp=trapu* 'tin', *akak* 'carnelian or any semiprecious stone', and *tasera=tasara*, 'cloth in the loom'. Among technical terms used mention may be made of *maśaka* and *maśu* 'unit of weight for weighing gold' referred to later in the *Arthasāstra*, *taksha* 'carpenter or builder', *paśa=peśa* 'architect' and *sāsaka* 'captain of the ship or commander', etc. There may be many more which are not yet obvious and need to be carefully examined.

Religion of the Harappans

For want of time it is not possible to discuss all aspects of Indus religion, nor attempt reconstructing the growth of religious thought from the Indus Age to the Vedic period, but it must be clearly understood that it is the Indus people who laid the foundation of Vedic religion, as we shall presently see.

Fire-worship

The cylindrical seal (307) from Harappa depicts a deity with a trident-like head-gear standing in an arched niche from which tongues of flame are projecting. The inscription on the seal reads *bhag-ṛk-ā* 'Lord (or God) Arka'. Another cylindrical seal (320) from Harappa has a brazier or fire-altar motif from which flames of fire are emerging. The inscription

reads *pag-bhag-ṛk-āhā* ('seal) of mighty Lord Arka'. Arka is a term used for Sūrya, Agni, *mantra* and a particular plant in *Ṛigvēda*. Here it refers to the fire God, that is, Agni. The term *pag* is used in Indo-European (IE) in the sense of 'might' and corresponds to *pājas* 'power' in the *Ṛigvēda*. In Indus seals *bhag* is sometimes written *phag* and has been read as such by me earlier. Similarly, the compound sign for *ṛk* was read *rā*. *Bhaga* may also mean 'bountiful' or 'God'. From the inscriptions on the seals depicting the Fire-altar and Fire God it is now evident that the Fire God was known as *Ṛka* or *Arka*, perhaps representing the triple aspect of Agni. A circular seal (317), also from Harappa, depicting the same Agni in an arch of flame has an inscription reading *t-pt-bakāhā=tapta bakaha* 'of burning god'. *Baka* is used as a homophone of *baga*. One more point may be noted in connection with the representation of the Fire God in the above cited seals. The headgear resembles a twig as in the case of the deity depicted on the terracotta cake from Kalibangan, where Fire-altars have been found in a row. In the *Ṛigvēda* the term *vānaspatya* used for Agni shows that he is connected with plants. In fact fire is said to come out of *araṇi*. The dried twigs of *Aśvattha* are used for kindling fire in all sacrifices. Hence it is not surprising that the twig or branch of a tree was the symbol of the Fire God in Harappan times. In Mohenjo-daro seal (533) the deity seated in a tree is pointing towards a tiger which is looking back. The inscription reads *tarasī-eka* 'strong, singular' or 'the only mighty'. The word *taras* conveys the sense 'strength, energy' in the *Ṛigvēda*. Perhaps,

it is the tree spirit conceived as the creative energy which is referred to here. It is likely that the Bull-people worshipped Agni, for, one of the seals from Mohenjo-daro with the Brahmani bull motif carries an inscription reading *trppta-rk-ae=trpta-arkae* 'to pleased Arka'.

There were skirmishes among different politico-religious groups, it appears, for supremacy, as indicated by the seals depicting the bull-man fighting the tiger which bears horns to suggest divinity. Ultimately, all clans venerating different animal deities such as the Elephant, Tiger, Buffalo and Rhinoceros seem to have accepted the supremacy of Agni who is represented in all his aspects (three faces) on some seals, including the so called Paśupati Seal. The emphasis was on energy and brightness (*taras, bha, eta, osha*) of the Fire God. He was propitiated through sacrifices by the Harappans as is evident from the altars built at Lothal and Kalibangan for fire-worship and offering sacrifices.

The most frequently discussed and variously interpreted seal is the one from Mohenjo-daro (420) on which the three-faced God is seated on a low stool and is surrounded by animals (Fig. 8. 1). He is said to represent Śiva as Paśupati or Rudra. Before discussing whether he is Paśupati or some other God we may see what the inscription has to say. It reads *rama-trīda-ao-s-ā = rama—trīda—osha* 'pleasant (and) shining or burning triply'. The reference is to the God who shines in three forms. As a Triad he has three faces. The word *rama* is derived from *ram* 'delight, pleased, rejoice at' (*RV*). *Osha* has the meaning 'shining or burning'

in *RV*. The sign combining three signs for the alphabet *D* has the phonetic value *tṛd* or *trida*. The God wears a horn-trident suggesting divinity and triple aspect. The central part of it is like a fan which is said to be a smiter as if he has vanquished Animal Deities. Seven lines are seen rising like a flame in the fan-like part suggesting his shining or burning aspect and also seven rays. He is called *saptarasmī* in the *Ṛigvēda*. The three powers and three bodies of Agni referred to in the *Ṛigvēda* are suggested by the trident-like headgear, and the epithet *tṛda* (*tridhā*). One passage says *agne tri te vājīnā trī śadhassthā tistraste jihvā ṛtajāta pūrvih tistra u te tanvō devatāstābhirnah pāhi giro aprayucchan* || *RV*. III. 20-2.

Prof. R. N. Dandekar observes, "One of the commonest features of Agni-mythology is the emphasis placed in the *RV* on the triple character of Agni. It is indeed asserted that no cosmological fact is more frequently alluded to than this threefold division of fire. There are as many as seventy passages in that *Vēda*, where this division is referred to with or without some form of the numeral 'three'. *RV* III. 20-2, for instance, speaks of Agni's three powers, his three tongues and his three bodies." (Dandekar 1976, p. 300).

It is of utmost significance for our consideration to note that "no counterpart of the name Agni as such exists in any other Indo-European language. There does not seem to have developed in early times any fire cult among the Indo-European peoples other than the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians Presumably this cult developed during the period when the

ancestors of the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians lived together in the region round Balkh before their three-fold migration, namely to Saptasindhu, to Iran and to Mitanni, and when such religio-mythological concepts as those of Asura-Ahura and Soma-Haoma were evolved" (Dandekar 1976). We shall presently see that the Harappans represent the Proto-Aryans, whose language has features of both Pre-Vedic and Pre-Avestan languages and includes some features of the Hittite language, too, by retaining three laryngeals, by the use of *h* for *s*, by the unnecessary elongation of vowels, doubling of voiced stops and the non-development of palatals and cerebrals. A question that is likely to be asked is that if the Harappans were Fire-worshippers why did they not use the word Agni in their language. The answer is that different words seem to have been used in different cultures at different times. Dandekar observes, "There are many common points in the sacrificial ritual of the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians.... This being so, it is rather strange that a linguistic counterpart of such a common Vedic word as Agni should not occur prominently in the Avestan language. The Avestan cult which corresponds to the Vedic Agni-cult centres round *Athar*" (Dandekar 1976, p.310). *Athar* has been regarded as the hypothetical base of Vedic *Atharyu* and the Iranian *Atharvan*. This is confirmed by the Indus words *ātha/atha* and *āt*. The word *āta* is used in Indus seals in the sense of 'illuminate' corresponding to the root *ātan* 'spread, illuminate'. It appears that the idea of illuminating, shining or brilliance was prominent in the mind of the Harappans, and later, of Vedic Aryans and ancient

Iranians. This explains the frequent occurrence of words such as *bha*, etc.

There are a few more seals depicting the Fire God and seven chiefs (Fig. 8.2). These chiefs seem to represent the idea that Agni belongs to Seven peoples (*saptamānusha*) expressed in the *Ṛigvēda*. In one such seal the epithet is used to denote Agni's triple aspect.

Sacrifices :

Closely associated with the Fire God is the performance of sacrifices by the Harappans as indicated by sacrificial altars of Lothal and Kalibangan. This practice was continued and elaborated by the Vedic Aryans and ancient Iranians. Inscriptions reading *haptāha*, *satāha*, *ekāha* occurring on Indus seals suggest oblations lasting seven days, a hundred days and one day, respectively. The most significant seal-inscription is the one reading *aśvā-satṛ*=*aśva sattra* 'horse sacrifice' or 'sacrifice by Aśva'. As the horse was known to the Harappans, it is not surprising if they performed horse-sacrifices. Seals mention persons by name Aśvaka, Aśvaga, Aśvahha, etc. who had the designation *pa*, *pat*, etc. Be that as it may, it is evident that *sattras* of such long duration as a hundred days or two hundred days were performed by the Harappans. The mud-brick altars at Lothal contained terracotta cakes and ovoid balls besides ash, etc. One altar contained charred bones of a bovid, a gold pendant of the shape carved on the forehead and arm of the stone statue of Priest, reminding us of the use of *rukma* by the *Hōtṛi* in Vedic sacrifices. The Lothal sacrifice seems to correspond to

the *Gavām-ayana* of Vedic days, the significance of which is discussed below. Prof. K. M. Hegde who is carrying on research on the significance of terracotta cakes and ovoid balls is of the view that they had a ritualistic significance. It may be recalled that in most common oblations to Agni a cake was offered on potsherds (*dvādasakapāla purōḍāśa*), the number 12 representing 12 months of the year. The *Gavām-ayana-sattra* of the Harappans might have lasted a whole year. An inscription *dvādasā-ma-makhaha* had been interpreted by me earlier as referring to 'Divadasa (a ruler) great and cheerful'. But it may refer to twelve months or some twelve offerings. Makha may be a reference to Makha-nakshtra. I consider it relevant to quote Sri N. Mahadevan, a scholar who has been working on Vedic calendar and the significance of Vedic rituals for over a decade. He says, "They (Vedic people) used to perform an year-long *sattra* in imitation of the heavenly phenomena. By their sympathetic magic they hoped to keep the celestial bodies in their courses in correct time by the virtue of their *yajna*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Book IV, Ch. 2 states 'they hold the *Gavām-ayana*: they hold the walk of the *Ādityas*; the Vishuvan occurred exactly in the middle of the *sattra* (Vishu=equal; Vishuvan=equinoctical day)."

"If equinoctical days occurred in the middle, the annual *sattra* should have begun with a solstice. Our ancients had marked the solstices and equinoxes by the position of the sun against certain stars. When they say 'start your refresher course, when the moon is full in Prosh-ṭapada the sun is to be inferred exactly

opposite 180° away in the Phalgunis". After further discussing the matter with reference to the *Kausitakī Brāhmaṇa* 5-1 and the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, Mahadevan concludes that the Phalguni full moon can only be in Uttarāyaṇa as the full moon Prōshtapada signified Dakṣiṇāyana. He quotes from the *Ṛigvēda* (X. 85.13) and the *Atharvavēda* which purport to say that the wedding procession of Sūryā, which Savitā sent off, went forth, and that at the Aghas (Maghas) the cows are suppressed, and the procession proceeds from the Ārjunīyas. According to him the Vedic people had a year of 360 days. The suppression of the cows meant suppression of 5½ days, and the new year (walk of the cows) began afresh when the Sun reached the Phalgunis. Relying on the statements made in the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* Mahadevan says that the vernal equinox occurred when the sun was in the Kṛittikas, and the autumn equinox between the stars Viśākha and the Apabharaṇis. He calculates on the basis of 72 years per degree of precession (60°) the date of the observation as 4320 years before present, i. e. 24th century B. C. This date corresponds to the beginning of the Late Harappan phase if the calibrated Carbon 14 dates (1900+400=2300 B.C.) are taken into account. The beginning of the Harappa Culture would then be dated around 3000 B.C. (2450+550=3000). Whether these dates calculated on astronomical evidence are acceptable to Archaeologists or not is a different matter. What is relevant for our purpose is that the Harappans performed sacrifices similar to *Gayām-ayana*, the primary objective being the marking of seasons for agricultural operations, etc. From the above discussions

it should be evident that the Harappan religious beliefs and cults were continued by the Vedic people.

Harappans and Proto-Aryans:

We have noticed earlier that the Harappans worshipped the Fire God (whom they called Arka, Ātha, etc.) in all his aspects corresponding to Agni in triple aspects as envisaged by the Proto-Aryans. In fact the Harappans who developed basic concepts common to the Vedic Aryans and Iranians, such as *ṛta* (*RV*) and *aša* (*AV*) for 'Order', *Arka* (*RV*) and *Ātha/Āthar* (*AV*) for fire, and *mana* for 'stimulating power' can be identified with the Proto-Aryans. Comparative philology also supports this view. These Proto-Aryans who lived in the Indus Valley moved into Balkh and South Russia on the one hand and Ganga-Yamuna doab on the other in the Late Harappan days. The map entitled "From Indus to Amu Darya" published by me (Rao 1979, 1981) is based on archaeological evidence from the Harappan and Late Harappan sites in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and in Afghanistan and South Russia. In Figure 9, I have shown the stages through which the Indus Script passed and when the Semics took over Indus signs.

The Pandora's Box, is just opened and I know that a lot of heated discussion will follow; but this is inevitable. Further research is possible with the help of eminent Epigraphists, Indologists, Archaeologists, Linguists and Historians. I beseech them to take up this important problem of Proto-Aryans and continue the work just begun by me. What is now needed is team work duly supported by Government by way of establishing an Institute for the study of Indus and other contemporary

Civilisations. Lastly, may I request the University Professors to update text books on Indian History by burying the archaeologically and now linguistically untenable theory of Aryan destruction of Indus cities and their non-Aryan origin. I thank all of you once again for giving me a patient hearing.

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2. MIDDLE BRAHMI INSCRIPTION ON AN INDRA IMAGE

D. C. Sircar

A paper entitled 'A Kushan Indra and Some related Sculptures' by P. Pal, the well-known student of Indian art, recently appeared in the *Oriental Art*, New Series, Summer, 1979, vol. XXV, pp. 212 ff. (Figs 1-5).

It introduces an interesting fragmentary image of Indra, bearing a beautifully engraved label inscription. The three fragments of the image are believed to have been unearthed from the vicinity of Charsadda not far from Peshawar in Northern Pakistan but are preserved in a private collection in London. Considering the age and area in question, the script of the record was expected to be Kharōshthī. However, it is not improbable that the person responsible for the construction or installation of the image went to the Charsadda region from the Brāhmī-using area of the east or that the image was imported from outside.

The weakest part of Pal's paper relates to his treatment of the single-line label inscription at the base of the image, in the decipherment and interpretation of which he acknowledges his indebtedness to Gautamavajra Vajracharya and Vidya Dehejia. He says, "The inscription on the base may be read as follows: '2 + 2 du 2 devarāja.' A literal translation would be 'the year 2 + 2 (4) the second day of the month of du, king of the gods.' Curiously, no name of a month in Sanskrit begins with the letter *da* which probably stands for Daisika or the month of Daisios, corresponding to the Indian Jyāishṭha-Āshāḍha. The use of the

Greek calendar as well as the manner in which the year is written clearly indicates that the donor of the sculpture was from the Gandhāra region where in fact the image was found." In Pal's opinion, the name Dēvarāja shows that the image represents Indra and that the year is to be referred to the Śaka or Kaṇishka era, so as to yield the date 82 A. D.

Unfortunately, the above reading and interpretation of the inscription, both of which would appear to be quite absurd to any serious student of Indian epigraphy and palaeography, show the 'great extent to which the study of the subjects has deteriorated. The letters of the label inscription are very clear and it reads *Imdraḥ Dēvarājā*, i. e. 'Indra, the lord of the gods', in which the correct form of the epithet *Dēvarājā*, according to Pāṇini's grammar, should be *Dēvarājaḥ*.¹ However, the Pāṇinian forms were not always preferred by the writers of the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions. Thus the Ayōdhyā inscription of Dhanadēva in Sanskrit uses the same basic form in *dharmarājñā* in place of *dharmarājēna* while the Kānākhērā (near Sāñchi) inscription uses the form *khānāpita* for *khānita* in a good stanza in Śārdūlavikrīḍita."

Of the two points that require to be noticed in connection with the palaeography of the record the first is that the characters of the epigraph belong to the class we call Middle Brāhmī and resemble

those used in the Brāhmī epigraphs of the Mathurā Śakas and the early Kushānas as well as the Ayōdhyā inscription of Dhanadēva who was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra Śuṅga (c 185-149 B. C.) and may have flourished about the close of the first century B. C.⁵ Thus the possibility of the ascription of the image to the close of the first century B. C. is not precluded.

Secondly, there is a difference of opinion on the value of the first *akshara* of the record which is formed by four short strokes (in place of dots)⁶ placed at the corners of a rectangular space. This *akshara* has been noticed in a number of inscriptions discovered at Sāñchi, Nānāghāt, Mathurā and Nāsik and ranging in date from the first century B. C. to the second century A. D. Formerly, palaeographers had been inclined to read the sign as *ī*, and the late four-limbed form of *ī* as found in the much later Horyuji manuscript ascribed to the 6th century may probably be cited in its support;⁶

but G.H. Ojha read it as *im*.⁶ The language of the previous epigraphs being either Prakrit or mixed Prakrit-Sanskrit, it was not easy to be definite about the correctness of Ojha's suggestion; but he must have noticed that the forms *īdra* in the name *Īdrapāla* in the Mathurā inscription and *Īdrāgni* in *Īdrāgnidata* in the Nāsik epigraph are not quite happy because of the combination of Prakrit *ī* with the Sanskrit sounds *dra* in one case and *drāgni* in the other. However, the *visarga* at the end of the god's name in the present inscription shows that its language is Sanskrit so that the form *Imdraḥ* (i.e. *Indraḥ*) is the suitable reading here and *Īdraḥ* is not. Our record therefore supports Ojha's reading of the four-dot sign as *im*.

The correct form of the initial *ī* in the early centuries of the Christian era illustrated by an Amarāvati inscription, in which it is written with a vertical flanked by a dot on each side.⁷

Notes:—

- 1 I am glad to note that G. Bhattacharya's comments on the reading and interpretation of the image inscription published by Pal are an improvement though they are not fully correct. See *Oriental Art*, Spring, 1980, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, pp. 129-30.
- 2 Sircar, *Select Inss.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 95 and note 5, p. 187 and note 9.
- 3 See *ibid.*, p. 95, no.8, Plate XII; p.120, no.25, Plate XXIII; p.136, no.36A, XXV, etc.
- 4 For similar use of strokes in place of dots, see, e.g., the sign of *anusvāra* in *Palavānam* (line 2), *vāpatam* (line 4), *saṁvāsam* (line 16), *divasam pañchami* (line 26), etc., in the Mayıdavōlu plates (*E.I.*, vol. VI, pp. 84 f. and plates).
- 5 See Lüders' *List*, nos. 250 (*Īdadata*), 419 (*Īdadēva*) and 62 (*Īdadata*) from Sāñchi; no.1112 (*Īda*) from Nānāghāt; no.96 (*Īdrapāla*) from Mathurā and no. 1140 (*Īdrāgnidata*) from Nāsik, with references cited therein. For the Horyuji manuscript, see Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, 1918, Plate XIX.
- 6 Ojha, *op. cit.*, Plate III (from Nānāghāt), V (from Mathurā) and XI (from Nāsik).
- 7 *Ibid.*, Plate XII.

3. AN AYAGAPATTA INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA

K. D. Bajpai

The early inscriptions from Mathurā furnish valuable information for ancient Indian political and cultural history from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. to the age of the Imperial Guptas. The number of stone inscriptions of the Kshatrpa-Kushāṇa period from that area is considerably large. They are incised on stone tablets, pedestals of images or on architectural pieces.

Generally the script of the inscriptions of the Kshatrpa-Kushāṇa period from Mathurā is the 'middle Brāhmī' and the language is the typical mixed Prakrit of the Śūrasēna region. These records, falling under several categories, give details about the political conditions, religion, fine arts and the socio-economic conditions. For the linguistic study also these inscriptions are important.

Several scholars have written on the Mathurā inscriptions and have highlighted their significance. Studies of some of the previously known inscriptions, particularly in the light of new discoveries, have proved to be quite rewarding. In this paper I propose to deal with one important inscription of Mathurā. It is incised on a fragmentary artistic slab of red sandstone, which formed part of a Jaina *āyagapaṭṭa* (tablet of homage). This slab was discovered at Kaṅkālī ṭīlā, Mathurā and is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (Museum no. J 256).

Like several other Jaina *āyagapaṭṭas* from Mathurā, the present one was also

tastefully decorated. The present fragment shows beautiful border and central decorations. These are done by an excellent combination of lotus and *aśōka* creepers, *madhu-mālātī* design and a fish symbol. The complete *āyagapaṭṭa* must have been a rare piece of art.

A Brāhmī inscription is incised on a rectangular lower register of the slab. The original inscription seems to have been in two lines only. A word of five letters (*kālavāḍasa*) was added probably by another hand below the end of the first line to give the record the complete form.

Bühler published this inscription in the year 1892. Later on it was published or noticed by several other scholars.¹

The reading and translation by Bühler are as follows:

- 1 [na]mō Arhatō Vardhamānasya
Gōtiputrasa Pōṭhaya - Śaka
- 2 Kālavāḍasa
- 3 [bhāryāyē] Kōsikiyē Śi[va]mitrayē
ayagapaṭō pra[tisthāpitō]

TRANSLATION.- "Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna. A tablet of homage was set up by Śivamitrā of the Kauśika family, wife of Gōtiputra (Gauptiputra), a black serpent for the Pōṭhayas and Śakas."

Other scholars, including Fleet, Smith, R.D. Banerji and Lüders generally followed the interpretation of Bühler. Lüders in his *List* (no. 94) gives the Sanskrit rendering of the word Pōṭhayas as *Prōshṭhakas*.

He corrects the last word of the inscription as *pratīhāpitō*.³ Bühler tried to identify the *Pōṭhayas* with *Pōṣṭhas*, a people located in South India according to the *Mahābhārata*.

Lüders later on changed his view and thought that *Pōṭhayaśaka* should be taken as a personal name with his epithet *Kālavāḷa*, and that *Śivamitrā* was his wife.⁴ While re-editing the inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 24, pp. 202-05) he discarded Bühler's view and emphasised that *Pōṭhayaśaka* was a personal name, although the term *Kālavāḷa* still remained intriguing to him. Fleet tried to prove that the Śakas, mentioned in this inscription were the Buddhists. He identified the *Pōṭhayas* with the Digambara Jainas and thought that *Gōtiputra* of the inscription was a *Śvētāmbara* Jaina. According to Fleet *Gōtiputra* was victorious over his rivals, who were the Buddhists and the Digambara Jainas.⁵ This is indeed a far-fetched explanation.

Dr. U. P. Shah has offered another interpretation to this inscription. He has taken the word *Gōtiputra* to mean *Gautamīputra* *Sātakarṇi* of the *Sātavāhana* dynasty, whose wife *Śivamitrā* of the *Kauśika* family set up the Jaina *āyagapaṭṭa*. Dr. Shah, relying on the interpretation of the said inscription by Bühler and Smith, opines that the victory over the Śakas, Yavana and Pahlavas referred to in the Nasik inscription of *Pulumāvi*'s regnal year 19 finds an echo in the present epigraph. According to Shah, the *Pōṭhayas* of No. J-256 inscription were no other than the Pahlavas mentioned in the Nasik inscription.⁶

The views of Dr. Shah are untenable. The words *Gōtiputra* (Sanskrit *Gauptiputra*) and *Pōṭhaya* cannot stand for *Gautamiputra*

and *Pahlava* respectively.⁷ It may be stated here that the *āyagapaṭṭa* inscription under discussion belongs to the end of the 1st century B. C. or early 1st century A. D., whereas the reign period of *Gautamīputra* *Sātakarṇi* is in the first half of the 2nd century A. D.

In an international seminar on Mathurā organised in January, 1980 by the American Institute of Indian Studies at Delhi and Mathurā, Dr. D. C. Sircar read a paper entitled 'Observations on the Study of some Epigraphic Records relating to Mathura.' The first record dealt with in the paper was the inscription (J.256) under review. Dr. Sircar, in his brilliant exposition, traced the views of Bühler and other scholars on the subject. He discarded the untenable views of Bühler, Smith, Fleet and U. P. Shah. Although he was in general agreement with the revised views of Lüders Dr. Sircar presented some new ideas pertaining to the subject. On the identification of the words *Pōṭhayaśaka-Kālavāḷasa*, Dr. Sircar stated as follows:

"It seems to us that *Pōṭhayaśaka-kālavāḷasa* is the same as *kālavāḷa-Pōṭhayaśaka* and that the correction of *Simitrā* to *Sivamitrā* is not so very hazardous, because *Simitrā* appears to be erroneous as a name. *Pōṭhayaśaka-kālavāḷa* seems to be a compound of the *mayūra-vyaṁśaka* type. We have again no doubt that *Kālavāḷa* is the same as *Kalyapāla* or *Kalvapāla*, since an officer associated with the king's distillery or wine-store is now found mentioned in an epigraphic record, although no such instance was probably known when Lüders wrote. Thus we have the mention of the *Kalvapālavārika* in a passage in *Vishṇusēna*'s charter⁸ of 592 A. D."

On the analogy of the word *Kalvapāla-vārika* (i. e., a royal officer called *Kalvapāla*) occurring in the charter of Vishṇusēna, Sircar thinks that *Pōṭhayaśaka* of the *āyagapaṭṭa* inscription may have been a royal officer of the type of the *Kalvapālavārika*. Then he says: "Since there is no claim of his being a royal officer, it is probable that the person in question (*Pōṭhayaśaka*) was either the owner of a big distillery or an important wine-seller."

Dr. Sircar further remarks: "It is not altogether improbable that *Kālavāḷa* was the personal name of *Śivamitra's* husband and that he was an inhabitant of a locality called *Pōṭhayaśa*."

The above mentioned views of scholars on this subject require a close examination.

It is to be stated that the *āyagapaṭṭa* inscriptions of Mathurā, like a good number of other early votive inscriptions from Mathurā, Bharhut, Sāñchī, Bōdhgayā, etc, are couched in a simple language. This point has already been noted by Lüders and Sircar. Hence it is not possible to interpret the inscription, under review, in the manner some previous scholars have tried to do.

The word *Pōṭhayaśaka* of the present inscription should be taken as a personal name. To think that the word refers to two peoples, the *Pōṭhaya* and *Śakas*, is entirely unwarranted. *Gōtiputra Pōṭhayaśaka* of the record was the husband of *Śimitrā*, who set up the tablet of homage. The Sanskrit rendering *Praushṭhayaśaka* of the term means 'of established fame.' The name can be compared with that of

Pōṭhasiri (*Praushṭhaśrī*) of a king of the Magha ruling dynasty. Lüders has cited some other such names, viz., *Pōṭhaghōsha*, *Pōṭhadēva* and *Pōṭhaka*. As regards the name of the lady donor, I think that her name *Śimitrā*, as given in the record, is all right and it need not be changed into *Śivamitrā*.

The surmise of Dr. Sircar that the word *Pōṭhayaśa* may indicate the name of a locality cannot stand scrutiny. It cannot be a place name.

Now the question arises about the identity of *kālavāḷa*. While interpreting the present inscription, the previous scholars have not paid due attention to this word occurring in some other inscriptions of Mathurā and in the early votive records from other sites also. Brief accounts of these are given hereunder.

On another fragmentary *āyagapaṭṭa* slab from the same site (*Kankali ṭilā*, is engraved the following Brāhmī Mathurā) inscription:¹⁰

namō arahatō Mahāvīrasa.

Māthurakasa kālavāḷasa sāhā bhayāyē
Śivarakhitayē āyagapaṭṭo

After adoration to the Tīrthānkara Mahāvīra, the record states the setting up an *āyagapaṭṭa* by *Kālavāḷa* of Mathurā, along with his wife *Śivarakshitā*.

Lüders translated the inscription to mean that the above gift was made by the wife (not by the husband).

It may be noted that the form of the 4th letter *ḷa* of *Kālavāḷasa* in this inscription differs from the same letter occurring in the previous inscription of *Śimitrā*. It should also be pointed out that in the previous record the word *Kālavāḷasa* was added below the end of the first line, presumably

after the two main lines of the inscription had been incised on the stone. The mistake seems to have been detected later, and then the word *Kālavāṣasa* was also added in the characters of a smaller size. The letter *ma* of both the circular and triangular forms has been used in the second inscription. The language of the two, however, is of the same period.

Both the *āyagapaṭṭas* were set up at the ancient site of the Jaina stūpa. Their discovery from the same site (Kaṅkali ṭīlā, Mathurā) attests to this. The second slab is also now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow.

A third inscription of the same Kshatrpa-Kushāṇa period from Mora (Dist. Mathura) is also relevant to our study. It is no. 14-a of Lüders' *List*¹¹ and is now kept in the Mathurā Museum. It records the setting up of an image by *Māthuri Kalavaḍā* (*i. e.* lady Kalavaḍā of Mathurā) in the reign of emperor Kanishka. The characters of this inscription are very similar to those of no. 2 discussed above.

The word *Kalavaḍa* or *Kalavāḍa* occurs in several early inscriptions from other places also. In Lüders' *List*, three votive inscriptions from Sāñchī (nos. 330, 522 and 523), refer to the gifts made by one Data (Datta), a *Kalavaḍa*. nos. 522 and 523

indicate that this donor belonged to Vidiśā. Inscription No. 971 in the Lüders' *List* is from Vakālā. It mentions the gift of one Kōḍa *Kalavāḍa*.

The above details tend to indicate that the word *Kalavaḍa* or *Kalavāḍa* was generally used as a surname and seldom as a personal name. The profession representing the surname was that of the distiller or seller of wine. The present word for the same, current in many parts of North India, is *Kalavāra*. It is the same as *Kalvapāla* of the inscription of Vishṇusēna, referred to by Dr. D.C. Sircar.¹² In the case of the inscription of Śimitrā, the word *Kālavāḍasa* implies to this very profession of her husband Pōṭhayaśaka.

It should be remembered here that the other Jaina *āyagapaṭṭas* from Mathurā are also known to have been set up by persons belonging to professions of different types. The slab no. J. 249 was set up by the son of a merchant (*vaṇika*), no. J. 253 by the wife of one Śivaghōshaka, no. J. 252 by Achalā, wife of Bhadrānandi and no. J. 255 by Śivayaśā wife of the dancer Phalguyaśa.¹³ Another important tablet of homage (now in the Mathura Museum, no. Q. 2) was caused to be installed, along with other structures, by a courtesan (*gaṇikā*) called Vasū, daughter of the courtesan Lavaṇaśōbhikā.¹⁴

Notes :-

- 1 For details see Bühler *EI*, vol. I, p. 396, no. 33 and plate; V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa of Mathura ASI*, New Imperial Series, vol. XX, p. 20 and pl. 13; Fleet, *JRAS*, (1905), pp. 635-55; Lüders, *List*, No. 94; R. D. Banerji, *IA*, vol. 37, p. 49; Janert, *Mathura Inss.* (1961), p. 49.
- 2 Lüders, *List*, (Reprinted Varanasi, 1973), pp. 17-18; see also p. 169.

- 3 See his transcript in *EI*, vol. 24, no. III, p. 202 ff. Janert, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.
- 4 See Additions & Corrections to his *List*, p. 169, no. 94.
- 5 Fleet, in *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 635-55.
- 6 U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* (Varanasi, 1955), p. 80.
- 7 Dr. D. C. Sircar in one of his recent papers has shown that the arguments put forth by Dr. Shah are totally unjustifiable.
- 8 *EI*, vol. 30, pp. 176 and 180.
- 9 The extracts are from D. C. Sircar's cyclostyled paper referred to above.
- 10 Lucknow Museum, no. J. 248; Lüders, *List*, no. 103; *EI*, vol. 24, p. 205 ff, no. 4; Janert, *op. cit*, p. 49.
- 11 *List*, p. 163. See also Lüders, *EI*, vol. 24, pp. 200-02 no. 2. Janert, *op. cit*, p. 154.
- 12 The words *kalyapāla* and *kallavāla* of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* indicate the same sense.
- 13 All these are now in the State Museum, Lucknow. See Smith, *The Jaina Stupa*, pp. 14-19, 61 and plates and Lüders, *List*.
- 14 Lüders, *List*, no. 102.

4. KARPURA - VILAI

R. Tirumalai

This note ventures an interpretation on the term *Karpūravilai* occurring in Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya inscriptions. Grants in Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya times were either of land or of land revenue or both. There were also varieties of methods by which the land dues payable to king could be got remitted in favour of a beneficiary. These are :

- i) an outright grant by king or remission by royal order;
- ii) the second method was by payment of a favourable price towards the purchase of the land dues which could be made over to a beneficiary such as a temple. The intention in resorting to the second method is to retain the occupancy right and the produce due therefrom to oneself by the holder of the land and only the share of the land dues payable to the king, otherwise alone, was diverted to the temple.

The purpose of this article is to bring out the implications of this form of relief.

Land dues to king or the chieftains could be got relieved even if they were not absolutely remitted or forgone by the royal command. This was through payment of *Karpūra-vilai* and as a result a portion of the land dues to the king could be diverted to the temple. A number of inscriptions throw light on this term and procedure. Invariably a payment was made to the chieftain direct and rarely through the *ūrār*. This payment

was *in lieu* of the land dues payable to the king and as a *quid-pro-quo* for the assignment of the land dues at the stipulated rates to the temple. The landholders' rights in the land (*kārāṇamai*) were retained by the occupants intact.

The ample evidence available on this subject occur in a bunch of records from Neivāsai and the last one from Kaṇṇaṇūr both in Pudukkōṭṭai district. They are summarised below :

(1) 5th Year: Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I- Chōṇāḍu Koṇḍaruḷiya-1221 A. D.)

The Kaḷayārkālapperunderu merchant, Veṇṇainallūruḍayāṇ Kūrṇaṇ Tillaināyagaṇ had purchased from Vaṇḍankuḍi-Kaṇṇar *alias* Kūttarṇar of Tiruttiyūr, lands in Vaṇḍankuḍi and surroundings with the Kārāṅkiḷamai rights. Kaṇḍaṇ Āḷudaiyāṇ *alias* Kalvāyil Nāḍāḷvāṇ (the chieftain) having taken from the vendee, Kūrṇaṇ Tillai-nāyagam the *karpūra-vilai*, agreed that the vendee shall pay/measure of the temple of Tiruvagattisvaramuḍaiyār at Nelvāyil at the following rates per *mā* :

	<i>kaḍamai</i>
For <i>pasānam</i> for	2 <i>kalam</i> s paddy
sugar-cane:	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Tiramam</i>
For <i>Āḍi kuravai</i> ,	} 1 <i>kalam</i> paddy
<i>Aipasi kuṇuvai</i>	
Gingely, <i>Tinai</i> , <i>Varagu</i>	<i>Tuṇi</i> , <i>Padakku</i>
	Paddy = $\frac{1}{16}$
	<i>Ti amani</i>

These were *in lieu*, or in settlement of the following dues: *iḷai*, *kuḍimai*, *antarāyam*, cesses to payable to the *nāḍu*, *vāra-marak-*

kalam (rent payable in kind and the fee for measuring the grain), *kaṇakkappēru* (cess payable to accountants) and all other petty cesses (*śilāyam* and *kaḍamai*).⁷ The paddy dues shall be measured by *kaḍamakāl* of Kalvāyil-nāḍu and the *tiramam* was to be of 5 *mēni*.

(2) In the next year of the same ruler's reign, Nelvāyil Pūvaṅ Kēraḷaṅ and others had purchased from many persons several parcels of land viz., Nelvāyil vayal, Nambiyāṅ-vayakkal, valavayal - vaḍakkal-ugavai, Nilangatiran-vayakkal, Naḍuvil Tuḍival, Southern portion of Piraṅḍāṅ-vayakkal in Nakkanēri fields, 1/3 share of the well in Viṅṅagaṅ-viyakkal - in all 1 *mā* by *kuḍitāṅgam* measuring rod.

