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*Executive Editor*  
K.V. RAMESH

*Editor*  
M.D. SAMPATH



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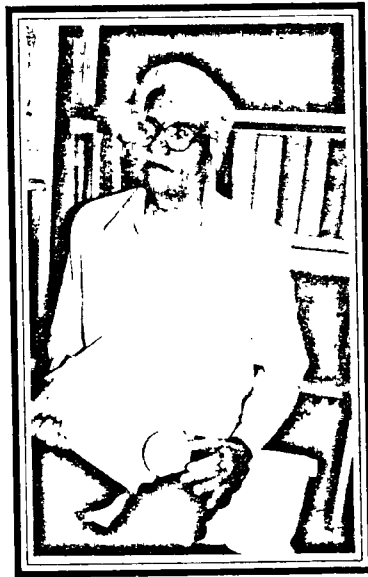
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Eminent Epigraphist, Historian and Executive Committee Member  
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## *Editorial*

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

The Journal is devoted to the publication of original research papers of the scholars who participated in the deliberations held at Mysore. That the Society has been able to bring out its journal, for thirty one years now, without any break, is no mean achievement. This has been rendered possible due to the cooperation and support we have received from the Office-Bearers and Members of the Executive Committee besides the members of the Society. It is due to the concerted and sincere efforts of Dr. Udaya Narayan Singh, Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore and Dr., Shashidhara Prasad, Vice-Chancellor, University of Mysore that the XXXI Annual conference held at Mysore achieved a grand success. We are deeply thankful to them. Also Dr. R. Subbakrishna and his team from CIIL and Dr. N.S. Rangaraju and his colleagues from the University of Mysore deserves our sincere thanks for their whole hearted cooperation and support.

We are deeply grateful to our Chairman and renowned epigraphist, Dr. S.H. Ritti, and to the Vice-chairmen for guidance in the conduct of the activities of the Society and in placing it on firm footing.

We regret to inform the members about the sad demise of Dr. H.S. Thosar a life-member and an Executive Committee Member of the Society and who has been instrumental for the growth of our Society. We also mourn the sad death of Sri. Easwar Katkar.

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

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

Mysore - 570013  
December 10, 2005

**K.V. Ramesh**

*Executive Editor*

**M.D. Sampath**

*Editor*

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## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

S. Nagaraju

My respected teachers, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

Let me first of all express my sincere gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Epigraphical Society of India for electing me as the General President of the XXXI Annual Congress of the Society being held in Mysore. I deeply feel beholden to the Office Bearers and members of the Executive Committee of the society. I deem it an extraordinary honour to me in providing this august chair in this assembly of epigraphists in the very city where I started my career 47 years back as Epigraphist in the Karnataka State Department of Archaeology. I remember with gratitude my initiation into this field under the tutelage of my respected guru Shri M. Hanumantha Rao, the then Assistant Director in the Department, who had inherited the epigraphical expertise in the line of B.L. Rice, R. Narasimhachar and M.H. Krishna. Subsequently, it was my good fortune to get the benefit of the experience of a galaxy of epigraphists in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist of the Govt. of India, which had by then shifted to Mysore from Ootacamund. I have gained a lot in almost daily discussions there specially with K. V. Ramesh, then an Assistant Superintending Epigraphist, but senior to me in age and much more so in wisdom, and my peers like M.N. Katti and Jayarama Sharma, and, in later years, B.R. Gopal and M.D. Sampath in the Institute of Kannada Studies. The fraternal bond established then is still continuing, though I left Mysore after nearly two decades of active involvement in epigraphy.

Despite all this initial advantage I began to drift on to various other fields of study of the past like Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology, Art history, History of Ideas and Dynamics of society, Language and Literature. Though I am conscious that the advantage of my epigraphical training was the forte in my forays in other fields, except perhaps, in Prehistoric Archaeology. I still have a feeling of inadequacy to fill this chair. A sense of awe pervades me when I look at the roll of honour of presidents of the previous Annual Congresses of this Society. I am deeply conscious of my limitations. But lacking in courage to dishonour the choice made by my gurus and friends, perhaps wishing for the prodigal son to return, I have accepted this invitation with all humility.

For this address, I have chosen a somewhat unusual theme, viz. The Current Status and Prospects of Indian Epigraphy, so that I can share with you some of my thoughts gathered over the years in a peculiar situation as an epigraphist for about two decades and as a sort of an outsider for almost equal number of years. I feel that my own shift of academic interests from my basic background as an epigraphist could become a starting point for discussion. What was there unusual in other fields of past studies than what is not there in epigraphy is a question which makes me to ponder over the state of Indian epigraphy. This also brings to my mind Dr. D.C. Sircar's presidential address of the second Annual Congress of the Society (1976) where after giving an excellent review of the growth and 'importance of Indian Epigraphy, he ends up with a section titled 'Decline in the study', wherein he makes a haunting remark, "it has, however, to be admitted that the subject lost its popularity with Western students considerably before the middle of the century while there are very few successful epigraphists even in India-today. It is feared that soon there will be nobody to read and interpret an inscription correctly". The latter part of the statement has fortunately been disproved so far, perhaps because of the efforts of the Epigraphical Society of India in building up a large team of epigraphists, both professional and non-professional. But one wonders what made a successful epigraphist like D.C. Sircar to become so despondent as to say that there may be no competent epigraphist in future, and what was his idea in thinking of a decline in epigraphy, that too at a time when the office of the Chief Epigraphist was getting expanded and several Universities had started Departments of Ancient History and Archaeology in which epigraphy was (and still is) a regular course. The cause rests in something other than the logic of numbers. This should be viewed in proper perspective, together with his observation of decline of interest of Western students in the study of Indian epigraphy.

Epigraphy as a branch of study grew with the rise of Classical studies in Europe. A large number of inscriptions mostly from the Greco-Roman period were systematically collected and published by the middle of the 19th century itself (e.g. Bockh's, *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions*; Mommsen's twenty volume series *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*), and similarly by the early part of the 20th century most of the Egyptian and early West Asian inscriptions had been compiled. Though there are scholars in the west at present who continue their interest in studying inscriptions, they hardly call themselves as epigraphists. Most of them affiliate themselves with Linguistics or Classical or Near Eastern studies.

It does not mean that epigraphical studies are over there. Newly discovered inscriptions are being published from time to time (e.g, Godart and Olivier, *Raceuil des Inscriptions en Lineaire A*, 5 vols, 1976-85; Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 1979). But the concerns of these scholars have taken different dimensions mostly by integrating the study of these as sources for much wider disciplinary approaches.

One day Indian epigraphy too would have to take the way the Classical and Near Eastern epigraphy has already taken. It is not because India is said to be aping the west in its intellectual concerns, but because of the very nature of the dynamics of intellectual growth.

We may, to some extent, understand what Sircar may have had in his mind in using the term 'decline', when we compare the past and recent epigraphical publications in the field of Indian Epigraphy. To my mind, it appears, sans a few who could be counted on finger tips, there are not many who command the linguistic skills as seen in early epigraphists like Luders, who could identify even the provenance of the donors in early Buddhist inscriptions on the basis of regional dialectal variations in Prakrits, or the width and depth of scholarship when they could interpret, terms and passages from epigraphs with their encyclopaedic knowledge of Ancient Indian cultural system, be it philosophy, rhetorics, astronomy, medicine, art or iconography, as can be seen from extensive notes on inscriptions by Hultsch, Fleet, Venkayya, Krishna Sastry or Sircar. We would be just simple-minded if we adduce nature of traditional epigraphy. Even though hundreds of inscriptions are coming to light every year, these new discoveries hardly excite us as they used to be in olden days. Many of them are simple if ignored, or taken note of as footnotes to already existing discourses. The reason behind this appears to be the wide gap between the galloping changes coming up in objectives and methodological approaches in history and allied disciplines and a static situation in the field of Indian epigraphy. Perhaps this, prevailing gap among academics in the two regions in perceiving and pursuing epigraphical studies could be one of the reasons for the decreasing popularity of Indian epigraphy among Western scholars.

In many a discussion with my epigraphist friends, I often used to mention that Indian epigraphy appears to have reached a plateau. But there is nothing unusual about it. This is a normal situation encountered by all growing disciplines, when, after a period of assiduous cultivation, they land at a stage where no

progress is possible, thus becoming prosaic and intellectually less challenging. But, those which have struck the plateau too get rejuvenated and begin to scale greater heights with the introduction of new goals, tools or paradigms. To cite an example, we may mention the Linnaean classificatory system in Biology which excited the scholars once but reached a plateau, became static and prosaic, nothing more to be done than adding a few more newly discovered species to the long lists already compiled or tinkering the classificatory system here and there. But a great boost came with the invention of the microscope. With further developments in microbiology and their applications, Biology is now pacing forward tremendously. Our own sister discipline, viz. archaeology, also faced this plateau problem till about the middle of the last century when it was concerned with only 'space-time systematics and reconstruction of past life ways on the basis of classification of material remains. But new lines of enquiry, usually described as 'New Archaeology or 'New perspectives' developed from the 1960's, have added fresh dimensions to these studies. Archaeology has become much more exciting and challenging even though the same archaeological materials still remain the basic data for enquiry. But the methods and objectives of enquiry have been sharpened and enlarged to bring forth a holistic understanding of past cultures with their various aspects viewed in systemic relationship.

Perhaps, Indian epigraphy also needs a fresh impetus to make it more intellectually exciting and meaningful. However, the essential feature of epigraphy, viz., the reproduction of old records faithfully as they are, cannot be compromised. The authenticity and reliability of texts, i.e., the untampered verbal survival from the past, remains the basic asset of this discipline, as much as the material remains in archaeological studies. What is needed now is a fresh supply of inputs in understanding, evaluating and processing of this data for a meaningful enquiry. For this, besides sharpening current skills, new methodological approaches including those developed by sister disciplines governed by time-depth, and identifying new goals to widen the scope of study become necessary.

What I am mentioning is not something entirely new. Western epigraphical scholarship has switched over to this path long back. In India too, a few scholars involved in Indian epigraphy have already identified this need and trying to explore various possibilities. One such is a statistical method suggested and pursued by Karashima and his colleagues. Some insightful essays of K. V. Ramesh show the urge of the professional epigraphists to explore newer dimensions in

the field. M.G.S. Narayanan and Champakalakshmi, to mention a few, have successfully utilized epigraphs for the understanding of past settlement patterns, political economy and nature of State. Elsewhere I have tried to introduce an art historical perception to evaluate the process of paleographical evolution and limitations of comparative palaeography. In another attempt, basing mainly on the contents and distribution pattern of early Telugu inscriptions, I have tried to explore the process of evolution of vernaculars to a high culture literary language.

The difference between the traditional epigraphy and 'new epigraphy', if we can call the above suggested prospects of expansion of its horizons is almost similar to the one between traditional archaeology and New Archaeology. The traditional is dependent on inductive method of reasoning relying on empirical observation. On the basis of the data gathered, it aims at space-time systematics and reconstruction of past life ways. The 'new' adopts a deductive strategy to formulate a more comprehensive hypothesis and evaluate it in the light of the evidence. To put it in simple terms most of our current enquiries rest on three main questions *Where, When* and *What* (space-time-event enquiry); the new methodology includes two more questions *How* and *Why* (cause-effect and goal-means strategy).

In other words, the plea is for traditional epigraphy to move with the times in consonance with other disciplines to maintain its intellectual relevance. It was very much so when early epigraphists formulated certain guidelines for themselves. But the volumes of the prestigious *Epigraphia Indica* still carry articles within the same frame work as had been formulated more than century back. That formulation itself was carefully thought of and was most ideally suited at that time, in the context of the then prevailing positivist historiography with a stress on chronology and political history. What traditional Indian Epigraphy missed is to keep in touch with the tremendous advances that have come up in various social sciences, and specially history. It is, in a way, a great loss to both epigraphy and history. In this situation, barring exceptions as always there would be, many historians sailing with the newly developing trends, but without the knowledge of the nature of the inscriptions or texts, began to utilize epigraphical evidence basing mostly on translations, or hazarding many a fanciful interpretation of texts to suit to their own line of thinking - which a trained epigraphist would never do even in his dreams. Most traditional epigraphists were either unaware of these or just laughed at and ignored, even if they knew. But it may take perhaps another five decades for serious epigraphists to rectify

the damage that history has suffered because of this trend. A still unfortunate situation is when many 'progressive' historians consider epigraphists as craftsmen supplying catalogued data for the historian to process and many epigraphists too acquiescing to it - a peculiar state of 'academic mercantilism'.