Having obtained *kaṇpūra-vilai*, Kaṅḍan-nāvuḍaiyāṅ *alias* Kalvāy Nāḍālvāṅ confirmed these lands as the *kāṇi* of the vendee, and directed that the land-dues inclusive of *kaḍamai* and *antarāyām* shall be assured at 2 *kalams* for the main crop for yielding lands (into which the harvesters enter - *puḷlipukka*). Out of these dues, a lamp shall be maintained in the temple.⁸

A third instance was in the same year, Veṅṅainallūr Kurraṅ Ambalanaḍaṅ had purchased some lands in the Sirāttakuḍi ayacut. These were private holdings of four holders of Nelvāyil. The chieftain Kaṅḍaṅ Āḷuḍaiyāṅ Kalvāyil Nāḍālvāṅ had caused these lands to be sold to the vendee. He registered this purchased land as the holding of the vendee, and directed *in lieu* of *iṅgai*, *kuḍimai*, *antarāyam*, *veṅṅimuttāvēl*, and other obligations, the *kaḍamai* (in grain) and *antarāyam* (in *drammam*) to be paid to the temple at Nelvāyil. On these terms, the lands were registered as the vendee's holding.⁹

A fourth instance was in the 7th year of the same reign. A merchant of Kālai-kāḷapperunderu, Nallūruḍaiyāṅ periyālvāṅ had purchased from the Pullamaṅgalam-East (Kiḷvagai Pullamaṅgalam) as *kārāṅkiḷamai*, occupied lands in Ālavayal-kuḍikkāḍu including *kāṅippanṅai*, tanks and ayacuts.

Kaṅḍaṅ Āḷuḍaiyāṅ *alias* Kalvāyil Nāḍālvāṅ, having received from the vendee *kaṇpūra-vilai* directed that *in lieu* of the obligations of *iṅgai*, *kuḍimai*, *antarāyam*, *nāḍeṅṅa-vari*, *vāra-marakkalām*, *kaṅakka-ppeṅru*, *paḷavari* and *śillayām* and others, the land-dues shall be collected and paid to temple at the usual rates (already set out in the first case above).

On these terms the holding purchased from Pullamaṅgalattār was registered as *kārāṅkiḷamai* of the vendee. This was on the 23rd day in the month of Āḍi (July-August).⁴

This was followed nine months later, in the month of Chitra (April-May) by an endorsement by the *ūrār* of Pullamaṅgalam. They gave a deed to that vendee-periyālvāṅ Ādinādaṅ, recalling his purchase of Kaliyārkuḍikkāḍu and also the grant of the land dues to the temple by their lord (*eṅgaḷ nāyanār uḍaiyār*) and chieftain Kalvāyil Nāḍālvār, and they, as the *ūrār*, in accordance with the terms of the two deeds, deducted these obligations from the tax register and demand for the *nāḍu* in favour of the temple.⁵

There was a similar transaction of *vilai-kalanda kārāṅkiḷamai* (i. e. mixed rights of *kārāṅmai* and *kaḍamai* dues purchased by payment of *kaṇpūra-vilai*) in the 8th year. A *śiva-brāhmaṇa* of Tiru-

kkōlakkuḍi and of Agastya gōtra, Nambi-piḷḷai had a land granted as *dharmadāna* in Nelvāyil. The chieftain Kalvāyil Nāḍālvāṇ declared that it was *vilai-kalanda kārāṅkiḷamai* and directed that payment at the stipulated rates to Nelvāyil temple *in lieu* of the *iṅrai*, *kuḍimai*, *antarāyam*, *nāḍeṅṅa-vari*, *vāmarakkalam*, *kaṅakka-ppēru*, *paḷavari* and *silvari*, etc. From the dues so diverted to the temple, a food-offering on his native asterisk, Mṛigaśīrsha was to be made.⁶

A sixth instance was in the 12th year of Māṅavarmaṅ Sundara-Pāṅḍya I (1228 A.D.). A *śiva-brāhmaṇa* (temple-priest) serving in the Paḷangarai temple in Pālayūr-nāḍu and of Bhāradvāja-gōtra Tiruvambalamuḍaiyār had purchased a part of the occupied holding (belonging to the chieftain himself) in Nelvāyil called Mēlaivaravai. The *bhaṭṭa* had also purchased another parcel on the eastern part of Vaḍavayil-vayakkal, from one Vāli-Malayaṅ. He had earlier acquired the land and paid *kaṅpūra-vilai* (for diverting the revenue) for a parcel Naḍuvilvaravay, so that he could consolidate the two specified parcels, and the plot he had acquired earlier (*okkakūṭṭi-koḷvānāha*).

The chieftain, Kandan-udaiyaṅ seydān *alias* Kāṅgēyaṅ of Niyamam (in Tēnar belt) having received in cash the *kaṅpūra-vilai*, registered the holdings as *kārāṅkiḷmai* to the vendee, and directed the delivery of *kaḍamai* at the usual rates to be paid to the temple at Nelvāyil, foregoing the prescribed levies which were payable to the chieftain.⁷

A seventh instance was in the 15th year of the same Pāṅḍyan ruler (1231 A.D.).

A mendivant of the Nelvāyil temple establishment, *tavasi* Kaṅḍaṅ Aṅḍapiḷḷai, and Piḷḷān Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi had purchased a parcel called Uyyavandāṅvayakkal in Nelvāyil ayacut. On the chieftain receiving *kaṅpūra-vilai*, the land was freed of all obligations except to pay to the temple for the cultivated lands coming up for harvest (*puḷḷipukka*) at rates given below:

Pisānam - 1 *mā* = 2½ *kalams* of paddy; ¼ *dramam*. For summer crops = 1 *kalam*, *padakku* paddy; 1/16 *dramam*.

This paddy was to be used for a service of cooked rice on the birthday of the chieftain who ordered this, viz., Kaṅḍaṅ Seyvān *alias* Kāṅgēyaṅ of Niyamam.⁸

In the same year, another *tavasi*, Pūvan Kēraḷan and others of the same temple-establishment had purchased three parcels, measuring in all three *taḍis*. The same chieftain declared the sale price paid by the vendees. On receipt of *kaṅpūra-vilai* from him the chieftain directed that *in lieu* of all remittances due (to him) (*iṅppukkum*), the vendee shall pay to the temple at rates specified below :-

Main crop per *mā*. 2 *kalams* 1 *tūṅi*
1 *padakku* paddy
and ¼ *drammam*.

Sugar-cane per *mā*. 3 *kalams*..... and
dramam (lost)

Summer crop per *mā* 1 *kalam*, *padakku*
and 1/16 *dramam*

This levy was to be paid to the Tiruvagattīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār for a special service of food-offerings at 2 *nāḷi* on his native asterisk, every month⁹

In the 19th year, a *tapasi* Kūṅṅaṅ Nelvāyil and others had purchased from Tivarapaṅjara-vallavadaraiyaṅ a field Nam-

ban vayakkal and tank in the estate (*kāṅṅiparru*) of Niyamam.¹⁰ The chieftain received the *kaṅṅpūra-vilai* from the vendees, and waived the land dues and *in lieu* there of directed the vendees to pay to the temple at Nelvāyil at the rates below:

For main crop	paddy 2 <i>kalam</i> s ; $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>dramam</i>
For summer crop	<i>tūṅṅi, padakku</i> paddy; $\frac{1}{16}$ <i>dramam</i>

On these terms the land was made the holding (*kāṅṅi*) of Kūṅṅan Nelvāyil and others.¹¹ In the same year, Pūvaṅṅ Kēraṅṅaṅṅ, one of the *tapasis* (mendicants) of Nelvāyil temple had purchased 4 *taḍis* of lands lying within the estate held as *jīvitam* by Kāṅṅēyaṅṅ, the same chieftain. The details of the lands were as follows :-

<i>Vendor</i>	<i>Field</i>
1 Kūṅṅtaṅṅ Chokkaṅṅ	Kurukkattisey-northern bit, with well and trees
2 Uṅṅjaimikāma-ppērarayaṅṅ	Southren bit of the same field - 2 <i>taḍis</i>
3 Virudarāyaṅṅ	Vallavan Vayakkal-southern bit.

The price paid by the vendee was declared to be the price for the parcels. On receipt of the *kaṅṅpūra-vilai*, the chieftain fixed the following rates as payable to the temple for maintaining a lamp service :-¹²

Main crop per <i>mā</i> .	2 <i>kalam</i> s; <i>tūṅṅi, padakku</i> paddy. $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>dramam</i>
Sugarcane	„ 3 <i>kalam</i> s,.....
Summer crop	„ 1 <i>tūṅṅi, padakku, 1/16 dramam</i>

Two more instances, were in the 2nd year of Jaṅṅāvarmaṅṅ Kulaśēkhara. In both

several parcels of lands were purchased by the vendees. Kāṅṅēyaṅṅ, the chieftain, having received *kaṅṅpūra-vilai* directed that all land-dues shall be remitted or foregone (*tavimdu*) and *in lieu* thereof the vendee shall deliver to the temple authorities at the rates specified below :-¹³

Main crop and sugar- cane	2 <i>kalam</i> s; $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>dramam</i>
Āḍi, Aipasi	
<i>kuṅṅuvai</i>	1 <i>kalam</i> ; $\frac{1}{8}$ <i>dramam</i>
Gingely,	<i>Tuni, padakku, paddy;</i>
<i>tinai</i> and <i>varagu</i>	$\frac{1}{16}$ <i>dramam</i>

The rates were fixed on all lands coming to yield.

In all the instances above, the *kaṅṅpūra-vilai* was received direct by the chieftain. The last instance from Kaṅṅṅanūr provided a variant. Gōmaṅṅam Śaṅṅkaranārāyaṅṅa-bhaṅṅṅar had purchased a land Poṅṅkiṅṅavan-vayakkal. In the 12th year of Kulaśēkhara Pāṅṅṅya, he paid to the *ūrār* of Kaṅṅṅanūr as *kaṅṅpūra-vilai* 100 *paṅṅam*. The *ūrār* receipted the amount, and undertook to pay the land dues for all times. They also undertook to protect the land from being subjected to any other levy.¹⁴

From the evidence set out above, it can be concluded that *kaṅṅpūra-vilai* was a favourable or part-commuted purchase-price analogas to later examples of *jōḍi* in Vijayanagar times, or *poruppu* paid to a *zamindar* by an *ināmdār* for lands comprised in the estate, or commuted 'quit-rent' payable on *ināms* in consideration for the reversiory right or escheat being waived by the British government and exemption from full assessment granted in *inām* settlement.

The implications that follow from this interpretation are out below :-

1) The *kaṅṅpūra-vilai* was paid *in lieu* of

and to relieve the obligation to pay the land dues and other specified levies payable to the chieftain or the *nāḍu* on occupied lands and even on occupiable lands, when so occupied for cultivation. It was a purchase price for the land-dues obligation to be waived by the chieftain, and was the very reverse of remission or grant by the king or the chieftain.

2) It was paid by the vendees of private holdings when they desired to retain the *kārāṇ-kiḷamai* or *kārāṇmai* (land holder's) rights for themselves as their *kāṇi* or occupancy but desired to endow the land-dues portion alone in whole or in part to the temple.

3) The lands were thus relieved of the obligations to pay the land dues to the king or his chieftains to which they were subject prior to the payment of *kaṛpūra-vilai*.

4) In case where *kaṛpūra-vilai* was not paid in the first instance, the donors or the temples in enjoyment had to pay it to the king or the chieftain so that they could appropriate the proceeds from the land-dues themselves.

5) Alternatively, the grant could only be made out of the *kārāṇ-kiḷamai* interests held by the vendees.

6) It was distinguished by being a favourable charge, securing the benefit for a religious or charitable institution whereas *iṛai-kāval* (tax-right) was a deposit, the proceeds of which had to meet all the land-dues demand in full.

7) The land-dues diverted to the temple were at the rates specified, on the chieftain waiving the obligation of payment to him. It thus seemed to have represented a moiety of the land-dues payable. This

could either be that the full quantum of land-dues was divided between the king (by payment of *kaṛpūra-vilai*) and the temple (by assignment of the favourable rates). Or alternatively, the quantum assigned could be hitherto payable to and appropriated by the chieftain. It would be noticed in almost all the cases the chieftain ratifies the purchase, and recognises the *kārāṇmai* rights and stipulates the rates of dues payable to the temple.

8) There was an explicit statement in some cases that the price paid by the vendee to their predecessors in title (vendors) shall be the price, presumably for the rights of *kārāṇ-kiḷamai* rights conveyed to him. It implied a separate price had to be paid for the waiver of the land-dues to the chieftain, and for assigning that moiety to the temple.

9) The assignment could also be made use of for endowing a service for the merit of the chieftain, who could make a virtue out of his gains.

This interpretation is based on a critical examination of the evidence set out. It conclusively establishes the error of the initial meaning given to this term by the pioneer epigraphist-savant, Venkayya, that "it was a royalty on camphor" or "a levy for camphor used in the Palli" in interpreting the Pañchapāṇḍavamalai inscription.¹⁵ It further elucidates the suggestion made by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri¹⁶ and his inference that *kaṛpūra-vilai* was a cess levied on lands despite their description that they were *iṛaiyili paḷḷichchandam*.¹⁷ It is nearer the meaning given by T. N. Subrahmanyam, "A Commuted sum paid inclusive of taxes on the temple land so that they could be

cultivated and enjoyed by the temple."¹⁸ But this last interpretation too, needs revision as seen above. For the cultivation rights were retained by the vendees, and did not belong to the temple.

Applying these inferences, the lands endowed for the Jaina *paḷḷi* in Tiruppāmalai could have been some private holdings acquired on which the land-dues were still payable and the obligations to pay *kaṟpūra-vilai*, in lieu of such land-dues to Lāṭa chieftain had befallen on the *paḷḷi* to pay. To that extent the proceeds for the religious and charitable object from the endowment had become less and it was hindered (*iddharmam keṭṭupōgiradenṟu*). This was submitted to the visiting Lāṭa chief Vīra Chōḷar while worshipping the deity, when his wife interceded and submitted to her husband to forego finally the *kaṟpūra-vilai* (*oḷindaruḷavēṇḍumenṟu*) and the Lāṭa chieftain readily responded by ordering the absolute remission.¹⁹

There was another possibility. Unoccupied wastelands in the *dēvadāna* villages could be subsequently brought under reclamation and cultivation and thus become subject to the obligation to pay land-dues. If these land-dues thereon were to be diverted to the temple, *kaṟpūra-vilai* could be claimed by the royal authorities. The arrangement would leave in tact the *kārāṇmai* rights with the holder who undertook the reclamation and occupation. A transaction from Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam (Tiruchchirapalli dt) of the 8th year of Rājakēsarivarman (Rājarāja I: 993 A. D.) was noteworthy. Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam was a *dēvadāna* village in Kavira-nāḍu of which some villages of Pudukkōṭṭai tract had also formed part (e. g. Tirugōkarṇam). The *sabhai-*

yār, the and *ūrār* and the temple authorities of Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam sold to one Kambaṅ Maṇiyaṅ, the headman of Sūralūr (*kiḷavan*) as *kuḍinikka-dēvadāna*, lands called Kiḷlivayal. This was full of scrub jungle, which had to be cleared and the land levelled and reclaimed. On behalf of the deity a sum of 30 *kāsu* was paid to the *śrikārya* (executive officers) of Rājarāja-Brahmamārāya (the royal officers) from the temple treasury as *kaṟpūra-vilai* same amount, i. e. 30 *kāsu*, to the headman of Sūralūr. From the following year, the vendee had to measure to the deity per year the land demand of 150 *kalams* of paddy by the township measure, *kodukulavaṅ*. In other words, the vendee paid 30 *kāsu* remitted by the temple treasury to the royal officers as *kaṟpūra-vilai* so that the land might be relieved of its obligations to pay the dues on occupied holdings and the dues might be diverted to the temple. The land being unoccupied and as it needed reclamation, the *kaṟpūra-vilai* itself was deemed to be the purchase price.²⁰

A second instance was from Kalliḍaikurichchi. In the 11th year of Māra-varmaṅ Vikrama Pāṇḍya a land was sold by the *sabhaiyār* of Rājarāja-chaturvēdi-maṅgaḷam to Nilaiyuḍaiya Pāṇḍya Īśvara-muḍayār (Nāgēsvaramuḍayāi) For the land sold the temple had to pay 13 *achchu* for the conveyance of *kārāṇmai* rights by the *sabhā*. But it had to pay for *kaṟpūra-vilai* 13 *achchu* to the royal officers and apparently the *sabhaiyār* made over the 13 *achchu* they had received to the royal officers in settlement of *kaṟpūra-vilai*.²¹

In the succeeding reign of Jaṭavarmaṅ Kulaśēkhara the king remitted the

antarāya including levies and declared the land as *dēvadāna-īrayilai* at the instance of Kālingarāyaṇ, the chieftain.²²

From these instances the following inferences can be drawn :-

1) Even the *dēvadāna* villages, *kaṛpūra-vilai* was collectable *in lieu* of land dues when a land became an occupied holding. In other words, the *dēvadāna* tenure did not *ipso facto* carry with it the assignment of land revenue/dues to the temple on lands then unoccupied.

2) When forest lands or unreclaimed waste lands therein were turned into arable and occupied holdings, land demand was fastened on them.

3) If such demand on holdings was to be diverted to and made enjoyable by the temple, the royal officers had to be paid *kaṛpūra-vilai*.

4) The *kaṛpūra-vilai* could be a commuted lumpsum payment, as in Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam case, 30 *kāṣu*.

5) It was open to the person inducted by sale to reclaim the land to pay up the *kaṛpūra-vilai* to the temple to be deemed as the sale price. Alternatively, the vendors (the *sabhayār* in the Kalliḍaikkurichchi case) could forego their sale price, and pay it as *kaṛpūra-vilai*.

6) Where the *kaṛpūra-vilai* was not paid, the beneficiary had to continue to bear the obligations from its own resources.

7) In the Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam case, the *kaṛpūra-vilai* equivalent itself was the sale price, presumably in consideration of the reclamation the vendee had to undertake at his cost, and the recurring annual benefit of *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* that the temple had derived.

8) With the payment of sale price of 30

kāṣu and with only the obligation to pay the *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* to the temple, the vendee was free to enjoy the rest of the produce from the reclaimed land, representing the *kārāṇmai* interest.

9) In the Kalliḍaikkurichchi case the *sabhayār* had conveyed the *kārāṇmai* interest to the temple and the main land-demand *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* or *kaḍamai* had been purchased through *kaṛpūra-vilai*. Supplementary obligations to pay *antarāyam* included, had still continued, and it was not till the 13th year of the next reign that the land become fully tax-free.

In sum, payment of *kaṛpūra-vilai* was the very reverse of the full and free grant of land-dues by the king or the chieftain on his own. Parcels of land were occupied holdings on which the *kārāṇ-kiḷamai* (the landlordship or the holder's) rights had been acquired and retained with the vendees). It was open to the vendee to endow any part or whole of the yield from his *kārāṇ-kiḷamai* rights alone. The obligation to pay land-dues whether to the king or to the chieftain, to the *nāḍu* and the *ūrār* subsisted. For them to cease and to be diverted to the temple, it was open to the vendee, be it the temple or a benefactor, to pay a commuted price usually favourable, to the chieftain so that the land-dues could be diverted to the temple for enjoyment at the stipulated rates which seemed to be less than the full quantum of land-dues. In the process the chieftain could also name a service for his own merit to be conducted utilising the diverted land-dues. The Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam record brought out that *kaṛpūra-vilai* was payable even on an unoccupied jungle land though it had formed

part of a *dēvadana* village, when reclaimed and occupied if the dues from the holding were to be diverted to the temple for its benefit. The *iṟaiyili paḷlichchandam* of Tiruppāṇmalai could alternatively belong to this category of lands. In rare cases, the *ūrār* received a deposit for *kaṟpūra-vilai* and from the proceeds they undertook to pay all the obligations. In that case it was different from *iṟaikāval* only in degree. For, the latter represented the full capitalised value the proceeds of which should be equal to the payment of all land-dues and obligations to all agencies in full. If the evidence from Kalliḍaikkurichchi twin documents is to be pressed into service, *kaṟpūra-vilai* seemed

to have represented only a part settlement and not a full settlement of the entire range of land obligations.

The bunch of records also brought out that in Nelvāyil in the reign of Māṟavarmaṇ Sundara-Pāṇḍya and his immediate successors the rates of land-dues diverted to the temple were more or less uniform with but minor variations.²³

It follows that the temple lands too were liable to pay certain levies unless specifically remitted. The nature and quantum of those levies would depend upon the tenure of the land, and the donor's subsisting rights and obligations devolving on the grantees, and the content of the grant.

Notes :

- 1 *Pudukkottai Inss.*, 260
- 2 *Ibid.*, 261
- 3 *Ibid.*, 262
- 4 *Ibid.*, 265
- 5 *Ibid.*, 267
- 6 *Ibid.*, 269
- 7 *Ibid.*, 277
- 8 *Ibid.*, 292
- 9 *Ibid.*, 293
- 10 In the inscription that follows, the estate is described as his *jīvitappaṟṟu*.
- 11 *Pudukkottai Inss.*, 306
- 12 *Ibid.*, 307
- 13 *Ibid.*, 328 and 329
- 14 *Ibid.*, 568
- 15 *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 137-38
- 16 The *Īḷas*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 337-38.
- 17 Vide Prof Sastri's paper "Irai, Irai-Kāval and Iraiylilī"-Dr. S.K. Aiyangar Commemoration Vol, p. 195.
- 18 *SITI*, "Kōvil Nilangalei Payiriṟṟu Anubhavippadark kā Avatin-variyeyum-certtu mottamāha koḍukkum paṇam."
- 19 *EI*, Vol. IV pp. 137-140
- 20 *SII*, Vol. XIII No. 182 p. 100
- 21 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII No. 90 pp. 54
- 22 *Ibid.*, No. 91 p. 55
- 23 The comment in *Pudukkōttai Manual* (Vol. II) (Pt. I-p. 665) that *Kaṟpūravilai* was a *Siddhāya* or a tax paid in cash required modification. The payment was in cash but it was not a tax but a payment in lieu of taxes to terminate the obligation and divert it to the temple.
Kaṟpūra-vilai might perhaps denote payment in cash or gold - Dr. Nagaswami has invited my attention to the meaning given in Tamil Lexicon Vol. II, Part I, Page 738: *Kaṟpūram* = Gold, (Pōṅ) (Pongalam)
There was a similar reference to payment of *Kaṟpūravilai* of 250 new *Suḷigai paṇam* when the Madurai Temple sold their half share in Mudittalai Koṇḍa Paṇḍya Chaturvēdimaṅgalam to Mādēvaṇ Aḷagiya Chokkaṅār to a weaver. But there is no direct reference to the payment as having been made to the king or his chieftains and it has only to be inferred from the use of the words *ippaḍi kaṟpūravilai oḍukki*. The lands sold in that case were 24 lying waste overgrown with trees and had to be reclaimed.
- 24 *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 371.

Kalhaṇa explicitly states in his famous chronicle *Rājataranṅiṇi* that he studied all types of inscriptions for writing his chronicle, but unfortunately a very small number of them has come to light so far. Those that have been discovered are again fragmentary in character and do not furnish any great historical details. Their interest, however, lies in the fact that they contain names of the ruling royal personages and are generally dated, thus helping us to verify the correctness of Kalhaṇa's chronology. Below are edited for the first time four such brief inscriptions which have been discovered at the ancient sites of Vōntapōr (Avantipur), Vejbror (Bijbehara) and Tapar and are now preserved in the S. P. S. Museum, Śrīnagar.

1 VONTAPOR (AVANTIPUR) GHATA
INSCRIPTION OF AVANTIVARMAN

Vōntāpōr or Avantipur is a small town situated on the right bank of the Vitastā on the National High way about 30 kms, to the south east of Śrīnagar, 75° 48' long. and 33° 55' latitude. This town was founded by the great Utpala king Avantivarman who ruled over Kashmir from 855-83 A.D.¹ His reign, described at length Kalhaṇa,² is particularly remarkable for the great measures he adopted and the engineering projects he launched to increase the production and reshape the economy of the Valley that had been shattered by the internal troubles and internecine fightings for the throne during the preceding reigns.

Avantivarman embellished his newly founded town by two magnificent temples called after him as Avantiśvara and Avantisvāmi dedicated to god Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively.³ The two temples, still *in situ*, are now in ruins but even in ruins are grand and imposing evoking highest admiration for the skill of their builders.⁴

A large assortment of antiquities has been unearthed during the excavation of the temple of Avantisvāmi. The antiquities include a series of sculptures and large jars which are now preserved in the S. P. S. Museum, Śrīnagar. One of the antiquities unearthed is a part of a huge earthen vessel called *māṭ* in Kāshmirī and used for storing grain. It bears an inscription in Sanskrit in one line. The characters are Śāradā representing the earliest phase of this alphabet as is evidenced by the shape of the letters, *a*, *ma*, *ha*, *gha* and *ta*. The letters are followed by the numerical figures 1543. As regards orthography we find the name Avantivarman inscribed as Antivarman, the intervening letter *va* having been omitted.

The inscription reads: *Mahā-śrī-A [va*]-ntivarman ghaṭa 1543⁵*

i. e., the storage vessel (*ghaṭa*) (belonging to) the great and illustrious Avantivarman 1543.

The epigraph evidently refers to the *ghaṭa* as having originally belonged to the temple of Avantisvāmi founded by Avantivarman from whose precincts the same was excavated. It thus furnishes an

independent evidence of the identification of the present temple in ruins with the temple of Avantisvāmi founded by Avantivarman.

The exact significance of the numerical figures is uncertain. Sir John Marshall⁶ who happened to see the inscription in the Srīngar Museum, took the figures as representing the date of the inscription. He referred it to the Vikram era corresponding to 1485 A. D. According to him the inscription furnishes proof of the reoccupation of the temple of Avantisvāmin after its destruction by Sultan Sikandar in the 14th century. He opined that the storage vessel must have been donated by a pious pilgrim to the sacred temple after its reoccupation. However, there is no evidence of the reoccupation of the temple after its destruction. The contemporary chroniclers Jōnarāja and Śrīvara do not mention any such event. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the numerical figures represent the date. They are not preceded by the word *saṃvat* or *saṃ* and occur not at the beginning of the inscription as is almost invariably the case with all the dated inscriptions that have come to light in the Valley so far, but at the end. Palaeographically also the inscription does not appear to belong to so late a period. Its characters as noted above, represent the earliest phase of the Śāradā alphabet and bear close resemblance with those used in the coins of Avantivarman. As such, it is not unlikely that the inscription is contemporaneous with Avantivarman himself. In that case the epigraph would be the earliest known Śāradā inscription discovered in the Valley so far. The numerical figures may indicate the serial

number of the object, in the present case a vessel, belonging to the temple.

2 TAPAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF PARAMANDA-DEVA

The modern village of Tapar, situated at a distance of 47 kms to the south-west of Srīnagar on Srīnagar-Bāramulla road, 74° 34' long. and 34° 12' latitude in the Baramulla district, represents the ancient city of Pratāpapura which was founded by the king Pratāpāditya Durlabhaka probably in the second half of the 7th century.⁷ Excavations at this site have yielded remains of old temples and one of these is a huge and long stone lintel measuring 3' 3½" in length, 1' 6" in width and 10½" in thickness. It bears an inscription in one line, incised almost all over the front surface. The inscription is now preserved in the S. P. S. Museum, Srīnagar.

The characters of the record are Śāradā and the chief palaeographic peculiarities worth noticing are the quadrangular *ch*, the chief peculiarity of later Śāradā and the developed form of cerebral *na* in *Brahmaṇa* which occurs regularly in Śāradā after the 12th century. Among the ligatures worthy to note are *ṇḍa* in *Paramāṇḍa* and *hma* in *Brahmaṇa*. The numerical signs occurring in the date portion are 1, 3 and 5.

The inscription records the consecration of something not recorded in the inscription but probably of a temple of which the huge inscribed lintel formed a part. The donor was Gagga, son of Jagaraja, an *āchārya* or teacher and a *bhāgavata* or devotee of Vishṇu. The inscription is dated in the year 33, on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the reign of Paramāṇḍadēva.

The chief interest of the record is the mention of Paramāṇḍadēva as the ruling prince. The king of this name, however, does not figure in the known list of the Kashmir rulers. The identification of Paramāṇḍadēva, as such, presents some difficulty. Since the characters of this inscription agree with those of the Arigōm stone slab inscription of the year 1147 A. D.⁸ we may assign the epigraph in question to the 12th century and refer the year 33 to the Laukika era corresponding to 1157 A. D. According to Jōnarāja⁹ the king ruling during this time in Kashmir was Paramāṇuka, the son and successor of Jayasimha. It seems that Paramāṇḍadēva of our inscription is the same as Paramāṇuka of Jōnarāja. Kalhaṇa¹⁰ mentions Paramāṇḍi as a son of Jayasimha and probably Paramāṇḍi, Paramāṇḍadēva and Paramāṇuka signify the same person.

TEXT¹¹

Om Sam 33 Āshāḍha śu ti 15 śri-
Paramāṇḍadēva-rājyē Brahmaṇa-bhāgavat=
āchārya-Jaga-rājasya sva-putra-Ghaggēna
pratipāditam [11*]

3 VEJEBROR (BIJEBEHARA) STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REGIN OF RAJADEVA

The town of Vejabror or Bijebehara is the headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in Anantnag district and is situated on the National Highway at a distance of 45 kms to the south east of Śrīnagar 75° 48' latitude. It owes its name to the ancient shrine of Vijyēśvara¹² which, however, has long back disappeared. Kalhaṇa¹³ attributes the foundation of the town to king Vijay about whom we know nothing except the name. The history of the town goes back to the time of Aśōka

who is said to have repaired the old shrine of Vijyēśvara and built two temples called after his own name as Aśōkēśvara.¹⁴ It was here that the Hūṇa king Mihirkula, according to Kalhaṇa,¹⁵ granted a thousand agraḥāras to brāhmaṇas hailing from Gandhāra. In the 12th century the town was a scene of great turbulent military activity during the civil war that broke out after the death of king Harsha in 1101 A. D. and of Uchchala in 1111 A. D.¹⁶

The ancient town of Vejabror has yielded a few inscriptions of which two are complete and deserve notice. One is incised on the front side of a square stone slab with the convex top. In shape this stone closely resembles the one discovered by Sten konow at Arigōm in district Badgam referred to above and now lying in the S. P. S. Museum, Śrīnagar. The stone on which the inscription in question is engraved was from a private house at Śrīnagar. The inscription is fairly well preserved and consists of three lines of uniform length in prose. The characters are Śāradā. The important palaeographic peculiarities noticeable are the quadrangular *h* in *ācharya* (line 2) with an open top and *virāma*, the stroke of which runs through the middle of the letter *m* (line 3) instead of on the right side of the letter. As regards orthography we find *jē* for *ja* in *rājē* (line 1) *ka* for *kē* in *lōkaśvara* (lines 2 & 3).

The inscription records the consecration of a *maṇḍalaka* in honour of lord Lōkēśvara or Avalōkītēśvara by the teacher (*āchārya*) Kamalaśriya in the reign of king Rājadēva in the year 58, on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha. The king Rājadēva may be identified with the king Rājadēva, who according

to Jōnarāja, was the son and successor of Jaggadēva (1199-1213 A. D.) and who ruled over Kashmir from Laukika (42) 89 to Laukika (43) 12 or 1213 to 1236 A. D. The date of the inscription presents some difficulty. The year 58 if as usual referred to the Laukika era, corresponds to 1284 A. D. which, however, does not fall within the reign of the king. The difficulty can be overcome if we refer the date to the Śaka era which was also used sometimes in Kashmir. In this case the date of the inscription would correspond to Laukika (43) 12 Vaiśākha śu 7 which precedes the date of Rājadēva's death viz. Laukika (43) 12 Śrāvaṇa śu 11 as given by Jōnarāja¹⁷ by three months and four days.

For the study of the history of Buddhism in Kashmir the inscription is particularly important. It shows that the Tantric form of Buddhism was popular in the Valley in the 13th century for there can be no doubt that the *maṇḍalaka* referred to in the inscription is the same as *maṇḍala* or mystical circle drawing of which along with *mudrā* or finger poses, *mantra* or recitation of mystical spells, *kriyas* or rites and *charyā* or worship of Tantric deities, was considered means of attaining *siddhi* or spiritual perfection by the Tantric Buddhists. The donor *āchārya* Kamalaśriya appears to have been some Tantric teacher. The stone on which the present inscription is incised bears on the top a round disc. The same disc we find also on the top of the Arigōm stone referred to above. It seems that this mystical disc represents the *maṇḍalaka* of our record the consecration of which in honour of lord Lōkēśvara or Avalōkitēśvara, the famous Bōdhisattva and a favou-

rite deity of Tantric Buddhists, was regarded as a means of earning religious merit by Tantric Buddhists of Kashmir.

TEXT¹⁸

- 1 Ōm [“*]¹⁹ Sam 58 Vaiśākha śu ti 7 Paramēśvara-śrī-Rājē (ja)-
- 2 dēva-rājyē āchārya-Kamalaśriyēna(ṇa) Lōka(kē)-
- 3 śvara - bhaṭṭaraka-maṇḍalakam pratipāditam [“*]

4 VEJABROR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF YASKARADEVA

The same town of Vejabor has yielded another inscription incised on a stone round at the bottom and flat at the top, which originally formed part of some Hindu shrine and is now built into an outer wall of a mosque attached to the Ziarat of Nasib-u-din Auliya in the same locality.

The inscription consists of five short lines, the last line containing only four letters. The characters are Śāradā. The noteworthy peculiarities are the developed form of *ḍha* in *chuḍhā* (line 2) with a well developed circle on the right, of *ṇa* in *paṇḍita*, (line 4) with three down strokes, instead of usual curves, suspended from the top horizontal bar, and the ligatures of *ksha* in *Bhalakshaka*, (line 2), *Laksha* (line 3), *ṇa* in *paṇḍita* and *ṭṭa* in *Bhaṭṭa* (line 4). The numerical figures given in the date portion in the beginning are, 5, 3, 1 and 0. The language is incorrect Sanskrit.

The inscription records the consecration by *paṇḍita* Bhaṭṭa Manōhara of something not recorded in the inscription but presumably of some religious institution of which the inscribed stone formed a part. The record contains names of some indi-

viduals in 2nd and 3rd lines viz., Bhālakshaka, his wife, Chuḍhā, his son, Āhala, his wife Lakshā and mother Bhōjā. It is not clear in what connection they are mentioned in the record and what relations did they bear with the donor mentioned in the 4th line. It may be that they were the kinsmen of the donor and with him took part in the consecration.