We should remember that this was never so in the past. In those days many epigraphists, European or Indian, were equally great historians in their own right. No body can question the status of Mommsen or Fleet or Rice or Coedes as historians. And, it should also be noted that this sort of differentiation does not exist in the West even to this day. Every scholar pursuing studies in source materials there emerges himself as a historian as well.

Perhaps it is time for Indian epigraphists to look into this aspect also in the context of D.G. Sircar's perception of 'Decline'. If Indian epigraphy is to flourish as a stimulating academic discipline rather than remaining as a craft of recognizing ancient letters, copying texts, and writing notes for others to process as intellectual discourses, it is necessary to come out of its confinement in the shell of positivist historiographical tradition of the past. That tradition had its heyday and academic relevance once, but intellectual pursuits never remain static. Accumulation of new knowledge and constant endeavour to reach further distant horizons of knowledge are eternal processes. Indian epigraphy too has to keep pace with it.

If we accept the above line of thinking we have to think of the steps required to elevate epigraphy again to the level of an intellectual discipline. Perhaps this forum itself has enough expertise to chalk out strategies and the society may become a powerful engine for change. Purely in academic terms, we have already mentioned the need for shift from inductive to the deductive logic of enquiry. First of all, we have to keep abreast with various developments in the sister disciplines, identifying the shifting goals and concerns and various methodological tools evolved. It is not just borrowing but adapting. Though there are several disciplines with varied concerns, the goal of all knowledge is the same, to put it broadly, to understand the nature of the universe and the position of mankind in it. Towards this end all disciplines get converged. So the tools of enquiry though developed in some other discipline may as well become relevant for our discipline too. The message underneath this is to take advantage of already existing fund of knowledge from whichever source it may be coming, so that we can push forward further to expand the frontiers of knowledge. We can see how this has been done

by some scholars already in the examples we have cited above. But one has to take note of the fact that the roots of enquiry lies in our own field, though the tools may be borrowed from other disciplines.

For the benefit of young scholars in the field of epigraphy, I may cite an example of this kind of approach. One of my own attempts comes to my mind immediately. Epigraphists had long back recognized that the Telugu language makes its appearance in epigraphs from about the 6th century A.D. Those who are aware of Andhra history and epigraphy know that Prakrit was the epigraphical language from very early times in that region. Around the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Sanskrit replaced Prakrit. It became the high culture language used by the State and the advanced sections of the society as reflected in the inscriptions of that period. Steps had also been taken from that time onwards to cultivate the language assiduously by creating *agrahāras*. Here came the question how a vernacular like Telugu, having no State or institutional background could become a language of administration and culture. The inscriptions themselves were mute in this regard. The inductive logic was of no use. Some other method was to be employed for eliciting answers. It was possible to do this too within the discipline of epigraphy. When I plotted the spatio-chronological distribution pattern of early Telugu inscriptions on a map of Andhra Pradesh there was a surprising revelation. It was found that the earliest Telugu inscriptions appeared in Cuddapah District, a dry backward area located far away from the then existing metropolitan centers and fertile tracts of the Andhra region. It was also noticed that Telugu inscriptions of about the 7th century A.D. appeared just in the neighbouring districts of Kurnool and Chittoor. In the 8th century A.D. they spread further to the adjacent regions. Following a sort of ripple motion Telugu had become the general epigraphical language throughout the Andhra country by about the 11th century. Looking at this phenomenon, it could be easily made out that this Telugu movement emerged not from the then existing State or high culture society. Looking again into the textual contents of the early Telugu inscriptions it became evident that the Telugu movement started with the rise of a new elite class. Setting this into a paradigmatic framework of socio-cultural change a new picture emerged in which one could see how small indigenous Telugu speaking tribal groups shot up to a stage of economic and political advancement through a set of historical situation present in the Cuddapah region, and that these in their attempt to establish their newly developed identity as distinct from the Sanskritic elite promoted Telugu as their official medium. Under this

new patronage and usage the language itself became sophisticated gradually and successfully replaced Sanskrit as the language of State and culture. The deductive line of enquiry can thus elicit many a piece of information which may not have been mentioned explicitly in the inscriptions, but which were part of the phenomena that created the inscriptions.

There are umpteen areas for such studies in which epigraphs can be profitably utilized to explain past phenomena and fill up untold parts of history, like palaeo-demographic densities and population growth, changes in social demography, economic quantification, migration patterns, patterns of cultural diffusion, technological innovations and culture change and so on. There is no limit. One has to go on extending one's questions.

I suspect that some of you may have gained an impression by now that I am pleading epigraphists to become professional historians. It is true, but as epigraphist-historians. No body can question the fact that inscriptions are untampered authentic texts handed down from the past. History built on this authentic material would be qualitatively superior to those based on suppositions and imaginary reconstructions. In my opinion, any worthwhile reconstruction of history using epigraphs can be done only by those who are familiar with not only texts but also the knowledge of the nature of inscriptional records and their background. Those of you who have seen *in situ* inscriptions and attempting to read them on spot may have gained a feeling of having it dialogue with the very creator of the inscription in his own time and place. The insights provided by this direct involvement in processing inscriptions is something unique and a non-transferable experience. An epigraphist who reads original texts of inscriptions and aware of the past cultural milieu that created them can understand that words used in textual composition not only carry meanings but also feelings. Often one is capable of recreating in mind the happenings of the long past, not fancifully but logically. Histories written by such epigraphist-historians would not only be unique but also highly trustworthy and valuable. Both history and epigraphy get elevated to become attractive and meaningful academic pursuits.

Further I should emphasize that I am not underestimating the value of traditional epigraphy. The strong foundations of the discipline are embedded in that. What we are pleading is to plan how the superstructure is to be raised. Indian epigraphy is going through a phase of umpteen challenges as well as opportunities. It is



facing a situation which India itself is facing. It has to grapple with the task of meeting basic needs and also keep abreast with the advanced world. It is often mentioned that though over a hundred thousand inscriptions have been noticed so far nearly 60-70 % of these have not yet been published. In a vast country like India there are still large areas remaining unexplored. Unless this survey work is taken on a war footing there is the danger of losing many records surviving from the past. The burgeoning population growth has increased the pressure on land. Ancient sites which had already been found fit for human settlements in the past, the very places where inscriptions are likely to survive but uncared for now, become easy targets in the process. In order to take up the above tasks lot of skilled manpower is necessary. There is need for trained students and scholars to take up this basic work of collecting and publishing all the surviving inscriptions. This first level of work is as much important as developing new goals and methodologies.

At the sametime there are vast opportunities open for 'new epigraphy' or the epigraphist-historian. First of all the field itself is most exciting with the possibilities of unraveling many unknown facets of past phenomena. In the context of such periods and regions of history for which epigraphy still happens to be the sole or the primary source, there is a new world open, wherein tremendous possibilities exist for inaugurating new lines of historical reconstruction. Besides, in a way, Indian epigraphists have a challenging opportunity for expanding the scope of their work by logically integrating their study with epigraphical studies in South East Asia. After all the inscriptions from both these are products of a single civilization category. When it comes to civilization studies, the Indian epigraphist occupies a unique position. If we go with the current anthropological perception of civilizations as strategies of adaptation evolved by humankind to achieve its life goals, the Indian civilization (perhaps the Chinese too) stands as a successful experiment in adaptation because of its long surviving capacity compared to many others which rose and perished. The responsibility of evaluation and reconstruction of dynamics of this civilizational strategy, at least for that span of time for which epigraphs are the major sources of study, rests on Indian epigraphist-historians. That would be a major contribution to humanity itself.

## THE COMMON MAN IN EPIGRAPHS OF BENGAL

Samaresh Bandyopadhyay

Inscriptions are generally believed to contain details about kings and other royal personages, but, as we shall see below, exceedingly interesting information about the common man is also available in the epigraphical records of Bengal. In the following pages an attempt is made to draw the attention of scholars to such information gathered from the inscriptions dated upto the end of the Gupta period, which is well-known for the rule of imperial sovereigns.

The fragmentary inscription,<sup>1</sup> written in Brāhmī script of about the 3rd century B.C. and discovered in 1931, from Mahasthān in the Bogra District of present Bangladesh, as per all its variant readings, records an order to the *Mahāmātra* stationed at Puṇḍranagara to relieve the distress caused by famine to the people called *saṁvaṅgīyas* or *shadṽargīyas*.<sup>2</sup> Two measures seem to have been taken to meet the calamity, the exact nature of the first of which is not easy to ascertain as the first original letter of the record is lost and it is surmised that it consisted of the advance of a loan in cash, in *gaṇḍaka* coins. The second measure was the distribution from the granary of sesamum, mustard seeds and paddy according to D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>3</sup> and oil or tree and paddy according to B. M. Barua.<sup>4</sup> The information about the production of paddy and some other corns in the inscription suggests that the toil for their production was contributed by the tillers of the soil who were ordinary peasants as well as common people.

Besides the Mahasthān inscription, quite a number of epigraphs of the Gupta period contain important information about the common man and his activities, particularly in the cultural sphere. In fact, many inscriptions were engraved to record the gifts made by ordinary men and the beneficiaries mentioned in them were also common folk in many cases. For example, reference may be made to a copper-plate from Dhanaidaha (in the Rajshahi District of present Bangladesh), dated in the Gupta Era 113<sup>5</sup> (432 A.D.), which records the purchase and donation of one *kulyavāpa*<sup>6</sup> of land by a person, whose name ended in Vishṇu, to a Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa (*chāndyōgya*) named Varāhasvāmin. Likewise, the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur (Rajshahi District of present Bangladesh) copper-plate of the Gupta Era 120<sup>7</sup> (439 A.D.) records the purchase and donation of nine *kulyavāpas* of land by the artisan Bhīma, the scribes Prabhuchandra, Rudradāsa, Dēvadatta, Lakshmaṇa, Kāntidēva, Śambhudatta and Kṛishṇadāsa, and the

record-keepers Simhanandin and Yaśōdāman for the religious merit of their parents to the Brāhmaṇas Dēvabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsēnadatta, all of whom hailed from Puṇḍravardhana and were versed in the four Vēdas, to enable them to perform five great sacrifices. Involvement of as many as ten persons for the purchase of nine *kulyavāpas* of land may suggest that the persons involved were not of great means.

Further, the Dāmōdarpur (Rajashahi District of present Bangladesh) copper-plate<sup>8</sup> of the Gupta Era 124 (444 A.D.) records that a Brāhmaṇa named Karppaṭika purchased one *kulyavāpa* of land for the maintenance of his *agnihōtra* rites and the Dāmōdarpur copper-plate<sup>9</sup> of the Gupta Era 128 (447 A.D.) speaks of a person, whose name has not been properly read, purchasing a plot of waste land for the maintenance of his great sacrifices. Dated in the same year 128 of the Gupta Era, the Baigram (Bogra District of present Bangladesh) copper-plate inscription<sup>10</sup> records that two persons named Bhōyila and Bhāskara purchased three *kulyavāpas* of revenue free fallow fields and two *drōṇas* of *sthala-vāstu* (homestead) land in two localities, Trivṛitā and Śṛīgōhālī, belonging to the state, for making donation to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, etc. needed for daily worship and occasional repairs to the temple of Gōvindasvāmin which was established by thier father Śivanandin. The Jagadīshpur (Rajashahi District of present Bangladesh) copper-plate inscription<sup>11</sup> of the Gupta year 128 (447 A.D.) records the purchase and donation of one *kulyavāpa* of land by the agriculturist householder Kshēmāka along with Bhōyila and Mahīdāsa to (1) the *vihāra*, (Buddhist monastery), built for the worshipful Arhats, at the Siddhyātana at Mechikāmra in the southern part of the *vīthi*, (2) the *vihārikā* (small monastery) built for worship at Gulmagandhika and (3) the temple built for the lord Sahasraraśmī (the Sun-god) at Gulmagandhika, the purpose of the donation being the making of provision for *bali*, *charu* and *sattra* and of repair of the establishments.

Since both the Baigram copper-plate and the Jagadīshpur copper-plate inscriptions are dated in the Gupta Era 128 and since both Baigram and Jagadīshpur are in the Rajashahi Division of present Bangladesh, Bhōyila mentioned in the said two records seem to refer to one and the same person.

If the identification is accepted, then Bhōyila appears to be devoted not only to the Budha and Sun-god but also to Gōvindasvāmin. In other words, the epigraphs reveal the religious liberality or eclectic attitude of the people of

the period and interestingly enough this is also apparent from the Paharpur (Rajshahi District of present Bangladesh) copper-plate grants<sup>12</sup> of the Gupta Era 159 (479 A.D.) in which is recorded the purchase of 1/2 *kulyavāpa* of land distributed in four villages and donation of the same land to the *vihāra* of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandin at Vātagohāli by a Brāhmaṇa couple, Nāthaśarmam and Rāmī, for the maintenance of the requisite for the worship of the Arhats, such as sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc. and for the construction of a rest house there.<sup>13</sup> Another copper-plate inscription<sup>14</sup> dated in the Gupta Era 163 (482 A.D.) from Dāmōdarpur records the purchase and donation of one *kulyavāpa* of waste-land for providing residence to some Brāhmaṇas by a *grāmika*,<sup>15</sup> named Nābhaka of Chaṇḍagrāma. Similarly, in another copper-plate inscription<sup>16</sup> from Dāmōdarpur is recorded the purchase and donation of land made by one Ribhupāla, a *nagara-śrēṣṭhin* (guild-president), for the purpose of erecting two temples along with two chambers for the two gods Kōkamukhasvāmin and Svētavarāhasvāmin. The Dāmōdarpur copper-plate inscription<sup>17</sup> of the Gupta Era 224 (543 A.D.) records that a person born of a noble family (*kulaputra*), named Amṛitadēva, purchased and made gift of some land for the means of repairs, etc. of the temple of Svētavarāhasvāmin and to provide means for the continuance of *balī*, *charu*, *sattra*, etc. and the materials for daily worship of the deity.

Besides the above-mentioned copper-plate inscriptions, three copper-plate inscriptions found in the Faridpur District of present Bangladesh also refer to the purchase and donation of land by some common people. The first grant,<sup>18</sup> dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Dharmāditya (c. 535-540 A.D.), states that a Bhāradvāja Brāhmaṇa Chandrasvāmin was donated land in the village Dhruvilāṭi by one *Sādhanika* Vātabhōga. In the second grant<sup>19</sup> of the time of Dharmāditya, the donor is Vāsudēvasvāmin and the beneficiary is Sōmasvāmin, a Brāhmaṇa of Kāṇva-śākhā, Vājasanēyi-charaṇa and Lauhitya-gōtra. The third grant<sup>20</sup> of the regnal year 18 of Gōpachandra (c. 540-580 A.D.) states that the donor purchased the land from some Bhāradvāja Brāhmaṇas and donated the same to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Gōmidattasvāmin who also belonged, like Sōmasvāmin of the second grant, to the Kāṇva-śākhā, Vājasanēyi-charaṇa and Lauhitya-gōtra.

It is, therefore, evident that quite a number of inscriptions found from Bengal and dated upto the end of the Gupta period contain very exciting information about the activities, particularly relating to the purchase and donation of land,

of the common man. It is worth-noting in this connection that purchase and gift of land by ordinary persons was possible since the price of land was well within their means. In fact, as will be seen below, though the price of land varied from district to district, it remained more or less the same in a particular place for quite sometime. Thus, while the Kalaikuri-Sultānpur, Jagadīshpur and the Paharpur copper-plates, all from the Rajshahi District, as noted above, quote two *dīnāras* as the price of 1 *kulyavāpa* of land,<sup>21</sup> all the above-mentioned Dāmōdarpur copper-plates, excepting one dated in the 163 of the Gupta Era,<sup>22</sup> mention the price as 3 *dīnāras*<sup>23</sup> for 1 *kulyavāpa* of land, and the three copper-plates from Faridpur, referred to above, give 4 *dīnāras*, as the price for 1 *kulyavāpa* of land.<sup>24</sup>

There is absolutely no doubt that the common man is worst-affected if the market-price, especially of land, escalates and the early Bengal epigraphs dated upto the end of the Gupta period containing ample proofs for the stability of market-price of land, indeed indicating farm administrative control, speak a lot about the economic condition of the common man of the period.

Study of epigraphs of later times from Bengal and other parts of India in this direction may prove equally interesting and a comprehensive history of the common man may emerge.

#### Notes and References:

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 83-87.
2. 'Samvaṅgiya' is the reading of D.R. Bhandarkar and 'Shaḍvargīya' of B.M. Barua who takes it to refer to the "person of Shaḍvargika sect of the Buddhists". D.C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, 2nd Edition, 1965, p. 80, note 5) thinks that "Samvarga might have been the name of a locality". In his work *Śilālēkha-Tāmrāsāsānādir Prasāṅga* (in Bengali), published from Calcutta, 1982, Sircar (Introduction, p. 18) rightly points out that most of the image inscriptions mention the names of kings for giving the date and the persons responsible for establishing images bearing inscriptions were mostly villagers belonging to the upper-middle class. It is also pointed out by him that in royal copper-plate grants is often found mentioned about the employees, holding positions, high or low, along with the names of persons making such grants and that the engravers of inscriptions were generally ordinary employees (*loc.cit.*).
3. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 87.
4. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1934, pp. 57ff.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 345-48.
6. For a discussion on *kulyavāpa*, see *Ind. Ant.*, July, 1910, pp. 215-216; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 61-62 and also *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, 2nd Edition, 1965, p 288, note 9.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 57-66; cf. also *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, 2nd Edition, 1965, pp. 325-55.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 114 and 129-32.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 114 and 132-34.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 78-83.
11. D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, Calcutta, 1973, pp. 8-14 and pp. 61-63; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 247ff.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 59-64.
13. It may be interesting to note here that the liberal attitude is noticeable not only in the common man but also in kings of the period. The Gunaighar (Comilla District of present Bangladesh) grant (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45-60 and *ibid.*, p. 561) of the Gupta Era 188 (507 A.D.) shows that Vainyagupta who is described as *Mahādēvapādānudhyāta* (meditating on the feet of Mahādēva) sanctioned 11 *pāṭakas* of fallow land in five plots and some homestead lands for the requisites of worship like perfumes, flowers, lamps, incense, etc. for the Buddha in the monastery of Avalokiteśvara which was being established by *Mahārāja* Rudradatta in honour of the Āchārya Śāntideva, the founder of the Vaivarttika *saṅgha* of the Mahāyāna school. Provision was also made for food and raiment, beds, seats, medicines, etc. of the members of the *saṅgha* and also for the cost of repair work in the monastery needed to be done in future.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 14-15 and 135-37.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 137, note 3.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 115 and pp. 137-45.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 115-16 and pp. 141-45.
18. *Ind. Ant.*, July, 1910, pp. 193-98.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-202.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-05.

21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 58 and 64 (text line 13); Vol. XXXV, pp. 247ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 60, 62-63.
  22. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 136-37. While giving the text on p. 136, the learned editor puts a note (no. 2) stating - "the word *dvaya* was at first omitted, but was inscribed probably afterwards at the bottom" and on p. 137 while giving his translation of the passages, he states "on receipt from the hands of Nābhaka of two (or three) *dīnāras*".
  23. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 114, 130, 132-33; pp. 115, 139-40, 143-44.
  24. *Ind Ant.*, July 1910, pp. 95 (text lines 10-11), 197, 200 (text lines 12-13), 202, 204 (text line 16) and 205. It is not clear why on p. 204, line 6, the learned editor states that "the price is not stated but must have been about four *dīnāras*", for both in the text line 16 as well as in his translation (p. 205), the price is mentioned.
- \* My sincere thanks are due to a Ph.D. candidate of the University of Calcutta, Sri U. Sandamuni Bhikku, for quickly typing out the article.

## SOME Surer DECIPHERMENTS OF THE HARAPPAN INSCRIPTIONS

Ramesh Jain

Earlier a few scholars, working on the problem of Harappan script, identified relationship amongst the Harappan and Phoenician scripts. Lastly S.R. Rao also put his stamp about this relationship. The present writer fully agrees with all such scholars who earlier identified this give and take at the script level amongst these countries situated so far apart. Though a business community might have played an important role in this give and take amongst the users of these scripts but, as far as Harappan script is concerned, there is hardly any expression of this nature which has so far come to the notice.

It has been observed that many letters of the Phoenician alphabets are halves of the Harappan signs and some of them are noteworthy for their reverse formations in respect to the similar Harappan signs. It becomes necessary here to add that in contrast to the Indian writing system Phoenician is written and read from right to the left direction.

The fact about most of the Harappan inscriptions is that they are available in the form of seals. Hence, for those communities who developed their writing systems on the basis of the Harappans' writings adopted the direction of writing of the seals. It resulted in developing a system of writing which followed the reverse direction from that of the Harappans because Harappans stamped their seals before bringing an inscription to the readable form.

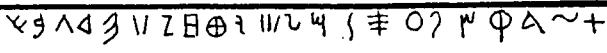
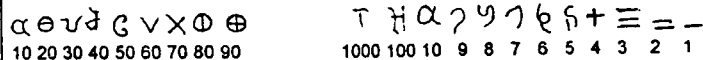
It can be further added here that so far archaeologists have not unearthed the original alphabets (*varṇamālā*) of the Harappans. What we have in the form of engravings on the seals are the signs which stand for the Harappans' words or the syllables which are placed together to form the words. There might have been a selection of purer and more abstract phonetic units which formed the Harappan alphabets *Varṇamālā*. Though at the present level of our knowledge that *Varṇamālā* of the Harappans is not available but if there existed one such alphabets as per our anticipation, then it should have been very similar to that of the Phoenician alphabets.

Historically what we have in the name of *Dēvanāgarī Varṇamālā* is simply an extension of *Brāhmī Varṇamālā* which was probably evolved in Paṇinian times more on the abstract and objective considerations. Where as the original Vēdic *Varṇamālā* should have been more value based, symbolic and multi-dimensional on the lines of Phoenician alphabets. The availability of the number 24 as mythologically potent unit becomes important. This numeral unit is associated



with the number of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras of Jains, with number of 24 Buddhas of the Buddhists and also with 24 Viṣṇu Avatāras.

It is most interesting to note that the last 9 letters of the Phoenician alphabets are visually parallel to the Brāhmī numerals from 4 to 10, 100 and 1000 if placed in the reverse order and the left out first 3 numerals ie. 1, 2 and 3 of the Brāhmī numerals are ideographic in nature marked by the respective numbers of the horizontal strokes.

S.Numbers	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
Phoenician Letters with Numeral value	 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 200 300 400
Brāhmī Numerals with numeral values	 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90                      1000 100 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1




With this basic information about Phoenician and Brāhmī scripts and surfacing of their relationship with the Harappan signs an attempt has been made in the direction of deciphering the Harappan inscriptions. The results are most revealing.





Here an attempt is made to express the results in most easily understandable terms. In the words of I. Mahadevan, there are about a hundred types of illustrations, which are engraved in association with the Harappan inscriptions. The most common illustration (Field symbol no. 01 in Mahadevan’s words) is that of Unicorn with parasol-like cult object. It is found engraved on 1159 seals. Of this illustration, the parasol-like cult object F.S. no 85 is itself separately found engraved on 19 seals and sealings and what makes it most interesting is the fact that all the seals with this illustration come only from the site of Harappa.



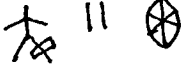



Lastly after the attempt of decipherment on hundreds of the Harappan seals a broad understanding developed in terms of recognition of the Harappans as Pāñchālas and also that Unicorn with parasol-like cult object stands as an ensign of Pāñchālādēsh. It can be further added here that the episode of Drupada’s loosing-war with Guru Drōṇāchārya helped in the identification of parasol-like cult object with north Pāñchāla and Harappa being its capital.

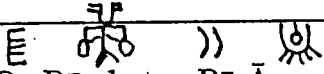




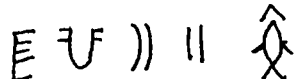
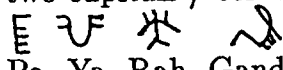
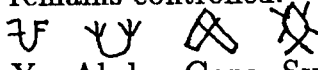


The 19 seals with parasol-like cult object have 9 different inscriptions engraved in its association. Following chart shows in simplest terms this decipherment attempt.