The epigraph is dated in the year 53, on the 10th lunar day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the reign of Yaskaradēva. The mention of Yaskaradēva as the ruling king presents some difficulty as the king of this name is not traceable in the list of the kings of Kashmir. He could be identified with king Yaśaskaradēva¹⁰ who was elected king of Kashmir in 938 A. D. and ruled only for nine years, i. e., upto 948 A. D. But the year 53 mentioned in the epigraph does not fall within the reign of the king if referred either to the Laukika or the Śaka era. The characters of the inscription closely

resemble those of the Śāradā inscriptions of the 12th century. It may, as such, be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the 12th century. The year 53, if referred to the Laukika era, it would correspond to 1178 A. D. that is, about the time when according to Jōnarāja¹¹ Jassaka ascended the throne of Kashmir. It is tempting to identify Yaskaradēva of our inscription with Jassaka of Jōnarāja since Jassaka seems to be the corruption of Yaskara or more correctly Yaśaskara.¹²

TEXT¹³

- 1 Ōm [!]* * Sam 53 Śrāvaṇa śu ti 10 [!]*
Yaskaradēva-rājyē
- 2 Bhālakshaka²⁵ ētat (d) bhāryā Chuḍhā
tasya putra Āha-
- 3 la ētat(d) bhāryā Lakshā tathā mātu(tā)
Bhōjā
- 4 Paṇḍita-Bhaṭṭa-Manōhara(rē)na(ṇa)
pratipā-
- 5 ditam[!]*¹⁶

Notes :

- 1 Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarāṅgiṇi*, v. 44
- 2 *Ibid.*, iv, 716, v. 126
- 3 *Ibid.*, v. 45
- 4 These have been described in detail by A. Cunningham in the *JASB*, 1848, pp. 275 ff. and H. H. Cole, *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, London, 1869.
- 5 From the original and the photograph.
- 6 J. Marshall, *Note on Archaeological tour of Kashmir*, p. 20.
- 7 *Rājatarāṅgiṇi*, IV, 10
- 8 *EI*, Vol, IX, pp. 300 ff.
- 9 *Dvītīya Rājatarāṅgiṇi*, 39
- 10 *Op. cit.*, VIII, 1608.
- 11 From the original and the facsimilie.
- 12 Kalhaṇa, *op. cit.*, I, 38.

- 13 *Ibid.*, II, 62
- 14 *Ibid.*, I, 105, 106.
- 15 *Ibid.*, I, 316.
- 16 cf. *Ibid.*, Taraṅga, VII.
- 17 *op. cit.*, 78, 91.
- 18 From the original and the photograph.
- 19 Expressed by a symbol.
- 20 Kalhaṇa, *op. cit.*, V, 477, 420, 482.
- 21 *Op. cit.*, 58-59.
- 22 Among the sons of king Jayasiṃha, Kalhaṇa (*op. cit.*, VIII, 3374) mentions one with the name Yaśaskara, who however, does not appear to have ascended the throne of Kashmir. He is not mentioned by Jōnarāja, nor is he known from any other source to have ruled Kashmir.
- 23 From the original and the photograph.
- 24 Expressed by a symbol.
- 25 The final letter *ka* has been written below the line.
- 26 In the photograph the last two lines appear in a bolder hand than the first three.

6. EVIDENCE OF THE USE OF LONG VOWEL SIGN IN THE KHAROSHTHĪ (or KHAROSHTĪ) SCRIPT OF INDIA

B. N. Mukherjee

A recently noticed Kharōshthī (or Kharōshṭī) inscription on the outerface of the cover of a silver gilt box records the establishment of a stūpa by Utara (Uttarā), the wife of a *stratega* (*Monthly Bulletin, Asiatic Society*, May, 1980). The inscription has been palaeographically dated to the 1st-2nd century A.D. The most interesting palaeographic feature of the epigraph is noticeable in the character of which the basic figure consists of the conjunct letter *sta*. The sign for subscript *r* is indicated at the bottom of the letter, whereas that for medial *e* is added vertically to its top horizontal stroke. In addition to these signs, a short horizontal stroke is seen attached to the right side of the lower portion of the vertical line of *sta*. The only possible explanation of the presence of the last noted horizontal stroke is its use as a sign for a long vowel. As a result of its presence *stre* (*st*+subscript *r*+medial *e*) becomes *strai*. In that case we have here an example of the use of long vowel sign in the Kharōshthī (or Kharōshṭī) script in North-Western part of the Indian subcontinent.

Another example of the use of long vowel sign may be noticed in the presence of a slanting stroke attached to the

right side of the letter *bha* in line 2 of the Waziristan inscription of the year 39 of the Kanishka era (see the plate relevant to A. H. Dani's article in Parṇ L. Prematilake, K. Indrapala and J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (editors), *S. Parnavitana Commemoration Volume*, pp. 48-50).

These data show that at least sporadic use of long vowel sign in the Kharōshthī (or Kharōshṭī) script began by c. 1st century A.D. in the Indian subcontinent. It, however, became used in a popular way in the Kharōshthī (or Kharōshṭī) script of Central Asia in the 3rd-4th century A.D.

The long vowel sign is indicated in the Kharōshthī (or Kharōshṭī) documents from Chinese Central Asia of the 3rd-4th century A.D. by a "coma"-like stroke near or rather below (and to the right side of) the bottom of the letter concerned. In the Indian examples cited above the long vowel sign is shown by a horizontal (or slanting?) stroke attached to the lower portion of the right side of the letter concerned. This type of disposition of the long vowel sign may be taken as a prelude to the practice of indicating such sign as seen in the Kharōshthī (or Kharōshṭī) records of Central Asia.

7 MIGRATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO ANDHRA COUNTRY (Based on Inscriptions)

C. A. Padmanabha Sastry

Migrations caused by various factors such as political, social and religious are not uncommon. Whatever may be the reasons for these migrations the people who brave difficulties and travel far and wide, mingle with the aliens, giving rise to new cultural traits. It is proposed to study the migrations with reference to the Āndhra country taking the data available in inscriptions into consideration. The study can be divided into three heads namely (1) migrations of the members of the royal families and officials (2) migrations of common people like brāhmaṇas, merchantile communities, etc. and (3) the impact of migrations on the people

Among the important dynasties that ruled over the Āndhra country the Ikshvākus and Śālaṅkāyanas are believed to have come from outside and of them the former are believed to have crossed the Vindhyas and travelled down to the Āndhra country. But nothing is known about the circumstances which forced them to leave their home land and travel to this far off land all the way. Similarly we do not know the circumstances which favoured them to gain control over the political affairs and occupy the Āndhra throne. However, the literary sources like *Padma-* and *Vāyu-purāṇas* state that the Ikshvākus are the natives of North India. According to the *Padma-purāṇa*,¹ king Kuśa, son of Rāma moved southwards to establish the kingdom at Kuśasthalapura at the foot of the Vindhyas. The *Vāyu purāṇa*² states that two princes, namely Aśmaka

and Mūlaka of the Ikshvāku lineage founded two kingdoms named after them. These two kingdoms lay on the either side of the river Gōdāvari. According to *Suttanipāta*, a Buddhist text, the capital of Mulaka was Paithan or Pratiṣṭhānapura. It states that a brāhmaṇa, namely Bāvāri, from Kōsala settled in Aśmaka which was lying adjacent to Mulaka. He sent his pupils northwards first to Paithan, to Mulaka and to Māhishmati and then to Ujjaini in the north. The two kingdoms lay therefore in the northern part of Āndhra country. The Ikshvāku migration towards south should have taken place about six³ century B. C. when the kingdom of Kōsala sank into insignificance on account of the rise of Magadha. So the existence of the kingdom of Mahā-Kōsala in the Deccan is a strong proof of the Ikshvāku expansion or migration to the south. A twelfth century Kannaḍa work *Dharmamṛita*⁴ mentions that a prince of Aṅga and of the Ikshvāku lineage founded a kingdom on the bank of the Kṛishṇā in the Āndhra country and constructed a town and named it Pratiṣṭhānapura. One of the inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa⁵ refers to the lord Buddha as having born in the Ikshvāku lineage.

Bühler⁶ and Rapson⁶ opine that the Ikshvākus belonged to the Rājput clan of the northern descent. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar⁷ the dynastic name Ikshvāku indicates that they were probably considered as a branch of the Ikshvākus of Ayōdhya. But Stenkonow,⁸ who edited the

Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, thinks that the Ikshvākus are Dravidians, probably Kanarese and further states that they had come to the Kṛishṇā valley from the west. Gōpālachāri⁹ considers the Ikshvākus as the natives of the Tamil country. All these views pre-suppose that the Ikshvākus were not the natives of the Āndhra country but migrated to this land and ruled this area.

It is suggested elsewhere¹⁰ that the Śālaṅkāyanas once lived in the region lying in between Gāndhāra and the Himālayas. According to this view, a branch of this family migrated to the south and settled in this country. But unfortunately no inscription, either of copper or stone, speaks about the nativity of this family.

The ablest Chalukyan emperor Pula-kēśin II subjugated the Vēṅgi-dēśa and appointed his own brother Kubja Vishṇu-wardhana as ruler. We must note that he and his successors not only continued to stay in Vēṅgi itself but also, as the decades rolled by, became one with the Āndhras and identified themselves with the Āndhras.

The Āndhra country faced political instability during the 9th-12th centuries, which caused political migrations of some of the royal families to this land and also vice-versa. A number of wars were fought between the Eastern Chālukyas and Rāshtrakūṭas which resulted in the migrations of certain families to the Āndhra country. The Kāṭlaparru grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya¹¹ records the gift of the village Kāṭlaparru in Vēṅgi-vishaya by the king to his brāhmaṇa general Rājāditya who distinguished himself in the king's wars by his valour. Rājāditya is described as the son of Peddana and great-grand-son of Kumāramūrṭti who studied the *vēdas* and was also described as the master of the villages, Kālūru and Vāya-

lūru (Chingleput District). It is stated that Kumāramūrṭti migrated to the Vēṅgi country as he could not bear the insolent treatment of the then Toṇḍaimāṅ king Kāḍuveṭṭi and settled at Uṇḍi (West Godavari dist., A. P.). We have yet another reference to a royal family member who migrated to the Āndhra country during the time of the Eastern Chālukyas. The Pulivarru grant¹² of Amma II states that the king offered Pulivarru, situated on the bank of the river Kṛishṇā (modern Pulivarru, Guntur dt.), as a fief to Indaparāja, son of Raṭṭa and Gōindakāmbā and the grandson of Indaparāja, who is described as the lord of Mānyakhēṭa and of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty.

Some feudatory chiefs of the Paramāras and Kāyasthas were also immigrants to this land. The circumstances which led to their migration from their own land are obscure. However, it is possible that some petty chiefs followed the victorious king to his land and obtained some region in that country as a fief. In this connection mention may be made of the Paramāra chief Jagaddēva of Dhārā, who, according to the Kolanupāka inscription¹³ (1107 A. D.), was brought and made chief of the province of Kolanupāka-7000 by the king Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.

It is stated elsewhere¹⁴ that several members of the royal families migrated to the Telugu country from the Western Deccan during the Kākatīya period and a little earlier. Among them, the families like Kāyasthas, Āre (Mahārāshṭra descents) chiefs namely Vānaga, Dāvula and Peddiga deserve mention.

The Kāyasthas were the military officials under the Kākatīyas and later they

rose to the feudatory position due to their loyalty towards their overlords. Among the Kāyasthas, Gaṅgaya-sāhiṇi and Āmbadēva were well known for their valour. The recently discovered Kottapalli¹⁵ and Chitṭyāla¹⁶ records reveal the names of the father and grandfather of Gaṅgaya-shiṇi for the first time. These inscriptions refer to the visit of Gaṅgaya-sāhiṇi to the Mēkhala, Śamkha, Śukla and Śuka *tirthas* situated in the Daṇḍakāraṇya in Western India. The personal name-suffix ending with *-bāi* in case of female members and *-sāhiṇi* in case of male members of this family definitely suggest that the Kāyastha chiefs originally did not belong to the Āndhra country. However, we do not know about the circumstances which led them to migrate to this land.

Several families of Āre (*i. e.* Mahārāshṭra) clan migrated to the Telugu country during the pre-Kākatīya period from the Western Deccan especially from the region around Kalyāṇi. The land where they settled in Āndhra country is known as *Āre-bhūmi* and identified with the eastern fringe of the Śrīśailam mountains.¹⁷

Some of the royal families or members of the royal families migrated to the other parts of India from Āndhra country. We have a few Telugu inscriptions and also some inscriptions issued by the chiefs of Telugu origin in other languages. A few Telugu inscriptions (about the 10th century) of the Chhindas engraved in Telugu language and script were discovered in Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh.¹⁸ All these epigraphs introduce these chiefs with the eulogy *sahasrahaṇa-maṇi-kiraṇa*, etc. They claim to be lords of Bhōgavatī-pura. This place is identified differently by the

scholars.¹⁹ We have a few copper-plate inscriptions engraved in Telugu characters from South Kōsala country. They belong to the Telugu Chōlas who style themselves as the lords of Oreyūru. All the epigraphs from this region introduce these chiefs with the usual Telugu-Chōla *praśasti*, *aridurddharavara*, etc. D. C. Sircar and M. Venkataramayya²⁰ assumed that these families were immigrants from Telugu country to this area.

It is a known fact that political atmosphere of the Āndhra country was disturbed by the Muslim rulers during the period of the Kākatīya rule. It is also a well known fact that the illustrious Kākatīya king Pratāparudra lost his kingdom to Ulughkhān and the Kākatīya rule ended in the Āndhra country. Though Vīrabhadra, son of Pratāparudra, was crowned by Annamadēva, the brother of Pratāparudra, we do not have any epigraphical evidence to support this fact.²¹ According to the *Siddhēśvara-charitramu*,²² a literary work of the 15th century, Annamadēva, stated to be a brother of Kākatīya Pratāparudra, migrated to the Vindhya region after the latter's death. But the Dantēśvara inscription of Dikpālādēva²³ which is dated Śamvat 1760 (1703 A. D.) describes Annamadēva as the son of Pratāparudra and states that he migrated to the Bastar region. However, in view of the date of this record, which is later by as many as four centuries, the relationship of Annamadēva with Pratāparudra as suggested by the epigraph is to be confirmed by a more reliable evidence.

We have many epigraphical references to the migration of common people to and from the Āndhra. It appears that among

the common people who migrated, brāhmaṇas were more in number. It may be due to the fact that because of their deep scholarship in different disciplines the brāhmaṇas were honoured by the kings of even far off lands. A few copper-plate charters of the later Pallava kings refer to many brāhmaṇas of the Āndhra country as recipients of grants in recognition of their scholarship. For instance, Pullūr grant, Tāṇḍantōṭṭam and Paṭṭimaṅgalam plates of Vijayanandivarma Pallava, dated in the 33, 58 and 61 regnal years respectively, mention the names of brāhmaṇas belonging to the Āndhra country. The Pullūr copper-plate charter²⁴ records that the king granted four villages viz., Neli, Pullūr, Kuḍiyūr of Kīlvelanāṇḍu and Takkāru of Maṅgalakula nāḍu in Palkuṇṇak-kōṭṭam to one hundred and eight poor and good brāhmaṇas (*pāppār*) as *brahmadēyam*. According to this inscription some of the donees originally belonged to some places in Āndhra country. These places are Kāvanūr or Kāvanūru (Kānūru, W. Godavari District); Veṅgiparru, (not identifiable with certainty) and Vaṅgiparru, Kāraṁbichēḍu (Kāraṁchēu), Vaṅganūru and Vēṅgi. Another copper-plate charter, the Tāṇḍantōṭṭam plates of the same king, record the gift of Dāyamukhaṅgaḷa lying to the west of Tāṇḍantōṭṭam in Teṅkarainaraiyūr nāḍu, by a certain Dāyamukha, with the permission of the king. This inscription furnishes some of the names of the donees along with their native villages which are situated in Āndhra country. These are Kāraṁbichēu (Kāraṁchēu), Tanukkerli (Taṅuku), Irakkambaru (Iṭikaṁpāḍu), Karañjai (Krāñja or Kāja), Peṅukkiparru (Peṅukaparru), Vēliparru (Vēlpūru), Nūtilaparru (Nūtulaparru), etc. All these places are included in the present Gun-

tur, Krishna and Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. Mention of these place names along with the personal names indicate that these scholars migrated to the Tamil country. It is not improbable that this migration could have taken place when the Pallavas shifted the scene of their activities from Āndhra to Tamil country.

The Jambagaon plates²⁵ of Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III (914-25 A. D.) record the gift of a village Khairōdhi situated near Paithhāra to a brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara-bhaṭṭa who migrated from Vēṅgi-vishaya to the province Paṭṭaha-vishaya in Mahārāshṭra. However, the reason for his migration to the Rāshṭrakūṭa country is not known. It is possible that the donee Dāmōdara-bhaṭṭa who hailed from Vēṅgi-vishaya (*Vēṅgi-vishaya-vinirgata*) originally, might have gone along with the king Indra who subjugated the Eastern Chāḷukya Bhīma I.

A study of the inscriptions of the Āndhra country also reveal the migrations of brāhmaṇas from different regions to Āndhra-dēśa. Eastern Chāḷukya Bhīma I provided a number of gifts and housesites near Ghaṇṭasāla to the immigrants who hailed from Mahārāshṭra. The Piṭhāpuram plates of the prince Vīrachōḍa²⁷ record the royal gift of land to a number of brāhmaṇas who hailed from the Tamil country. These brāhmaṇas seem to have migrated to Āndhra, when Vīrachōḍa was sent to that country by his father as viceroy. Even today the Tamil brāhmaṇas who had settled in the Āndhra area are known as the Drāviḍa brāhmaṇas and they are referred to after their native village as Pērūru-Drāviḍulu Ārāma-Drāviḍulu, Pudūru-Drāviḍulu, etc.

According to an inscription,²⁸ belong-

ing to the 15th century, Trilōchana Pallava *alias* Mukkaṅṭi Kāḍuvetṭi, whose identification is not yet established, granted Lavaṅapuri (modern Uppulūru in Guntur district) to the brāhmaṇas, who migrated from Ahichchhatrapura situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā. This inscription interestingly supplies the plan of the *agrahāra* constructed for the immigrants. It was a *chaturasra* type of *agrahāra* with the street names *Sūrya-vidhi* and *Sōma-vidhi*, each *vidhi* measuring 12 *hastas* length and 10 *hastas* breadth. A copper-plate inscription of the time of Vijayabhūpati of Vijayanagara dynasty also supports this fact.²⁹

As in the case of brāhmaṇas we have many references to the migration of the merchant community to and from the Āndhra country. This community is known for its enterprise and naturally to improve their business they undertake long difficult journeys and also, mingle with the natives freely. An inscription³⁰ from Rāvāḍa, (Bhimilipatnam Taluk, Vijayanagaram dt.) dated in the 65th regnal year of Eastern Gaṅga Anantavarma, records the gift of 5 *māḍai* for maintaining a perpetual lamp in a temple by a merchant of Malai-maṅḍalam, who migrated from Uraiyyūr-*kkūrāram* in Teṅkāsi-nāḍu in Śōla-maṅḍalam.

An interesting inscription³¹ from Pērūru (Nalgonda dt.), belonging to the reign of Kandūri Bhīmachōḍa, a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI of the Kalyāṇi Chālukya dynasty, mentions two merchant guilds, namely *Aruvala nakaramu* and *Telugu nakaramu* living in Pērūru, obviously the find-spot of the record. It also refers to the street of the Tamil merchants as *Aruva-nakarapu vidhi* and states that they took active

part in the temple festivals along with the *Telugu nakaramu*. The same epigraph mentions that these merchants have constructed a temple and named it after their community as *Aruva-Nakarēśvara* in that village. As the term *Aruva* itself refers to the Tamils, it is obvious that a few families of Tamil merchants migrated to Pērūru and settled there.

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In this context, it is noteworthy that we have names of villages indicating the settlements of Tamilians and Kannaḍigas in Āndhra. For example Aravapalli (Repalle Taluk, Guntur dt.), Aravalapalli, Karṇāṭakampalli (Anantapur district) may be cited. In this connection we may also refer to the village Kumpiṅipuram in Rajampeta taluk, Cuddaph district. According to an inscription³² (1810 A. D.) and also to the local tradition General Manro of East India company offered a village to his loyal follower a Mādhva brāhmin Krishṇa Rāvu in recognition of his meritorious service. It is interesting to note that the position of the village munsiff is still being held by the Mādhva-brāhmaṇas who belong to the family of Krishṇa Rāju.

We have references to the migration of some people from Telugu country to Karṇāṭaka during the period of Vijayanagara Bukka II (1405-06 A. D.). An inscription³³ belonging to the reign of Bukka-bhūpati, states that a number of *reddis* of the Sujana-kula and Penugōlu-gōtra, on the Sultan's (a Bahamani ruler) demanding one of their daughters, migrated the same night with one hundred and one families and seven elephants to the Nandinigūḍḍa country. There they sought to make matrimonial alliances in Chittalapuri-*paṭṭaṇa*, but were

refused to do so. Thereupon, certain Koṇḍa-nāyaka and two others went to Penugonḍa to represent this matter to Rāmarāya and Bukkarāya who had come there with an army. They held an enquiry on the refusal of inter-marriages and sent Tātāchārya, their *guru*, to decide the matter. He made a compromise between the Sujana-kula and the families of Chittalapuri-paṭṭana and the Sujana-kula members agreed to pay specified amount on the occasion of marriages. A few inscriptions of Vijayanagara period furnish the cause for migration of Telugu people to the other lands. An inscription (1532 A. D.) from Kavutāḷam,³⁴ belonging to the reign of Achyutarāya refers to the migration of some people belonging to the Kavatāḷa-sīme. According to it, the people migrated to Māsaveya-sīme to escape from the tyranny of the palace officials. Later they returned after some time, to Kavutāḷa-sīme at the invitation of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Salakayadēva-Chika-Tirumalarāja-mahārāju, when later promised relief from the palace

officials.

The people who migrate to a different country retain some cultural traits of their own however much they mingle with the natives. We may cite as an example the name of the deity Aruva-Nakarēśvara, given by the Tamil merchant community who settled in a village in Āndhra. As is borne out by the Tāṇḍan-tōṭṭam and Pullūr copper-plate charters the immigrants did retain the names of the villages from which they have hailed as their surnames. To what extent these names are influenced by Tamil also can be seen in place names like Karañjai, Peṇukkipaṅṅu, Nūttalapaṅṅu, etc. A careful field study in the regions in question, may bring to light many traditions and customs forgotten by the present generation of the Āndhras or Tamilians or Kannaḍigas as the case may be.

The foregoing observations point to the abundant material available in epigraphs in this regard and underline the necessity to study more elaborately.

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Notes:-

- 1 *Padma purāṇa*, Ch. VI, p. 271.
- 2 *Vāyu-purāṇa*, Ch. 88, pp. 177 ff.
- 3 *Dharmāmṛita*, pp. 70 ff.
- 4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 1-37, No. F
- 5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 257 ff.
- 6 *Coins in the British Museum, Intro.* p. XLIV
- 7 *Successors of Sātavāhanas*, p. 10.
- 8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 26.
- 9 *The Early History of Āndhra Country*, pp. 125 ff.
- 10 *Bhārati* (Tel), Vol. 55, pt. II, pp. 27 ff.
- 11 *Peṇṭapāḍu Hindu High School Journal*, Guntur Dist., pp. 17 ff; *A. R. Ep.*, 1939; App. A No. 3, pp. 72 ff.

- 12 *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi*, pp. 125 ff.
- 13 *Select Epigraphs in Āndhra*, pp. 105 ff.
- 14 *The Early History of Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 640 ff.
- 15 *The Kāyasthas*, a paper presented by this author in the V Annual Congress of the Ep. Society, held at Bangalore.
- 16 *The Kākatīyas* p. 157.
- 17 *The Early History of Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 640 ff.
- 18 *SII*, Vol. X, Nos 643-650; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 122 ff.
- 19 B. V. K. Rao, *The History of Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi*, p. 344.
- 20 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 280 ff.
- 21 *Pratāpacharitra*, pp. 52 ff.
- 22 *Siddhēśvaracharitramu*, p. 174.
- 23 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 242 ff.
- 24 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 144 ff.
- 25 *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 517 ff.
- 26 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 223 ff.
- 27 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 90 ff.
- 28 *A. R. Ep.*, 1940, App. B, No. 779.
- 29 *Ibid.*, A. 8
- 30 *Ibid.*, 1959, App. B No. 11
- 31 *A. P. G. A. S.*, No. 38, pp. 88 ff.
- 32 *A. P. G. R. E.*, 1968
- 33 *Mysore State Gazetteer, Tumkur District*, p. 36.
- 34 *SII.*, Vol. IX, pt. II, No. 554.

8 IDENTIFICATION OF MAHARAJA SADA OF THE GUNTUPALLI INSCRIPTION

Shyam Manohar Mishra

An inscription engraved on four polished limestone pillars, was found at Guṇṭupalli, a small village situated at a distance of about 28 miles to the north of the Ellore railway station in the West Godavari Dt., A.P. It records the gift of a *maṇḍapa* by Chula Gōma, the scribe or secretary (*lēkhaka*) of *mahārāja-Kaliṅga-Māhisakādhipati mahāmēkhavāhana siri Sada*. Since the inscription is not dated and king Sada bearing the above-mentioned titles is not known from any other source, it is difficult to determine the date of Guṇṭupalli record and identify the king Sada.

R. Subrahmanyam, the editor of the inscription, assigns it to king Khāravēla of Kaliṅga on the basis of its script¹ and the *birudas* borne by Sada.² But D. C. Sircar places it in the early centuries of the Christian era.³ He relates *mahārāja Mānasada* (?) of the Aira family referred to in the Vēlpūru inscription of c. 2nd century A. D., with the line of Khāravēla on the grounds that both bore the title *mahārāja* and associated themselves with the Aira family. Sircar further connects Sada with Mānasada on the basis of similarity in their names, adding that the name Sada and the latter part of the name Mānasada may really be *Sāta* which is a contraction of the typical *Sātavāhana* names. And on this assumption he concludes that Mānasada and Sada might have born of the *Sātavāhana* princesses.⁴

The Guṇṭupalli inscription cannot be attributed to Khāravēla on account of the

later date of its script than that of the Hāthīgumphā record⁵ and absence of the name Khāravēla therein. Besides, this inscription was discovered from a Buddhist site⁷ and *mahārāja* Sada seems to have had some leanings towards Buddhism.⁸ But Khāravēla was a zealous Jaina. As regards Sircar's observations, there are following difficulties in accepting them :

- 1 The portion of the Vēlpūru inscription bearing the name of the king is too damaged to be read clearly, and there are many fissures in the rock which make the reading exceedingly difficult. None of the letters of the name of the king is clear. Therefore, Sircar's restoration of the name to Māsadasa and its further correction as Mānasada are based entirely on his far fetched fancy. And there is no positive proof for relating the ruler of the Vēlpūru record with that of the Guṇṭupalli inscription.
- 2 The title *Hāritiputra*, assumed by the ruler of the Vēlpūru record, cannot be associated with Khāravēla's line.
- 3 The word *Airasa* or *Aira* which forms one of the main grounds of Sircar's contention for the alleged relationship between the ruler of the Vēlpūru inscription and Khāravēla's family, does not have much force. For, the Sanskritised form of *Aira*, as Sircar himself admits, may be *Ārya* which means noble, respectable, illustrious, etc.

Thus it is not indicative of any particular dynasty or family, and could be used for any distinguished person.

- 4 The title *mahārāja* was not exclusively associated with Khāravēla's line and with the king of Vēlpūru record, but was used by the rulers of other dynasties¹⁰ as well. Therefore, it can hardly be taken as a convincing evidence of the relationship between the two. Khāravēla's affinity with the so-called Mānasada could be proved had the latter been associated with Chēdi line or given the typical title *Mahāmēghavāhana*.

In our opinion, king Sada was a successor of Khāravēla. And in view of his titles *mahārāja*, *Kaliṅga-Māhishakādhipati* and *mahāmēghavāhana*, he cannot be associated with the Sātavāhanas.¹¹ *Kaliṅga Māhishakādhipati* (and not *Kaliṅgādhipati* and *Māhishakādhipati* as read by Subrahmanyam¹²) either means 'the lord of Kaliṅga and Māhishaka countries, or 'the lord of the Māhishakas of Kaliṅga'. If the first interpretation is correct, it would show

that the rule of Khāravēla's dynasty did not end with his death, but was continued by his successors who besides maintaining their hold over Kaliṅga, also brought to their subjection the Māhishaka region and modern West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh. But if the second interpretation is accepted then the Māhishakas¹³ of the Guṇṭupalli record are to be placed in Kaliṅga, and *mahārāja* Sada should be regarded as the king of the Māhishaka tribe.¹⁴ He may have assumed the title *mahāmēghavāhana* to emulate the exploits of Khāravēla who earlier ruled over Kaliṅga. But this interpretation is, however, less likely.

On the basis of the script of the Guṇṭupalli inscription, Sāda may be placed in the first half of the 1st century A. D. He seems to have had proclivity towards Buddhism.¹⁵ His title *mahāmēghavāhana* shows that he compared himself to Lord Indra¹⁶ or Śiva¹⁷ whose epithet it was. It may also be pointed out that no other king except Sada bearing the title *kaliṅga-Māhishakādhipati*, is so far known to us.

Notes :

- 1 The Guṇṭupalli inscription has been published in the A. P. Govt. Epigraphical Series, No. 3 (Hyderabad, 1968) under the title 'The Guṇṭupalli Brāhmī Inscription of Khāravēla (hereafter APGES, No. 3)
- 2 According to Subrahmanyam, the characters of this inscription have resemblance with the Maskā Inscription of Aśōka, Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscription of Kubēraka (end of c. 2nd century B. C.), Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravēla (c. end of 1st century B. C.), and Kesānupalli inscription, except for the letters *la* and *ha* (APGES, No. 3, pp. 2 ff).
- 3 Subrahmanyam contends that only one *Kaliṅgādhipati-mahāmēghavāhana* namely Khāravēla, who had marched against Āndhra in the centuries preceding the birth of Christ, is so far known to us (*Ibid.*, p. 3).
- 4 'An alleged Inscription of Khāravēla', in the *JIAH*, Vol. III, pp. 30 ff.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

- 6 The shapes of the letters *kha*, *cha*, *ja*, *la*, *sa*, *ha*, and *va*, in the Guṭṭupalli inscription are very much different from their counter-parts in the Hāthigumphā record. And marked changes are also noticeable in the shapes of *ka*, *ga*, *da*, and *pa*, in the two inscriptions. Thus the more developed forms of the above-mentioned letters in the Guṭṭupalli inscription than those of the Hāthigumphā inscription, point to its later date.
- 7 The site of Guṭṭupalli was first excavated by Rea and later on by Longhurst. These archaeologists brought to light remains of several Buddhist monuments of c. 2nd cen. B. C., from the place (see Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.* p. 1).
- 8 The *maṇḍapa* which was the gift of *mahārāja* Sada's scribe or secretary Chula-Gōma, appears to have been a pillar bearing the inscription under study, may have belonged to that *maṇḍapa*. It may also be added that one of the literal meanings of the word Gōmin which is only slightly different from Gōma, is an attendant on the Buddha (see Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*).
- 9 *EI.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 84.
- 10 In Bandogarh (Rewa State) Inscription of c. 129 A. D. and the Ginja (40 miles to the south of Allahabad) inscription of c. 130 A. D., king Bhīmasēna is given the title *mahārāja*. Bhīmasēna's son Kautsīputra Praushthasrī, also assumed this title (see *Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1968, p. 176). The use of the title *mahārāja* was very common among the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Kushāṇas. But its use among Indian rulers did not, however, become popular upto 2nd century A. D.
- 11 No Sātavāhana king bore the titles *mahārāja*, *mahāmēghuvāhana* or *Kaliṅga-Māhishakādhipati*.
- 12 The title *Kaliṅga-Māhishakādhipati* with slight variations, is clearly readable in all the four copies of the Guṭṭupalli record and *Kaliṅgādhipati* is not traceable anywhere therein.
- 13 Māhishaya was a mixed caste which seems to have emerged in the Sūtra period as a result of the marriage of a Kshatriya with a Vaiśya wife (see *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, IV, 1621; *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, 9. 1. 17, 2-14). Pāṇini refers to Māhishakaputra (V. S. Agarwal, *Pāṇini kālīna Bhārata*, Kashi, V. S. 2012. p. 193). The localities inhabited by the people of the Māhishya or Mahisha caste probably came to be known as Māhishaka with its variants Mahishaka or simply Mahisha, later on. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa, Chap. 41, verses 8-13) refers to Māhishaka with Vidarbha, Rishika and other *Janapadas*. In the *Mahābhārata*, Māhishakas find mention with the Draviḍas, Kaliṅgas and others (Sorenson, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1963, p. 458). The *Vāyu* - (Chap. 45. 125), and the *Matsya*-(114.46 ff) *purāṇas* refer to Mahishka *janapada* immediately before Kaliṅga. Rājaśekhara places Mahishaka country to the south of Māhishmatī mentioning it between Maharashtra and Vidarbha (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, Baroda, 1934, p. 93) These and many other references to the Māhishakas or their *janapada* found in different sources, bear out that they (Māhishakas) had more than one settlement.
- 14 The phrase *Kaliṅga-Māhishakādhipati* either means the Māhishakas of Kaliṅga or of the country lying near Kaliṅga. In the Jātakas, Mahimsaka kingdom is mentioned to have had its capital at Sakula and that the river Kaṇḍapeṇḍā (*i. e.*, Kṛishṇavarṇā or Kṛishṇā) flowed in it (*Jātaka*, I, 356; V. 162, 337; H. L. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, Delhi, 1958, p. 261). The *Vāyu*-(42.125), *Mārkaṇḍeya*-(LVII. 46) and *Matsya*-(144.46 ff) *purāṇas* mention Mahishaka with Kaliṅga. The evidence of these sources point to the settlements of the Māhishakas in or near Kaliṅga and the vicinity of the river Kṛishṇā. For the views of modern scholars regarding the location of the Māhishaka *Janapada*, see Fleet, in *JRAS*, 1910, p. 440; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, iii; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 20; V. V. Mirashi, in *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 24 ff; *JNSI*, Vol.

IX, Part I, pp. 3 ff; S. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Part I, Calcutta, 1955, pp. 69-70; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1960, pp. 19-20; Muzaffar Ali, *Geography of the Purāṇas*, Delhi, 1966, p. 154; C. D. Dalal and R. Sastri, in *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Baroda, 1934, Appendix I, p. 303).

- 15 As has been pointed out above, Guṇṭupalli was a Buddhist hite and Chula-Gōma (which may mean a junior attendant on the Buddha) granted the pillared hall (*maṇḍapa*) to the Buddhist monastery of the place, on the orders of his master *mahārāja* Sada. But Subrahmanyam, however, attributes the Guṇṭupalli inscription to Khāravēla who was a devout Jaina, and holds that the Guṇṭupalli rock-cut monasteries were originally of the Jains and not of the Buddhist, (*APGES*, No. 3, p.6).
- 16 In the *Śiśupālavadhā* (XIII.18), Lord Indra has been described as *mēghavāhana*.
- 17 See Monier william's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

9 EARLY EPIGRAPHICAL REFERENCES TO SOME ROYAL ATTENDANTS

S. P. Tewari

Though under monarchy any one serving the king or attending upon him may be taken vaguely as a royal attendant, the meaning we attach to this term here is confined only to those persons who virtually attended the king in person and did some manual service also for him. In other words, the persons who were employed simply to serve—or attend upon the king in different places—and on different occasions and were though slightly above than the slave, but were not yet wielding any administrative power or position like *Mahāmātya*, *Sēnāpati* or others, are considered as royal attendants. Similarly, in terms of chronology, by referring to early epigraphical references, we confine our discussion within the span of Aśokan edicts and the records of the Kushāṇa period. At the same time it is also most humbly admitted that the present paper does not claim to be a comprehensive survey of all the royal attendants but only some of them.