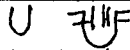

## Decipherment Chart of The Selected Inscriptions

S. No.	Text Nos. with similar inscription and Mahadevan's full code	Harappan signs with Phonetic values and word meanings	Remarks
1	2	3	4
1	4652 - 210001 5333  28511	 Rājaksh Rājāksha/ Rājyāksha Royal Insignia	It seems the so called parasol-like cult object is an insignia in the shape of a Drōṇa If we accept the site of Harappa as a capital city of northern Harappans then it could be related with the mythical capital of Guru Drōṇāchārya and parasol-like cult object could be the royal insignia of northern Pañchāla.
2.	4256 108511  21	 Śa Sa Shasha/ Chha Ksha Śāsa (na) ksha  Śāsanāksha The royal Insignia  Pada Dua/Dru  Drupada Drupada's Royal	In the case of second line of a Harappan inscription the reading is to follow the reverse direction i.e., from Right to Left direction. Though broadly the meaning of the Harappan signs appeared clear but to bring it to more understandable Sanskrit form 'na', is added after 'Śāsa'. Drupada is a well known Mahābhārat personality but one can see in the





		Insignia	name the meanings such as Two Regions, Second region or Secondary region.
3.	4309-215401	 Vya Ya Shata/ Chhra Vya Ya Chhatra  <i>Parasol (Chhatra)</i> which is coverer	Here, again, an inscription has two lines of Harappan signs, hence the direction of reading reverses in the second line. F.S.No. 54 is described by Mahadevan as - Person carrying the special cult object (the so called 'manger' or 'incense-burner')
	28511	 Yadā Apanam When come / brought	The parasol-like cult object is given a huge shape in relation to the human figure depicted in its association.
	21	 A/Va Vṛita Vṛi (Dva = Two) Divā Vi Varta Vivarta Diva Controls Day time	It appears more like a shelter under which the human activities seem to be performed. It could be a depiction of human activities under a stary sky as the upper portion of the parasol-like object is shown with fine transparent looking strokes. The third sign of the inscription with F.S. No. 54  is in the shape of a parasol. Normally it should

4.	4441-310001 4443  28590	 Dva / Pada Dru Pada <i>Drupada</i> [Ensignia] of Drupada	<p>have been given the phonetic value as - 'Shan' / 'Taya' but looking to the relevance of its shape with the associated illustration both the probable basic phonetic values are combined to achieve the word 'Chhatra'. Here, there is no complexity of expression or any difficulty in relation to the phonetic value regarding the Harappan signs. The first sign    is an ideographic expression of the numeral '2' exactly on the line of Brāhmī numeral '=' to be pronounced as 'Dva' in Sanskrit.</p> <p>The second Harappan sign  is already given above the phonetic value 'Pada'.</p>
5	4665-210001      28501	 Bhara Dva Vrita / Bharata Bhāra Dva(ja) Vṛita Bhāradvāja Vṛita Bhāradvāja circle U    Ā Vṛi Ā Var(ṇa) Āvaraṇa (= Chhatra ?) (= Kshētra ?) (= Circle ?) The Area covered under Bhāradvāja circle.	<p>The Harappan sign  reveals new dimensions of the Harappan engraver's mind. At one hand the sign gives the phonetic value 'Bhāra' (= weight) as it is, achieved by combining  (Bha) and  (Ra) the Harappan sign but on the other hand it suggests the meaning of the engraved word through its shape (a human being's leg tied with a heavy lord).</p> <p>The illustration of 'parasol-like cult object' here in association of the word 'Āvaraṇa' reminds us the expression 'Eka Chhatra' which means under a single command / unchallenged authority.</p>

6.	4322-210001 5243 5244  28590	 Pa Pārshatya Pā Āpanat Pa Pārshatya Prāpana(ta) Rule / Parshata's Reach / Extent control The extent of Pārshata's rule (= Pañchāla).	The sign )) is difficult to be properly recognized. However, here Mahadevan's observation is adopted. The E sign is normally taken with the phonetic value 'Pa', if the number of strokes are 5. It stands for the meaning as - to control / govern / rule. The sign  is a well recognised sign having the 'phonetic value Pārshatya' meaning - 'Pañchāla'. The Harappan sign  gives us the phonetic value in combination of 'sa' and 'ga' which may result in the formation of the words, such as 'Saṅga' and 'Śriṅga'. Though these words are very different from one another but sound very similar and both seem to be completing the Harappan expression equally well. The sign  stands for the 3 phonetic units - 'Ga', 'Na' and 'da' giving us the word 'facial profile'. So we have the word 'Gaṇḍaṅga' meaning 'front' by joining the sign.  Sounding 'Aṅga'.
7	4440-310001	 Pa Ya Pā Vṛi Saṅga Pa ya Pāvāra Saṅga/ Śriṅga To rule/who/two company/ ruled which points / centres head capital Who rules the two centres or which is ruled from two capitals / centres.	
8	4320-210001 5263	 Pa Ya Rah Gaṇḍa Gana/ Aṅga Pa Ya Rah Gaṇḍaṅga Rule who live/ Front point/ Remain front position Who remains controlling the front or By whom the front remains controlled.	
9.	4321-210001 5252 5257 5289	 Ya Aksha Gopa Sva Kshātra Who / Parasol / King self / own which dominion which, king's own Parasol / dominion	The inscription of the second side of the sealing with parasol-like object   makes an interesting example. It also shows the possibility of first sign U (a) standing for 'one' and

	28501	 A Au/ (= one?) Yata / Yatra' (= Chhatra?) Ayata / Eka Chhatra Unrestrained / unchallenged King whose own domain is unrestrained. or King who has Ekachhatra domain (Unchallenged).	the second sign  could be pronounced as 'Kshetra' or 'Chhatra'. Hence the resultant expression could well mean 'Eka Chhatra' giving the meaning - 'Unchallenged'.
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### Harappan Signs, Their phonetic values along with word meanings

S.No.	Harappan signs with Mahadevan's number	Phonetic value with word meanings	S.No.	Harappan signs with Mahadevan's number	Phonetic value with word meanings
1	8 	RAH To live	15	155 	CHHATRA Parasol
2	15 	PARSHATYA Pañchāla	16	176 	PA To rule / Control
3	25 	RĀJA Royal	17	211 	SA (Sara)
4	40 	BHĀRA Load	18	249 	VYA Coverer
5	47 	ANGA Limb / Position	19	267 	PADA Points / Divisions
6	48 	GAṆḌA Face or Front	20	293 	DVA Two
7	59 	SA (Sara)	21	294 	PA
8	67 	SVA Self	22	321 	YADĀ When
9	87 	VA (Vri)	23	328 	A
10	89 	KA (Ksha)	24	337 	ĀPANATA
11	99 	DVA Two	25	342 	YA Who / Which
12	109 	SAṢA Chha / Ksha	26	345 	YATA / AU/ CHHĀTRA
13	135 	GOPA King / Ruler	27	347 	AKSHA Parasol
14	141 	VRITA Circle	28	391 	VRITA / BHARATA

Harappan signs, their phonetic values along with word meanings.

## A FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM CHANDĒRI

A.K.Singh

During exploration work for the data collection under the U.G.C. major research project, at the site of Chandēri, was noticed a fragmentary inscription lying in the Tin-shade museum which has not yet been published. It was noticed by M.B.Garde and others <sup>1</sup>. The text of the inscription under discussion is prepared from the original stone, photograph and inked estampage. The findspot of the inscribed slab, which is now deposited in the Tin-shade museum of Chandēri (accession no. BCD 2529 B), is not known.

The record is fragmentary, being a portion of a large inscription. At present, only upper part of the stone is preserved in two parts. The inscription is written in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters which are, palaeographically regular to the period of 12th Century A.D. Most of the *aksharas* are well formed. As regards palaeography, it is interesting to note that a separate sign for *b* is used in *bandetā* (line 1). Some of the letters like *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, and *bha* are yet to develop their counterpart in modern Nāgarī. The only difference between *v* and *dh* is that the latter has a slanting stroke on upper left portion. The sign for medial *a* in *śrēyām* (line 1), and in *ikshvāku* (line 3) is of curved top stroke variety, is different from signs for the same *mātrā* occurring elsewhere in the inscription. The sign for medial *e* is of two types, one a slanting *sirōmātrā* ending in an upward curve as in *bandetā* (line 1), and the other a fully developed *prishthamātrā* as in *Śamkarēbhyah* (line 1). Medial *o* is likewise indicated either by a *sirōmātrā* as in *dēvō* (line 2) or by *prishthamātrā* as in *namō* (line 1). It is of noteworthy that the correction work was also done as missed letter *ṇi* in *dhōriṇi* (line 4) was carved in smaller shape at the right top of the letter *ri*, possibly this addition was made at the time of checking.

As a considerable portion of the record is lost, it is not possible to give a full description of its contents and purpose. Possibly, it is part of a *prasasti*, the purpose of which may be to record the construction of a temple <sup>2</sup>, built under the patronage of or during the regime of a king of the Pratihāra dynasty. It begins with the symbol for *Om* followed by two *daṇḍas*, invoking the deities, traces the mythical genealogy. Further, the genealogy of the Pratihāras commencing from Harirāja to [Abha]yapāla is found in the recovered portion of the inscription.

It records the name of the later Pratīhāra ruler Harirāja, Bhīma, Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, and [Abha]yapāla. Achievements of these rulers are described in general terms, comparing with the deity and epic heroes <sup>3</sup>.

Harirāja is also known from other inscriptions. A fragmentary stone inscription from Kadwaha <sup>4</sup> records that Harirāja as paramount ruler belonged to the family of Pratīhāras, otherwise known as the Gūrjara, in which was born a mighty ruler named Durbhata and that Harirāja was the son of a king (whose name is lost). We learn from Bharat Kala Bhavan copper plate inscription that the Pratīhāra king Harirāja was ruling in V.S. 1040 <sup>5</sup>. He bears the title of *nṛipachakravartī* and *mahārājādhirāja* which indicate his position as an independent ruler. Inscription of V.S. 1040 registers Harirāja's grant of two *halas* (measure) of land on the occasion of a solar eclipse while he was staying at Sīyadōni (modern Siron Khurd, Lalitpur, Jhansi). Thubaun inscription of Harirāja dated V.S. 1055<sup>6</sup> tells that the famous king Harirājadēva born in the Pratīhāra-kula, is found to have beheld kings equally Śrī Harsha and Dhaṅga as his subordinate (*karada*). A Chandēri inscription of V.S. 1100<sup>7</sup> mentions Raṇapāladēva and records a *prasasti* of the Śaiva ascetic Prabōdhaśiva. Pacharai inscription of V.S. 1122 mentions Harirāja, Bhīma and Raṇapāla. The name of Pratīhāra ruler Bhīma and Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Suvarṇapāla, Kīrtirāja and his brother Uttama are mentioned in Kadwaha inscriptions<sup>8</sup>. Rulers of this dynasty are also known from an unpublished stone inscription found at Chandēri. According to the genealogy of this inscription <sup>9</sup>, Harirāja was the second member of the line, his predecessor being Nīlakaṅṭha. Fragmentary Kadwaha inscription mentions Durbhata as another king of this family. He may have been a predecessor of Nīlakaṅṭha. Harirāja was succeeded by other rulers, viz. Bhīmadēva; Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Suvarṇapāla, Kīrtiplā, Abhayapāla, Gōvīndarāja, Rājarāja, Vīrarāja and Jaitravarman.