After this short clarification on our part, proceeding ahead with the subject, we find that as compared to the literary sources, epigraphical references to the personal attendants of the kings and the noblemen are few and far between. The Aśokan edicts hardly possess any useful information on this account except terms like *paṭivēdakā*¹ and the more generalised mention of *dāśas* and *bhaṭakas*.² It is difficult to say whether this deliberate omission was on account of the socio-religious theme of the edicts or because

of the absolute royal control over the things which were to be recorded and passed on to posterity.³

But, once the Mauryan empire got disintegrated and the control of the court slackened, a big revival of indigenous activities in the fields of art and literature began wherein not only the big merchants and the guilds of the merchants got representation, but even the common man from the folk and lay-devotees also succeeded in leaving their imprints on history. This is what we find in the forms of many railings, bars and pillars of monuments like that of Bharhut, Sanchi, Karle, Mathura and others bearing labels which record the names of many such persons and their humble donations and gifts. The subject matter of all these records has already been successfully dealt with by stalwarts like Sir Alexander Cunningham,⁴ B. M. Barua,⁵ H. Lüders⁶ and others. Our aim here is only to sort out the names of such donees who are referred to along with the professions they followed or the employments they were having and, there also, such persons or the names who were employed in serving or attending upon a king or his family or a nobleman.

From the long list of names recorded as labels which form the main burden of the learned treatise of Barua and the corpus of Lüders, on Bharhut inscriptions, probably the only name which we may consider under the above said category and that too with a good amount of restraint

and the open possibility of further examination is, the name of Suladha, the resident of Bibikānadikaṭa—who is described as *asavārika*. The text of the label as read by Barua runs as follows :-

*Bibikānadikaṭa Suladhasa asavārikasa
dānam⁷*

i e., gift of Suladha, the trooper from Bimbikānadikaṭa. Barua associates this scene of trooper with the story of Valāhassa Jātaka which provides occasion for Lüders⁸ to review the whole scene afresh. According to Lüders, the upper half medallion of pillar which was dedicated by Suladha of the label inscription, shows a fully equipped riding horse led by the bridle of a man whose clothing consists only of a short garment tied round his waist, while another man clad in the same fashion and holding a spear in his right hand appears at the horse's tail. It is quite possible that Suladha had the pillar decorated with a horse attended by a *groom* with regard to his own profession. He further says that he cannot agree with Barua's opinion that the medallion illustrates the story of the Valāha horse either in the version of the Jātaka (No. 196) or in that of the Divyāvādāna (p. 120) because the horse is certainly not represented as flying and the man behind also does not seem to be tied to the tail of the horse. In the same way the strange idea of Barua that the artist has represented the horse with the gift of human speech by putting the human figure in front of it will also meet with little approval.

Now, after raising this old issue here, what we aim to focus is that in this gift of Suladha, whose profession seems to have

been horse siding, a *horse groom* or the attendant of the horse of a noble-man is also, if not fully atleast partly, associated. This part-association of the *horse-groom* is suggested because the medallion does represent him clearly in his position whereas the words of the label omit it; unless we interpret the term *asavārikas* (which is equally omitted in the dictionaries) in its meaning of one who controls or checks' (*vārayati*) the horse 4 is applicable to both Suladha and the groom; Suladha being a noble-person as well as the donee is mentioned here with his name and the horse-groom is left unnamed. What is beyond doubt is, that the services of a horse-groom are certainly associated with the said medallion and its record.

Besides this, though there are names of the persons of other professions recorded, hardly there are labels at Bharhut which speak about any of the royal attendants.

Passing over to the region of Mathura and the records found there, recently, a remarkable stone inscription has come to light which records the gift of a aycophant (called *piṅhamada*) of king Sūryamitra. The credit of bringing this important record to our notice goes to Dr. (Mrs) Bela Lahiri who first of all referred to this and also produced the text of it in her thesis.⁹ According to her, the record which is on the backside of the decorated but fragmentary frieze of red sand-stone, was once in the collection of Sri H. P. Poddar of Calcutta from where, we do not know how, it reached the collection of an antique dealer of Delhi and luckily found its way to the reserve collection of the National Museum there. After copying the record from the National Museum, New Delhi, when we tried to

compare the text of it with the one Dr. (Mrs.) Lahiri has produced in her book, we found that she has failed to furnish the text of the record in its entirety and has also wrongly interpreted its contents, particularly the word *pīṭhamada*¹⁰ who, being an intimate attendant of a king, is of main concern to us.

The text of the record which Dr. (Mrs.) Lahiri has given in her book¹¹ reads as:-

*Rāmnō Gopālyā putrasa Sūyamitrassa
pīṭhamadēna
Kāsīputrēna yaśakēna kārītam.*

But the record we have copied is in two parts and reads as:-

A—*Rāmnō Gopālyā putrasa Sūyamitrassa
pīṭhamadēna ka*

B—*pīṭhamada Kāsīputrēna yaśakēna
kārītam.*

Here apart from the political and particularly the numismatic details which Dr. (Mrs.) Lahiri has furnished accurately—what she has probably once misunderstood and another time omitted—is the term *pīṭhamada* which is not only an interesting term but also the earliest occurrence of the type in an inscription of such an early date.

Dr. (Mrs.) Lahiri has split the term *pīṭhamadēna* into two words and made it as *pīṭham* and *dēnam* and then translated it as the 'gift of a *pīṭha*'. The second occurrence of *pīṭhamada* from Part B of our text, is not found in the text produced in her book at all.

To our understanding, there is no need for splitting the term *pīṭhamadēna* into two as it is an instrumental case of

the term *pīṭhamada*—a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *pīṭhamarda* which is frequently referred to in literature. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra*¹² has mentioned *pīṭhamarda* along with the *viṣa* and *vidūshaka* who formed the company of a *nāgaraka*, a king or a nobleman. Commenting on the position of a *pīṭhamarda* of *Kāmasūtra*, Dr. H. C. Chakaladar¹³ says that 'even if a man had no fortune of his own he might enjoy the pleasures of life as *pīṭhamarda*, he might acquire skill in the arts and go about as an itinerant professor of these subjects at the clubs of citizens. Such a man was marked by his peculiar seat (*mardikā* or *mallikā*) which he hung on his back by dyed clothes and by some kind of soap (*phēnaka*) which he always carried about in order to keep himself clean;¹⁴ if he was skilled in only a few of the arts, attach himself to a wealthy *nāgaraka* as his companion and confidential friend' In the *Mālavikāgnimitram*¹⁵ of Kālidāsa there is one *pīṭhamardikā* called Paṇḍitā Kauśikī which proves that besides being companions or attendants of the noblemen *pīṭhamardas* were also the master-instructors in dance. Pandit Durga Prasad in his commentary on *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* (N. S. edition, 3.39, p. 101) has explained the term *pīṭhamarda* as *Kārya-viśēshē adhikṛitatvāt pīṭham mṛidnātiti pīṭhamardaḥ*. Śūdraka in his *bhāṇa* called *Padma-prābhṛitakam* mentions one such *pīṭhamarda* called Darduraka by name.¹⁶ In the *Daśarūpaka*, *pīṭhamarda* is classified as one of the *patākā-nāyakas*.¹⁷ Daṇḍi has also referred to *pīṭhamardas* in his *Daśakumāracharitam*.¹⁸ Prof S. K. De and Dasgupta, in their *History of Sanskrit Literature*¹⁹ have considered *pīṭhamardas* as being either sychophants of the kings

and noblemen or the instructors of the courtisans and have thus, though based on the reasonable logic of possibility only, successfully refuted the theory of Prof. S. Levi who considered all such characters only as the imaginary products of the dramatists. This important and early epigraphical evidence pertaining to *pīṭhamarda* adds such a weight to the supposition of late Prof. De that may not easily be ignored or denied.

A reference to another such attendant whose profession was more or less similar to that of *pīṭhamarda* is again gathered from Mathura from an inscription of the Kushāna period. Incidentally it is also a kind of label inscription which speaks about the gift of an *abhyantarōpasthāyaka* called Kathika.

This label inscription of a single line appears between two bas reliefs on a broken Buddhist rail found from the Chaubara mound of Mathura by Growse¹⁹ who, as regards the inscription could decipher only the last word as *dānam*. Later on, roughly after a gap of twenty five years, Lüders ventured to read the whole inscription tentatively as *Abhyāntirōpa ayakasa Kathikasa dānam* though retaining the doubt at the same time that it may also be read as *abhyāntirōpasthāyakasa*.²⁰ Regarding the meaning of his own reading of the term *abhyāntirōpa* Lüders, with the full honesty of a perfect gentleman, did admit that he could make nothing of the first word.²¹ Finally, it was probably Vogel who, while preparing the Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, could come out with a more certain reading known presently to us. He read it as :-

Abhyāntarōpasthāyakasa kathikasa dā-

nam i. e., the 'Gift of Kathika, the servant of the interior'.²² Once the correct reading was made and the mystery of the curious term *abhyāntarōpasthāyaka* was unfolded, the term was further substantiated by Lüders, in his list of *Brahmi Inscriptions from the-earliest times*.²³ and also in his *Mathura inscriptions*.²⁴ Dr. D. C. Sircar, in his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, later on elaborated the meaning of the term with even more references from the later records and from literature as well.²⁵

This compound clause of *abhyāntarōpasthāyaka* is formed of two words i. e., *abhyāntara* and *upasthāyaka* where *abhyāntara* means an inner-apartment of the house or a palace and *upastha* or *upasthāyaka* as the person who attends upon or serves someone over there. Considering the two words separately we find that the term *abhyāntara*, as said above also, is referred to in some other inscriptions as well, though most of the time with the clauses other than *upasthāyaka* such as: (*abhyāntara*) *bhāṇḍārādhikārin*,²⁷ (*abhyāntara*)-*siddhika* and *abhyāntarādāya*²⁸ etc., and in all these places he is represented more as an officer than attendant. It is only in the terms like *ābhyāntarika* and *abhyāntarikā*²⁹ which are used in the sense of a guard of the inner apartments of the palace, that some identical meaning of *abhyāntarōpasthāyaka* is met with, though the synonyms like *bhītara* (of. Hindi *bhitara* or *bhittara*) or *antaraṅga* are equally noticed.³¹ Thinking on the analogy of the female counterpart of *abhyāntarika* i. e., *ābhyāntarikā*, who is described as *śilpakārikā*, *nāṭakiyā* or *kaiā-vidagdā* also in *Kāmasutra*,³² *abhyāntarika*, besides being an attendant may also be considered

as an exponent of arts and crafts—the meaning which suits him better when we consider his choice in case of sculptural details presented on the body of the railing he gifted—especially the male figure on the obverse of it which is considered by the art historians as a unique one among the sculptures of Mathura.³³

As regards the term *upasthāyaka* meaning an attendant it is not so frequently noticed as an independent term in inscriptions though the relative terms like *upasthāna* and *upasthāna-sālā* are more familiar.³⁴ But literature, and particularly Buddhist literature, is full of such references where *upasthāyaka* occurs as *upasthāyaka* or *upatthākā* in the sense of *sēvaka* or *parichāraka* who was doing everything for his master.³⁵ An attendant particularly of a king was called *rajju-pasthāyaka*.³⁶ An ordinary attendant is called *upatthāka-manussa*. The female counterpart of *upatthāka* in Jātakas is called as

upatthāyikā.³⁷ Similarly, there are good number of attendants referred to in *Arthasāstra* as *upasthāyika vargāḥ*.

Thus, what we intend to say is that though *abhyātara* and its synonyms and *upasthāyaka* are mentioned separately with frequency, references to *abhyātara-upasthāyaka*—other than this, are rare and *upasthāyaka* is not noticed in the inscriptions at all. Another significance of the term is that it keeps a good rapport with the sculptural details in the company of which it is engraved. We regret that we could not deal with that aspect here.

Now, before closing our discussion on these early epigraphical references to some royal attendants, we must say that there is an urgent need to focus our attention and particularly the attention of epigraphical studies towards such, may be minor but significant, details of great social and cultural import.

No es :-

- 1 *Select Inss.*, p. 25, (Rock-edict No. VI)
- 2 *Ibid.*, Rock-edict No. IX.
- 3 Ray N. R. (*Maurya and Post-Maurya Art*, pp. 16-17) says that whatever extant remains we can lay our hands on as definitely belonging to the Maurya period, are products of the Maurya court *i. e.*, they were worked out by the orders of the Maurya monarch and perhaps also under his direct supervision.
- 4 Cunningham, A., *The Stupa of Bharhut*.
- 5 Barua, B. M. and Sihha, *Bharhut Inss.*, (Calcutta).
- 6 Lüders, H., *CII*, Vol. II, Part II, *Bharhut Inscriptions*.
- 7 Barua, B. M., *Bharhut*, Bk. I, p. 67; Bk. II, p. 104, pl. XXVI (21-24) (Reprint, Patna, 1979).
- 8 Lüders, H., *CII*, Vol. II, pt. II, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, p. 22 No. A 22 (728), Pl. IV.
- 9 Dr. (Mrs.) Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 102 and pp. 153-54.
- 10 I express my grateful thanks to the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological survey of India, Mysore who has kindly permitted me to include at least part of the information of this record in my paper here, since the inscription is edited by me in the pages of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, Part V and the matter is in the press.

- 11 *Op. cit.*, p. 154.
- 12 *Kāmasūtra*, 1. 5. 37 and 6.1. 22 (Kashi Skt. Series).
- 13 H. C. Chakaladar, *Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 146.
- 14 *Kāmasūtra* Cf. *Avibhavastu śarīramātrō mallikāphēna kashāyamātra-parichchadaḥ puḥyād deśād-āgataḥ kalāsu vichakshaṇaḥ tadupādēśēna gōshṭhyāṁ vēśōchitē cha vṛittē sādhayēd-ātmānam iti pīṭhamardah.*
- 15 *Mālavikā*, 1. 13. 14.
- 16 *Padmaprābhṛitakam* (published under *Chaturbhāṇi*, 10.6, Tr. & com. by Dr. Motichandra and V. S. Agrawala, Bombay).
- 17 *Daśarūpāka*, 2.8
- 18 *Ḍaśakumāra.*, 2. p.6 (Bombay edition, 1926).
- 19 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. Vi, p.219, No.6 and plate, Bombay 1877. Also see *JASB.*, Vol. XLVII, 1878, pt. I, p. 118, pl. xx.
- 20 *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 152, No. 29, Bombay, 1904.
- 21 *Ibid.*,
- 22 Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalouge of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910, pp. 143-44, pl. XXII, b.
- 23 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 98, Calcutta, 1912.
- 24 Lüders, H., *Mathura Inss.*, (ed. by K.L. Janert), Gottingen, 1961.
- 25 Sircas, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 2-3 and 22-23, Delhi, 1966.
- 26 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 28; Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphy*, 8-3.
- 27 *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. 20 and 22; and Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphy*, 8-5.
- 28 Sircar, D. C., *Ibid*, 8-5.
- 29 Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 3.
- 30 *Ibid.*,
- 31 *Kāmasūtra*. Cf. *Tatō vēśy-ābhyāntarika nāṭakīyas = chu..... kalā-vidagdhāḥ vikhyātā.*
- 32 See Lüders, H., *Mathura Inss.*, pp. 56-57; Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculptures* and vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, etc.
- 33 Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 352-53.
- 34 Cf. J. ii, 206: *Dēva ēkō mē upatthākō sabba-kichcha karō.*
- 35 J. i, 291., v. 211.
- 36 J. ii, 337: *Atha nam upatthayikā cha sahayikā cha puchchhimsu*, etc.
- 37 *Artha.*, 2.40.

An interesting inscription comprising attestation or a will was recently found by me from Vaḍōdarā (Barōḍā), a district headquarters in Gujarat. It is engraved on a black slab of stone which is built up in the northern wall of the prayer-hall of the Khajuri-masjid in the Lahripura locality of the city.

The epigraph¹ occupies a writing space of 51 by 47 cms and runs into 13 lines of writing in Persian language executed in Nastaliq characters. The language is slightly archaic if not defective, but the purport is clear. It contains the text of a will made by one Sayyid Hidāyatullāh son of Sayyid 'Abdul' Fattāh on the 14th Shawwāl A. H. 1124 (3rd November, 1712 A. D.), to the effect that the deponent had one son named Barā Miyān and that he had inherited from his father 'Abdu'l-Fattāh four *kumbas* of rent-free land outside the city under the royal citadel, adjacent to the Lahripura Gate and near the Chandan tank and that it contained mosque constructed by his father 'Abdu'l-Fattāh. The deposition further states that the deponent out of his son that land except the mosque, built by his father which was a public endowment (*waqf* and in addition five *kumbas* of land in the village Ḥamīdpur, shops, four houses and one grave of Jacha-Mai built by him, investing in him the proprietary rights in perpetuity, with the right to gift it away to any body or make an out-right sale. It ends with the instruction that the son should shoulder the responsibility of maintaining the mosque.

Incidentally I have come across three documents in Persian which evidently pertain to this property and partly corroborate the information contained in the record under study and also furnish additional information. These documents are now in the custody of Maluvi Ḥabību'llāh, the Head *Khatib* of Vaḍōdarā and are badly damaged with the result that the text is illegible or lost in places. Of these three, the oldest document, dated A. H. 985 (1577 A. D.), is a deed of trusteeship jointly made by one Tālib Khān and Shāh 'Abdul Fattāh. In this the former refers to a mosque outside the Lahripura Gate stated here to have been built by a learned man, but in the other two which obviously pertain to the same property including the mosque, it is stated to have been built by Tālib Khān. It further states that he also built three shops and made an endowment (of these) by appointing Sayyid Shāh 'Abdu'l-Fattāh and his his descendants as a trustee and empowered him to utilise the amount of the income from the shops for the maintenance of the mosque. In his attestation, 'Abdu'l Fattāh accepted the trusteeship of the mosque and affirmed that he would faithfully and honestly maintain the trust property. The titles Fadilat-Ma'āb Ḥaḍrat and Siyadat Ma'āb used for Abdu'l-Fattāh in the text shows his accomplishment and learning on one hand and his noble lineage-being descended from the Prophet of Islam-on the other.

The other document is a deed of affirmation made by Tālib Khān's son Ḥabīb

Khan on the 10th of Rajab A. H. 1040 2nd February, 1631 A. D.), in which it is stated that the four *kumbas* of land situated outside the Lahripura Gate extending upto the Chandan-tank which belonged to him had been handed over to 'Abdu'l-Fattāh to enable him to defray, out of the income of the land, expenses incurred on lighting and flower as on the repairs that may have to be carried out to the mosque which was built and endowed as a trust by his father Tālib Khān. Ḥabīb Khān calls himself an Afghān, while 'Abdu'l-Fattāh is mentioned as a very old and weak man. These two documents show that Abdu'l Fattāh lived a very long life.

The third deed of attestation is dated the 11th Ramazān A. H. 1109 (13th March, 1698 A. D.), it was attested by Purdil Khān son of Buhlul Khān. It seems to supply further information namely that from olden times there was a *takiya* (rest-house) of the Jalāli Faqirs² situated in the land outside the Lahripura Gate and that the said Khān had brought the land into his possession after removing *takiya* and built on that land six shops which along with other waste land he endowed for the said mosque and handed over to Shāh Hidāyatullāh son of 'Abdu'l-Fattāh for the maintenance of the mosque. In this deed, the boundaries of the shops as well as the land are also given. It seems from the deed that Shāh 'Abdu'l-Fattāh was a saintly person too, and was greatly respected as much, as is clear from the title Zubdatu'l-'Ārifīn-Cream of the Gnostics used for him therein suggests.

From the above, it is clear that the mosque referred to in the inscription was originally constructed by Tālib-Khān during

the time of the Mughal emperors Akbar and not by 'Abdu'l Fattāh as referred in the inscription itself. Of course 'Abdu'l-Fattāh was made the trustee of the said mosque and the shops for its proper maintenance. After Tālib Khān, his son Ḥabīb Khān further enlarged the trust, by endowing property comprising four *kumbas* of land. Thereafter, Purdil Khān, son of Bahlūl Khān, who was most probably the great-grand-son of Tālib Khān, further added six shops and some waste land to the trust property, in the time of Shāh 'Abdu'l-Fattāh's son Hidāyatullāh who had by this time by virtue of the deeds in question inherited the right of trusteeship after the death of his father. He also, as per the text of the inscription under study, bequeathed the whole property which excluded the mosque to his son Baṛā Miyān.

Who was this Talib Khān, the builder of the mosque and original donor? A bilingual inscription³ originally from Āmalpur, Valsad dt, now in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery at Vaḍōdarā, dated A. H. 1001 (1592-93 A. D.) in the reign of Akbar refers to one Tālib Khān as the builder of a well. The inscription quotes his full name as Tālib Khān Saifu'd-Dīn Qilij Khāni. In all probability this Tālib Khān may be identified with the one who built the mosque as recorded in the inscription under study. He was an official of note and must have held fief or so in this region.

As to 'Abdu'l-Fattāh, he is not known from available literary sources. But as stated above, he was a local saint and learned man revered by the people. The village Ḥamīdpūr is also not traceable.

The word *kumba* used in the text of the inscription is a Sanskrit term and was used usually, in Gujarat for the land measure. According to Wilson⁴ one *kumba* is equal to a square of ten *gunṭhas* on each side or equal to 4641 square yards.

The inscription is important from the point of view of the history of the development of Vaḍōdarā city and its localities. It names a few localities of the city some of which are still extant. We know from this inscription that the city was fortified and had gates of which the Lahripura Gate referred to in the inscription which at present forms the western gate of the city still exists and has retained the same old name. A still earlier reference to this name of the said Gate is found in the document referred to above dated 1577 A. D. The other two documents dated 1631 A. D. and 1698 A. D. also mention it by this name. The other place-name Chandan-tank mentioned in the record as well as document also exists today, though now it is called by its new name Sursagar named after Sureshwar Desai who is said to have repaired or rebuilt the tank in the middle-half of the 18th century. It is also clear from the perusal of the deeds that the mosque as referred in the inscription was the earliest of the Mughal monuments in the city of Vaḍōdarā built during the time of Akbar. The present mosque, however, has no claim to any architectural feature.

TEXT

- 1 Man Ki Sayyid Hidāyatu'llāh ibn Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Fattāh Khwāstam wa iqrār
- 2 Kardam ki man yak pisar banām-i-

Baṛā Miyān dāram az jānib-i-man birazā wa

- 3 raghbat-i-khud wa ḥawās-i-khamsa-i-qā'imī tahrir kardam ki chahār kumba zamīn
- 4 Kharij-i-jama 'az taḥt-i-qila-i-bādshāhi ki mirāth-i-pidar 'Abdu'l-Fattāh
- 5 ast wa birūn-i-shahr muttasil-i-darwāza-i-Lahrīpūra nazd-i-chandan
- 6 tālāb waqi'a ast darīn chahār kumba zamīn yek masjid ta'mīr kardā-i-
- 7 pidar 'Abdu'l-Fattāh ast māsiwāy-i-masjid ki waqf ast bāqi mānda mawāzi
- 8 madhkūr wa panj kūmba zamin-i-mauza-i-Ḥamīdpūr ki (qabz-i-?) mā ast wa *muradi nim wa daham* (?)
- 9 dukānāt wa chahār khānahāy wa yak gor-i-Jachā Māi ki ta'mīr kardā-i-mā ast ān (?)
- 10 Pisar Baṛā Miyān rā supurdam ānra ikhtiyār ast ki pusht dar pusht qabza-i-
- 11 khud dārad wa ya binām-i-digar kas hiba kunad yā bai-i-qati kunad ikhtiyār-i-kulli ḥāsil
- 12 (a)st Kārobār-i-masjid-i-madhkūr ki tamīr-i-pidar ast badhimma-i-khud kunad lihadhā in chand ḥurūf
- 13 tahrir kardam ki sanad ast al-marqūm 14 māh i-Shawwāl sana 1124 Hijri

TRANSLATION

- 1 I, Sayyid Hidāyatullāh, son of Sayyid Abdul-Fattāh, desire and (hereby) affirm
- 2 that I have one son named Baṛā Miyān. On my own accord and out of my own acquiescence and free-will and with full five senses operating,

- I put in writing that four *kumba* of land
- 4 and outside the city, adjacent to Lahripura Gate near the Chandan
- 5 Tank-in this four *kumba* land there is one mosque constructed by
- 6-8 (my) father 'Abdu'l-Fattāh; except the mosque which is a trust, the remaining of the said land and five *kumba* land (situated in) the village Ḥamīdpūr which belongs to or is held by us and.....?
- 9 shops and four houses and one grave of Jachā Māi which were constructed

- by us. (All this)
- 10-11 I bequeath to (my) son Barā Miyān. He has a right to hold it from generation to generation and or gift it away in any body's name or straight way sell it away, he has full right.
- 12-13 He should take over the maintenance of the said mosque which was constructed by (my) father. I have put in writing these few words which are (by way of) proof. Written on the 14th of the month of Shawwāl year 1124 Hijri (3rd November, 1712 A. D.)

Notes :

- 1 *AREP.*, 1974-75, No. D 8.
- 2 Followers of the Sufi saint Sayyid Jahāngasht (d. 1384 A. D.).
- 3 *Bulletin, Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, Vol. XII, (1955-56), pp. 38, 39.
- 4 H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, Delhi, 1968, p. 301.

11 SIGNIFICANCE OF GOTRAS AND MATRONYMICS IN SOME EARLY INSCRIPTIONS

I. K. Sarma

The word *gōtra*, literally 'cowpen' or herd of cows, used to denote originally the exogamous clan unit but in historical periods it also denoted the head of a larger patriarchal family. The accepted view is that the spread of the progeny' was due to the seven sages and Agastya was the eighth *rishi*. The offspring (*apatya*) of these eight are *gōtras* and other than these are *gōtrāvayava*. While *gōtra* mentions the latest ancestor of the person by whose name family traces its descent in unbroken succession, the *pravara* is constituted by the sage or sages who are ancestors of the *gōtra* sage. Baudhāyana speaks of millions of *gōtras* but the *pravaras* were only 49. Abhinavagupta² defines the *gōtra* in connection with ascetics as 'disciple of a teacher'; Pāṇini defines *gōtra* for grammatical purposes as *apatyam pau-tra prabhṛiti gōtram* (IV, 1.162) denoting the progeny beginning with son's son. As an example, we may state that the son of *Garga* would be called *Gārgī*, the grandson would be *Gārgyaḥ* and the plural *Gargāḥ* would denote all descendants of the sage. Similarly, the derived words (*taddhitas*) for *Vāśishṭhagōtrins - Vāśishṭhī, Vāśishṭhyaḥ, Vāśishṭhāḥ*. Each *gōtra* is associated with one, two, three or five sages, but never four or more than five. This then is entirely indicative of a patriarchal set-up tracing descent from father to son. The matronymics, however, indicate the descent from the mother. The custom of using the maternal clan or 'totemic' name or

tracing the descent matrilineally was also practised among certain ruling families in ancient India. Bühler and following him Rapson³ took the prefixes occurring on Andhra coinage such as *Gautamīputra* to mean 'son of the queen of the *gōtra* of *Gōtama*', etc.

I. SO CALLED MATRONYMICS IN EARLY INSCRIPTIONS

The use of prefixes like *Vāśishṭhīputra, Gautamīputra, Kauśikīputra, etc.*, appears from the post-Mauryan times till about the 5th century A. D. In the Aśōkan records, we do not come across any such practice. From the inscriptions datable to c. 2nd century B. C. to 1st century B. C. we find a variety of such *putra* ending prefixes to the individual names. We propose to examine these in greater detail.

The prefix *Vāśishṭhīputa* is found on the facade of the oldest *chaitya gr̥iha*, Cave 10 at Ajanta,⁴ which referred to its donee by name Kaṭahāḍi. A *Vāśishṭhīputra Ānanda*⁵ is mentioned as an *Āvēsani* (artisan) of King Sātakarṇi (II). Another *Vāśishṭhīputra Nāgaśiri* is known from a Bhita Liṅga record.⁶ A *Gautamīputra Bhāgavata*,⁷ a King *Kautsīputra Bhāgabhadra* from Besnagar,⁸ a *Gārgīputra Viśvadēva*, his son *Gauptīputra*, his son *Vatsīputra Dhanabhūti*⁹ were known from Bharhut and Mathura inscriptions. All these records belong to c. 2nd to 1st century B. C. In the subsequent period also, we come across a *Śaunakāyanī - putra* Bangapala,

Tēvaṇiputra Bhāgavata, *Vaihidarīputra*, Āshā ḍasēna from Pabhosa Cave inscription;¹⁰ a householder *Gauptiputra* from Kosam¹¹ stone inscription; and a *Pārāsarīputra* Sarvataṭa from Ghosundi¹² stone inscription. Next in chronological order we find a *Kausikiputra* Dhanadēva,¹³ lord of Kōsala from a memorial stone raised in honour of Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

We do not find these *putra* ending prefixes to the proper names either on the coins or inscriptions belonging to the early Sātavāhana rulers. So also they are absent among the Kshatrapa records. In the Kushāṇa records, we find a common appellation *Dēvaputra* (son of god) before the names of rulers starting with Kanishka and his successors Vaśishka, Huvishka, Vāsudēva, etc. An image inscription refers to an unidentified Kushāṇa monarch, one *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Dēvaputra Kushāṇaputra Shāhi Vāmtakshama*.¹⁴ As D. C. Sircar¹⁵ suggested the title *Dēvaputra* was perhaps borrowed from the Chinese title *T'ieu-tsu*, meaning son of heaven. B. N. Mukherjee¹⁶ has pointed out the occurrence of the word *Dēvaputra* on the reverse legend of at least twenty two copper coins of *Kuyula Kara Kaphasur* and holds that it was a royal title and not a mere complimentary epithet. But the term certainly stands for the divinity of Kingship (*devarāja cult*), while the Kushāṇaputra meant a scion of the Kushāṇa clan. Similarly the terms like *Bhūmiputra* or *Bhūdēviputra*, though initially based on profession, in course of time, assumed a clan name. Such *putra* ending terms should be viewed differently and have no bearing¹⁷ on the problem presented here.

However, on the later Sātavāhana coins and inscriptions,¹⁸ we find almost invariably

these prefixes to the proper names of the respective ruling kings, starting from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Prior to this monarch, we learn from a late literary work¹⁸ (*Kaliyugarājavṛittānta* section of *Bhavishyōttara-purāṇa*) that Chakōra Sātakarṇi (no. 20) was famous as *Vāsishṭhiputra* (*Vāsishṭhiputra nāmnāyāḥ prakhyātim bhuvi yāsyati*). His son Śivasvāti has the prefix *Māḍharīputra*. These prefixes assume greater significance and regarded as *Vyavahāra-nāmas*.

After Śivasvāti we get Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had two sons, Puḷumāvi and Sātakarṇi (IV) and both were *Vāsishṭhiputras*. We do not have any evidence to say that they were born to different or a single queen of GPS. This very prefix was borne by Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi and Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. The former succeeded to the Imperial throne, as it appears after *VPP* while the latter after *VPS*¹⁹ and both issued even silver portrait coins on their own names.

Again, the prefix *Gautamīputra* comes to Yajñaśrī, the 27th monarch, and according to *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, his son was Vijaya Sātakarṇi. The *purāṇas* are unanimous about Vijaya's rule of six years and an inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa²¹ confirms this. From this very record we learn that he is known with the prefix *Gautamīputra Śirī Vijaya Sātakarṇi*. This then shows that both father (Yajñaśrī) and son (Vijaya) had the same prefix and so also the mother (Bālaśrī) and her son (Sātakarṇi II) in an earlier case.

But the problem does not end at that. Recently, a unique and well-preserved silver portrait coin, bearing the name Vijaya Sātakarṇi, was brought to light from Nasik, thanks to Shobhana Gokhale²² of the Decan

College. This coin reveals *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*, the prefix, against the proper name of Vijaya. When I discussed about this find with D. C. Sircar and A. M. Shastri, they instantly came forward with a view that two different kings of the same name might have existed among the latter Sātavāhanas. The only argument in favour was distinctive *putra*-ending surnames. We know, for certain, that only one king with the proper name Vijaya Sātakarṇi existed among the Sātavāhana kings and all the known evidences—coins, inscriptions and *purāṇas* are unanimous at that. Vijaya's son was Chaṇḍa Śrī, who was again a *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*. This then clearly shows that father and son had same *putra*-ending prefix. In the Ikshvāku records also similar prefixes are noticed against the ruling king's name as well as with certain *Mahāsēnāpatis* and *Mahātalavaras*²⁵ who were related to the royal house. The first Ikshvāku king Chantamūla I, his grandson Ehuṅula Chantamūla and the latter's son Rudrapurushadatta were *Vāsiṣṭhīputras*, where as Śiri Virapurushadatta I was a *Māḍharīputra* and his namesake grand-son was a *Hāritīputra*.

Basing on the different prefixes A. M. Shastri⁴ recently distinguished two Śiva Māghas among the Magha rulers. While Gautamīputra Śivamāgha of Bhita sealing was regarded as no. 2, Kauśikīputra Śivamāgha as no. 1, although the inscriptions do not make any distinction and no other evidence justified the recognition of two kings of the same name among the Māghas.

II SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE PREFIXES

Following Bühler, D. C. Sircar held these prefixes, such as *Gautamīputra*, *Vāsi-*

śṭhīputra, *Hāritīputra* as matronymics. While editing the various Ikshvāku records, this learned scholar drew our attention to the significant use of these prefixes. He saw in them paternal *gōtras* of the respective queen mothers. "Prince Virapurushadatta's matronymic *Hāritīputra* suggests that the paternal family of Kupaṇa Śrī belonged to the *Hārīta-gōtra*."²⁶

Accordingly, *Māḍharīputra* meant "son of a lady born in a family belonging to *Māḍhara-gōtra*. Yet in another place D. C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan held that "Rudrapurushadatta, whose mother Varmabhaṭā is stated to have been and in whose 11th regnal year the record is dated, is described as *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*. The paternal *gōtra* of the king's mother was, therefore, *Vāsiṣṭha*. It is thus clear that the Śaka princess Varmabhaṭā was a step-mother of the king and not his real mother."²⁶ All these observations arose because these *putra* prefixes were regarded as matronymics. Bühler was the first to explain these distinctively priestly titles, occurring in a kingly family, not of the Brāhmin caste, as given in honour of the royal *purōhita* or family priest.²⁷ Accordingly the terms *Vāsiṣṭhi* and *Māḍhari* are religious surnames derived from *purōhitas*, belonging respectively to the *gōtras*, *Vāsiṣṭhā* and *Māḍhara*. These religious surnames were borne by the Āndhra queens, for example, Gautamī Bālaśrī, mother of Gautamīputra. But it may be noted here that these *ṛishi* surnames were not the monopoly of the ruling kings alone but of others too as noted above. Again, the queens of the Vijayapuri Ikshvāku dynasty, like Mahādēvī Bhaṭidēvī (mother of Ehuṅula Chantamūla), Mahādēvī Kupaṇaśrī (mother of Virapurushadatta II)

were never known with the surnames like *Vāsishṭhi* or *Hārīti* as borne by their sons. As already noted, the surnames like *Gautamī-putra*, *Vāsishṭhiputra*, etc. were found to be common to both father and son in many cases and occasionally also to the collaterals, whose mothers were different. If we base on D. C. Sircar's view and regard them to denote the paternal *gōtra* of the mother, under no circumstances, father and son could have mothers belonging to the same *gōtra*. In another instance, Chāmtaśrī, a sister of *Vāsishṭhiputra* Chantamūla I, was married to another *Vāsishṭhiputra* Khaḍaśiri of the Pūkiya family.²⁸ This is certainly prohibited as it tantamounts to a *sa-gōtra* marriage.²⁹ It may be recalled here that Vijayapurī Ikshvākus trace their descent from the great Ayōdhya-Ikshvākus, whose pedigree is stated to be the same as of Lord Buddha (*Ikhāku-rāja - pravaraṣi - śata - pabhava - vaṁśa - bhava*).³⁰ In another inscription Ehuva Chantamūla was regarded as equal to the epic heroes *Sagara-Dilīp-Āmbarīsha-Yudhiśṭhira-tulya dharma - vijayasya Rāmasyēva sarvva-jan-ābhirāmasya*.³¹ So the Ikshvāku kings were certainly superior Āryans, adhering to the *vaidika-dharma* and the founder of the dynasty Mahārāja Chantamūla performed several *vēdic* sacrifices, including *Aśvamēdha*, and was a *Virūpākhaṭi Mahāsēnā-parigahitasa*. We cannot accuse them perpetuating *sa-gōtra* marriages.

Be that as it may, Prof. Sircar held that Mahādēvī Siri Varmabhaṭā, the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa whose *gōtra* is stated to be *Bṛihatpalāyana*, was a step mother of king Rudrapurushadatta, because the latter has the prefix *Hārītiputra*. This pillar record is a memorial (*chhāyākhaṁba*) set up in memory of the dead queen (*saga-*

gatāya) and the record clearly states³² *Siri Ruḍapurisa-datasa mātuya Mahādēviya Mahākhatapa dhutiya Bahaphalasa gōtāya Siri - vammabhaṭāya*. This being so, there should be no doubt about the fact that Siri Varmabhaṭā was the mother of Rudrapurushadatta. Here it is necessary to digress a little and take notice of the practice of *gōtra* names found in some early records.

III MENTION OF GOTRAS

The practice of citing *gōtras* is very ancient and prevalent right from the *vēdic* times.³³ In the inscriptions we find the *gōtras* mentioned, curiously enough, among the records of alien rulers. Even here in the beginning the *gōtras* are specified in case of certain native *brāhmaṇas*³⁴ only, who received the gifts from the donor. Some time later, the stone *yashṭi* inscriptions³⁵ mention *Aupōsati-gōtra* in respect of a sister and mother of one Madana, whereas the wife of the same person belonged to *Saunika-sagōtra*. This clearly indicated that the lady retained her paternal *gōtra* even after marriage. This exactly was the case with Siri Varmabhaṭā, a Mahākshatrapa daughter, whose paternal *gōtra* was of *Bṛihatpalāyana*, and the purpose of the record was alike a memorial. In fact Śakas of Gujarāt-Ujjain regions were closely connected to the Ikshvāku family by matrimonial exchanges. We need not hesitate to regard Sirivarmabhaṭā as the real mother of *Vāsishṭhiputra* Rudra Purushadatta. The title *svāmi*, and prefix *Rudra* to the names and the very custom of raising memorials are the result of the Śaka impact. D C. Sircar rightly pointed out that "Śakas in general were regarded as clean *sūdras* or as degraded *kshatriyas*."³⁶

Their mentioning of the *gōtras*, both paternal and maternal sides, is to show their ascendancy adoption into the superior class, its rituals and customs. The later Śātavāhana rulers and Ikshvākus, on one hand, Vishṇukunḍins, Vākātakas and Guptas on the other, developed matrimonial relations with the Śakas as well as local Nāgas, etc., leading to a complex mixed descents "from Brāhmin father to a tribal clan chieftainess (*gōtra-dēvī*)."³⁹ But they boast of having had origins with the older *gōtras*, and Brāhmin priests discovered some respectable geneology in respect of their ruling masters from the epic and *purāṇic* accounts. It is these very rulers who were characterised by the *purōhita-gōtra* prefix to their names. The *Hiraṇyagarbha Mahādāna* was⁴⁰ one such device to acquire a new noble birth, or even a caste for the first time, with the *gōtra* of the Brāhmin priest. It appears from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁴¹ (34.7) that when *kshatriya* is initiated for a sacrifice, the *pravara* should be of the family priest, for the rulers have either forgotten or lost their *gōtras* and *pravara*.

Early Śātavāhanas were brāhmaṇas by caste and worshipped Vishṇu. But the Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya-Nāga linkage of king Gautamīputra and the Śaka-kshatrapa intermarriage of his descendants are historical facts.⁴⁰ Yet the Śātavāhana kings boasted of having checked the contamination of the four *varṇas*, (*Dvijavarakuṭumbavardhakasya* and *Vinivartita-chāturvarṇa saṁkarasya*). It is clear, therefore, that between precept and practice in the *varṇa* or caste systems, there was, as is today, a great discrepancy during the early historical period as well.⁴¹

Mahanivvana Tantra (XII, 75) says: *vivāhānantaram nārī patigōtrēṇa gōtriṇa*.⁴² This change of bride's *gōtra* takes place if the marriage performed in a regular way. In case of Mahādēvī Sirivarmabhaṭṭā and Mahādēvī Kupaṇaśrī (mother of Hāritīputra Vīrapurushadatta), their marriage with Mahārāja Ehavula Chantamūla appears to belong to *āsura* or *gāndharva* type. Similarly Prabhāvatiguptā, the chief queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasēna II (of *Vṛishṇivṛiddha-gōtra*) retained her paternal *gōtra* (*Dhāraṇa-sagōtra*) as well as her paternal cognomen. Similarly Prabhāvatī's mother Kubēra Nāgā of the Nāga family did not give up her paternal family name at marriage. Mentioning the matrylineal descent of the king appears to have continued by the Imperial Guptas.⁴³ For political reasons, although in a lone instance (an Ikshvāku queen Mahādēvī Kupaṇaśrī, mother of prince Hāritīputra Vīrapurushadatta) recalls her paternal pedigree.⁴⁴

HARITIPUTRA

To this custom, the worship of the Mother Goddess, Hāritī was added. It appears that the cult of Buddhist Goddess Hāritī originated in the Gandhara-Mathura regions.⁴⁵ A Hāritīputra Palasa is known from a votive tablet inscription of the time of Mahākshatrapa Sōḍāsa from Mathura.⁴⁶ For the first time, we find in Deccan independent brick temples, enshrining the image of Hāritī at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.⁴⁷ Among the Ikshvākus Haritīputra Vīrapurushadatta is the only prince having this surname. Later on, the contemporary rulers of Banavāsi, the Vishṇukaḍachūṭus, and Kadāmbas held this surname Hāritīputra, although they belonged to *Mānavya-sagōtra*.⁴⁸

Another Mahārāja Mānasāda⁴⁹ Aya (?) was a Hāritīputra belonging to *Gālava-sagōtra*. The early Chālukyan kings termed themselves as Hāritīputras and proudly declared as nurished by seven mothers. The later legendary accounts⁵⁰ derive the Chālukyas to Manu through Mānavya, Hārīta and finally Pañchaśikhi Hārītī.

From the foregoing, it appears that the so-called metronymics do not indicate any *gōtra* but simply customary surnames resulting out of devotion to the sages by the parents seeking male progeny. A sort of worship of these *purōhitas* was perhaps in vogue during the earlier periods, on the same lines of *mātṛikā* worship. A son blessed by Vāśishṭha became a *Vāśishṭhi-putra*, by Gōtama, a *Gautami-putra*. If a female, it was simply *Gōtami* as in the case of Bālaśrī, the mother of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi. Since Vijaya Sātakarṇi was known by both the surnames *Gautami* (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa ins.), as well as *Vāśishṭhi* (Nasik coin), we hold that Vijaya was doubly blessed by these two sages.⁵¹ Another instance of this sort is met with in the Malavaḷli inscriptions. The first one, of the time of Chuṭu Sātakarṇi, refers to one *Takiñchiputra Hāritīputra Koṇḍamāna* of *Kauṇḍinya-sagōtra* and in the later record his son *Kausikīputra Nāgadatta* of the same *gōtra* was referred.⁵²

The worship of the *mātṛis* for the grant of progeny was also not unknown. A Nasik inscription of Nahapāna (A. D. 119-124) refers to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Aśribhūta as a *Vārāhiputra*.⁵³

So these prefixes were not matronymics nor they stand for the paternal *gōtra* of a queen mother. They do not

also indicate "the matriarchal state of ancient non-Aryan society." Much less they "distinguished a person from the issues of his many step-mothers," as held by D. C. Sircar.⁵⁴ The ancient *gōtra* and *pravara* names have nothing to do with the *putra* ending surnames found in the early inscriptions of the Peninsula, though they were after the names of the sages who were worshipped for grant of good progeny and used to signify their enhanced social status in case of mixed descent of a ruling king or his family. The practice of citing these prefixes appears to have an extra-Indian origin—with the early Śaka-Parthian and Kushāṇa rulers, who took to *vēdic* and *Brāhmanical* religion and customs. They almost got Hinduised totally their Gods, rituals and worship was alike. They exchanged matrimonial connections, adopted the *gōtras*, and even personal names.

At the end, we may also state that it was the prerogative of the few *Brāhmin* priests to retain their traditional *gōtra* and *pravara* unsullied, besides promoting *Vēdic* learning and rituals. It is gratifying to note that both foreign as well as indigeneous royal houses fostered their upkeep and took pride in granting munificent gifts to the *Brāhmin* teachers belonging to several *gōtras* who remained orthodox and proficient in *vēdas* and rituals as can be seen from the numerous donations caused by the royal houses of the Deccan,⁵⁵ notably Ānandagōtrin, Bṛihatphalāyana, Early Pallava, Kadamba, Śālaṅkāyana, Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Vākāṭaka, etc. extending from the third to sixth century A. D.

Notes :

- 1 The seven seers or singers of the Vēdic hymns are *Kutsa, Atri, Rēbha, Agastya, Kuśika, Vāśishṭha*, and *Vyāsa*. The pupils were addressed by the *gōtra* names. In the later works names are given as and *Gōtama, Bhāradvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vāśishṭha, Kāśyapa, Atri*. Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma Śāstra*, II, Pt. I (Poona 1941), pp. 483-84.
- 2 V. S. Pathak, *History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, (Allahabad, 1980), pp. 10-11; See also *Chintrapraśasti* and also Harsha stone inscriptions etc. *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 122, 282.
- 3 E.J. Rapson, *A Catalogue of the India Coins in the British Museum*, etc. (London, 1908), Intro; CLXXXIX.
- 4 C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Painting*, (New Delhi, 1968), p. 41.
- 5 *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 88.
- 6 J. N. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology*, (Lucknow, 1968), pp. 68-69.
- 7 J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, (1974), p. 92.
- 8 D. C. Sircar, *Select Inss.*, (Revised 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965), p. 89.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88; Also Mrs. K. (Das) Bajpayee, *Early Inss of Mathura--A Study*, pp. 11-12.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 12 *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 27.
- 13 *Ibid.*, XX, p. 57.
- 14 Mrs. K. (Das) Bajpayee, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.
- 15 D. C. Sircar in *Age of Imperial Unity*, (Bombay, 1951), p. 138. Even inhabitants of a place one sometimes addressed after the place or regional name cf *Paushapurika Putra*, meaning an original inhabitant of Paushapurai i. e., Peshawar. *Select Inss.*, p. 155, note 5.
- 16 *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 190-193.
- 17 I am thankful to Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, for raising these points during the discussion that followed after presentation of this paper at Calcutta on 16-1-1981. Besides, I am also grateful to Dr. Mukherjee and Dr. A. M. Shastri for their critical comments on my paper.
- 18 I. K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Satavāhana Empire*, (New Delhi, 1980), pp. 13-23. The chronology and geneology adopted here is after this work.
- 19 M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, (Madras, 1939), Intro. pp. cii-iii.
- 20 I. K. Sarma, *Op. cit.*, p. 136.
- 21 H. Sarkar, 'Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Prākṛit Inscription of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi, Year-6'', *Ep. Ind.* XXXVI, pp. 273-74.
- 22 I.K. Sarma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-120, and '286. pl. XVI, p. 19.
- 23 Vāśishṭhīputra Khaḍaśiri of Pukiya family married Chāmtaśrī, sister of Vāśishṭhīputra Chantamūla I. Vāśishṭhīputra Khamda Chaliki of the Hiraṇyaka family married to Chūla Chāntiśrī of the Kulahaka family. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, B-4, line 4.
- 24 A. M. Shastri, *Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins*, (Nagpur, 1979), pp. 19, 21, 27.
- 25 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 18.

- 26 D. C. Sircar and K. G. Krishnan, "Inscription of the time of Rudrapurisdatta-Year-11", *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 21.
- 27 *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 272.
- 28 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, B-4, line-4.
- 29 *Nirṇaya Sindhu* forbids marriage with a girl who is *sagōtra* of one's mother, P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma Śāstra*, II, no. I, p. 471. Prohibition in the sameness of *gōtra* in marriage had its origin long before the period of the *sūtras*. *Ibid.*, see, p. 481.
- 30 D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 10-13.
- 31 D. C. Sircar and K. G. Krishnan, *Op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 32 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 21-22. *Sagatāya chāyā-khamba*. The sculptured scene above the inscribed part of the pillar reveals that within the royal apartment the queen is seated on a high *mañchaka* seat, flanked by lady attendants, holds a mirror (*darpaṇa*) in the right hand looks into her own *chhāyā*. preparing herself for *satī*. Actually a plaque of a queen committing to fire was found at the Royal Burning Ghat site-126, and quite likely this figure might be that of *Sirivarmabhaṭṭa*. If this is accepted, we can say that king Ehavula died during the 11th regnal year of Rudrapurushadatta.
- 33 According to Pāṇini, Suāgas also belonged to *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*. The Gaṅga king claimed to be of Kaṣṭhāyana-sagōtra. Even now in the daily *Sandhyāvandanu* prayer, one has to repeat one's *gōtra*, *pravara*, *ārsha*, the *vēdaśākha* and *sūtra*.
- 34 (a) Mathura stone inscription of Sōḍāsa (A. D. 10-25) mentions a Brāhmaṇa of Segrava-sagōtra, *Select Inss.*, p. 121; (b) An *amātya* of Nahapāṇa, belonged to *Vatsala-gōtra* (*Śrīvatsala*) *Ibid.*, p. 173; (c) A *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahāgrāmika Śivasēpa* belonged to *Kauśika-sagōtra* and an *amātya* of Ābhīra Vasushēṇa named *Tishyaśarman* belonged to *Bhāradvāja-sagōtra*; Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 202-03, lines, 2, 6.
- 35 *Select Inss.*, pp. 173-75.
- 36 D. C. Sircar, in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, (Bombay, 1951), pp. 121-22, 181 and 185.
- 37 D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India: An Historical Outline*, (Vikas, 1977), p. 171.
- 38 Several kings of the south performed this *dāna*. Ānandagōtrin king Attivarman of Gōraṅṭla record, Vishṅukukṣṇin king Mādhavavarman I, Chalukyan King Pulakēśi I were among the notables. D. C. Sircar, (1939), pp. 51-54.
- 39 P. V. Kane, *Op. cit.*, II, PL. I, pp. 488, 493 and 495.
- 40 So also some of the post-Sātavāhana rulers of Deccan, like Ikshvākus, Nāgas, Vākātakas, Vishṅukukṣṇins, etc. Even Imperial Guptas were interrelated to Nāgas and Vākātakas.
- 41 I. K. Sarma, *Op. cit.*, p. 4.
- 42 D. C. Sircar, "Gōtrāntara or the change of a woman's gōtra" *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1945, pp. 48-51.
- 43 I. K. Sarma, "The succession and early career of Skandagupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta, Dynasty", *JAHRS*, XXXIII, pp. 43-44.
- 44 D. C. Sircar, and K. G. Krishnan, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.
- 45 Bhagawant Sahai, *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities* (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 256-57.

- 46 *Select Inss.*, pp. 120-121.
- 47 H. Sarkar and B. N. Misra, *Nagarjunakonda*, (New Delhi, 1972), p. 39; *Indian Archaeology-1954-55 A Review*, pp. 22-23, PLS XLV-A, B. Sites 17 and 56 had square brick temple enshrining life size images of Hāritī. The cult of Hāritī appears to be very popular and several cut shells and bangles were found besides small terracotta figures of mother and child.
- 48 *Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 25. The Kadambas originally belonged to *Āngira-sagōtra* and *Trai-ārsha-vartma*, the three *pravaras* being *Āngirasa*, *Vāśishṭha* and *Bārshaspatya*. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31.
- 49 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 82-86.
- 50 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, ii, p. 339.
- 51 I. K. Sarma, *Op. cit.*, (1980), p. 62.
- 52 *SSLD*, p. 250; *Ep. Carn.*, VII, SK 264.
- 53 *Select Inss.*, pp. 169-170, line 4.
- 54 *Ibid.*, pp. 97, ft. note 2.
- 55 *SSLD*, pp. 42-43, 55-58, 211-212, 265-266, 296-298, etc.

12 WAS KAPPE ARABHATTA SAME AS ARYABHATA, THE FAMOUS ASTRONOMER?

M. J. Sharma

Inscriptions recording valorous deaths are not uncommon and so too are inscriptions relating to death reasoned by rituals and customs. But inscriptions recording death by self-immolation are not many and those that speak of self-immolation to save oneself from ignominy are indeed extremely rare. Such is the nature of an inscription which speaks of a certain Kappe Arabhatṭa, found engraved on the cliff at the back of the northern fort near the hamlet of Tattakoti at Badami (Bijapur District, Karnataka State). The inscription is not dated and it is in archaic Kannaḍa characters of about 8th century A. D. It contains 10 lines of writing and the language of the inscription is Kannaḍa except in lines 3 and 4 which contain a verse in Sanskrit.

The inscription was noticed and edited for the first time by J. F. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X (1881), No. LXXXIV, pages 61-62 and plate, and the text and the translation given by him are as follows:

TEXT

- 1 Kappe-Arabhatṭan śiṣṭa-jana-priyan
- 2 kashṭa-jana-varjitan Kaliyuga-viparītan
[**]
- 3 varan=tējasvinō mṛittyu(tyu)r=na tu
mānāvakhaṇḍanam
- 4 mṛittyu(tyu)s = tatksaṇḍikō duḥkham
=māna-bhaṁgan=dinē-dinē [**]
- 5 Śādhuge sādhu mādhu(dhu)ryyange

- (āge) mādhu(dhu)ryyam bādhippa
6 Kalige Kaliyuga-viparītan=Mādhavan-
=ītan=peṇan=alla [**]
7 Oḷḷitta keyvōr=ār=ppolladum=adaṅ-
ante ballittu Kalige
8 [v]iparīta purā-kṛitam=illi sandikkum=
adu bandu
9 kaṭṭida siṁghaman=keṭṭoḍ=ēn=emag
=endu biṭṭavol=Kalige vi-
10 [pa]rītamg=ahitarkkaḷ=keṭṭar=mmēṅ
=sattar=avichāram [**]

(Read *Oḷḷittu* for *Oḷḷitta* (line 7), and
āvichāram for *avichāram* (line 10))

Translation

Kappe-Arabhatṭa was beloved by excellent people and avoided by evil people, and was an exceptional man in the Kaliyuga. Better is a glorious death than the destruction of reputation; death is a pain that lasts only for an instant; but the destruction of reputation abides from day to day. That which is good (is appropriate) to that which is good, and sweetness to sweetness, and he who is an exceptional man in the Kaliyuga to the distressful Kali (age); he is (a very) Mādhava, and nothing less who are they that do what is good?; they cannot be likened (to him). Having recognised this,, let there be here effected a reconciliation with the Kali (age). And so, when the enemies of him who was an exceptional man in the Kali (age) saying "what is this to us?", came to injure and destroy the eminence that he

had achieved, they were worsted, and then they died; as to this there can be no doubt.

Fleet while editing the inscription had expressed that the meaning of the inscription here and there was not quite clear and had observed that it appeared to be a monumental record of some saint or local celebrity. He had further sought the opinion of one Mr. Venkat Rango Katti who observed that the whole inscription appeared as a '*birudāvaḥi*, or epitome of the titles and deeds of some great man', and particularly, according to him, the lines 7 to 9 convey 'a riddle or pun upon words'. What ever it may be, since Fleet's first edition, the inscription had been referred to by scholars from time to time and yet its purport and possible significance had not been made out so far. The present author now comes out with a plausible identification of Kappe Arabhaṭṭa and also offers an explanation to clear up the enigmatic composition of the inscriptional text.

The word 'Kappe', forming the first half of the name (Kappe Arabhaṭṭa), means 'a frog.'¹ And this insignificant prefix adds incongruity to the name of the person who has been extolled as 'an exceptional man in the Kaliyuga' (*Kaliyuga-viparītan*). Therefore, the word *kappe* must have some other meaning which must be of adjectival significance probably denoting the person's fame or profession as the case may be. There is a word *Kappa* which is the Prakrit variant of Sanskrit *kalpa*.² It also occurs in the Aśōkan rock-edict. of Girnar as part of a word *samvaṭa-kapa*³ (which was sanskritised as *samvatsara-kalpa*).⁴ *Kappa* in Prakrit means

*kāla-viśeṣha*⁵ and its Sanskrit form *kalpa* means 'a fabulous period of time (a day of Brahma or one thousand *yugas*, a period of 4320 million years of mortals).⁶ One of the meanings of *kalpa* is 'measuring the duration of the world' or 'measure of time or an age of the world'⁸ (measuring of the duration of the world or measuring of the time) which is involved in the studies of the Earth, Sun, Moon and other planets, in other words, Astronomy and Mathematics.

Coming to the second word *ara* which forms the first half of the second part of the name (Ara-bhaṭṭa) it may be said that the word *ara* might have been derived from the Sanskrit word *ārya*. This transmutation might have occurred as a result of vernacular usage and difference in language. Similarly, the word *kappa* can become *kappe* in Kannaḍa⁹ (e. g. *raksha* becoming *rakshe*). In view of the above explanation the name Arabhaṭṭa can be derived from *Ārya-bhaṭṭa*.

Now the question arises as to the identity of this *Ārya-bhaṭṭa*. As an immediate answer, the foremost name that comes to our mind is that of *Āryabhaṭa*, the author of *Āryabhaṭīya* which has been acclaimed to be 'of greatest importance in the history of Indian mathematics and astronomy.'¹⁰ His work is said to comprise four sections¹¹ of which the first one is called *Daśagītika* and deals with the system of expressing numbers by letters of alphabet and furnishes definitions for *yuga*, *kalpa*, etc., while the second section is named *Gaṇita-pāda* (Mathematics). The third section deals with *Kālakriyā* (Reckoning of the time) which includes the beginning of Kaliyuga, and the date of the author; the final

section is named as *Gōla* (the sphere). As a whole, these subjects significantly agree in conformity with the meaning of the word *kappa* as suggested above. Hence, with that meaningful surname, 'Arabhaṭṭa' of the Bādāmi inscription may easily be identified with Āryabhaṭa, the author of *Āryabhaṭīya*.

In the light of this identification when the inscription is studied and interpreted much of the doubts in it stand cleared. Lines 1-2 introduce Āryabhaṭa (who was known as Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa) who was the beloved of learned people (*śiṣṭa-jana*)¹⁵ and avoided by the evil people and was the *Kaliyuga-viparītan*. The expression *Kaliyuga-viparītan* can be understood in two senses, one as 'the exceptional man in Kaliyuga' and the other as a title meaning 'he who reversed or contradicted' (or acted contrary to) the Kaliyuga (Kali-age). The above interpretation rings true when we gather facts about the greatness of Āryabhaṭa. Āryabhaṭa was an innovator. He became an exception in expounding a revolutionary doctrine. In Walter E. Clark's words: 'Indian Astronomy, in general, maintains that the Earth is stationary and that the heavenly bodies revolve about it, but there is evidence in *Āryabhaṭīya* itself and in the accounts of Āryabhaṭa given by later writers to prove that Āryabhaṭa maintained that the Earth, which is situated in the center of space, revolves on its axis, and that the asterisms are stationary.'¹⁶ Again as an innovator, he divided the *yuga* into four equal quarters which was against the traditional method and fixed the beginning of the 'fourth yugapāda (the later Kaliyuga) at the time of the great Bhārata battle in 3102 B. C.' Thus with

his doctrines in Astronomy and Mathematics, he had proved himself as an exceptional thinker by going against the orthodox dogmas laid down in the Vēdas and Smṛitis.¹⁵

Lines 3-4, containing a Sanskrit verse, state that 'death is preferable to dishonour or ignominy, for, the former causes only instantaneous pain while the latter continues to give mortification, day after day.'¹⁶ It appears that Āryabhaṭa was subjected to unbearable victimisation and consequently killed himself in preference to enduring dishonour done to him. Āryabhaṭa was born in 476 A. D. and according to his own claim he had completed 23 years¹⁷ of his life when he composed the treatise (i. e., in 499 A. D.). Brahmagupta (628 A. D.), the author of *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* criticizes some astronomical matters in which Āryabhaṭa is wrong or in regard to which Āryabhaṭa's method differs from his own, but his bitterest and most frequent criticisms are directed against points in which Āryabhaṭa was an innovator and differed from Smṛiti or tradition.'¹⁸ Thus it is evident that his progressive outlook and dissent from tradition naturally led the orthodox Hindu teachers to oppose him and later, probably being intolerably jealous of his high reputation and fame acquired at such a young age (23 years), they condemned him and subjected him to utter dishonour. As implied by the verse in the inscription, it may be conjectured that Āryabhaṭa had brought his life to an end in order to escape from the day to day torture from dishonour. Evidently enough, the fact that Āryabhaṭa's life had ended at a young age is proved by the sudden termination of Āryabhaṭa's career as a writer in the field of

Astronomy and Mathematics as, except for his famous treatise *Āryabhaṭīya*, which was composed by him at the age of 23 years, no other work was known to have been written by him, so far.

Lines 5-6 speak of *Āryabhaṭa*'s good nature and eminence. It is stated that he was righteous or gentle to the righteous or the gentle, that he was pleasant to those who were pleasant and that he, being the *Kali-yuga-viparītan*, became the very *Mādhava* (*Kṛiṣṇa* or *Vishṇu*) and none else, by overpowering or controlling the tormenting *Kali* (in other words, fixing *Kali* (age) in whatever way he wanted.

Lines 7-10 are very important, for they unravel the ambiguity of the record by indicating the objective. Fleet had almost successfully translated these lines except the three words *Viparīta purā-kṛitam* in line 8 which he had left untranslated saying that they were unintelligible, the context being wanting.¹⁹ In fact, these are the very words bearing the utmost significance (discussed below) and they become intelligible when they are translated like this: *Kalige viparīta purā-kṛitam ballittu*²⁰ (lines 7-8) = that reversal to *Kali* (age) done long back had become firm or had been confirmed. In other words, the contradiction to *Kali* (age) made long back (*purā-kṛitam*) by *Āryabhaṭa* had become confirmed or agreeable. Bearing this meaning in mind, the lines 7-10 may be translated like this: who will spoil or make bad (*polladu*) that which was good or true (*oḷittu*)? Likewise, that contradiction or reversal done long back to *Kali* (age) had become strong or firm. Let there be here reconciliation. And so, when the enemies of him who was the reverser of *Kali*, saying 'what is this to us'

came to injure and destroy the eminence that he had achieved, they were worsted and then they died; as to this there can be no doubt. In other words the idea imbibed in these lines may be explained as follows: 'who can falsify a fact (as fact remains to be a fact)? Likewise, the contradictory theory of fixing the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* advocated by *Āryabhaṭa* long back had gained strength and been realised. Let there be here a reconciliation. Those enemies of *Āryabhaṭa* who had opposed him or who went on injuring his eminence had failed and faced the worst-lost fame and name; and they died too. And that is the judgement.

The above lines (7-10) vividly point out that the inscription is only meant to speak about *Arabhaṭa* or *Āryabhaṭa* and his doctrine, and it does not belong to his time or to the time immediately after his death. It is proved by the use of the word *purā-kṛita* (long ago or long back) in regard to his (*Āryabhaṭa*'s) achievement, which explains that the inscription was composed and engraved long after *Āryabhaṭa*. We know that *Āryabhaṭa* lived in the later half of 5th century; the characters of the inscription belong to the 8th century, thus revealing a gap of roughly 2 centuries.

Besides, from the inscription it can easily be inferred that the person who was responsible for the composition and the engraving of this record must have been an ardent follower or admirer of *Āryabhaṭa*'s doctrines or possibly, might have been a descendant of *Āryabhaṭa*. His objectives, as gathered from the inscription, seemed to be two pronged. On the one hand, to bring back to the memory of the people the great *Āryabhaṭa*, his progressive

doctrines heralded by the theory on the beginning of the Kali era and the injustice done to him by the orthodox Hindus who opposed and victimised him with dishonour which culminated in his committing suicide. On the other hand, it was intended to convey to the people of his (the composer's) times that Āryabhaṭa's theories, particularly on the beginning of Kali-era, in course of time went on gaining strength and had become acceptable by most of the Astronomers. And he further intended to warn those (probably the orthodox Hindus) who still tried to oppose Āryabhaṭa and injure his eminence, of a similar fate suffered by those who had opposed him (Āryabhata) long ago. Āryabhaṭa was criticized even after his death by later astronomers. This is evident in Brahmagupta's work '*Brāhmasphuṭa-Siddhānta*' wherein he had summed up his criticism of Āryabhaṭa in the worst possible way, even to the length of comparing him to 'a worm.'¹ But the first instance of recognition to his (Āryabhaṭa's) theory on the beginning of Kali era had come during the 7th century as is evidenced by an epigraph of Chalukya Pulakeśi II from Aihole² which is dated both in Kali and Śaka years (Kali year 3735-634/5 (Śaka year 556+78) = 310 1/2 A. D. for the beginning of Kali era).

Aihole (Bijapur District), which was one of the important centres under the Chalukyas, was not far from their capital Bādāmi (Bijapur District), the findspot of the present inscription speaking about Arabhaṭṭa. This shows that the region had some significant connection with Āryabhaṭa. Possibly, it might have been the Chalukyas of Bādāmi who gave recognition

to Āryabhaṭa's doctrines and perhaps the Kali era came into vogue under their rule. Also, such recognition and the presence of the present record which speaks intensively of Āryabhaṭa shows that Āryabhaṭa had some connection with this region. As we know, Āryabhaṭa's exact birth place is not known.³ The place Kusumapura modern (Pātna, Bihar) was mentioned in his work only in connection with the study of and respect for the science of Astronomy. It might have been the place where the bitter events of Āryābhaṭa's life had taken place. However, as for Āryabhaṭa's nativity, is concerned, it may be suggested here that he must have hailed from the region around Bādāmi on the basis of the significances of the Aihole inscription and the present inscription from Bādāmi. The region had yielded not only Āryabhaṭa, but also many other astronomers. An inscription from Hüvinahippargi⁴ (Bagewadi Taluk, Bijapur District) dated in 862 A. D. mentions an Astrologer, Goleya-bhaṭṭa. Later in the Yādava period, a family of astronomers starting from Bhāskarācharyya, his son Lakshīmdhara, and his grand sons Chāgadēva and Anantadēva adorned the royal courts.⁵

It may be said in conclusion that if this theory of identification of Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa with Āryabhaṭa should stand confirmed by future evidences the fate which befell Āryabhaṭa will become one of the bitterest and sorrowful events in Indian History. A parallel may be drawn from European History though of a later period, i. e. of 17th century, from the life of Galilio, the great astronomer whose views went against the catholic tradition where by he was forced by Pope Urban VIII to spend

his remaining years in retirement without receiving any rewards." This shows that as long as dogmatism prevails, history repeats

itself. It need not have to be in the same land but it can be in the lands beyond the waters.

Notes :

- 1 Kittel : *Kan. Eng. Dictionary*, p. 364.
- 2 Rhys Davids : *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 15.
- 3 *CII.*, Vol. I, V Rock Edict, Girnar, 1. 2.
- 4 Sircar : *Select Inss.*, p. 23, f. n. 6.
- 5 *Pāia-Sadda Mahānnavo*, p. 278.
- 6 Monier Williams : *Skt-Eng. Dictionary*, p. 262.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 263. Also see Kittel : *Kan Eng. Dictionary*, p. 386.
- 8 Rhys Davids : *supra*, p. 16, see under 'Kappa'.
- 9 *e* an affix used for the formation of an infinitive. See Kittel : *Supra*, p. 262.
- 10 Walter E. Clark : *Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa*, pp. v-vi, Also see vi-vii, for *Bhaṭa* and *Bhaṭṭa*.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xxv.
- 12 Monier Williams : *Skt. Eng. Dictionary*, p. 974.
- 13 Walter E. Clark : *Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa*, p. xiv.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 15 G. R. Kaye : *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 46.
- 16 See *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 11 under No. 8 of 1939-40.
- 17 Walter E. Clark : *Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa*, pages 54-55.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
- 19 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61, f. n. 38.
- 20 'ballittu' means 'had become firm or strong' See Kittel : *Kan. Eng. Dictionary*, p. 1091.
- 21 Walter E. Clark : *Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa* p. XV (see XI, 43-44). Also see G. R. Kaye : *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 46.
- 22 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 3.
- 23 Walter E. Clark : *Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa*, p. 21 also see pages ix-x, Alberuni's reference to two *Āryabhaṭas*.
- 24 *SII*, Vol. XI, part I, No. 8
- 25 Yazdani : *Early Hist. of Deccan*, pages 529 and 542.
- 26 W. N. Weech : *Hist. of World*, (1961), p. 607.

Mr. K. M. Srivastava, the well-known archaeologist, has published an article entitled, "The Place of Buddha's Sujātā Discovered", on the pages of the *Journal of the Bihar Purāvid Parishad*.¹ He has started his article with the story of Sujātā who offered rice-milk to Siddhārtha, the would-be Buddha. This story is quite familiar and there is no need, for this paper, to have a discussion on it.² What is really important is the excavation undertaken by Mr. Srivastava at a place called Bakraur, which is a kilometre away from the Mahābōdhi temple at Bōdhgayā.³ There was a mound at this place, which when excavated showed the existence of a brick-built *stūpa*. Indeed this is a significant excavation which proved the existence of a *stūpa* very near to the great Buddhist place of pilgrimage, namely Bōdhgayā, and on the other bank of the river Nirañjanā. Mr. Srivastava justifies his excavation with a very convincing remark in the following way, "The location of the place where Sujātā lived was not precisely known to the scholars. *In order to bring the mystery to an end the author undertook excavation at the ancient site of Bakraur*⁴ (lat. 24° 42' E; long. 85° 1' N). Situated in the holy District of Gaya in Bihar, the ancient site of Bakraur (Plate I) is a kilometre north-east of the famous Bōdhi temple of Bodh-Gaya venerated by the Buddhists all over the world as the pre-eminent centre of pilgrimage."⁵ Mr. Srivastava further says, "River Niranjana, on the right bank of which Bakraur is situa-

ted, flows between the small town of Bodh Gaya and the ancient site. The circular mound at Bakraur, just to the north of the village of the same name rises to a height of eleven metres."⁶

The Chinese Pilgrim, Hieun Tsang has referred to this spot and the existence of the *stūpa* also. According to the pilgrim, "This is the spot where a perfume-elephant (*Gandahasti*) waited on his mother."⁷ Cunningham has mentioned the mound as Katani. "The ruined mound, which is called Katani, is 150 feet in diameter at base and 50 feet high."

On page 137 Mr. Srivastava gives an account of the excavated *stūpa* with a *pradakshināpatha* in various stages. This is alright. One is thankful to the learned archaeologist for his hard job. But the dating of the last phase of the *stūpa* as made by him, based most probably on the evidence of the legend on several plaques, is untenable. He says, "the last phase of the *Stūpa* can be assigned a date between 8th and 9th centuries A. D. The religious zeal of the Pālas, particularly Dēvapāla, was responsible for the later enclosure wall, railing and the gateway."