The inscription under discussion is important as it throws light on the history of later Pratīhāras who were in the region of Jhansi, Chandēri, Thubaun, Pacharai, Kadwaha and adjoining areas during 10th - 13th Century A.D

#### TEXT

1. Om || namōvidhitvā śubha Śaṅkarēbhyaḥ || vaṁdosatām śākhā samāvṛitam  
| bandētā pāpahaṁdhyām abhūtam Śaṁbhuhūruham || pāśchyād-uprētya

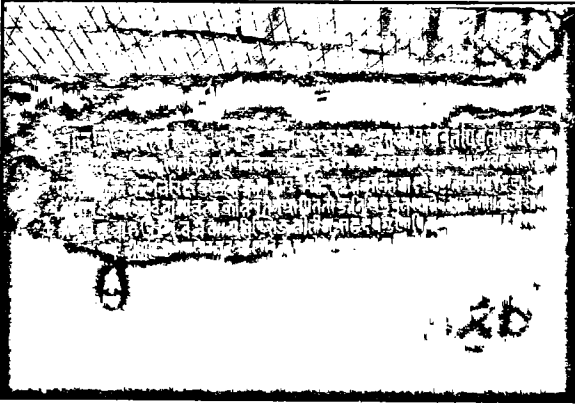


- kamala nayan ōpadhāya dhanyām vidhāya parichumvanamīlitākshīm |  
Rādhā-payōdhara yugam spṛisato Murārēḥ śrēyāmsivaḥ kara chatushvayam  
ātanōtu || paksha dharmmatva māhātmyā dvidēhasyāpi ..... t-tritā .....
2. maḥ stutividhāyinō || saṁsārōdaya maṅgalēka kalaśē śrī Mēru  
śṛiṅgō parinyasta syāmala patra saṁsthita mahādīpa prabhātāsuraḥ  
| vināsurni Śikhaṁḍitaika nalinī saṁvōdha Vidyādhārōdhvāntav-vaṁśa  
dhuraṁdharō vijayatē dēvōdvishadṽigrahaḥ || phaliṭaḥ śrīphalaih śubhraiḥ  
puṅyapushpaistu pushpitaḥ | vaṁśaḥ tasmād ayaṁ jātaḥ sarvva  
ratna mayōdbhūtaḥ || tatr-āsīn manasōmanuridi-namapōr dharmmārtha  
kāmāgra bhūrbhūpālēty-abhidhāna chaṁdra jaladhir-varṇ-āśrava.....
3. pa vaṁśa mauktikā nabhair ikshvāku mukhyaiḥ kshamāyat putrair-vahir-  
antar ātmanitathā dadhrēsamaṁvādapi || aiṁdra dyūmnirabhūttatra  
yugānām ēka vimśatiḥ | vidhinā vidhinā yasya jalpatō jalpatō gatā ||  
pāpajanmatataḥ śrīmān-pratiharttā tapōnidhiḥ | aiṁdra sulabha madyāpi  
padam yad upadaiśataḥ || kṛitvā digvijayēna yēna bhujayōr vīraśrīyam  
bhāratīm kaṅṭhēvakshasitōya-shēr duhitaram saṁra .....
4. tihāra ity abhinavannāmātra lōkōttaram tēnam prāpi tatōjanis  
tribhuvana khyātēva vaṁśātmanā || vālyēsā[sura] śivāstra śāstra chatur  
āchāryai ka chittānugāstāruṅyē vinayaika vṛiddhi vidhinā śṛiṅgāra  
vīraśrayāḥ | vāṁddhachchēmakhāṁdhūmadhōriṇi dhurāthast aiṁdra  
dhairyō dayāvēsēs-minn aparēpi bhūmipatayōyātāḥ pratihāratām āsit  
kramāt tatra sayēna pṛithvīm saṁvibhratāptā Harirāja saṁjña ma....
5. Kṛiṣṇēnabhūtvā Hariyaivanaiva || Yudhishtīrōjayī Bhīmaḥ Sahadēva  
guṇōpithāḥ ubhratau kaladvēshī sabhā .. tatōjani || jāstataḥ śrī  
Raṇapāla-bhūpaḥ śrī Rāma saṁgrāma rasāyana śrīḥ | Raudrōpivīrōpi-  
bhayāna kōpiyaḥ saṁyugēnai cha jagāmahāsyam || Vatsarājaśtatō yajñē  
Vatsarājosatāmbhayāt | Vatsarājaḥ satāṁprītyās Vatsarājas tatōnyathā ||  
śṛiṅgāra vīraika nivasē bhū...
6. sthitamahīm śāsahivvisāstrēvabhū chāturvarṇṇavikārarāsau || .... taḥ  
pārthita .... pa... rshi prakīya yugāntakālāḥ sanmārgga saṁsthā kalikāla  
kālaḥ || bhankāmasāṁmyējya sukham - sukham śantkātrivarggam cha

vichāravuddhyā | svaḥ simdhuniḥ śrēṇimadhāyyakā ..... raṇapadau  
 tṛimpādam avyayōkhyam || radanu vishamavāṇau vairisimadirinām nripaḥ  
 .... yapālah pālayāmāsa pa.....

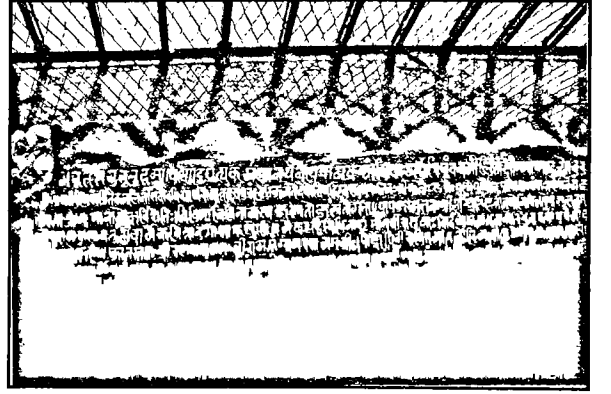
7. ....masyāguṇi ..... na ..... sasāpa ..... gara gurōr nānārtha śāstrā

8. .... rā pāryajaḥ phatukarma



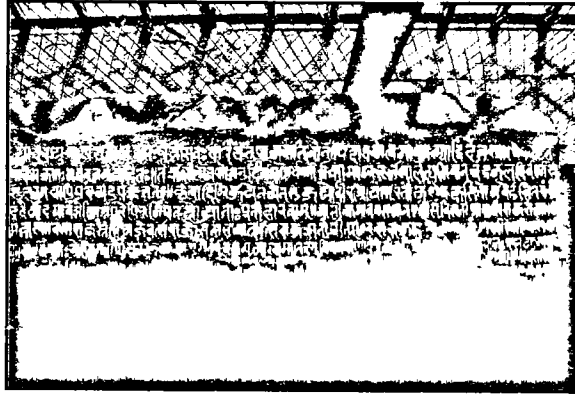
**Plate I**

*A fragmentary inscription from Chandēri*



**Plate II**

*A fragmentary inscription from Chandēri*



**Plate III**

*A fragmentary inscription from Chandēri*

**Notes and References:**

1. *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, (GAR)* Gwalior State, V.S. 1997, number 3; Harihar Nivas Dwivedi, *Gwalio Rajya ke Abhilekh (GRA)*, (V.S. 2004), number 632; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1971-72, No. B 29; Michael D. Willis, *Inscriptions of Gōpakshētra*, 1996, London, p. 106.
2. Grade, *Ibid.*
3. Like present inscription, Pacharai inscription of V.S. 1122 (Usha Jain, "Pacharai aur Gudara ke mahatvapurna Jain Lekh", *Siddhantacharya Pandita Kailasa Chandra Sastri Abhinandan Grantha*, Rewa, 1980, pp. 348-51) compare Harirāja with Hari (Vishṇu) and Bhīma with Pāṇḍava Bhīma.
4. V.V. Mirashi and Ajay Mitra Shastri, "A Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Kadwaha", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 117-24.
5. D.C. Sircar, "Bharat Kala Bhavan Plate of Harirāja, V.S.1040", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, pp. 309-13.
6. Balachandra Jain, "Thubaun Inscription of Harirājadeva, V.S.1055", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XL, pp. 105-08.
7. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1970-71, No. B 81.
8. *GAR*, 1996, No. 30-31; *GRA*, No. 628, 630; Willis, p. 112.
9. D.R. Bhandarkar, "A List of the Inscription of Northern India in Brāhmī and its derivative Script, from about 200 A.C.", Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX-XXII (reprint, 1983), number 2017.

## PALAEOGRAPHY OF THE PEDAPALAKALŪRU GRANT OF ANAVĒMA REDḌI

C. Somasundara Rao

The present grant was edited by N.Ramesan in *Copper-plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Vol.I (A.P. Arch. Series, No.6), pp.185 ff. The inscription belongs to the reign of Anavēma Redḍi (1364-86 A.D.) of the Redḍi family of Koṇḍaviḍu. It is dated in the Śaka year 1300 corresponding to 1378 A.D., which falls in his reign. The other astronomical details also tallied correctly and the corresponding date is 4th December 1378 A.D. Hence, the editor considered it to be a grant issued by Anavēma himself.

However, the palaeography of the inscription is very late. The difference between the date of the inscription and the use of the late script has not been noticed at all. Since the date tallied well, one may consider it to be a genuine document, but written in late palaeography, in which case it must have been a copy of a genuine record.

To suspect the record to contain late characteristics of the Telugu script, we may state that the general shape of the script is roundish, while in the Redḍi and Vijayanagara inscriptions, it is linear. The script with a small cursive stroke is in contrast to the characteristic elongated upward stroke at the top of the letter in 15th and 16th centuries. On the basis of the letter forms and the less elongated script, one might date the inscription to 17th Century at the earliest.

Letter *da* which was written in 15th and 16th centuries with an open shape at the lower end has attained the full shape in this record. The aspirate mark as a small vertical stroke to consonants occurs no doubt in the 16th century, but not to all the letters which could be distinguished. *Da* and *dha* could be distinguished, because they were written differently earlier while now they attained the same shape and hence the necessity of the aspirate mark. *Dha* was written like *and* *tha* with a dot inside. *Ba* and *bha* were written differently because of the absence of serif in the case of *ba* and its presence in *bha*. Only in the case of medial *ā* for *ba*, a mark was put to distinguish it.

Now invariably *bha* was given the vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter. *Kha* which was different from *Ka*, also uniformly gets aspirate mark now (lines 53, 67,

104), while it was found unnecessary earlier. Even if there was an aspirate-mark for *Kha* in 16th century, it was at the left lower end of the letter, while late characters and even now, the aspirate mark was given at the right side.

Another point that is to be noted as a late characteristic of the script of the inscription, is the distinction between medial forms of *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. This distinction is not found in the inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, following the Sanskrit language in which there are no short vowels for *ē* and *ō*. Though Telugu inscriptions are available from 6th century A.D. onwards, there is no separate sign to differentiate vowels *e* and *ē*; *o* and *ō* and in the same way, their medial forms. Long vowels and their medials are used. Only from the context, one can make out the difference. Though the old practice continued in this inscription also, there are instances where the new form of distinguishing the long medials of *ē* and *ō* are found. Though *Vēma* was written as hrasva (l. 61) in the old format, there are instances where a small arc distinguishes it as long medial, as in the case of *Vēmkaṭa - bhattāraka* (1.85) and *Vēmkaṭāvadhānī* (1.94). The latter form is what one writes even now. Similarly, the old form of one medial, common to *o* and *ō*, exists in the case of *bhōga* (l. 102) and *pōyina* (l. 115). However, a number of instances can be cited, where the long medial is written with a vertical stroke or arc in the upper part of the letter.

l. 67	<i>Vēma - bhūpō</i>
l. 78	<i>Gōtrēṇa</i>
ll 81, 83, 84, 202, 203	
l. 73	<i>Ahōbala</i>
90	
95	
ll 114	
118	<i>mōchenu</i>
204	
l 122	<i>vōgānu</i>
l 60	<i>prabhō</i>
l 34	<i>niratō</i>

Again, in 15th and 16th centuries, the medial forms of *i* and *ī* are not easy of distinction. eg., the letter *va* with either of these forms was written as *vi*. The inward indentation alone makes it a long medial. While this was followed here also, as in *Avadhānī* and *sīma* (*ni* - l. 95, *si* - l. 105), there are a number of

instances where a stroke at the top was given to make it a long medial.

l 61	<i>Vīra</i>
l 62	<i>jīvitām</i>
ll 87, 91, 94	<i>dīkshita</i>
l 103	<i>sīma</i>

The above palaeographical features of the Pedapalakalūru plates definitely show a variation from the data which they contain. The forms may be dated to 17th century A.D or even later.

Another characteristic of the inscription is that while the copper-plate inscription of the Reddis were of the rectangular size, with hole in the left margin for the ring to pass through ending in a seal, this grant is of oblong size with a hole at the top, as was popular during the Vijayanagara period. But it may be noted that in the latter period, the Nandi-Nāgarī script was usually employed for copper plate grants and the upper part of the plates was not plain, but a little bit designed. A date of 17th century for this grant, based mainly on palaeographical features, may be appropriate to suggest.

## DATA OF COINS IN MARĀṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS OF YĀDAVAS

Vaidehi Vasant Pujari

The increasing use of Marāṭhī language in the epigraphic records was evidenced in 12th and 13th century A.D. Most of the Marāṭhī inscriptions are found in the Marāṭhī speaking area comprising of today's Maharashtra with exception to very few inscriptions that are found in Karnataka. Yādavas of Devagiri and Śilāhāras were the two prominent dynasties that extensively issued grants in Marāṭhī. Apart from these dynasties many private people also used Marāṭhī while recording their gifts. In most of the inscriptions Marāṭhī is mixed up with Sanskrit and scarcely one comes across the records issued in pure Marāṭhī. Normally the eulogistic part used to be in Sanskrit followed by the rest of the text in Marāṭhī including the actual record of grant and ass- curse or sometimes except the ass- curse, which was in Marāṭhī, the whole text used to be in Sanskrit.