For our disagreement with his dating of the "last phase of the *stūpa*" we turn our attention to the legend of the plaques, and this is the most important point of the whole discussion. Here we like to quote the whole passage⁸ of Mr. Srivastava which contains his reading of the

legend and his interpretation of it. "Several plaques of ¹⁰ Buddha in *bhūmiṣparsa-mudrā* made probably of plaster, but surprisingly light in weight were *the most outstanding discovery of the excavation*! conducted by the author. They were inscribed with the legend "*Dēvapālarājasya Sujātāgṛiha*" in characters of the Pāla period (plate ii). The inscription can be easily interpreted to mean that *the last phase* of the *stūpa* was erected during the regime of the Pāla ruler Dēvapāla (815-55 A. D.) to commemorate the memory of the place where Sujātā lived. The *bhūmiṣparsa mudrā* indicates that the Buddha underwent physical austerities inviting the earth goddess to stand as a witness and protect him from the demon Māra. *The inscribed plaques have now established that this was the place where the pious lady Sujātā used to reside.*"

We are afraid, Mr. Srivastava did not pay careful attention to read the legend of the plaques. His whole reading is wrong. The scholars of Buddhist art and archaeology are quite familiar with the stereotyped votive plaques found in hundreds at various places sacred to the Buddha. These votive plaques represent the Buddha mostly in the *bhūmiṣparsa-mudrā* and bear the text of the so-called Buddhist creed or the *Dharmaparyāya*, viz. *yē dharmā hētu-prabhavā*, etc.¹² (see plate I). In this

case also the blurred legend in four lines contains the same text. (See Plate II, which is also Plate ii of Mr. Srivastava's article). What has been read by Mr. Srivastava in the first line as *Dēvapālarājasya* is nothing but *dharmā hētu-prabhavā [tē].. ..*, and in the second line as *Sujātāgṛiha*, is nothing but *[Ta]thāgatō avada.. ..*! In the third line one may read the three letters as *nirōdha*!

So the whole theory on the "Place of Buddha's Sujātā" is without any foundation as it is based on the wrong reading of the legend on the plaques and the dating of the last phase of the *stūpa* as 8th-9th century A. D. is also wrong because the name of the Pāla ruler Dēvapāla does not occur in the legend at all. Besides the characters of the legend are much later to those of Dēvapāla's time, viz. the 9th century A. D.

If the place would have had any connection with Sujātā then surely Hiuen Tsang had not failed to mention it. But he knew the place as the spot of the Perfume-elephant (*Gandhahasti*), no other than the Bōdhisattva himself.

In this small article we request the epigraphists, numismatists, archaeologists and the art-historians not to be very hasty and read an inscription inaccurately and derive conclusion from that which are completely unwarranted.

Notes :

1 Vol. 1, pp. 133-37, Plates I-VI.

2 Sujātā is known as Nandabalā, a cowherd girl in the *Buddhacharita*, xii. 109 and also as Nandā, the daughter of a village headman in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Vaidya), p. 250, 1.17. The name Sujātā occurs in the *Lalitavistara* (ed. Vaidya), pp. 194-96, where she is described as the daughter of the village-headman Nandika. Here Sujātā wished that the Bōdhisattva should attain

Samyaksambōdhi after taking her food. For a different version see T. Bloch, *AR. ASI.*, 1908-09, pp. 142, "I refer to the story of Sujātā, the wife of the *Sēnāpati* of Uruvālā, and the first meal offered by her to Buddha after the Bōdhi". He refers to the *Nidānakathā*, in *Buddhist Birth Stories*, translated by Rhys Davids. Vol. I, pp. 91 ff.

- 3 For the ruins at Bakraur, see also D. R. Patil, 'The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar' (*Historical Research Series*, Vol. IV), Patna 1963, p. 11 No. 31.
- 4 The emphasis is of ours.
- 5 Srivastava, p. 134.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
- 7 *Ibid.* Srivastava has quoted the whole story.
- 8 Srivastava, p. 136.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Wrongly printed as *cf.*
- 11 The emphasis is of ours.
- 12 We quote A. Cunningham, "On all the remaining seals in Plate XXIV., Buddha is represented in the well-known attitude which he assumed when seated under the Bōdhi Tree in meditation. These, therefore, are the proper seals of the Buddhist establishments at Mahābōdhi. Most of them are in excellent preservation, the edges being crisp and unbroken. The inscriptions consist of the well-known Buddhist creed in mediaeval characters." See *Mahābōdhi* etc., Reprint 1961, Varanasi, p. 51.

4 THE VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN CHOLA TIMES: MYTH OR REALITY*

Noboru Karashima

The term "village community" has often been used to describe past society in studies of Indian history. This term is also seen frequently in studies of South Indian history, for example, in those of S. K. Aiyangar, K. A. N. Sastri and others. However, this term was first used in the beginning of the 19th century by the British administrators in connection with their efforts in revenue collection. Namely, when they gave attention to rural villages in order to determine from whom they should collect land revenue, they "discovered" the existence of village communities there. From that time on this term has been used by many people in reference to past Indian society, though there have been some differences in its connotations according to the motivations of its users or to the stage of Indian historical studies.¹

The description of the Indian village community which has been quoted most frequently in past studies may be the one made by Sir C. T. Metcalfe who later became Acting Governor General of India. It runs:

"The Village Communities are little Republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution suc-

ceeds to revolution; ...but the Village Communities remain the same."

This passage is from his minute written in 1830² when he was a member of the Governor General's Council in order to express his objection to the introduction of Ryotwari settlement to Western India. In the continuing part of this minute he praised the role played by the village communities in the preservation of the Indian people in the past.

In the latter half of the 19th century, however, Karl Marx and H. J. S. Maine gave a negative assessment to the role of village communities, since they thought that they contributed to the formation of a stagnant nature of the past Indian society. This view, which has been followed by many scholars for a long time, has the following two points as its central ideas: 1) communal ownership of land in a village, and 2) the economic and social independence or self-sufficiency of a village, which was made possible by the incorporation of many occupational groups besides agricultural ones into a village and by the division of labour among them.³

As to the first point, B. H. Baden-Powell who published a monumental work on the land systems of British India opposed it by pointing out the long existence of non-communal, individual land ownership and emphasised its historical

*This is the revised English version of the original Japanese text entitled "Sonraku-kyodotai ni-kansuru Chola-cho Kokubun" and published in *Toyo Bunka*, Nos. 50/51 (Tokyo, 1971), pp. 49-71.

importance.⁴ Although his view cannot be accepted without some reservations, the idea that communal land ownership had been practised throughout rural India from ancient times down to the 19th century has been disproved by the evidence presented by Baden-Powell and others.

As to the latter point, namely the economic and social independence or self-sufficiency of a village, however, little criticism had been made until recently. The first substantial criticism was made by social anthropologists. In the 1930s W.H. Wisner discovered in North Indian villages the prevalence of the Jajmani system (a system of economic and social interdependence of the local people based on a caste hierarchy) which functioned beyond the limits of one village.⁵ In the 1950s, when many village surveys were conducted in various parts of India, it became clear that not all the villages had all the different castes necessary to secure economic and social independence. Division of labour by different castes was materialized mainly in large areas which included many villages. Namely, it became clear that the understanding that each village had been a small republic in India was only a fiction.⁶

The second criticism emerged as the study of Mughal history advanced by the effort of scholars in Aligarh and Delhi in the 1960s. The importance of a larger area than a village, which roughly corresponded to the area of a clan organization was stressed.⁷ This recognition of the importance of areas larger than the village as suggested by the social anthropologists and the scholars in Aligarh and Delhi was also made by Burton Stein, who had been

endeavouring to understand the characteristic of past South Indian peasant society,⁸ though he did not engage himself in any detailed study of village community itself. On the contrary, S. K. Aiyangar and others, whom I have mentioned earlier, made elaborate studies of the Pallavas and the Chōlas.⁹ In those studies, however, they did not intend to criticize or support the so called stagnant theory, and instead they attempted to find a democratic government in the villages granted to the Brahmins in order to glorify past Indian society.

Therefore, no examination has ever been made to find out whether the above mentioned two points of the village community fit the conditions of the villages or South India in the past. However, as I have already discussed communal land ownership elsewhere,¹⁰ in this paper I shall examine the second point, namely the economic and social independence or self-sufficiency of villages by analysing the data obtainable from some Chōla inscriptions.

The Chōla inscriptions which I am going to analyse in this paper are two continuous inscriptions at the Thaṅjāvūr temple (*SII*, II, Nos. 4 and 5)¹¹ and one inscription at the Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram temple (*SII*, IV, No. 524). All three inscriptions are lengthy, but the last one is badly damaged.

The Thaṅjāvūr inscriptions (hereafter abbreviated as TI) begin with the royal order issued by Rājarāja I in his 29th regnal year that the particulars of the assessment of land revenue (*kāṅikkūḍaṅ*) due to the Thaṅjāvūr temple from the villages granted by him as *dēvadāna* to the Thaṅjāvūr temple should be engraved on

stone. The particulars are specified as follows: 1) area of village, 2) lands to be deducted as tax free land and their area, 3) area of the remaining taxable land and 4) amount of paddy to be measured or money to be paid on the taxable land. Subsequent to this order, they give the descriptions of 40 villages granted in Chōla-maṅḡalam according to the above formula.

The Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram inscription (hereafter GI) seems to consist of seven parts, each of which begins with a eulogy (*meykkīrtti*) of Virarājendra and describes the grant of village(s) as *dēvadāna* by himself and his predecessors. As GI is badly damaged, we cannot determine how many villages were described in the inscription or in a few cases how those grants related to the Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram temple. However, descriptions to the villages in GI follow those of TI, though GI furnishes more detailed information by recording the measurement of tax free land consisting of several categories and by differentiating categories of taxable lands according to the crops raised on them.

Valuable information pertaining to the problem of economic and social independence of a village is obtainable in the portion which describes the land to be deducted from the extent of the entire village as tax free land in TI and GI. In the royal order of TI those lands are specified as follows: *ūrnatam* (residential area for the *ūrār*),¹⁸ *srikōyilgaḷ* (sacred temples), *kuḷaṅgaḷ* (water tanks), *ūḍaruttupponāvaykkālgaḷ* (water channels passing through), *paraichchēri* (residential area for the Paṛaiyas), *kammāṇachchēri* (residential area for the Kammāḷas) and *suḍukāḍu* (cremation ground). Significantly, however,

there are some discrepancies between these particulars of tax free land prescribed and those described in each village. Namely, not all the categories of tax free land prescribed in the royal order appear in the description of tax free lands in each village, and moreover some other categories of land do appear in the records of many villages. We shall now examine, therefore, the particulars of the tax free lands described in all the villages. To facilitate this examination a chart (Chart 1) showing the necessary details of the description of the 33 villages of TI and 7 villages of GI has been made.¹⁹

CATEGORY AND SIZE OF THE VILLAGES

Although the term employed in the royal order to signify the village is *ūr* which is most commonly used in Tamil to mean village, there are three villages designated as *nagaram* in the records of 33 villages of TI (Nos. 12, 33 and 40). *Nagaram* means commercial town. In addition to these, there are 5 villages (Nos. 34-38) in TI, which are stated to have been incorporated (*ivvūrōḍu ēṇiṇa*) into a *nagaram* (No. 33), and therefore they also can be regarded as *nagarams*. Among the 7 villages of GI there are no *nagarams*. Besides those *nagarams*, there are a village (No. 39) which was designated a *sālābhōgam* (a village or land assigned for the upkeep of a feeding house) and another village (No. 16) which is stated to have ceased to be a *pallichchanda* (a village or land granted to a Buddhist or Jain temple) in TI. In other cases, however, there is no such special qualifications on the village name and therefore they can be regarded as ordinary villages which were otherwise known

as *vellāṅvagai* villages.¹⁴ In this connection we should note here that there were no *brahmadēya* villages among the data.

The village extents of 36 of the 40 villages of TI and GI shown in Chart 1 are known. The following table (Table 1) shows the distribution of the extents of those 37 villages.

<i>vēli</i>	37
1 - 10	9
11 - 20	5
21 - 30	6
31 - 40	4
41 - 50	4
51 - 60	4
61 - 70	1
81 - 90	1
111 - 120	1
131 - 140	1
151 - 160	1

TABLE 1

According to this distribution table, we may be able to say that the extents of most of the villages were less than 60 *vēli*,¹⁵ though there were some villages whose extent exceeded 100 *vēli*. On those villages which were less than 60 *vēli*, however, it is difficult to find any peculiarity in their distribution. Namely, a considerable variety is seen in the size of those villages.

The extent of tax free lands also varies greatly, though its proportion to the whole extent of the villages does not vary so much as the extent of tax free lands does.

Residential areas

In the royal order the following three

residential areas are enumerated: *ūrattam* (for the *ūrār*), *paraichchēri* (for the *Paraiyas*) and *kammāṅachchēri* (for the *Kammālas*). In the records of each village, however, there appear some categories of residential area other than the above three. They are: *kuḍiyirukkai* (for the *kuḍi*), *iḷachchēri* (for toddy drawers), *tīṇḍāchchēri* (for the untouchables), *talaivāychchēri* (for people who control the main sluice) and *talichchēri* (for the people connected to a temple?). The last three areas are entered in Chart 1 under the heading of "others," since their appearance is rare. In village No. 8, which is excluded from the chart because of damage to the inscription, *vannārachchēri* (for washerman) also appears. It is clear from the above, therefore, that there were many other different residential areas in the village than those three mentioned in the royal order.

Another point we notice from the chart is that *paraichchēri* which is mentioned in the royal order appears only in 19 out of the 33 villages of TI. In GI it appears only in 1 out of the 7 villages. *Kammāṅachchēri* appears only in 7 villages of TI and in none of GI. Strangely, the term *ūrattam* appears only in about two-thirds of the villages and in about one-third the term *ūrirukkai* is employed. In one village of TI (No. 23) these two terms were combined into one as *ūrirukk(ai)nattam*. Although the difference in meaning between these two terms is not clear,¹⁶ both may well be regarded as residential areas for the *ūrār*. In two villages of TI, however, neither *ūrattam* or *ūrirukkai*, nor any other residential areas appear. This might be explained by the small extent of those two villages

(6 and 3 *vēli* respectively). They must have been *piḍāgais* (hamlets) of some bigger village where *ūrnatam* or *ūrirkkai* existed.

In three villages of TI another term, *kuḍiyirukkai*, appears. However, its meaning is still more obscure, since the meaning of *kuḍi* is not ascertainable. *Kuḍi* may mean a cultivator, a family or just people. In these three villages, however, along with *kuḍiyirukkai*, both *ūrnatam* and *paraichchēri* also existed, and therefore, *kuḍi* in this case seems to have been the tenant cultivators who were economically and socially different from either the *ūār* or the *Paṛaiyas*.

Although it is not mentioned in the part where residential areas are described in the record, *kānimuṟṟuṭṭu*, land assigned to astrologers, is mentioned to be included in the extent of village No. 1 of TI, and likewise *maruttuvappēru*, land assigned to physicians, is stated to be included in the extent of village No. 2. This shows that astrologer(s) and physician(s) resided in those villages, though no separate residential areas were formed for them.

In village No. 28, *paraichchēri* is specified as *uḷappaṛaiyarirukkum kiḷaichchēri* (an eastern residential area for the *Paṛaiyas* who cultivate) and *uḷappaṛaiyārirkkum mēlaippaichchēri* (a western residential area for the *Paṛaiyas* who cultivate). This clearly shows that the *Paṛaiyas* in those villages were employed for cultivation of land.

Water facilities

As to the water facilities, the two terms *kuḷam* (water tank) and *vāykkal*

(water channel) are mentioned in the royal order of TI. However, as in the case of the residential areas, these two terms do not necessarily appear in all the villages either. *Kuḷam* appears in 22 villages of TI and in all 7 villages of GI. In some cases, it is further specified as *pulattirkuḷam* (tank in a cultivation field), *kaḷanikkūḷam* (tank in a paddy field), *ūruṇikuḷam* (common tank for drinking water), *ūrin-naḍuvuṭṭa-kuḷam* (tank situated in the centre of the village), *tirumañjaṅakkuḷam* (sacred tank for purification), and *paraikuḷakkuḷi* (water pool for the *Paṛaiyas*?). Therefore, the meaning of a *kuḷam* without any qualifying word is not clear and it is difficult to say whether it was a tank for irrigation or for drinking water or for other purposes. However, in villages No. 23 and No. 28 there was only one tank for drinking and in No. 22 one tank for the temple. Since no tanks for irrigation are mentioned in these three villages, a triangle is put for them in Chart 1.

The term *karai* (bund) appears in 11 villages. In 9 out of those 11 villages, it immediately follows the term *kuḷam*, and therefore it seems that they were tank bunds. In other cases they might have been the bunds of tanks or those of water channels or rivers.

In the royal order the phrase for describing water channels is *ūḍaruttuppōṇa vāykkālgaḷ* (water channels passing through), but in the records of each village there are often described as *ivvūrnillattai ūḍaruttu paravūrgaḷukku nīrpayappōna vāykkāl* (water channel passing through the land of this village and carrying water to other villages). In one case (No. 16) the *vāykkāl* is stated to carry water to the *nāḍu* down

below (*kīlnāṭṭukku nīrpāyappōna*). The other kinds of water channel appearing include *āru* (river) in 3 villages (Nos. 16 and 26 of TI and line 212 of GI), *vāy* (big water channel) in 2 villages (Nos. 10 and 21) and *nīrōḍukāl* (small water channel) in one village (No. 27). Among these 6 villages, the two villages in which there was no *vāykkal* are indicated by a dagger next to the circle. In another village which had the largest extent a well (*kīṇaru*) and a sistrern (*toṭṭi*) are mentioned. However, it may be inappropriate to regard this as a proof that there were no wells in other villages.

Temples

Temples are mentioned in the royal order simply as *śrīkōyilgaḷ*, but in the record of each village there often appear more elaborate expressions specifying the main deity of the temple. The specified deities are: Mahādēvar, Piḍāvar, Piḍāri, Kaḷar-piḍāri,¹⁷ Aiyān, Kadukal, Durgaiyār, and Sēṭṭai.¹⁸ In Chart 1 all the temples are entered under the heading of "temple" and the more detailed information is given in the following table (Table 2).

TEMPLE	NUMBER OF VILLAGES
Śrīkōyil	11 + 19
Mahādēvar-śrīkōyil	4
Kaḷar-piḍāri-śrīkōyil	3
Piḍāri-śrīkōyil	2+
Piḍāri-kōyil	8
Aiyān-kōyil	5+
Kadukal-kōyil	2
Durgaiyār-kōyil	1
Sēṭṭai-kōyil	1

Out of the 40 villages of TI and GI,

22 villages had at least one temple in the village and among them 14 had more than one. There are 8 villages where only the term *śrīkōyil* or its plural form *śrīkōyilgaḷ* appears (3 in TI and 5 in GI). In the other 14 villages either the term *śrīkōyil* does not appear (4 cases), or it appears with the name of some other temple and/or is combined with the name of some deity (10 cases). In the case where the term *śrīkōyil* appears together with either Piḍāri-kōyil or Aiyān-kōyil (Nos. 1 and 2), it must have meant a temple which enshrined some deity of orthodox Hinduism, most probably Śiva in the form of Mahēśvara. However, this interpretation cannot be applied to the other cases, since there are some cases, as seen in Table 2, where the term *śrīkōyil* is combined with village deities, such as Kaḷar-piḍāri, who cannot be regarded as regular members of the orthodox Hindu pantheon.

Piḍāri-śrīkōyil or Piḍāri-kōyil appears in 10 villages. In two cases it was the only temple mentioned in the village and in one case three Piḍāri temples existed in one village (No. 31). Aiyān-kōyil appears in 5 villages and in all the case it coexisted with some other temples. Kaḷar-piḍāri-śrīkōyil appears in 2 villages but Kaḷar-piḍāri-kōyil never appears. Kadukal-kōyil appears in 2 villages, and both Durgaiyār-kōyil and Sēṭṭai-kōyil appears only in one village.

In many villages *tirumuḻḻam* (the open space of a temple) is also mentioned together with the *kōyil* (temple) itself to be included in the tax free land.

Cremation grounds

The existence of one or two *suḍukāḍu* (cremation ground) is confirmed in 19

villages of TI and 5 villages of GI. Therefore, out of 40 villages only 24 had cremation grounds. The size of the village does not seem to be related to the existence of *suḍukāḍus*, since they did not exist in such big villages as Nos. 2 and 5 whose extents exceeded 51 *vēli* yet existed in such small villages as Nos. 10 and 30 whose extents were less than 10 *vēli*.

Another finding is the fact that in 8 out of the 24 villages where cremation grounds existed those of the Veḷḷālas and those of the Paṛaiyas are mentioned separately, which indicates the total, social segregation of the two communities in a village. Those 8 villages are indicated by a triangle in Chart 1.

In the case of *paṛaiichuḍukāḍu* (cremation ground of the Paṛaiyas), not all the villages where there were *paṛaiichēri* (residential area for the Paṛaiyas) necessarily had cremation grounds for the Paṛaiyas in them. In 2 villages where there were *tiṇḍāchchēri* (residential area for the untouchables) and in 6 villages where there were *iḷachcheri* (residential area for toddy drawers), no separate cremation grounds for them are mentioned. Cremation grounds for the Kammāḷas do not appear in any of the 40 villages, though their residential areas are mentioned in the royal order and in the records of 6 villages.

Other categories of tax free land

Besides those examined above, the following items are mentioned as a part of the land exempted from tax in the records of each village, though none of them is mentioned in the royal order. They are: *ūr-kalam* (threshing ground of the

ūrār) in 5 villages (Nos. 21, 26, 27, 29 and 32), *koṭṭakāram* (granary) in 4 villages (Nos. 23, 25, 30 and 32), *kaṇṇumeypāḷāy-kiḍanda-nilam* (grazing ground for calves) in one village (No. 28), *vaḷi* (road) in 2 villages (Nos. 15 and 28), *tirunandāvaṇam* (flower garden attached to a temple) in 3 villages (Nos. 17, 29 and 39) and *kaṛkiḍai* (heap of stones) in one village (No. 21).

Before proceeding to the analysis of the data obtained through the examination above, we shall consider here the credibility of the data and the extent to which we can generalize the findings we shall get through the following analysis.

The first thing we have to consider is the fact that there are discrepancies in the description of tax free land between the royal order and the records of each village. Although seven different categories of tax free land are enumerated in the royal order, all of them do not necessarily appear in the records of each village. For example, *kammāṇachchēri* appears only in 6 out of the 40 villages of TI and GI. On the contrary, some categories of tax free land other than those seven do appear in the records of the 40 villages. This indicates that the tax free lands specified in the royal order are just some examples. It may further indicate that the more detailed description of tax free land in each village should be regarded as reflecting the actual conditions which existed in those villages. This indication may be supported by the fact that the tax free lands referred to in each village vary from village to village.

Next thing to be considered is the question to what extent we can generalize the

findings. To answer this question, we have to analyse here both the revenue assessment of those 40 villages and their spatial distribution. Those two points, however, I have already examined else-where,²⁰ and we shall refer to those findings. Interestingly enough, the assessment rate of the *kāṇikkāḍaṇ* (land revenue) in paddy of 26 out of the 33 villages of TI falls into a narrow range between 95 and 100 *kalams* per *vēli*²¹ except one village whose assessment rate is 77 *kalams* per *vēli*. However, the assessment rate of *kāṇikkāḍaṇ* in paddy of the 7 villages of GI fluctuates between 16 and 52 *kalams* per *vēli*. Close examination of the villages of TI and GI enabled me to presume that the taxable land of the villages whose assessment rate shows more than 95 *kalams* consisted almost exclusively of two-crop (*iru-pū*) paddy fields. The taxable land of the villages whose assessment rate shows roughly 50 *kalams* (2 villages of GI) consisted of both two-crop and one-crop (*oru-pū*) paddy fields, and that of the villages whose rate is less than 30 *kalams* (5 villages of GI) included millet fields (*varagu nilam*) also. This shows that the ecological structure of the 7 villages of GI differed from that of the 26 villages of TI.

The spatial distribution of those 33 villages is shown in the map in which the location of the 26 villages of TI are indicated by the areas marked as T1, T2, T3, T4 and T6, and that of the 7 villages of GI by the areas marked as G3A and G7.

In the case of the remaining 8 villages of TI, the revenue assessment was made in *kaḷaṅju* of gold and not in paddy, reflecting the fact that villages were 3

nagarams and the rest were the villages incorporated into one of those three *nagarams*. The rate fluctuates between 5.32 and 9.97 *kaḷaṅju* per *vēli*. The location of these 8 villages are indicated in the map by the areas marked as T1, T4 and T5 and their ecological structure can be guessed only by this location.

From the above examination, it can be said that those 40 villages were varied among themselves in the following three senses: 1) they included villages of different ecological structure, though most of the villages of TI were equally fertile, 2) they were widely distributed in Chōḷamaṅḍalam, and 3) their size also varied to a considerable extent. Therefore, we may well be able to take the findings of the examination of those 40 villages as fairly representative of the conditions of the villages of Chōḷamaṅḍalam, more precisely the central part of Chōḷamaṅḍalam. At any rate, partiality of the data is avoided. However, it should be noted here that no *Brahmadēya* villages were a sort of special and privileged villages which were created by royal donations, inhabited by Brahmins and economically developed, and therefore, this lack of *brahmadēya* villages in the data would not decrease but increase the relevancy of our examination as a study of the conditions of common villages of the time.

Now, we shall return to the point stated in the beginning of this paper and analyse the data to ascertain the extent to which these villages were economically and socially independent or self-sufficient.

We have noticed the fact that there were more than a few different residential areas in many villages. They were the *ūrnatam* (*ūrirukkai*), *kammānachchēri* and *paraichchēri* enumerated in the royal order, and in addition to these, *vaṅṅarachchēri*, *iḷachchēri*, *tiṇḍachchēri*, *talaivāychchēri* and *talichcheri*. The existence of a number of different residential areas implies the local existence of many different social groups. Judging from the names of these groups, they seem to have engaged in different occupations such as agriculture, manufacture of tools, washing, toddy drawing, mean works, etc. It is suggested, therefore, that there was a division of labour based on the caste difference in those villages where some of these castes resided together. In this sense, it might be taken as reinforcing the view that Indian villages were little republics where social reproduction was maintained by the combination of agriculture and manufacture.

However, more significant is the fact that those different residential areas did not always exist in one village. For example, *kammānachchēri* existed only in a few villages. *Paraichchēri* also existed in a half of the villages examined. On the other hand, *ūrnatam* or *ūrirukkai* was the sole residential area in many villages.

The examination of the temples and the cremation grounds also suggests this, since they did not necessarily exist in all the villages. The people of several villages must have assembled in the village where temples or cremation grounds existed and cooperated together for funerals and some festivals.

The above consideration induces us,

therefore, to think that villages were not primary unit where social reproduction of the people was maintained and where villagers' social activities were confined. Instead, social reproduction must have been made possible only in a larger area than a village.

Another point relevant to our consideration of the above problem is the water utilization. The fact that a water tank (*kuḷam*) with a raised bund to keep the rain water existed in most of the villages may indicate the independent nature of agriculture practised in the area of those villages so far as water utilization is concerned. However, close examination of the data has revealed that some of the tanks were only for drinking water or purificatory bath and not for field irrigation. Moreover, in about a half of the villages water channels (*vāykkal*) passed through the village land carrying the water to other villages or even the *nāḍu* down below. This signifies that it was necessary for the people of a village to cooperate with the people of other villages or even with the people of adjacent *nāḍus* for water utilization.

Although the number of villages where water channels or rivers passed through is only a half of the total number of villages examined, it does not necessarily indicate the non-existence of a water channel in the other villages. For, water channels or rivers often constituted the boundaries of villages or even *nāḍus*, and in such cases it would not have been mentioned as included in the area exempted from tax in the villages which flanked it on both sides.

Therefore, the examination of the water utilization indicates that agricultural production was carried out by the cooperation of the people in a larger area. We are induced again to think, therefore, that social reproduction was maintained in a larger area than a village.

Little is known, however, about the activities of the people of 8 villages of TI, whose revenue was assessed in money. Since they were *nagarams* (commercial towns) or the villages incorporated into a *nagaram*, we may be able to presume that many people engaged themselves in commerce in those villages. In this connection, it is noticeable that in none of these villages the term *vāykkal* (water channel) was mentioned. However, in these villages also the base of the calculation of revenue was the extent of land, though as already seen the rate of assessment thus calculated fluctuates

to some extent. These findings may indicate that commercial towns of those days had not been fully differentiated from the rural villages.

In conclusion, examination of the 40 villages of TI and GI shows that in respect to the process of social reproduction, the villages of Chōlamanḍalam in the middle period of the Chōla rule did not have so much an independent nature as has been presumed by historians following the view taken by Maine and Marx that Indian society in the past was a stagnant one based on self-sufficient village communities.

Although the importance of the village as an administrative unit cannot be ignored, social reproduction must have been maintained in an area larger than that of the village. I shall discuss the size and characteristics of this larger area elsewhere.

Notes :

- 1 As to the history of the use of this term, see Louis Dumont, "The 'Village Community' from Munro to Maine," in his *Religion/Politics and History in India*, Paris, 1970, pp. 112-132.
- 2 Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, "Minute on the Settlement in the Western Province" dated 7th November, 1830.
- 3 We may be able to add here as a third idea the political aspect of the village community. However, as there has been some confusion in its treatment among scholars including Marx and Maine, I shall drop it here and reserve its examination for some other occasion.
- 4 B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, London, 1899.
- 5 W. H. Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System*, Lucknow, 1936.
- 6 M. N. Srinivas and A. M. Shah, "The Myth of the Self-sufficiency of the Indian Village," *Economic Weekly*, No. 12 (1960), pp. 1373-1378.
- 7 B. R. Grover, "Nature of Land-Right in Mughal India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1963), pp. 1-23.
- 8 Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1980.
- 9 S. K. Aiyangar, *Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, Madras, 1931, and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, Madras, 1932.

- 10 Noboru Karashima, "Allūr and Īsānamaṅgalam: Two South Indian Villages of Cōla Times," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1966), pp. 150-162.
- 11 The second inscription is again continued to the third one (*SII*, II. 92) which records the village granted in other parts of the Chōḷa territory than Chōḷamaṅḍalam. In the third one, however, the description of village is very short and we can gather no information relevant to our study.
- 12 *Ūrār* were probably consisted of the members of some dominant agricultural caste such as the *Vellāḷas* and the people of some other high ranking castes.
- 13 The 40 villages of T1 are entered in the chart, and are referred to in this paper, by the serial numbers given to them according to the sequence of their appearance in the record. From the chart, however, 7 villages (Nos. 3-8 and 20) are omitted because too little information is obtainable on those villages due to the damage to the inscriptions. In the case of G1, only 7 villages furnish us with the necessary information. Those villages are entered in the chart and referred to in the text by the line in the inscription on which the description of each village begins.
- 14 The *vellāṅṅavagai* village was contrasted in some Chōḷa inscriptions to the *brahmadēya* village, and they seem to have been the most common villages on which the government tax was imposed. In T1 also, the land of village No. 18, from which the *dēvadāna* and *sālabhōga* lands were excluded, was referred to as *vellāṅṅavagai* land.
- 15 Although the term *vēli* was not employed in the inscriptions, there is no doubt that the measurement was in *vēli*. One *vēli* in modern times is equal to 6.6 acres according to the *Wilson's Glossary* and 6.74 acres according to the *Tamil Lexicon*, though we are not sure about the exact extent of a *vēli* in Chōḷa times.
- 16 Mr. K. G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist (since retired) once suggested in his personal communication with the author that *nattam* was a site for residential purposes and might include ground not actually occupied and that *irukkai* on the contrary seemed to indicate sites actually occupied for residential purposes.
- 17 *Kaḷar-piḍāri* is the same as *Durgā*.
- 18 *Sēṭṭai* is the same as *Jyēshthā*.
- 19 More than one temple of the same category in a village is indicated by a + mark.
- 20 Noboru Karashima, "Land Revenue Assessment in Cola Times as seen in the Inscriptions of the Thaṅjavūr and Gaṅgaikoṅḍachōḷapuram temples," *Studies in Socio-Cultural Change in Rural Villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamilnadu, India*, No. 1 (Tokyo), 1980, pp. 32-51.
- 21 Although the assessment rate is not known exactly for village No. 18 due to the damage to the inscription, it must have been nearly 100 *kalams*, since the calculation made by the total village extent including tax free land and the assessed amount of paddy shows a rate of 96 *kalams*.

Explanatory Notes on Chart 1

- 1 Extent of village and tax free land is given in *vēli* in round figures.
- 2 RO under the heading of Village Number stands for *royal order*.

- 3 An asterisk given to the Rate of Revenue Assessment indicates that it was in *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold.
- 4 A circle indicates that there was one of the items in the concerned village.
- 5 A double circle indicates plurality.
- 6 The meaning of a triangle entered under the headings of Water Tank, Water Channel and Cremation ground is given in the text.
- 7 The meaning of a dagger next to a double circle under the heading of Water Channel is given in the text.

15 AN INCOMPLETE EULOGY OF THE SUN GOD AT UDAIPUR

K. V. Ramesh

S. Subramonia Iyer

The inscription¹ edited below is engraved on a well-dressed stone slab built into the wall on the proper right side outside the *sanctum sanctorum* of a shrine about a kilometre away from the well-known Udayēśvar temple at Udaipur in Basoda Tahsil in Vidisha District, Madhya Pradesh. The shrine, like the present inscription, was never completed for some unknown reason. This, coupled with the facts that, inside the *sanctum* of the shrine, no deity is found installed at present and that another well-dressed stone slab like the one on which the present inscription is engraved, built into the left wall outside the shrine (obviously intended for engraving another inscription) has been left blank, points to the likelihood of the temple never having been completely built and consecrated. It is quite evident from the inscription that the shrine might have been intended for housing an image of the Sun god.

The inscribed area measures about 26.4 cm in length and 80.3 cm in breadth. The writing is in a good state of preservation. Individual *aksharas* are approximately 2 cm in height though some letters including consonants endowed with medial vowel marks are bigger in size. The characters are Nāgarī of about the 12th century A. D. and the language is Sanskrit. There are in all 8 lines of writing. A look at the epigraph will show that the engraver just commenced the engraving of the ninth

line also and after inscribing two letters imperfectly and two vertical strokes, stopped his work abruptly. There are many orthographical errors in the record. Instead of the letter *b*, the letter *v* is invariably used as in *vibhrāṇam* in line 1, and *stavaka* in lines 1-2 and *pravōdha* in line 2. Further, instead of the letter *ś* the letter *s* is found used as in *sītāmsō* in line 3 and *anasvaram* and *vinasvaram* in line 4, etc. In *prasadaḥ* (line 2) for *prasādaḥ*, *ś* is used instead of *s*. Excepting the invocatory words in praise of the Sun at the commencement of the record, the entire inscription is in poetry.

The record commences with the well-known auspicious word *Siddham* expressed by a symbol. After the invocation in prose in praise of the Sun god Saviṭri, it proceeds to describe his greatness. The poetic portion contains 9 complete verses. The last verse, most probably the 10th verse in the eulogy, has been left incomplete. Neither the name of the composer of this panegyric (*stavaka*) nor that of the engraver of the record is preserved in the inscription.