The Yādava period is marked with the growth of Marāṭhī language, which is evident from many literary works produced during this period. Though the use of Marāṭhī was not unknown prior to Siṅghaṇa II, we see the Yādavas making use of Marāṭhī frequently only during the reign of Siṅghaṇa II and later and tradition was continued by his successors. The Marāṭhī inscriptions of Yādavas reflect upon the use of various coins. The present paper intends to discuss the different coin- terms.

**Gadyāṇa:** *Gadyāṇa* or *Gadyāṇika* is one of the most popular terms, which is found commonly in various epigraphic records used for gold coins in South India from 7th to 16th century. N. Krishna Reddy has mentioned *Gadyāṇa* being a synonym for the *nishka* and *māda* in Andhra country<sup>1</sup>. This gold coin is referred to in various Marāṭhī inscriptions as well. However, in Marāṭhī inscriptions, most of the times the abbreviated form of *Gadyāṇa* i.e. 'Ga', is used. So far only two inscriptions mention the word *Gadyāṇa* in full. One of them is Pandharpur inscription of Rāmachandra Yādava dated 1273-77 A.D., which is popularly known as *Chauryāinshichā Śilālēkh*<sup>2</sup>. This inscription contains a list of donations in the form of money given to the God by different devotees during the period 1273-77 A.D. The other inscription that has full form of *Gadyāṇa* is an undated inscription (probably 12th century A.D.) of Sangit Masjid at Ambe-Jogai<sup>3</sup>. The object is to record the grant of the land yielding 10 *gadyāṇas* to the temple

for worship. The abbreviated form of *Gadyāṇa* is found in various inscriptions for example, Nandgaon inscription of Yādava Kṛishṇa dated Śaka 1177 (1265 A.D.), records gifts of *gas* or *Gadyāṇas* by some of his officials and citizens for offering flowers to the God<sup>4</sup>. The same expression is also found in the Kannada inscriptions of Yādavas. The Kannada inscription of Yādava Rāmachandra found in the Pampapati temple at Bennehalli records the grant of 10 *gadyāṇas* to 12 *mahājanas*<sup>5</sup>. Other South Indian inscriptions exhibit many varieties<sup>6</sup> of *gadyāṇa* like *Mayūra Gadyāṇa*, *rāyajagadaḷa gadyāṇa*, *lokkigadyāṇa* and so on<sup>7</sup>. However, in Marāṭhī inscriptions the plain word *Gadyāṇa* appears without any prefix. Only Dive-agar inscription contains different form of the term *Gadyāṇa* i.e. *su. ga.* or abbreviation of *suvarṇa gadyāṇa*<sup>8</sup>. The famous treatise on mathematics, *Līlāvati* of Bhāskarāchārya refers to the term *Gadyāṇa*<sup>9</sup>. However, in *Līlāvati* it denotes a weight of 48 *gunjas*(*rattis*) and not coin. So probably it was a coin of 48 *gunjas* (*rattis*) and not coin. So probably it was a coin of 48 *rattis*.

**Āsu:** This expression seems to have been originated from the Tamil word 'Achchu', used for gold coins<sup>10</sup> appearing in many inscriptions of Chōlas and other South Indian inscriptions. Moreover, gold species of Siṅghaṇa and Mahadēva are referred to as *hēmaachchu* or *achchus* of gold in *Dravya Pariksha* of Thakkar Pheru<sup>11</sup>. There are only three inscriptions that mention the type, *āsu*. Of these inscriptions Pātaṇ (Chalisingaon Taluk, Dhule District) inscription<sup>12</sup> of Siṅghaṇa dated 1207 A.D. is one. It records the endowment to the college established by Chāṅgdev to study *Siddhāntasīrōmaṇi*. Chāṅgdev was the grandson of Bhāskarāchārya, astounding mathematician and the author of *Siddhāntasīrōmaṇi* and *Līlāvati* was *Rājajyōtishi* in the court of Siṅghaṇa. Āmbe Jogai inscription of Kholeswar<sup>13</sup> (commander in chief of Siṅghaṇa II) records the gift to the God Sakalēśvar, which cites the term *āsu* twice. It lays down a regulation according to which, provision was made to offer the god five arecanuts on every *āsu*<sup>14</sup>. The third reference to *āsu* is found in an undated (probably 14th century) Pāraḍā inscription<sup>15</sup> (Mehekar taluk, Buldhana District). It records the donation of Chature village to the God Gaudev and on the violation of the regulations laid down in the inscription 20 *āsus* were to be paid as a fine. The term *Āsu* is found exclusively in Marāṭhī inscriptions and is absent in Sanskrit or Kannada inscriptions of Yādavas. However, interestingly the contemporary Marāṭhī literature is full of illustrations of the same type of coin. Gōvinda Prabhu Charitra (text of *Mahānubhāv* sect<sup>16</sup>) refers to one Sāraṅga Pandit offering one *āsu* as *Dakshiṇā*



to Gōvinda Prabhu<sup>17</sup>, saint of Mahānubhāv sect. The other text, *Līlācharitra* illustrates an incident, where, Mahimbhat (disciple of Gōvinda Prabhu) buying clothes for two *āsus*<sup>18</sup>. It shows that the word *āsu* was prevalent only in the Marāṭhī speaking area. Probably *āsu* was Marāṭhī synonym of *Gadyāna*.

**Dramma:** The term *Dramma* is mentioned in many contemporary inscriptions of different dynasties of South India. It was a silver coin. *Dramma* is a Sankritised form of the Greek word 'drachma'<sup>19</sup>. The *dramma* is mentioned in medieval Tamil inscriptions as *Tiramam*<sup>20</sup>. The Marāṭhī inscriptions reflect the term *dramma* and its different forms as well as abbreviations. The abbreviations were used more frequently. Ardhapur inscription<sup>21</sup> of Siṅghaṇa of 1236 A.D. gives list of donation of different numbers of *dra* or *drammas* to various deities. The above mentioned Pandharpur inscription of 1273-1277 A.D. refers to the three abbreviations of the term, namely *drā*<sup>22</sup>, *dā*<sup>23</sup> and *darī*<sup>24</sup>. Pandharpur inscription of 1311 A.D. also mentions the term *drā*. Mahul inscription of Śīlāhāra Haripālādēva of the year 1153 A.D. refers to the word *Drām*<sup>25</sup>. *Dramma* is also mentioned in *Līlāvati* by Bhāskarāchārya<sup>26</sup>. Another curious form of *dramma* is *Dāma*. This particular form is found only in Marāṭhī inscriptions and not any other inscriptions of the same period. The earlier mentioned Pāṭaṇ inscription of Siṅghaṇa along with *asu* also refers to *dāma*. The Bidkin inscription of Yādavas dated 1251 A.D. refers to one Sethi Chāṅgdeo who donated four *dāmas*<sup>27</sup>. Marāṭhī inscription of Aparādityadēva II of Śīlāhāra branch of North Koṅkaṇ dated 1185 A.D. also contains the term, *dāma*.<sup>28</sup> Marathi literature of Yādava period cites many examples of *dāma*. *Līlācharitra* (religious text of Mahānubhāv sect) gives an instance where, Baisa (disciple of Chakradhar Svāmi, chief exponent of Mahānubhāv sect) purchased grocery at the cost of 8 *dāmas*<sup>29</sup>. One Bhatobas in *Līlācharitra* spent three *dāmas* to buy rice and wheat<sup>30</sup>. Some Marāṭhī inscriptions of Śīlāhāras of North Koṅkaṇ mention the word *poruttha*<sup>31</sup> or *porutthi*<sup>32</sup> *dramma*. This term seems to have been current in the North Koṅkaṇ<sup>33</sup> and has been taken to mean Parthian *dramma*<sup>34</sup>.

**Rukā:** According to A.M. Shastri, this word is a contraction of the term "rūpyaka"<sup>35</sup>. The expression *rukā* or *ruā* has appeared quite a few times in the Marāṭhī inscriptions. The Pandharpur inscription of 1273-77 A.D. records the donation of *ājanmāntika* (till the donor is alive) *rukā*<sup>36</sup>. Bhāndak inscription of 1211 A. D. in Chaṇḍika temple records the gift of 9 *ruāḥ* to the goddess<sup>37</sup>. Sometimes *rukā* denotes money in general sense and not particular type of coin

as such. Velāpur inscription of Rāmachandra dated 1305 A.D. expresses the list of donations in the form of money (*rukā*) to the god<sup>38</sup>. Many a times this particular term is reflected in early Marāṭhī literature as well. *Līlācharitra* refers to some incidents where Sādhā bought garland for three *rukās* and Gaurai paid three *rukās* to buy ghee<sup>39</sup>. The term continued to be in use as late as 18th century<sup>40</sup>. According to S.G. Tulpule<sup>41</sup>, it was a silver coin but Brahmananda Deshpande<sup>42</sup> describes it as a copper coin. The similar term *rūkā* is a common term known from 7th century in Andhra<sup>43</sup>. In Andhra it denoted gold or silver coin.

**Āḍu:** The expression *Āḍu* is found only in the Ambe Jogai inscription.<sup>44</sup>. According to this, *āḍu* on every *āsu* was to be offered to the god. M.G. Dikshit opines that *āḍu* is the Marāṭhī form of Kannaḍa term for some insignificant weight<sup>45</sup>. An identical denotation, *aḍakā* or *aḍikā* is cited in early Marathi literature. *Līlācharitra* mentions at one place that some *banajris* offered one *aḍakā* to Chakradhar Svāmi<sup>46</sup>. The similar term *aḍḍugu* sometimes appears in South Indian inscriptions<sup>47</sup>. Being a coin of lesser value probably it was of copper.

**Paikā:** The word *paikā* is mentioned in the Pandharpur inscription of Yādavas or *Chauryainshichā Shilālekh* as a general term for money and not particular type of coin. It contains *paikyāchā vivaru* or description of donations given by devotees, which is followed by the list of donations given by various devotees<sup>48</sup>. The same expression is also referred to in contemporary Marathi literary works. In literature the term indicates a particular type of coin. At one place it is mentioned that garland was bought for 1 *paika*<sup>49</sup>. *Paikā* was probably a copper coin.

**Visovā:** The denomination *visovā* is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word, *vimpośika*<sup>50</sup>. *Vimpośika* appears in Vishṇusēna's charter along with the term *rūpaka*<sup>51</sup>. The Kannada inscription of Managoli dated 1161 A.D. refers to the coin, *Visā*<sup>52</sup>. The earlier mentioned Pāṭaṇ inscription of Siṅghaṇa II refers to *visovā* of *dāma*. Pañchalinga temple inscription of Siṅghaṇa II, which is in Sanskrit, also mentions the term *visā*<sup>53</sup>. There is no unanimity among the scholars regarding this term. According to D.C. Sircar it seems to be a copper coin, 20 of which made one silver coin called *rūpaka*<sup>54</sup>. V.V. Mirashi<sup>55</sup> and S.G. Tulpule<sup>56</sup> also accept the view that it was 20th part. While Nagaraju maintains that it was 16th of *paṇā*<sup>57</sup>. Kittel's Dictionary explains *visa* as 1/16 of *haṇā*<sup>58</sup>. B.D. Chattopadhyaya concludes that it was 16th part of *Gadyāṇā*<sup>59</sup>. He further states that *visa* could take on different meanings in different contexts<sup>60</sup>. Thus, though it is difficult to

ascertain the exact value of *visā* or *visovā*, if the original Sanskrit term *Vimpōśika* is derived from the word *Vinsh* (twenty) in Sanskrit may be initially it meant 1/20th denomination. The word *visovā* could have originated from the term *vis* i.e., twenty in Marāṭhī. However, one thing is quite obvious from this discussion that *visa* was a denomination of many coin- types like *Gadyāṇa*, *dramma*, *paṇa* and not of any particular coin. *Dravya Pariksha* of Thakkar Pheru mentions *visovā* as a weight and not as a coin<sup>61</sup>. Probably any coin of particular weight was known as *visovā* irrespective of its metal.

**Kawāḍi:** The use of non-metallic medium of exchange was known from earlier times. One of such widely used commodity all over India was conch-shell or *kawāḍi*. The Ambe- Jogai Inscription of Kholeshwar mentions the word *kawāḍā*<sup>62</sup>. This is the only Marāṭhī inscription that mentions *kawāḍi* or *kawāḍā*. In contemporary Marāṭhī literature quite a few times this term has appeared. There is reference of Chakradhar Svāmi who won some *kawāḍya* and *lahan* (*small*) *kurang kawāḍya* in gambling and bought food with it<sup>63</sup>. The expression *kawāḍā* is mentioned many times in the various inscriptions of 12th and 13th century of the temple of Puri<sup>64</sup>.

Thus, in this paper an attempt has been made to discuss the various coin-types that are mentioned in Marāṭhī inscriptions of Yādavas. There are certain coins like *paṇa*<sup>65</sup> or *nishka*<sup>66</sup>, which are depicted in Sanskrit and Kannada inscriptions of Yādavas but are not found in the Marāṭhī inscriptions. Many of the coins appearing in Marāṭhī inscriptions of Yādavas can be corroborated by the other inscriptions and contemporary Marāṭhī literature. Thus, it enables us, at least partly, to understand the pattern of currency system that was prevalent during Yādava period.

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3. Y. M. Pathan (ed.), *Marathwadyatil Marathi Shilalekh*, Marathwada Vidyapith, Aurangabad, Vol. I, pp. 163-65
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6. B. D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems in India c. 250-1300 A.D.*, Munshiram Manoharlal publishers pvt. Ltd. Delhi, 1977, p. 129
7. These varieties are based on dynasty, kings, titles, mints and many other things and the prefixes are descriptive in nature. A.V. Narasinha Murthy, *Varieties of Gadyana, Numismatic Digest*, pp. 116-27
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10. Brahmananda Deshpande, *Numismatic Data in Marathi Literature*, 5th International Colloquium Medieval Indian Coinages: A Historical and Economic Perspective, Nasik, 2001 p.26
11. Nahta, Bhavarlal, (ed.), *Thakkarpheru Virachita Dravya Pariksha Aur Dhatutpati*, Prakrit Jainshastra, Ahimsa Shodh Sansthan, Vaishali, pp. 25, Thakkarpheru was the mint master of Allaudin Khilji
12. S. G. Tulpule, *PMKL.*, p. 113
13. Y. M. Pathan, *op. cit.*, p. 20-23
14. *Ibid.*
15. V. B. Kolte, *Maharashtratil Kahi Tamrapat of Shilalekh*, Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya ani Sanskriti Mandal, Mumbai, 1987, pp. 368-71
16. Mahanubhāv sect was a religious sect that flourished during the Yadava period
17. Tulpule, S. G. (ed.), *Lilacharitra* (purvardha), Suvichar Prakashan Mandal, Nagpur, 1963, p. 28
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21. Y. M. Pathan, *op. cit.*, p. 24
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26. K. S. Patwardhan, *op. cit.*, p.1
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30. V. B. Kolte (ed.), *Govinda Prabhu Charitra*, Arun Prakashan, Malkapur, 1960, p. 32
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32. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-58
33. *Ibid.*, pp. lxv, lxi
34. B D Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 144
35. Ajaya Mitra Shastri, *Yadava Coins: Some Aspects*, 5th International colloquium, *Medieval Indian Coinage*, p. 18
36. S .G. Tulpule, *PMKL.*, p. 188
37. M. G. Dikshit, *Marathi Shilalekha*, pp.21- 22
38. *Ibid.*, p. 6
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46. V. B. Tulpule, *Lilacharitra*, p. 54
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49. S.G. Tulpule, *Lila*, p. 545
50. V. V. Mirashi, *IIC.*, p. lxv
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52. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 23
53. *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XII, p. 2-3, 22
54. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 428
55. V. V. Mirashi, *IIC.*, p. lxv
56. S. G. Tulpule, *PMKL.*, p. 15
57. As quoted by B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p.130
58. As quoted in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 23
59. B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p.130
60. *Ibid.*
61. Bhavarlal Nahta, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 26
62. Y. M Pathan, *op cit.*, pp. 20-23
63. S. G. Tulpule, *Lilacharitra (Ekanka)*, Suvichar Prakashan Mandal, Nagpur, 1963, p.7
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## ENDOWMENTS OF AYYĀVOḤE GUILD

Anuradha K. Ranade

Throughout India, trade and industrial guild were a common feature of economic life since very early times. A guild is basically an expression of an organized economic activity. Men of different professions and trades came together to form groups with definite rules and regulations to guide them. They started out essentially as economic units to look after trade and commerce. The guilds were normally referred to as Srēni, Puga, Gana, Kuta, etc.

It appears from the inscriptions that, during the 12th century A.D. in many cities of Maharashtra, the professionals like weavers, oil pressers, etc. had their commercial organizations<sup>1</sup>. As a matter of fact, the guild system of ancient period started disappearing gradually in Maharashtra in the post 10th centuries A.D., though some of them must have survived till the 12th century A.D. In the present paper, an attempt has been made to focus light on a guild on the 12th century A.D. and its influence over trade in southern Maharashtra, as revealed through the inscriptions.

We get only scanty references to the guilds in Maharashtra in the post 10th centuries A.D. In the Bhadan plates of Aparajit<sup>2</sup> guild is referred to as *nagara*. Mirashi suggests that this *nagara* is the same as Kannada *nakara* which means a guild<sup>3</sup>. Some inscriptions during this period record the guilds by the term *nagara*. For instance, a Kannada inscription of 1078 A.D. from Yeragi taluka in Nanded district of Maharashtra<sup>4</sup> and a Marathi inscription from Patan<sup>5</sup> dated 1207 A.D. also records the *nagaras*, meaning a guild.

The medieval period witnessed the flourishing of a powerful merchant guild called 'Ayyāvoḥe-500' in different parts of South India. The member of this guild had made munificent benefactions in cash and kind to the temples situated in the areas of their trade operations<sup>6</sup>. There are frequent references to their trade activities. Their financial support and revenue rendered to their royal patrons and their contributions towards religious and charitable institutions would give a clear picture of their trading profession and their hold over various professionals and the merchants both the retailers and the whole sellers.

The 'Viravaṇaṅju-samaya' was the famous organization of the traders and businessmen and had spread its activities over whole of South India, Ceylon

and some countries in the east<sup>7</sup>. Their headquarters was at Ayyāvōḷe or Aihōḷe near Bādāmi<sup>8</sup>. They established fairs in towns and villages and appointed officers to be in their charge<sup>9</sup>.

Two inscriptions from Maharashtra record the endowment of this 'Vīravaṇaṅju' guild from Ayyāvōḷe., one is the Kolhapur stone inscription of Śīlāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya dated 1136 A.D.<sup>10</sup> and the other is the Miraj stone inscription of Śīlāhāra Vijayāditya dated 1142 and 1144 A.D.<sup>11</sup>. Both the inscriptions are in Kannada language and this show the Kannada influence over the territories of Southern Maharashtra.

The Miraj stone inscription<sup>12</sup> tell us that it consisted of the Gavaras and the Mummuridaṇḍas and that they were the recipients of 500 hero edicts [Pañchaśata Vīraśāsanams] and how they support the 'Vīra Vaḷaṅju Dharma'.

The stone inscription from Kolhapur gives the description of the hierarchy of Jain monastic establishment at Kolhapur i.e., Rūpanārāyaṇa Basadi. It records the endowment made by the 'Vīravaṇaṅju' or Ayyāvōḷe guild. The inscription makes an attempt to trace exalted genealogy of the traders of this corporation. It records their birth in the race of Vāsudēva Mūlabhadra.

Often we see that educational institutions like Agrahāras, Brahmapuri, Ghaṭikāsthāna, and the Jain Basadi were endowed by the rulers and charitably disposed people for the ancient learning and for its propagation. The above mentioned Rūpanārāyaṇa Basadi was a very famous basadi from Kolhapur during twelfth century A.D.<sup>13</sup>. From the epigraphic records, the Rūpanārāyaṇa Basadi appears to be a great center of learning, most probably a Jain center of higher learning. Its chief was Āchārya Maghanandi Siddhāntadēva.

The famous guild i.e. Vīravaṇaṅju guild from Ayyāvōḷepura had made endowment to this establishment as is evident from the inscription [Kolhapur stone Inscription]. The endowment was received by 'Śrutakīrti Traividya-dēva' of Pustaka-gachcha in Dēśiya-gaṇa of the Jain temple at Kolhāpūr. As mentioned above, this basadi was greatly supported by the ruling authority and was also supported by 'Ayyāvōḷepura Vīravaṇaṅju' guild and the Sethis and other prominent dignitaries in society. Kolhapur stone inscription of Śīlāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya<sup>14</sup> records the endowment made to this establishment and the same was received by Śrutakīrti Traividya-dēva of the Pustaka-gachcha in Dēśiya-gaṇa,



for the jain temple at Kolhāpūr. For making these endowments the taxes were levied on the commodities sold in the village market. These levies were both in cash and kind which included arecanuts, betlal leaves, one *sollage* on each pitcher of clarified butter oil, *palas* on cloth, *bisige* on karuse items of furniture on carpenter's house, specific quantities of vegetables and spices [green ginger, turmeic, garlic, dry ginger, cumin, black pepper, salt and mustard], eighteen kinds of grains, dry and fresh fruits, products of florists and potters.

A variety of products were levied, which were sold in the market. Also we read about a *paṇa* on each *hoṅga* on articles sold in each shop of cloth merchant and goldsmith. Levies in kind are often mentioned in terms of differing units of cart loads and head loads.

It is interesting to note that, for finalizing these levies, the corporation consisting of gavares, gātriyas, the seṭṭis, the seṭṭiguttas, the gāmuṇḍas and gavuṇḍa-svāmins, certain prominent traders and merchants of Kolhapur, Mirinje and Baleyavattana, the chief of Torambage, the manager of Mayisige, the sherif of Kavadegolla and the royal merchant Rājaśrēṣṭhin<sup>15</sup> had their meeting and in this joint meeting the levies were fixed on above mentioned items. Thus, it was not the sole decision of Ayyāvoḷe guild, and had to consult with the merchants and the seṭhis from the local areas and the representative of the above mentioned *nagaras* and also the government official i.e., Rājaśrēṣṭhi of Śilāhāra ruler Gaṇḍarāditya, and the chief priest of the temple from Kundipaṭṭaṇa, etc. and with their consent, the share of levies to be endowed to the temple was fixed. The purpose here was obviously the maintenance of the temple, *Aṣṭōpachāra pūja*,<sup>16</sup> etc. What is interesting to note is that the endowment made here were not just given once, but it was regularly supplied through the above mentioned levies.

Miraj stone inscription<sup>17</sup> of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya dated 1142 A.D. is more or less the same as Kolhapur stone inscription, in recording the endowment made to the temple. Here the deity is 'Madhavēśvar'. It records in two parts, each mentioning specific levies in two different years i.e. in 1142 A.D. and 1144 A.D.

This inscription describes Vīravaṇaṅju- 500, who hold Bhallukidaṇḍa and Mummuridaṇḍas. The record mentions nearly a score of Seṭṭis by name the *baccas*, the bangle sellers and scent merchants, who are residents of 32 coastal towns, 18 cities and 64 Ghaṭikāsthānas. These merchants had assembled for a meeting as general body of representatives of different districts viz., Piriugavara,

Siriguppe, Jugulakoppa and (?) Geyu. They granted certain dues on the occasion of the Friday market at Sedambal. It is an interesting epigraphic reference to a weekly market in a village.

This general meeting was attended by the merchants, who were the members of Vīravaṇaṅju guild in southern Maharashtra. They were residents of Mirinje, Bage, Donikod, Tolakale, Kundli and Sedambal. It shows that the village and city merchants in Maharashtra also were members of the guild and actively participated in their general body meetings. The fact that has been observed here is that no monopoly was enjoyed in the decision making of the fixation of taxes by the guild alone. The famous historical guild i.e. the Vīravaṇaṅju had to consult the government officials *viz.*, Rājaśrēshṭi as well as the Seṭhis, Nāyakas and other dignitaries in the neighbouring area. Thus a joint meeting was organized and the nature and the purpose of the endowment were fixed.