Since the epigraph is to be assigned on palaeographical grounds to about the 12th century A. D., it must necessarily belong to the time of the imperial Paramāras. It is well-known that Udaipur, where the present inscription is found, and the adjoining area were under the sway of the Paramāras of Mālava.²

The worship of the Sun god seems to have been very popular during the time of the Paramāras as can be gathered from the existence once upon a time of the temple of the Sun god locally called Bhāilla-svāmin at Vidiśā (also known as Bhilsā³) and the well-known eulogy composed by the famous poet Chhittapa.⁴ In the concluding portion of that eulogy of the Sun god, it is stated that the person who got the eulogy written and the stone inscribed

for embedding it in a wall of the Sun god's temple was *Daṇḍanāyaka Śrī Chandra*.⁵ In verse 9 of the present record, the Sun is compared to *durga-pāla* (Superintendent of fort). Could it be a veiled reference to an official of the aforementioned rank who may have encouraged the poet to compose the eulogy, got it written on the stone and embedded the same inside the wall of the shrine? Nothing, however, can be said with certainty in this regard.

TEXT⁶

[Metres : Verses 1, 4-5, 7-8 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 2, 9 *Mandākrānta*; verses 3, 6 *Sārdūla-vikrīḍita*]

- 1 Siddham¹ [1*] Ōm namaḥ Savitrē | Vivarttamāna-saṁsāra-chakranābhi-sa-nāditam | vi(bi)bhrāṇam kiraṇ-ārābhir=amśumantam=upāsmahē || [1**] Sūryādvaitam dyuti-pari-vṛḍha-stōtram=ētat-vichitra-chchhamdō-mudrā-stava(ba)-
- 2 ka-tilakam prōkta-paurāṇa-tatva(ttva)m | nirmmātuṁ mām kṛśa-matim=api śradda-dhānam pravō(bō)dha-prauḍhi-prādushkaraṇa-nipuṇas=tvat-prasā(sā)daḥ prayu[m*]ktē || [2**] Tvan=tējaḥ prativallim(lli)kā[m*] pariṇatiḥ sarvva-
- 3 svam=ushṇa-dyutē sī(śī)tāmsō(śō)=ramaṇīya-kō(kau)sa(śa)la-kalā-vi[bhau]padhī-sapa-daḥ⁸ | tāḥ pīsū(yū)sham Usharvvu(rbbu)dhē kila hutas=tasy=āmarāḥ kirttanam tatva(ttva)m tan=manasō=py=amēya-na(ma)himā-stōtratnu(n=tu) ¹⁰
- 4 satshaiva¹⁰ mē || [3* ||] Yad=anasva(śva)ram=avyaktam vyaktam yach=cha vinasva-(śva)ram(ram) | tad=virūpaṁ tava jyōtir=jyōtishām=iśvaras=tu saḥ || [4* ||] Yad=avyaktam=aṇu-vra(bra)hma-jyōtis=tē svaḥ-prakāsa(śā)kam(kam) | tad=ēva vyaktana-(m=a)naṇu[m*] ¹¹
- 5 jagan=mūrtyā vivarttatē || [5*] Saṁsārapratika[r]mma-karmma-nivahē(ha)-chchhē-dāt=pramōd-āspadam dhyān-ōpārjjita-vō(bō)dham-ārjjita-manō-ramgē taramgāyitam | jñēyam yat-kila yōgibhiḥ katham=api jyōti-
- 6 s= tad= ētat= param vra(bra)hm= aikām sa vivarttamāna-bhuvan-ābhōgam divi dyōtatē || [6*] Vidamti va(ba)hir= udyōti[h*] jyōtir= yad= dharmma-chakshushaḥ | tan= māt-ram= āhata-dhvāntam svāntē janitachakshushaḥ || [7*] Dēva tvad= ātmakam
- 7 viśvam tvaṁ vā viśv-ātmakaḥ sphuṭam | saṁvittir= iti taj= jñānām = ajñānām bhēda-sauhṛdam || [8*] Kāmam kāmādy= ari-parikarā[h*] kāmḍitāḥ kāmḍisī(śī)kā[h*] [tē] lōkāḥ sabhaya-vishayān= āśrayantē

8 bhavantaḥ | ārādhy= ainam sapadi vipadām= arggalam durgapalam kimn= ākshun-
nam(ṇnam) visava¹⁹-vivṛita-dvāra-[ni]rvvāṇa-durggam || [9 ||*] Mukhē dharmmaḥ karmma-
va(ba)hi vāhana-rūpaḥ sru(śru)ti-tanōḥ pramāṇam nirvvāṇam¹⁹

TRANSLATION

Verse 1: Obeisance to the god Savitṛi. We worship the Sun god who possesses rays, who is indeed the very sound and also is the primeval naval of the wheel of the revolving universe.

VERSE 2: This eulogy is indeed an auspicious mark on (the face of) the body of various eulogies, composed as it is in different metres. It deals with the Sun god who is not having another equal like him, who is surrounded by brightness. It speaks ancient truth. Oh you! who is proficient in making supremely manifest the innate intelligence, I sincerely believe that I am endowed only with little intellectual faculties. Yet, due to your blessings, I intend to compose this (eulogy).

VERSE 3: Oh you who possess hot rays! you manifest everything including every tiny creeper. You are the very wealth of splendour that adds enchanting beauty to the moon. While worshipping you at dawn, the celestial beings offer fresh milk in the sacrificial fire and sing in praise of you. While even the celestial beings cannot comprehend your self and your immeasurable greatness, what to speak of my panegyric which merely bears witness (to your glory)!

VERSE 4: You are the lord of light; your lustre is both manifesting and unmanifesting, formless and eternal.

VERSE 5: Your lustre is self-luminous. In unmanifested form, it is microcosm and in manifested form, it is macrocosm.

VERSE 6: You are the cause of delight that comes (to the seeker of emancipation) by the annihilation of the chain of actions and reactions in this mundane world. You appear like a wave in the arena of mind, the seat of supreme knowledge obtained by meditating on you. Only, somehow, you are comprehended by the seers. You are indeed the supreme light, the unique Brahman which, transforming itself into the world in its entirety, shines in the sky.

VERSE 7: External eyes perceive you only as exterior spouting light. But the interior eyes find you destroying the darkness inside his (i.e. worshipper's) inner self.

VERSE 8: Oh god! the Universe is yourself; Nay, this much is clear that you are indeed the Universe. You are in fact the supreme knowledge that accounts for the difference between knowledge and nescience.

VERSE 9 : The clouds as they like pour torrents of rain and (finally) run away (in fear of you). The worlds whenever stricken with fear due to the advent of dangers depend on you (for their safety). By worshipping you, who is the lord of forts one can immediately bolt the door for barring the entry of dangers.

What to speak of your eternity? You are the well-known fort with opening for emancipation.

VERSE 10 : Your face is righteousness ; in action you are seen in the form of the Sun seated in a chariot and drawn by (seven) horses. You are the authority for the entire body of Vēdas. For getting emancipation

Notes :

- 1 This has been noticed as No. B 161 of *A.R. Ep*, 1975-76.
- 2 P. Bhatia, *The Paramaras*, p. 110.
- 3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 211.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 215 f.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 217.
- 6 From impressions.
- 7 Expressed by a symbol.
- 8 Read : *bimb-ōpadhā-sampadaḥ*
- 9 The stroke is redundant.
- 10 Read *saksh = aiva*.
- 11 The stroke is redundant.
- 12 Read *viśva*.
- 13 The text ends here abruptly.

16 NEWLY DISCOVERED EDICTS OF ASOKA FROM KARNATAKA

Shrinivas Ritti

The purpose of this paper is to introduce to the learned scholars, four newly discovered Aśōkan Edicts in the Siraguppa taluk of Bellary district, Karnataka State. Two of them (texts Nos. 1 and 2 below) are engraved on two boulders not far from each other, in a field near Niṭṭūr, a village near the Tuṅga-bhadrā about 30 miles to the north of Bellary, a little away from the Bellary-Siraguppa road. Two others (texts Nos. 3 and 4 below) are engraved on two boulders, also situated close to each other, near another village called Udegoḷam about 5 kms to the south-west of Niṭṭūr.

The existence of the edicts near Niṭṭūr was made known to the world of scholars in August 1977 by the staff of the History Department of the Karnatak University, Dharwad, on the information supplied by Shri E. Visvanath, a Geologist from Bellary.

The students of Epigraphy were in for another pleasant surprise only a few months later in March 1978 when it was made known by the Director of Archaeology, Karnataka State, that yet another Aśōkan edict was discovered near Udegoḷam (text No. 3). Elated by the news, my colleagues in the Department and myself visited Udegoḷam to study the edict. There we were told of the possible existence of yet another edict nearby. We did not take the information seriously but to our pleasant surprise we did locate it and discovered, not only the edict but the marks of black ink on the boulder containing it, indicating that it was

copied a few hours earlier, by somebody. We were happy to know that it was the members of the Epigraphy branch of the Archaeological Survey of India who were the first to notice this edict a few hours earlier than we did.

All the four edicts belong to the category of minor edicts of Aśōka. The text of these four edicts is not altogether new, though they are not the exact reproduction of any known text. Two of them, Nos. 2 and 4, are almost the same as the 1st part of the Brahmagiri edict. The contents of the other two (Nos. 1 and 3) are similar to that of the latter half of the Brahmagiri edict while there is some difference between the texts of each one of them.

No. 2 (from Niṭṭūr) is fairly well preserved and there is not much to be discussed about it, since it closely follows the text of the Brahmagiri edict.

No. 4 (from Udegoḷam) does not call for much comment as, for one thing, most of it is worn out and it is almost a copy of No. 2.

No. 1 (from Niṭṭūr) and No. 3 (from Udegoḷam) are similar to each other in contents. But they differ considerably in actual working. A line by line comparison of these texts and that of Brahmagiri shows many variations.

Now this raises one question. When we notice similarity in contents and texts of the minor edicts such as Maski, Koppal, Brahmagiri,

Siddāpur, Jaiṅga Rāmēśvara, Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and also Niṭṭūr and Udegoḷam, does it not mean that an official text was prepared centrally, say, in the record office, and copies of the same were sent for the purpose of engraving to different places? One can understand minor omissions and additions while engraving; but how to account for the presence of good number of expressions and sentences in some, which are absent in others? Even the edicts of Niṭṭūr and Udegoḷam, which are not far away from each other, have considerable variations. It is indeed difficult to find an immediate explanation.

Another question that occurs is, how is it that there are as many as four edicts in the range of about 5 kms. As is understood, Aśōkan edicts were meant for wide propagation of certain ideals and principles and, naturally, therefore, they were expected to be engraved in places frequented by people. Such edicts therefore could be on the main routes of trade, places of religious importance or places conspicuous from the political point of view. The cluster of four edicts in this region—does it not indicate that the region was prominent from some point of view or the other? Could it have been an important centre of activity in the southern region of the Mauryan empire, say a provincial headquarters? We are told that Suvarṇagiri and Isilā were two

such centres in the Southern region; and Isilā could be located around Brahmagiri, since the edict there addresses itself to the officers of Isilā. But where was Suvarṇagiri located, officers from where sent a message to those at Isilā? I do not know if it can be traced to this region of four edicts. But that it had acquired a position of prominence is at least beyond doubt.

Finally let us note two important features of these edicts.

1. Three out of four edicts (Nos. 1, 2 and 3) mention the name Aśōka and it is not unlikely that No. 4 also does it. But since the writing is effaced, one cannot be sure of it. Edict No. 2 mentions the name at the end of the edict and this seems to be the only example of this kind. Thus, as a contrast with other known minor edicts, all the minor edicts of Aśōka found in Northern Karnataka, the presently discussed four edicts and the one from Maski bear the king's name.
2. Another feature is of palaeographic interest. The two edicts from Udegoḷam (Nos. 3 and 4) use a punctuation mark in the form of *danḍa* at the end of a sentence (see for example, lines 1, 4, 5 and 6, in Nos. 3 and line 2 in No. 4).

The tentative texts of the four edicts is given below.¹

I. NITTUR

- 1 *Rājā Asoko hēvam āha ānapayātha rajuke se ānapayisati janapadaṁ cha janam raṭhikāni cha mātāpitū susūsutaviyeti hevameva gurusu
- 2 pānesu cha drahyitaviyeti ime dhammagunā pavatitaviyā tuphe rajuka ānapayātha se dāni Devānaṁpiyasa vachanena ānapayisati ti se hemeva ānapayātha he...

- 3 bamhanāni cha ichhārohāni cha kāranakāni cha yugārānā pakiti [pa]yātha
imaṃ susūsitaviyēti iyam apachāyataviye[ti] āchaliye apachāyi-
- 4 taviye cha susūsitaviye cha yepi āchali yathāraham pavatitaviyeti
yādisi porānā pakiti yathā . yam . . ti
- 5 pi sātireke huveyā tathā pavatitavi.....

II NITTUR

- 1 Devānampiyo hevam āha adhikāni aḍhatiyāni vasi(sā)ni yam . .
- 2 . pāsake [no chu] kho bāḍham pakamte husam eka samvachharam sātireke tu bho
samvachharam sātireke tu kho samvachhare yam mayā sam[ghe u]-
- 3 payi . . cha me pakamte iminā chu kālena amisā [samānā] munisā Jambudipasi
misā de . .
- 4 pakamasa hi i[yam] pha[le] . hi iyam mahava sake pāpotave kāmam khudakenapi
pakama-mīnena vipule . .
- 5 sake ārādhayitave . [e]tāya iyam . . . Sāvaṇe sāvāpīte yathā khudhakā cha mahāpā
cha imam pakame . . amta cha me . . yvuti
- 6 chiraṭhitike cha iyam pake(ka)me hoti iyam cha [a]the vaḍhisiti bāḍham cha vaḍhi-
siti avaradhiyā diyadhiyam vaḍhisiti iyam cha sāvāpiṭe . .
- 7 sāvāpīte vyūtheṇa viyam cha vaḍhisitīti yathā rājā Asoko āhā tathā ti

III UDEGOLAM

- 1 Rājā Asokō Devānampiyō havam āpā[ha] tuphe āṇapayātha rajukam se | . . āṇa-
payisiti janapadam cha janam rāṭhikāni
- 2 cha mātāpitisu susūsitaviye hevameva gurusu pānesu cha drahyitaviyeti ime dham-
magūnā pavatitaviye ti [he]
- 3 vam tuphe rajuka āṇapayātha se dāni dēvānampiyasa vachanena āṇapayisatiti pi
[cha] tam hemeva āṇapayatha tam bamhanāni hathārohā
- 4 . . cha kāranakāni cha yugāva yātha ata . . yādisi porā[nā pakiti] tādisē
ya . . . susūsitaviyeti | iyam
- 5 [cha] apachāyitaviyeti [!] se āchariyasa apachāyiva(ta)viye cha susūsitaviye yepi cha
āchariyasa nātikā | tēsam pi yathālaham pavatitaviyeti
- 6 hemeva [sa] . [vā]sisu pi yathā[laham] pavatitaviye | yādisi porānāpakiti yethā
iyam [pi] sātireke huveya tathā pavatitaviye | hevam tūphā āṇapayātha
- 7 nivesayātha cha amtevāsinitī

IV UDEGOLAM

- 1 yām (yam) hakaṁ upāsake . . tu kho bāḍhaṁ paka
 2 bāḍhaṁ cha me pakaṁte | imiṇā chu kāleṇa | amisā
 3 hi iyaṁ mahāpteneva sake pā[po]tave
 4 etāya iyaṁ
 5 tike iyaṁ pakame
 6 sāvare sāvapite

Notes :

- 1 Subsequent to my writing this paper, the Indian Museum, Calcutta has published a valuable book by Dr. D. C. Sircar entitled *Asokan Studies* in which these edicts are included. I have derived much benefit from this book in finalising this paper. I am thankful to the author.
- 2 Macron over *e* and *o* is not used in the text.

17 KSHIRARAMESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS : A STUDY

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy

Kshirārāma is one of the famous five *ārāmas*, the remaining four being Dākshārāma, Amarārāma (modern Amarāvati), Kumārārāma (modern Bhīmavaram, near Sāmarlakōṭa) and Bhīmārāma (modern Guṇupūḍi-Bhīmavaram). The presiding deity of this *ārāma* is Kshirārāmēśvara who attracts large gathering of devotees even today. The same god is also referred to as Kshirārāma-Koppēśvaradēva in some inscriptions from this temple. This *ārāma* is the same as modern Pālakollu in West Godavari District (Andhra Pradesh). The main purpose of this paper is to present the history of the temple based on the inscriptions, numbering nearly 50, engraved on different parts of the temple. These epigraphs give us an idea about different additions to the main temple, the maintenance of services in the temple, designations and duties of different temple officials, status of the donees, etc. These inscriptions are found engraved on the *nandi-stāmbha*, pillars in the *maṇḍapa*, a pillar in the enclosure of the temple, a pillar in the *śayanāgāra*, a wall of the same and on the *Āñjanēya* shrine in the same temple. The texts of these inscriptions, which are in Telugu and Sanskrit languages, are published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V, Nos. 120 to 166.

The earliest inscription found engraved in this temple (No. 163) is dated in Śaka 1078 (1156 A. D.) while the latest is dated Śaka 1562 (1640 A. D.) (No. 120).

Thus we have an opportunity to study the history of this temple covering a long period of nearly 5 centuries. This temple enjoyed the patronage of the chiefs of Velanāḍu, Kōna, Chālukyas of Niḍadavōlu and Reḍḍis of Rajahmundry.

Firstly we shall consider the construction of additional structures to this temple. The first addition made to this temple was in Śaka 1198 (1276 A. D.) (No. 157). The Kōna chief Gaṇapatidēva-mahārāja got the bronze doors to the eastern gate of the *nāṭya-maṇḍapa* of this temple set up in that year. In the Śaka year 1238 (1316 A. D.) Rāyanārāyaṇa-chakravarti, son of Upēndradēva-chakravarti constructed the *Sanivāra-maṇḍapa* to celebrate the *Sanivāra mahōtsava* of the god every week (No. 138). Again in the Śaka year 1338 (1416 A. D.) a *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* was constructed by a certain Narahari for the merit of the chief Doḍḍaya-Allāḍabhūpāla (No. 133). The description of this *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* deserves special notice :

Yathā Kailāsa-śikharam tath = aiva
pariśōbhitam!

Shōḍaśa-hasta-pramāṇa-dīrgham
tad = ardha-vistāram!

Chaturviṃśati-su-stāmbhair = yuktam
kalyāṇa-maṇṭapam!

Kshirārāmapuriśāya Rāmēśāya
samarppayat!

This *maṇṭapa*, which is compared to the mountain Kailāsa in its glory, was of

16 cubits length and of 8 cubits width with 24 pillars.

As regards the grants for different services and purposes made to the temple

it is interesting to note that the number and nature of the grants vary from century to century. The following table gives an idea about this :

Grants/ Services	12th c.	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.	16th c.	17th c.	Total
1) <i>Akhaṇḍadīpa</i>	7	25	2	1	—	—	35
2) Other services	—	2	1	—	—	2	5
3) Land	1	21	5	5	—	2	34
4) Structures	—	1	1	1	—	—	3
5) Jewels, etc.	1	—	—	3	—	—	4
6) Money	1	1	1	1	—	—	4
7) Cows	—	1150	50	4	—	—	1204

From the above table it is clear that the most favoured service was setting up perpetual lamps. The maximum number of perpetual lamps were set up during the 13th century and the number had come down drastically in the subsequent centuries. From the epigraphs it appears that to set up one *akhaṇḍadīpa* the devotee had to donate 50 cows as also some land to the temple which would be entrusted to an individual with the stipulation that he should supply one *māna* of ghee every day. This measure was specific and was known as *Nandi-māna* (*māna* with the seal of *nandi* which indicates that the measure is certified by the temple) or *sāniyambāṭimāna* (measure certified by the *sānis* who are on the administrative committee of the temple). Some times the individual was given a house site also (Nos. 127, 147). The extent of gift-land used to vary, probably due to its yielding capacity. However, the extent of land most commonly met with is 3 *khas* or *puṭṭis*. There is one instance where only a land of 3 *kha* in

extent was granted for maintaining an *akhaṇḍadīpa* with the same stipulation and no cows were donated. (No. 124: 1306 A. D.). There are instances where the devotees donated the metal lamp-stands (*lōha-dīpa-kambham*) also for perpetual lamps (Nos. 136, 137, 139 and 152). The weight of these stands was not fixed and was varying from 2 *viṣes* to 10 *viṣes*. The metal of the stand was specified as bronze in one epigraph (No. 152). As suggested by some inscriptions (Nos. 160, 161) the *sthānapatis* and the 300 *sānis* were to see that the *akhaṇḍadīpa* services were properly and regularly maintained (*i dīpamu sthānapatiyū sānimunuūrvurunū naḍapaṅgalavāru*). Among the donors of the *akhaṇḍadīpa* there were people from all walks of life, from the members of the royal family to a common man. It is very interesting to note that one of the donors was 'a doctor of horses' (*aśvāyurvēdavētta*) (No. 130: 1300 A. D.).

Grants were also made to burn the lamp only at specified times or occasions. Two inscriptions (Nos. 143 and 146) dated

1259 and 1298 A. D. respectively, refer to the donation of a *sandhyā-dīpa*. From the inscription dated 1298 A. D. it appears that some land was granted to maintain the lamp. Another inscription (No. 135), dated 1449 A. D., records the grant of 4 cows for maintaining a lamp in the shrine of Allāḍēśvara-liṅga. Other details like the quantum of ghee to be supplied etc., are not given. A thousand lamps were being burnt on the occasion of the *dipāvali-mahōtsava* in the temple and probably some grant was made for this purpose as evidenced by a damaged inscription (No. 125) dated 1296 A. D.

The other services and festivities observed in the temple include *ardha-jāmu-avasaramu* (mid-day offerings) *Śanivāra-mahōtsavam* and *dipāvali-mahōtsavam* for which the lands were granted (Nos. 125, 131 : 1296 A. D. and 138 : 1316 A. D.). An inscription (No. 162) dated 1169 A. D. registers the grant of *naṭṭava-ṽṛitti* (land for dancers) and *āvaja-ṽṛitti* (land for musicians) from which we may infer that dance and music had an important place in the temple festivities.

The extent of land, amount of money and number of jewels and cows granted to the temple give us an idea about the financial position enjoyed by the temple. As can be observed from the above table maximum land was granted in the 13th century. Maintaining of perpetual lamps (*akhaṇḍa-dīpa*), services like *naivēdya*, incense burning, dance and music, observing special festivities like *dipāvali-mahōtsava*, feeding *brāhminas*, maintaining public charities like watersheds, attending to the periodical repairs to the temple were among the purposes for which the land was granted. Donations in cash, were never-

theless made but quite less when compared to those in land. An inscription dated 1169 A. D. (No. 162) states that an officer serving the Velanāṭi chief Rājēndrachōḍa made a gift of 7 *nishkas* (gold coins). Another epigraph (No. 139) dated 1207 A. D. records the gift of 10 *gaṇḍa-māḍas* for the jewel *paṣiḍi-pushpa* (golden flower). Yet another record (No. 156) dated 1364 A. D. states that on the orders of the Kōna chief Bhīmavallabha-mahārāja, a certain Nāgana-bōya paid 10 *gadyās* into the treasury of the temple towards the wages of the servant who had to attend to the repair works of the temple. The same individual seems to have paid 2 *māḍas* to the temple treasury for *āchārya* Yajñēśvara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya who might be a priest as well as a teacher attached to the temple. Among the jewels and other items gifted to the temple were *paṣiḍi-pushpa* and *paṣiḍi-prabha*. A chariot along with cloth to decorate it was also gifted to the deity in 1415 A. D. (No. 134). It is very interesting to observe from the table given above that as many as 1150 cows were gifted away to the temple in the 13th century while the number dwindled to 50 and as much less as 4 in the 14th and 15th centuries respectively. The main purpose in donating the cows to the temple was to ensure a steady and uninterrupted supply of ghee to maintain the *akhaṇḍa-dīpas* in the temple regularly. That is why the number of cows gifted to the temple may be compared with the number of the *akhaṇḍa-dīpas* donated to the temple, which also was quite less in the 14th and 15th centuries against the preceding century. It may be noted here that the case is more or less same with some

other temples also in the Āndhra country.

The maintenance of temple received good attention as evidenced by the inscriptions. An inscription (No. 158), probably belonging to the 13th century, records the exemption of a tax called *pannu gūḍu* to the *kāśa* (mason) who attends to the repair works of the temple. According to another epigraph (No. 156) a regular income seems to have been ensured to the mason for the same purpose. He was given a land of 2 *kha* and 3 *na* in extent and 10 *gadyas* in cash as also a house site.

The temple maintained certain public charities such as feeding the *brāhmaṇas* (No. 125 : 1296 A.D.) and setting up water-sheds. The inscription (No. 128) dated 1318 A. D. records the setting up of a water-shed (*chali-pandiri*) in the temple by Rāmanāthadēva, son of Kōna Bhīlavallabhamahārāja. The *brāhmaṇa* who was to supply water for this *chali-pandiri* was given 2 *puṭṭis* of land and a house-site measuring 10x7 cubits (*mullu* i.e. *mūralu*).

As far as the temple officials are concerned we have references to only two well-known officials, *sthāna pati* and *sāni* - 300. Of them, the former was the head of the temple administration. He, along with *sāni*-300, was to supervise the proper maintenance of the donations received by the temple.

The foregoing study, apart from giving

an idea about different activities of the temple, provides us information about the general economic condition and the service conditions enjoyed by the temple servants. It is very interesting to note that the number of cows donated to the temple for maintaining the perpetual lamps came down from 1150 in the 13th century to a mere 50 and 4 in the following two centuries. The circumstances which led to this deserve a careful study especially in view of the fact that it was more or less the same case with some other temples also in the Āndhra country. One point which deserves our attention is that for maintaining one *akhaṇḍadīpa* 50 cows are considered equivalent to a land of 3 *kha* (i.e. *puṭṭis*) in extent. The persons in charge of the cows or the land were expected to supply one *māna* of ghee daily to keep the lamps burning.

The temple servants seem to have enjoyed sound financial status as they were assured of food and shelter. Generally they were granted land as also a house site. The house sites allotted for such temple servants seem to measure 10 x 7 cubits as evidenced by one inscription.

Thus it is apparent that the study of the pattern of donations to each temple may provide us with an insight into the economic and social conditions of the region in question and the status enjoyed by the temple.

18 COMMERCIAL INTEGRITY IN MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA

[A. D. 1000-1600]

S. Gururajachar

Here is an attempt to discuss the commercial¹ integrity that prevailed in Medieval Karṇāṭaka, in the light of contemporary evidence, both epigraphical and literary. There is reason to believe that, normally a high standard of integrity prevailed in public transactions during the age under review. Whether it was an individual or institution—village-assembly, merchant-guild, temple and the like—that was involved in any transaction, integrity was often emphasized.

The celebrated Merchant-guild, the Five Hundred Svāmis of Ayyāvoḷe, seems to take special pride for the commercial integrity of its members. They are often described in epigraphs as endowed with 'many good qualities such as truth, purity good conduct (*anēka-guṇāḷamkṛita-satya-sau-chāchāra-chāru-charitra*), etc.²

Such Merchant-guilds, like the village-assemblies and temples, enjoyed the confidence of the people and the Government alike; for, money was often deposited with them, the interest on which was earmarked for some definite purpose, as stipulated in the records. They could, indeed, offer a sense of security, as do the banks of to-day.

Reference is often found in epigraphs to contracts between individuals as well as groups of persons involved in a certain transaction. Such transactions were expected in the presence of witnesses, such as Village-assemblies, Government officials and

the like.³ This was quite in tune with the injunctions of the *Smṛiti* writers and their commentators.⁴ Such transactions were duly recorded and, in some cases, even engraved on stone.⁵ Reference is made in certain records⁶ to what may be called 'sale-deeds' (*kṛaya-pramāṇa-patra*).

In transactions where dealing in money is involved, they should be duly recorded in the presence of witnesses (*sākshi*) lest they should lose their sanctity and validity.⁷ When the borrower cleared the loan amount in full settlement, the document (*patra*) in question should be duly returned to him by the creditor.⁸

An inscription⁹ of 1229 A. D. from Belgaum refers to an interesting transaction. One Rudrabhaṭṭa, born in a well-known family of scholars and an eminent poet himself (*su-kavi*), borrowed 1000 pieces of gold (*sāsira-pon*) pledging the letter *bha* of his name as security! He, therefore, received the appellation of Rudraṭa as a substitute for his full name, until the day when he redeemed the pledge (*paḍedam Rudraṭanēmbi paḍemātam Rudrabhaṭṭan-urvī-janadim*).

Varthema seems to refer to a contemporary practice which throws light on the transaction between a creditor and debtor. He observes that, if the creditor happened to meet the debtor, all that the former had to do was to mark a circle upon the ground and to make the latter enter it (which he never failed to do so). The

debtor could not leave the circle unless he satisfied the creditor or obtained the remission of the debt. If the debtor left the circle without clearing the debt, Varthema adds, he was liable to be put to death by the king.¹⁰

All said and done, everything was not sane. Then, as perhaps ever, malpractices and corruption did exist in personal as well as public transactions. The great jurist, Vijñānēśvara¹¹ (A. D. 1070-1100), while discussing the *prāyaścitta* for *upa-pātakas*, observes that by selling an underweighed or over weighed or adulterated goods, one incurs a *upa-pātaka* (secondary sin). Interestingly enough, well-known Kannada poets, Nayasēna (1112 A. D.) and Brahmaśiva

(1110-30 A. D.) also refer to such corrupt practices in commercial dealings.

Nayasēna quotes a proverb to say that the merchant's words are fine, but his measure is smaller than the standard one (*namma seṭṭiya mātoḷḷidavu bḷḷam kiṟudem bante*).¹²

Brahmaśiva¹³ observes that some merchants used to adulterate goods, as for instance, by mixing oil with ghee (*tuppadoḷageṇṇeyam*), silver with gold (*honnoḷage beḷḷiyam*) and mud with salt (*uppiṇoḷu maṇṇam*). He further points¹⁴ out that some traders used to employ larger measures while buying something themselves, but smaller ones while selling the same to others!

Notes :

- 1 Commerce is taken here in a wider sense of the term *vyavahāraḥ*, dealing or transaction.
- 2 Cf. *SIL.*, XI, i, No. 99 (1063 A. D.), etc.
- 3 *EC.*, VI, Kd. 53; XI, Cd. 47; *MAR.*, 1928, No. 73, etc.
- 4 Cf. Vijñānēśvara's *Mitāksharā*, J. R. Gharpure's Trn., p. 1195.
- 5 G. S. Dikshit, *Local Self Government in Medieval Karnataka* (Dharwar, 1964), p. 87.
- 6 *EC.*, V, Ak. 9; *MAR.*, 1924, No. 34, etc.
- 7 Nayasēna, *Dharmāmṛitam*, I, 1.144; 2.69, etc.
- 8 *MAR.*, 1924, No. 29.
- 9 *JBBRAS.*, X, pp. 260 ff.
- 10 T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* (Madras, 1951), p. 186.
- 11 *The Mitāksharā*, III, 265; Cf. *hinamāna unmāna saṅkara saṅkīrṇa vikrayē cha iti*.
- 12 *Dharmāmṛitam*, I, 6.232, p. 297.
- 13 *Samaya-Parīkshe*, 5.46. p. 95.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 5.47.

BOOK REVIEWS

Nūpura—the anklet in Indian Literature and Art by S. P. Tewari, Published by Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi 1982.

This is the age of the 'specialist' who seeks to go to the very depth of any problem put before him. Anything coming from the pen of such a specialist, however small it may be, is bound to be a wholesome contribution to serious and academic thinking. The book under review reveals the author as a specialist who is not satisfied with mere superficiality. It takes up the study of an ornament used even today and attempts to ascertain its rightful place and antiquity through art and literature. The author claims to be the first to analyse this small piece of jewellery as interpreted in Indian literature and art-forms.

In the Introduction, the author justifies the universal usage of ornaments as being the natural result of man's instinct to not merely beautify himself but also to establish a distinctive mark of rank and dignity. Just as the *alamkāra* in Sanskrit poetics adds charm to the poetry, so too does the ornament to the physical appearance of a person. The use of jewellery has been known to India right from pre-historic times and the *Nūpura*—broadly translated as the anklet—was extensively used.

The second chapter deals with the antiquity of *Nūpura* as found in literature. Vedic literature, though it does not actually spell the word *Nūpura* anywhere, gives several

references to the word *khādi* which the author interprets as 'rings to adorn the ankles or the arms'. While Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* speaks nothing of the *Nūpura* in particular, the Buddhist Jātaka texts refer to it as '*suvaṇṇa pādūkā*' and '*pālipada*' and the Therīgāthā actually mentions *Nūpura* in the sense of an anklet. The inclusion of the word *suvaṇṇa pādūkā* to signify anklet could however be disputed. An Indo-Aryan origin is suggested for the word *Nūpura* as coming from the Prākṛit term *ṇeura* or *nīdhura*. The author goes on to cite references to *Nūpura* and its variants in a more or less chronological order from the Epics and the Classical Sanskrit works. Vālmīki, Bāṇa, Māgha, Bhāsa and others have been profusely quoted. Several verses (from Aśvaghoṣha, Kālidāsa, Bhāsa and Sūdraka) have been selected which describe the *Nūpura* as the beautifying ornament of the heroine. The verses have actually been quoted to bring out the significance of the *Nūpura* in its proper context. Here, one is reminded of Śaṅkarāchārya's estimation of the anklet on Dēvī Pārvatī's feet, the sound of which seems to teach the heavenly swans the art of walking:

*charantas-tē khēlan-bhavana-kalahamśā na
jahati
atas-tēshām śikshām subhaga-maṇi-maṅjira-
raṇita-
chchhalād-āchakshhāṇam charaṇa-kamalam
chāru charitē*

(*Saundarya Laharī*, 91)

The early literary creations use the word *Nūpura* profusely showing that the various synonyms for it came in much

later. Bharata lists four types of anklets, the meanings of which are convincingly explained by the author. The *Amarakōśa* gives by far the most exhaustive list of the *Nūpura* and its variants which the later poets made use of in their works. The field being so vast, the author himself admits his inability in culling out all the references to *Nūpura* in Indian literature. However, while going through this chapter I wondered why the author has said nothing about the *Silappadikāram*, the second century Tamil Epic which is actually 'the story of the Anklet'. Besides, a passing reference to citations of the *Nūpura* in the contemporary Jaina texts (at least some of them) would have made the survey more interesting as well as broad-based.

The third chapter explains the various types of *Nūpura* as specified in literature and its manifestations in art-forms. The author has limited his study upto the tenth century A. D. pleading on the vastness of the subject. Giving a meaningful interpretation of the various anklet-types, the author has sought to establish affiliations among them; thus he says that the Vedic term *patsu-khādi* should be the earlier synonym of Amara's *pāda-kaṭaka* and so on. An interesting survey is made of the size, the shape, the description and the material out of which these anklet-types were made. The subtle variations in the connotations of the *Nūpura*-types like the '*mañjira*', '*tulākōṣi*', '*pādāṅguda*', and the '*hamsaka*' have been well brought out. Of special interest is the explanation of the '*hamsaka*', particularly of its representations in the art-forms. The author goes on to establish their validity through appropriate art-illustrations. There are thirty-six plates, sixteen of which contain infer-

mative sketches and line-drawings illustrating the same.

The fourth chapter is a 'flight into fancy' where the author deals with the relationship of the *Nūpura vis-a-vis* the Erotic Sentiment. That aspect of the *Śringāra Rasa*, wherein the jingling of a lady's anklet bells have acted as a powerful stimulant to the *Rati-bhāva*, has been described by many poets. The author has selected such instances particularly with reference to the '*Abhisārikā Nāyikā*'. Though some may consider the inclusion of this chapter as superfluous, it certainly makes for interesting reading and gives the reader an opportunity to peep into the actual poetry of these master-pieces which the author himself has so fully understood and appreciated and which he so lucidly describes. The two Appendices are useful additions for they contain selections of further references to *Nūpura* in different contexts. They reveal to us the author's scholarship in the subject.

The monograph is written in a simple and communicative style and puts forth much by way of elucidating the theme. The author with his good knowledge and understanding of Sanskrit literature has used this *connaissance* to its best advantage. The deliberate melange of Sanskrit verses within the body of the monograph makes it worthy of both the connoisseur and the layman. The plates are adequate and help sufficiently to bring out the theme. The book is valuable for its detailed treatment of so minor a subject which has been so interestingly dealt with. What one would have desired of this otherwise well-laboured work is a glossary which would have been extremely useful to the reader.

Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy by K. G. Krishnan, published by New Era Publications, Madras, Pages i-vii and 184. Price Rs. 70.

This book, as the author himself has described, is a collection of papers published in several Journals of national and international repute. There are in all 18 articles in the present collection. Since this is said to be the I volume, we may expect his other papers also to be collected in further volumes. Having spent probably more than 3 decades of his career as an epigraphist, he speaks with authority and complete conviction when he presents his points of view.

In the very first paper he deals with a few architectural terms in Tamil inscriptions. One such word -*puḍai*- is taken to mean the sections of the wall of the central shrine between the pilasters. He suggests that stones for the temples in Tanjavur district were brought from Kiḷḷiyūrmalai which place has as yet defied identification.

The three kings referred to in the Pugaḷūr inscriptions are identified by Mahadevan and Pannirselvam with kings mentioned in *Padiṟruppattu*, a Saṅgam classic. But Krishnan has ably demonstrated how these identifications cannot be accepted, and suggested that they are names of kings not known to that classic. He further suggests that they were the last few rulers of Karuvūr, *i. e.*, Karūr in the Koṅgu country which was also named as Vañchi, in memory of their original habitat, by the Chēras.

The *chaṭṭānam maḍam*, an establishment described in Udyōtanasūri's *Kuvalaya-*

mālā is identified with Kāndaḷūrśālai, a locality in Trivandrum. For such an identification the author has analysed the statements made in the literary work about the *maḍam* and shown how such regulations were found in operation at Kāndaḷūrśālai.

Two inscriptions at Pālūru in Coorg district of Karnataka, published in the revised *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Volume I, 1972) is subjected to re-examination and, well-versed as he is in Grantha, Malayāḷam and Vaṭṭeḷuttu scripts, he has argued that these records suggest their affinity to Grantha from which Malayāḷam was evolved, and that there is no 'mixed characters.' He places the record not prior to the 13th century.

Interesting is his discussion about the occurrence of famine in the area where Saturn passes through Disces *i. e.* Mīnaśani. He cites epigraphical and also literary evidences in this regard. This would point to his being well-versed in astronomical matters also. 'Jaina monuments of Tamil Nadu' is a fairly long article giving details. In this he incidentally describes the meanings of some technical terms like *paḷḷipāḷi*, *devāram* and *tirumēṇi* which are noteworthy. An account of the history, genealogy and monuments of the Muttaraiyars is exhaustively given in yet another long paper. He thinks that the meaning of the name *mūṇṇu+taraiyar* *i. e.* lords of three territories fits well into the historical context.

In his last article on Kurumbas in South-east Asia he makes a surmise that a few batches of Kurumbas, said to be the

earliest inhabitants of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, might have migrated to that region before the 5th century A. D.

It is not possible to deal with all the articles included in the volume. What strikes one here is the brief but definite statements of the author who does not unnecessarily ramble. This is mostly due to the epigraphical training he has received. He uses the source materials - here epigraphs - in making out his point and there is logic and coherence in his writing. No word is wasted.

The Chalukyas of Kalyana and the Kalachūris by Dr. B. R. Gopal (Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1882, pp. 459)

The author Dr. B. R. Gopal, an epigraphist of distinction with sound historical understanding has gainfully made use of the numerous epigraphs, literary works and coins for re-constructing the history of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. In the history of Karṇāṭaka the period that witnessed the revival of the Chālukya rule was significant in both political and cultural fields. In snort it was an epoch-making period. At the same time it was a period of challenge too Hemmed in between the Chōḷas in the south and the Gūrjaras and Paramāras in the north, the Chālukyas had a challenging task of protecting their empire from their attacks. This the Chālukyas did with great success.

On the basis of an array of facts culled out from sources of information it is estab-

I congratulate Sri Krishnan for having thought of publishing his papers in such collections. With his acumen, and the leisure which he has now at his disposal after retirement, he must now not only compile but also write afresh and guide the younger generation with his fund of knowledge stored over decades. The present book is a very welcome and useful addition to history and epigraphy. It has been neatly printed and its jacket is quite attractive. The publishers also deserve praise.

B. R. Gopal

lished beyond doubt that the Chālukyas were an indogenous family settled in the region round about Bādāmi with agriculture and military service as their avocations. Taking advantage of the unsettled political conditions in the region consequent upon the disintegration of the Kadamba rule they made a bold bid for power and succeeded. The author carefully notices the unambiguous genealogical link between the Chalukyas of Bādāmi and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The revival of the Chalukya rule by Taila II over the vast expanse of land which had gone under the sway of the Rāshtrakūṭas opened a new chapter in the history of Karnataka. Vēṅgi constituted the bone of contention between the Chālukyas and Chōḷas. Satāyāśraya and Vikramāditya V, while holding in tact the territory they inherited, did make thrust in different directions. Jayasimha II had to contend against the northern powers and the Chōḷas as well while maintaining an effective hold on his feuda-

ories. The succession of Sōmēśvara I ushered in a brilliant period in the history of the Chālukyas who ultimately reached the zenith of their power during the reign of his son, Vikramāditya VI. The reign period of Sōmēśvara I was one of incessant wars. South Indian history of this period, about twenty five years, was largely the story of Chālukya-Chōḷa battles. As usual the Tuṅgabhadra Doab and Vēṅgi were the targets of these conflicts.

Noticing the Chālukya interests in growing danger as his elder brother, Sōmēśvara II, could not adequately meet the attacks from the north and south, Vikramāditya VI decided to assume powers of the king, "seized in battle the sovereignty and made himself emperor." He also started a new era called the Chālukya Vikrama era in Śaka 998 (A. D. 1076) marking his assumption of power. His achievements in times of war and peace were great and remarkable. His son, Sōmēśvara III who succeeded to the throne inherited a vast empire extending up to Nagpur in the north and had spread from the eastern to the western coast. His reign was comparatively more peaceful. He was the author of the encyclopaedic work in Sanskrit, *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* also known as *Mānasōllāsa*. The thirteen years of the rule of his successor, Jagadēkamalla II witnessed further deterioration of the

Chālukya power. During the rule of his younger brother, Taila III the Chālukya throne was usurped by his powerful subordinate, Kalachuri Bijjala. Thus commenced the rule of the Kalachuris in Karnataka. Meanwhile the last ruler of this Chālukya dynasty Sōmēśvara IV took advantage of the expansionist activities of the Sēuṅas and Hoysaḷas on either side of the kingdom, succeeded in overthrowing the Kalachuris and seizing Kalyāṇa. But it was short lived.

Thus the labyrinths of the political history of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa has been carefully reconstructed and many moot points clearly settled. In the last two chapters the author has discussed the salient features of literature during this period. However, the author has not gone into a detailed study of these conditions perhaps he has plans to deal with them in another volume.

The Bibliography consisting of the primary and secondary sources is comprehensive and highly suggestive. The Index is fairly exhaustive. A few printer's devils have managed to escape the notice of the author.

Thus the work *The Chalukyas of Kalayana* leaves nothing to be desired. It is really a very good contribution to the study of Karnataka history.

K. R. BASAVA RAJA

Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire, by I. K. Sarma, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, pp. i to xxi, pp. 1-297, with index and twenty plates, Rs. 140/=.

The book contains six chapters and a

corpus of the coins. The general chronological framework is introduced in the first chapter. It contains also a reconsideration of the Nānēghāṭ label inscriptions. The second chapter gives a review of all

the recent discoveries including the interesting surface finds from Kōṭalingāla. The symbols, technique, weight etc., are considered in the third chapter. The fourth chapter contains a vivid description of the coins closely following the chronological scheme adumbrated in the first chapter. The peculiar silver portrait coinage is dealt with in the fifth chapter setting out the author's arguments treating the language of the reverse legend as Telugu. The sixth chapter gives a general history summerising the conclusions of the previous chapters. The corpus placed at the end running to 146 pages is very good piece of work forming as it is, the basic data for the book.

This book is a good welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject. The author, in accordance with his claim that Sātavāhana history can be reconstructed more with the help of coins unlike in the case of the histories of other dynasties has laboured very hard to collate the evidence from coins with the Purāṇas and the inscriptions. He has tried and succeeded, to a very large measure in treating every piece of evidence discovered so far. Though he does not want to swear by palaeography he has taken its help in deciding the attribution of the Kōṭalingāla coins of Chhimuka Sātavāhana to Chhimuka (40 B. C.) as against Śrīmukha (date 230-20/ B. C.). One would have wished that he has explained the palaeography, separated in this case by two centuries(!), by showing the forms instead of describing them, even though he has tried to strengthen his case by discussing the symbols and other aspects. Another statement made by him (p. 6) that the language of the Sātavāhanas was Telugu

rests on the slender evidence of the silver portrait coins of the later kings of this dynasty from the 2nd century A. D. We are sure, on the basis of references in ancient Tamil classical works, that Telugu was very much current. Yet we cannot reconcile to Shri Sarma's contention (pp. 113-22) that the reverse legend on the silver coins contains Telugu (metrical !) version of the Prakrit version on the obverse. He has dealt with the palaeography very elaborately. But he dismisses very lightly the *puḷḷi* evidence on the basis of its non-observance and as a style of writing. This part of his argument is very weak on account of the fact that the *puḷḷi* system was designed by the early Tamil grammarians before Tolkāppiyar as against the practice of writing *Samyuktā-kshara* in Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions in Brāhmī script which has influenced the formation of scripts in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka throughout the period from the earliest known times. Further the ductus of writing *ma* in Tamil proves the unique nature of the horse-shoe form which is not evolved from Aśōkan *ma*. The distribution of the coins cannot have anything to do with the intent of their issue. Shri Sarma seems to hold a different view (pp. 109-10). But our difference of opinion should not in anyway influence the readers' estimation of the book which is the only comprehensive work on the subject.

The get up is good. But we are very much disappointed as the numerous printing mistakes which often make us suspect the readings of texts (pages 9 and 66) this being of late the general complaint against recent indological productions.

K. G. KRISHNAN

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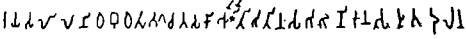
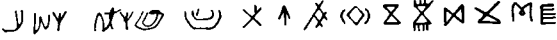

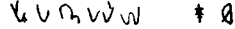
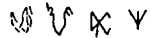
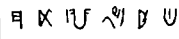


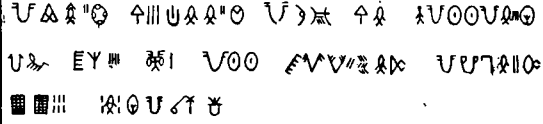

WRITING IN INDIA - 2000 B.C. TO 450 B.C.	
PIPRAHWA <small>5TH CENT. B.C.</small>	
MEGALITHIC <small>700-500 B.C.</small>	
DAIMABAD <small>1300 B.C. - 1000 B.C.</small>	
RANGPUR IIC-III <small>1600-1300 B.C.</small>	
CHANDIGARH <small>1900-1700 B.C.</small>	
RAKHI-SHAHPUR <small>1900-1800 B.C.</small>	
LOTHAL B <small>1900-1800 B.C.</small>	
ROJDI <small>1900 B.C.</small>	
MOHENJO-DARO <small>TOPMOST LEVEL 1900 B.C. (DALES)</small>	
LOTHAL A <small>PHASE IV 2000-1900 B.C.</small>	

FIG. 1

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10. p + a + t = pat 11. p + a + t + a = pate (pat)
 0 + ' + X = ㊀ 0 + ' + X + ' = ㊁, ㊂, ㊃, ㊄
 0 + v + X = ㊅
 12. p + a + h = pah
 0 + ' + ㊆ = ㊇, ㊈, ㊉, ㊊, ㊋, ㊌
) + ' + ㊆ = ㊍, ㊎
 ㊏ + v + ㊆ = ㊐, ㊑
 13. p + a + h + a = paha (pah)
 0 + ' + ㊆ + ' = ㊒
 0 + v + ㊆ + ' = ㊓
) + v + ㊆ + ' = ㊔
 ㊏ + v + ㊆ + ' = ㊕
 14. p + a + h + h = pahh (pah)
 ㊏ + v + ㊆ + ㊆ = ㊖
 15. m + h = mh (mah)
 X + ㊆ = ㊗
 16. s + a + h = sah
 ㊘ + ' + ㊆ = ㊙
 17. s + a + k + a = saka
 ㊘ + ' + V + ' = ㊚
 18. s + a + a + s = sās (śās)
 ㊘ + ' + ' + ㊘ + ' = ㊛
 19. h + a + k = hak
 ㊆ + U + V = ㊜

IVB. SYLLABLES WITH REDOUBLED CONS.

1. p + p + a + k = ppak = pak [OR ㊝ + ㊞ = ppaka = pak]
 0 + 0 + U + V = ㊟, Similarly ㊟ + ' = śśama = śama
 2. p + p + h = pph (ppah) 3. p + p + a + h = ppah = pah
 0 + 0 + H = ㊠ 0 + 0 + ' + ㊆ = ㊡
 4. p + p + a + p + a = ppapa OR poppa = papa
 0 + 0 + U + 0 + ' = ㊢
 Similarly ㊣ = [㊤ + ㊦ + ㊧] kasappe
 5. p + p + a + t = ppat = pat (popat ?)
 0 + 0 + ' + ㊆ = ㊤, ㊦
 6. p + p + a + t = ppāt (pōpat ?)
 0 + 0 + v + ㊆ = ㊧

FIG. 2

7. p + p + r + a = ppā (papā ?)
 0 + 0 + ㊨ + ' = ㊩, ㊪
 8. p + p + r + a + a = ppārā (pāpār ?)
 0 + 0 + ㊨ + U + ' = ㊫, ㊬
 9. h + h + a + a + k + a = hhāka (hāka)
 ㊭ + ㊭ + ' + ' + V + ' = ㊮ [= ㊯ + ㊰]
 Similarly ㊱ = hhah

V. ASPIRATES

1. k + h = kh
 V + ㊲ = ㊳, ㊴
 2. k + h + a = kha
 V + ㊲ + ' = ㊵, ㊶
 3. k + h + a + a = khā BUT k + a + h + a + a = kahā
 U + ㊲ + ' + ' = ㊷
 V + ㊲ + U + ' = ㊸ [OR = kahā]
 Similarly ㊹, ㊺ = gha; ㊻ = dh; ㊼, ㊽, ㊾ = ph
 ㊿ = phahh (pah), ㋀ = phaka (pak)
 ㋁ = phah (pah), ㋂ = bh, ㋃ = bhah, ㋄ = bhaha
 ㋅, ㋆, ㋇ = mhha (mahh = maha)
 ㋈ = mhhah (mah), ㋉, ㋊ = rh; ㋋ = rha
 ㋌, ㋍ = rhā, ㋎ = rhay (rhi), ㋏ = vhā

VI. PICTURES

1. aśu + a = aśua
 ㋐ + ^ = ㋑
 2. aśu + a + a = aśuā
 ㋐ + ^ + ^ = ㋒
 3. aśu + a + h = aśuah
 ㋐ + ^ + ㋓ = ㋔, ㋕
 4. urś + a = urśa
 ㋖ + ^ = ㋗, ㋘
 5. urś + a + a = urśā
 ㋖ + ^ + ^ = ㋙
 0. urś + h + a = urśha
 ㋖ + ㋓ + ^ = ㋚, ㋛

FIG. 3

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S-SEAL NO/NO	INSCRIPTION WITH BASIC SIGNS	BASIC SIGN AND VALUE	INSCRIPTION WITH LIGATURED SIGN	LIGATURED SIGN	SEAL NO
1 V231	U U	U-u	U U	U-u	L 62
2 KBG, U 00V			U U U U	U-u, U-u, U-u, U-u	L 136 MK 300
3 MK274	E I A I	A-r	E I A I	E-r, I-r, A-r, I-r	KBG V 414 V 655
4 L 70	A U A U U U A V	V-k	A U A U U U A V	A-k, U-k, A-k, U-k, U-k, A-k, V-k	MK 180 V 532
5 MK601	U U	U-s	U U	U-s, U-s	L 94
6 V224	U U A I	A-s	U U A I	U-s, U-s, A-s, I-s	L 138
7 MK646	U U A	A-t	U U A	U-s, U-s, A-t	L 106
8 M 179	U X U U U U	X-t	U X U U U U	U-s, X-t, U-s, U-s, U-s, U-s	L 138 V 599
9 MK448	E D A	D-d	E D A	E-d, D-d, A-d	V 231 L 138 L 137
10 M 370	U X U U A	U-n	U X U U A	U-n, X-t, U-s, U-s, A-t	M 225 M 46 M 206
11 V 199	U U U U	U-n	U U U U	U-n, U-n, U-n, U-n	L 115
12 V 99	U U U U	P-p	U U U U	U-n, U-n, P-p, U-n	MK 471
13 MK665	U U U U	P-p	U U U U	U-n, U-n, P-p, P-p	MK 49 M 272 M 236 V 227

FIG. 4 (a)

14 L 19	U U U U	U-b	U U U U	U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	V 335 V 423 V 682 V 428 L 141 HR 4823
15 MK 184	U U U U U U	K-m	U U U U U U	U-b, K-m, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	L 136 L 107
16 MK 522	U U U U U U	P-r	U U U U U U	U-b, K-m, P-r, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	M 794 V 267
17 MK 101	U U A	Y-y	U U A	U-b, Y-y, U-b, A-t	L 54
18 MK 662	U U U U	A-s	U U U U	U-b, Y-y, A-s, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	HR 4811 L 138 MK 652
19 V 37	U U U U U U	W-w	U U U U U U	U-b, W-w, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	V 465 M 219
20 L	U U U U	P-s	U U U U	U-b, W-w, P-s, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	L 18 V 131
21 MK 264	U U U U U U	A-s	U U U U U U	U-b, W-w, P-s, A-s, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	V 325 V 361
22 M PL V 16	U U U U U U	P-h	U U U U U U	U-b, W-w, P-s, A-s, P-h, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	L 138 MK 652
23 MK 665	U H O	H-h	U H O	U-b, W-w, P-s, A-s, P-h, H-h, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	V 412
24 MK 201	U U U U	H-h	U U U U	U-b, W-w, P-s, A-s, P-h, H-h, H-h, U-b, U-b, U-b, U-b	

FIG. 4 (b)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

SEMITIC & INDUS SIGNS

S. NO.	PHONETIC VALUE	OLD NORTH SEMITIC SIGNS 16th-13th c.B.C.	HARAPPAN SIGNS	LATE HARAPPAN SIGNS
1	b	□ 9	□	□
2	g	^ 1	^ ^ 7	^
3	d	▷ △	▷ ▷	▷ ▷
4	h	𐤆 𐤇	𐤆 𐤇 E	𐤆
5	w	Y Y	Y	Y
6	b	⊞ ⊞	⊞ H H H	⊞
7	th	⊙ ⊙	⊙ ⊙	⊙
8	k	∨ ∨	∨ ∨	∨
9	n	5 5	∨ ∨	∨
10	s	𐤍	𐤍	𐤍
11	(oy)	o o	o	o
12	p	> 0 • ◊ •	0 ◊))	0 ◊
13	r	9 9	𐤃	𐤃
14	sh	W W	W	W
15	t	+ X 1	X 1 X	1
16	s	𐤌 •	𐤌 ↑	↑
17	h	𐤎 •	𐤎 8	
18	m	𐤏 •	X X	X
19	o	K K K	U	U
20	r		↑	↑
21	s		♣	♣

• S. SEMITIC

FIG. 5



































































TRANSLITERATION OF INSCRIPTIONS (Fig. 6)


INSCRIPTION	TRANSCRIPTION	INSCRIPTION	TRANSCRIPTION
1	= p-ga = p(a)ga.	19	= oo-kka-ā = okkā.
2	= pag-da	20	= ae-eka-ba-ka + papr
3	= pa-ka = paka	21	= pata-pa-ba- rhay = pata-pa-barhi.
4	= pak	22	= ba-dra-ma -hā = badra-mahā.
5	= papa-ka-hā = papa-Kahā or ppakahā.	23	= asvā-ā-sa-tr = asvāsatra.
6	= pt-da-so	24	= sapt-sās- asvā-ā = saptā-sāsa- asvā
7	= sās - sās = sāsa-sāsa.	25	= dra-h-ae -ba-h-ā = drahae- bahā.
8	= ma-hā = mahā.	26	= dra-ka-ae- panc-p-ā = dra-kae- pancapā
9	= ma-nā = manā.	27	[a] = tri-d-ā-hā = tradhā
10	= ma-hā = mahā.	[b] = sā-śo-da = śāsada	
11	= pa-mā-hā (pa-māhā)	28	= urśha-śa ae-tr-t-ā = urśhasae -trāśa
12	= ā-t-ha = ataha		
13	= pa-ra = para		
14	= pa-pa-pp- ra = pa-pappra		
15	= daśa-da		
16	= da-śā-ae-t-ā = daśa aeta		
17	p ka ae. ba-ka-ā : pakae-bakā		

1. 'mighty' (Cf. *pājas* (RV); *paḡ* (IE) 'power' 'might')
2. 'bestower of might'
- 3-4. 'guardian' (Cf. *hastipaka*' (Skt.))
5. ('seal) of guardian (-ha is used for -sa)
- 6-7. 'governor' or (Lord) 'Dasa'
8. 'ruler of ruler' (Cf. *Rājarāja*)
9. 'bountiful' (*makha*--RV)
10. 'stimulating power' (or a homophone of Manu)
11. 'great' or 'chief'
12. 'protector' 'great'
13. 'Fire God' (Cf. *Athar*--AV.)
14. 'supreme'
15. 'protector' 'Papr' (homophone of Pipr of intensive of *pr* 'to protect'--RV).
16. 'bestower of ten'
17. Brilliant Ten (*eta* 'shining, brilliant'--RV.)
18. 'to guardian from Baka' (Baka is th: name of a person or homophone of *baga* 'god').
19. 'abode, home' (Cf. *okas* RV.)
20. 'Singular (or only one) Baka (or God) protecting'
21. 'Governor protector Barhi (Barhi is a name of Agni also--RV)
22. 'auspicious' 'great'
23. 'horse sacrifice' or 'sacrifice by Aśva'
24. 'Aśva, Ruler of the Seven'
25. 'to Drh from Baha' (Druhu and Baha are clans--RV--AV.)
26. 'to Drka (Drha), Ruler of the Five' (Drhus are among the Pancajanah--RV.)
27. (a) 'of Triad' (b) 'commander'
28. 'to the virile saviour'

FIG. 6

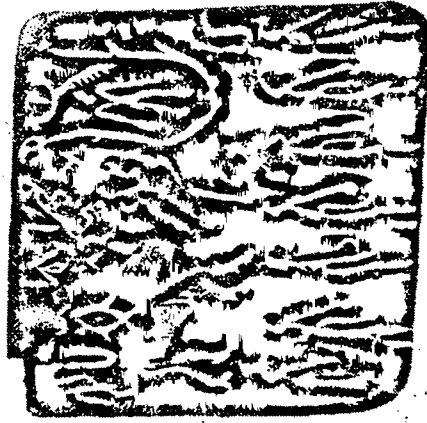
INDUS SIGNS: CLASSIFIED

SNO.	PHON. VALUE	HP	LHP	SNO.	PHON. VALUE	HP	LHP
1	e			22	h		
2	a			23	b		
3	ā			24	h		
4	r			25	śuna		
5	ae		26				
6	ao		27				
7	ay			28	baka		
8	r			29	aśu(attha)		
9	v			30	urś(cika)		
10	k			31	adr[adri]		
11	g			32	śak (unta)		
12	t			33	[saka]		
13	th			34	ksh(etra)		
14	d			35	has(ta)		
15	n			36	trd[tridg]		
16	p			37	makh (maksha)		
17	b			38	sa(śya) sasa		
18	m			39	śrn (ga)		
19	ś			40			
20	sh			41			
21	s			42			

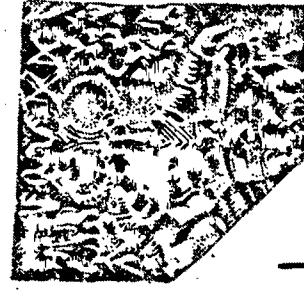
*  also cc's as a semivowel

HP = Harappan AND LHP = Late Harappan

FIG. 7



2



1

FIG. 8

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ORIGIN OF EARLY ALPHABETS

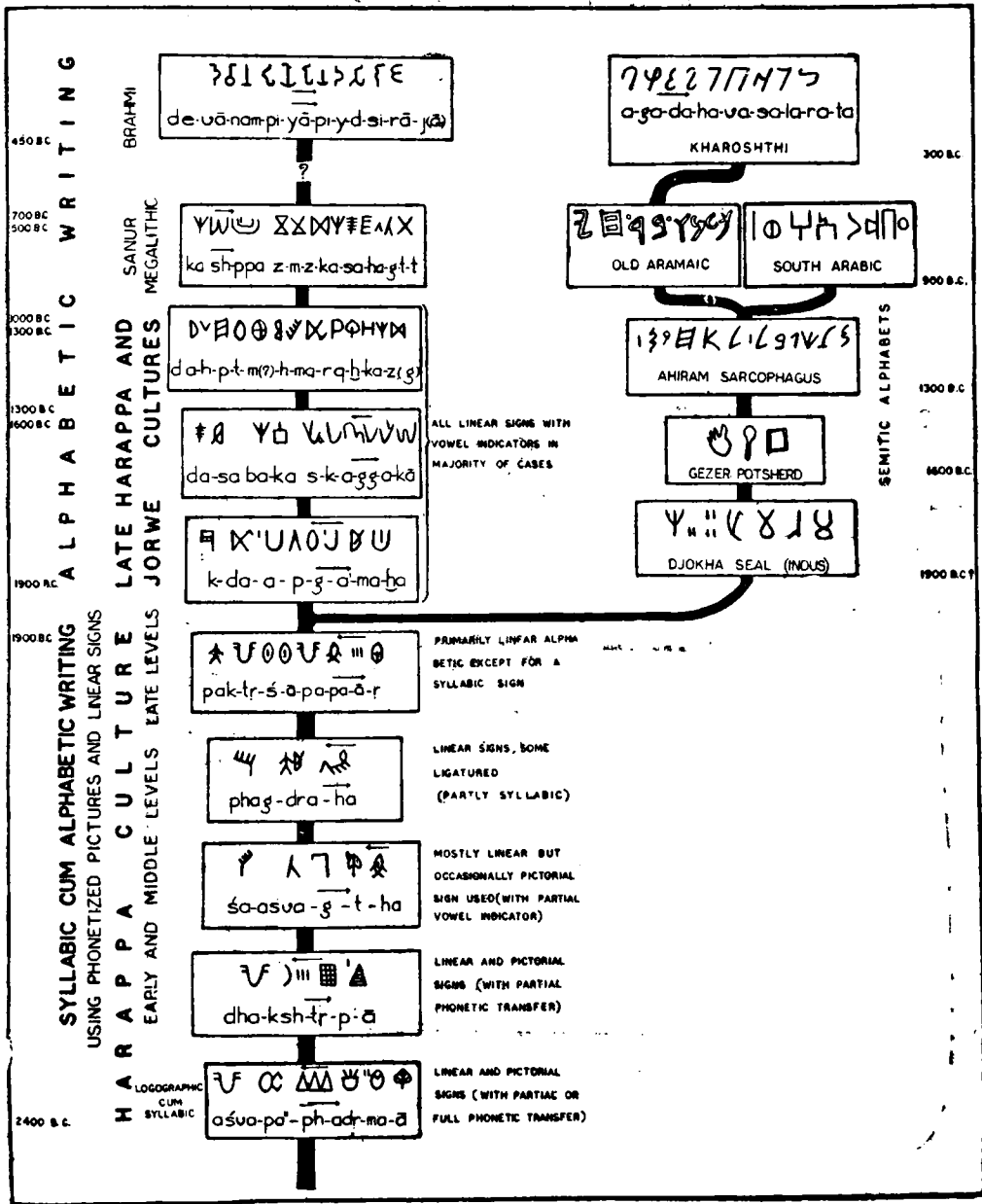


FIG. 9

2 MIDDLE BRAHMI INSCRIPTION ON INDRA IMAGE

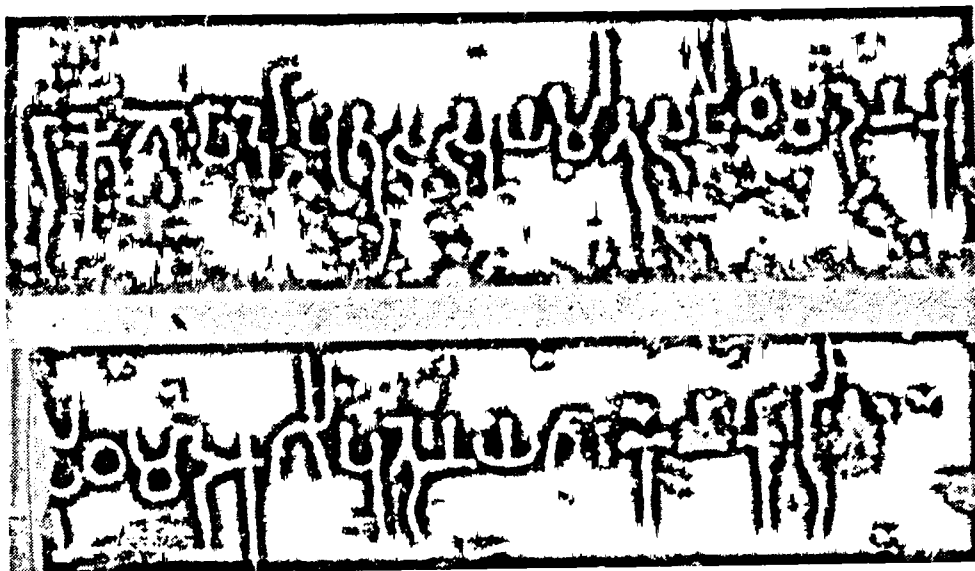
Eye copy

== 3 = 3 Δ T E

3 AN AYAGAPATTA INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA



9. EPIGRAPHICAL REFERENCES TO SOME ROYAL ATTENDANTS



12 WAS KAPPE ARABHATTA SAME AS ARYABHATA ?

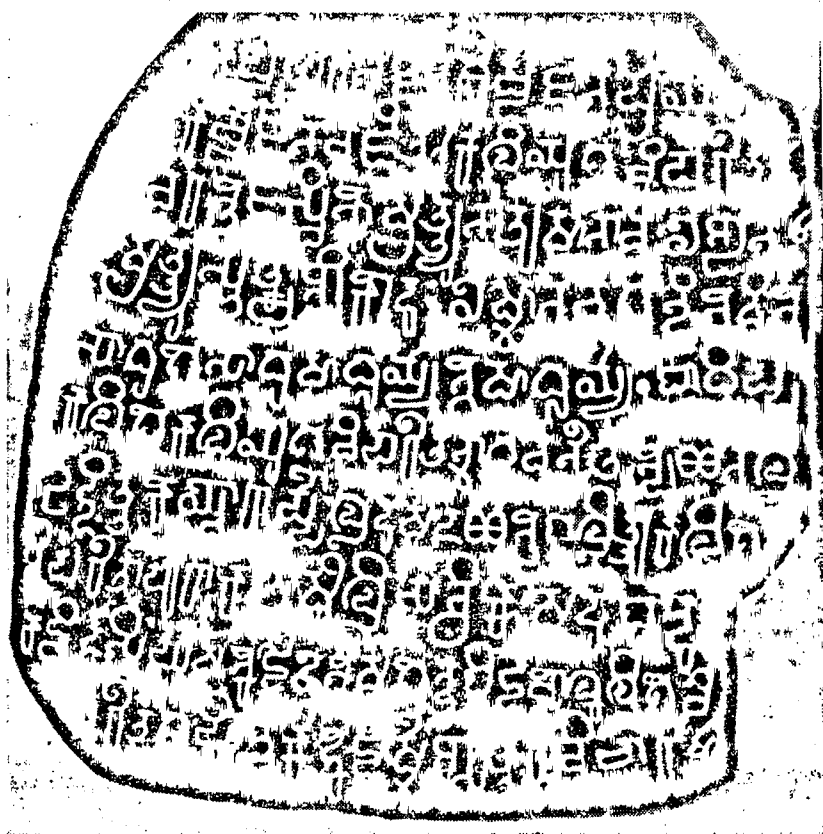




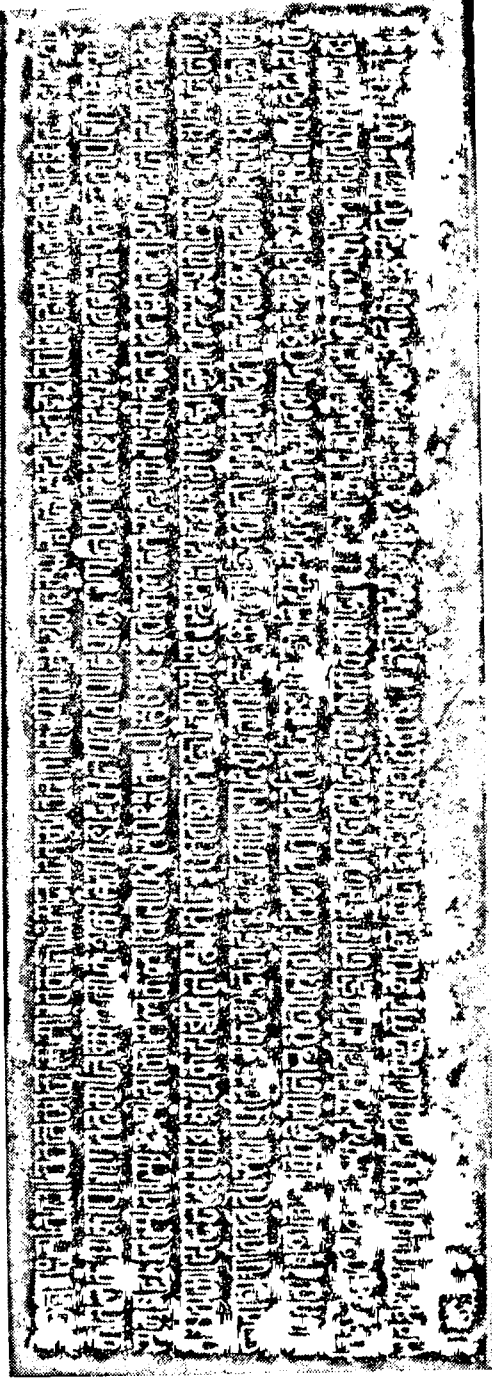
PLATE I

13 THE MYTH OF SUJATA - GRIHA



PLATE II

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