The second part of the inscription deals with another endowment made in 1144 A.D. on occasion of Śivarātri. It was an endowment made by Bhayipayya Nāyaka, a government official and Malapaiyya Nāyaka, the superintendent of the market at Mirinje for pūja and making food arrangement of the *maṭha* in Madhavēśvara temple, which probably could be a centre of learning and must have visited frequently by munis and the priests. The endowment was received by the chief of the *maṭha*, Sōvarāśi Siddhāntidēva.

Thus both the inscriptions show that the members of this guild had made munificent benefactions in cash and kind to the temples at Kolhāpūr and Sedambal. It throws some light on the markets, the commodities sold in the markets, the local taxes, the revenues collected, the levies imposed over the commodities, the share of cash levies and the measure of the kind levies collected from commodity sellers, shopkeepers, etc. It also throws light on the dominant role of the Vīravaṇaṅju guild in fixing the levies. However, at the same time it is clearly visible from the inscriptions that they did not enjoy monopoly in fixing these dues and had to consult the merchants and seṭhis from the local areas and the representatives of the various *nagaras* and also the government officials *viz.*, Rājaśrēshṭi. It can be stated that in such joint meetings the trade policies policy matters of the guild and their execution at the descending orders from town to the villages must have been planned, which were very much necessary for the expansion and strengthening of the mercantile activities.

## Notes and References:

- 1 *Epigraphia India*, Vol. V. p. 29 also, Panse M.G., '*Yadavakalin Maharashtra*' (Mar.) p.62 .
- 2 Mirashi V.V., '*Shilakar Rajvamshacha Itihas Ani Koriv Lekha*', pp 43-56.
- 3 *CII.*, Vol. VI, No. 7
- 4 S.H. Ritti and G.C. Shelke, '*Inscriptions from Nanded District*', p.219
- 5 *PMKL.*, pp. 105-14 (*Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekha*' S.G.Tulpule)
- 6 K.M. Shrimali, '*Cash Nexus on Western coast*', 850-1250 A.D., *A Study of the Shilaharas*, in the Third international Colloquium Coinage, Trade and Economy -ed. A.K. Jha, p.183.
- 7 V.Krishnamurthy, *Socio- Economic Condition of Eastern Deccan*, p.96
- 8 G.S.Dikshit, *Trade guild under the Chalukyas of Kalyani*, in '*Essays in Ancient Indian Economic History*'.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *CII.*, Vol. VI, pp. 229-35, also Mirashi V.V, *op.cit.*, pp.227-83
- 11 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 55, also Mirashi V.V, *op.cit.*, pp.293-302.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 This was a Basadi attached to the Rūpanārāyaṇa temple and it was near 'Shukrawar Veshi' at Kolhāpūr. It was established by the Nimbaras who was a *Samant*, an official of Śilāhāra ruler Gaṇḍarāditya. He named this basadi as 'Rūpanārāyaṇa Basadi', after one of the titles of Gaṇḍarāditya i.e., Rūpanārāyaṇa.
- 14 Mirashi V.V., *op.cit.*, 277-85.
- 15 *CII.*, Vol. VI, pp.232-33
- 16 Pūja performed with jala, chandana, pushpa, akshata, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya and tambula'.
- 17 *CII.*, Vol. VI, No.55

## A COMMEMORATIVE AND EULOGISTIC PORTUGUESE INSCRIPTION FROM GOA: A STUDY

Swapna H. Samel

The Portuguese were the first European to gain concession in India and since the landing of Vasco da Gama near Calicut in May 1498. Until the appearance of the Dutch and English, they held monopoly of trade between Europe and India. Portuguese rule in Goa has been the longest of any 'colonial power' in any land. The most remarkable feature has been the fact that the Portuguese were the first to arrive in India and the last to leave its shore as a 'colonial power'.<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese who claimed to have come to India in search of Christians and spices slowly tried to establish a political domination.<sup>2</sup> On 3rd march, 1510 Albuquerque took possession of old Goa from Ismail Ādil Shāh, the Sultan of Bijapur. Alfonso de Albuquerque after final assault on Goa island in 1510 laid a solid foundation to the Portuguese colonial structure. They took Goa in 1510, Diu in 1534, Daman between 1538-45 and finally Salsette and Bombay. The Portuguese seems to have traded virtually with every major port in Asia. Among those known are ports in Asia, Indonesia, South Arabia, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, East Africa, Persia, Japan, Ceylon and China as well in all parts of India. But most important route sailed was to the great ports in the Gulf of Cambay. The capital involved on this was greater than any other within Asia. The passage was made in fleets of perhaps 300 or 400 small ships, with two or three fleets making the voyage each year, guarded by Portuguese warships. Thus Cambay was one of the important trade destinations, for the Portuguese.

The inscription under study was placed by Joao de Castro in commemoration of victory over Cambay in 1547. Cambay was taken over by Portuguese in 1534. But again in 1546 problem arose and there was a need to reoccupy it. Diu was invested for some period by strong Gujarati army and had been extensively mined. Joao de Castro with great efforts reconquered it in 1546. Indeed it was a big achievement for Portuguese to gain victory over the King of Cambay.

When Dom Joao de Castro returned victorious from Diu in 1547 the people of Goa, wishing to celebrate his triumph with great pomp, demolished a portion of a wall of the city as the gate was too narrow for such an occasion and covering the spot with brocade, velvet of different colours, erected over it an arch with a

brazen flag bearing the image of St. Martin, on whose festival a signal victory was gained over the king of Cambay.<sup>3</sup> To commemorate this event; a slab with an inscription in gold was fixed in this wall. This slab represents St. Martine mounted on horseback and giving part of his garment to a beggar, with the following inscription-

POR ESTA PORTA  
 ENTROV DOM JOAO  
 DE CASTRO DEFENSO  
 RDA INDIA QV AND  
 OTRIVNFHOV DE CA  
 MBA YAE TODO EST  
 EMURO LHE FOIDER  
 VBADO-ERA DE 1547 A



Translation - By this door Dom Joao de Castro, Defender of India, entered when he conquered Cambay and this whole wall was destroyed in the year of 1547 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

Don Joao de Castro, after his reception ordered an altar to be raised, over which, not long after the chapel dedicated to St Martin was built. Over a period of time this chapel had probably fallen down. The slab under study was transferred to the chapel of St. Catherine.<sup>5</sup> The chapel of St. Catherine is standing in the immediate vicinity of the place of Adil Shah. It was the first place of worship ever to be erected in Goa, after the reconquest of Goa by Albuquerque on 25th November 1510.<sup>6</sup>

The Portuguese inscription under study is a unique inscription, in the sense of combination of carved picture and the matter. The picture is of a saint and the matter is an eulogy *prasaṣti* of Don Joao de Castro. In the picture St Martine is mounted on horseback exhibiting a sense of his generosity to a beggar. The inscription reveals the fact that Joao de Castro had won over Dieu. Castro was welcomed by his people at Goa to celebrate the festival of St. Martine. Secondly it was Castro, who after his reception ordered an alter to be raised <sup>7</sup>, over which the St. Martine Chapel was constructed. Obviously the slab inscription which was fixed in the chapel of St. Martine is a combination of work of piety of St. Martine and a praiseworthy note of Castro. There seems a contradiction depicted in the slab under study. The engraved picture depicts an act of generosity, possibly with an Indian beggar and on the other hand Joao Castro took over Dieu from an Indian king, king of Cambay. Obviously, this is one way of interpreting the slab inscription under study.

Coming to the actual inscription engraved here, it has to be stated that it represents the Portuguese language in Roman script. This inscription also focuses on the important fact that the language which is used in the inscription is not the regional language but it is of the Portuguese who were the rulers of the time. Most probably the composer of inscripational text must be Castro or Portuguese official while the engraver might have hailed from any of the local prevalent classes or caste.

Most of the Portuguese inscriptions are in Roman capital letters. In some inscriptions a dot is used to separate the words from each other. But in some other inscriptions letters are not separated to form the words. It becomes very difficult to read and then translate it. To start with, one has to separate the words and then form the same in sentences according to their meaning or so.

The inscription under study falls under the second type. There are straight lines of letters without any separators. Secondly, we do not find any fineness or artistic way in which the letters are written. Even the size and the shape of the letters are not even. On the other hand the engraved picture is very beautifully carved. One can clearly see the expression on the face of St Martine and on the face of the beggar. The horse on which St. Martine was mounted was in a moving stance. Even the tree under which the beggar is standing is very clear.

The Portuguese Asian Empire consisted of string of forts and ports of the littoral Asia. Each settlement was surrounded by a mass of foreign and hostile native population. In India these neighbours were often subjects of powerful states. Goa was surrounded by the strong Muslim state of Bijapur and Dieu and Daman by the Sultanate of Gujarat.<sup>8</sup> Mention must be made of the fact that in these states, neither the Portuguese were united nor did they form a cohesive group; yet clearly a sense of Portuguese identity was stronger than in his motherland.<sup>9</sup> In a foreign country like India at the time of celebration, Portuguese tried to be united without any difference of grade. This sort of unity appeared most fully in conflictless situation such as the more important religious procession and occasion of public rejoicing. Here all Portuguese could unite, at least for a day and celebrate their common nationality. It was not that these occasions are usually celebrated by Portuguese over their victories native armies or else was specifically religious and thus exclusive of non-Christian population. The best example of the former was D Joao de Castro's huge bachchanalian and self congratulatory triumph in April 1547, to celebrate his victory over Dieu in 1546.<sup>10</sup>

From the external appearance and the matter of the epigraph under study one may be tempted to label this as a commemorative. But this inscription is a combination of Eulogistic and commemorative inscription. Though there is a very thin line between commemorative inscription and Eulogistic, to my understanding commemorative inscriptions are engraved to recognize a person especially with a ceremony or to serve as a memorial. Eulogistic inscriptions are in praise of a person. Usually these inscriptions contain the name and genealogy of the issuing rulers and achievements, his political, military and achievements.<sup>11</sup> Hence, this is a unique kind of Portuguese inscription which needs to be studied with the help of literary sources on the Portuguese rule over Goa.

## THE MŪḌABIDRE COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF A LOAN SETTLEMENT, 1389 A.D.

Y. Umanatha Shenoy

This long copper plate inscription running into 73 lines is about a loan settlement made by three brothers of a place nearby Mūḍabidre in Costal Karnataka. The *brahmadāya* land was pledged to the Chandōgra Pārśvanātha Basadi of Mūḍabidre and a loan of 3,000 *Kaṭhāri Gadyāṇas* was availed agreeing to make its repayment in three years. Unlike a very common inscripion of land grant to a religious institution or any political agreement, this particular inscription deals with many aspects of economic life of the period of 14th century.

This inscription is in the possession of Bhaṭṭāraka Svasti Śrī Chārukīrti Paṇḍitāchārya Svāmiji of Śrī Jain Mutt, Mūḍabidre. The record is found inscribed on both sides of a rectangular thick copper plate measuring 35cms. × 15.5cms. The first 44 lines are found on its front side while the remaining 29 are on the other sided.

The date of the inscription is Sunday, the 15th day of Vṛishabha in the year Śukla in the Śaka year 1311 which corresponds to Sunday, the 15th May 1389 A.D. which was a full-moon day.

An additional piece of an undated inscription is found inscribed in 11 lines at the end of the backside of the plate. Since its writing resembles the writing of the majority of inscriptions referred to above and also it refers to the same Chandōgra Pārśvanātha of Mūḍabidre, this inscription also must belong to the same period.

The language and the script of both the inscriptions is Kannada except only one phrase namely "*Vardhatām Jaina Śāsanam*" at the end of the inscription. The inscription neither starts with a prayer at the beginning, nor ends with warnings at the end, as it is the general practice. The writer (*Baredātam*) of the inscription is Śāṅkara Sēnabōva who has narrated every thing in fine Kannada prose committing no grammatical mistakes but only a few errors in inscribing it on the plate.

The purpose of the whole inscription is to narrate meticulously the details of the land surrendered for the loan taken by one Kinnika Hegade and his brother



Kōṭināya and Kannaranāya of a place called Eḷimba on the 9th May 1389 A.D. from the treasury of Lord Chandōgra Pārśvanātha of Mūḍabidre consecrated by Śrī Chārukīrti Paṇḍitadēva, the saviour of Ballāḷa's life. The land was surrendered in the presence of King Chāvaḍi (Hāvaḷi) Banga in the capital city of Maṅgaḷūr and it was of the area of 869 *Murās* of paddy (a *Murā* paddy may weigh about 45 kgs) found in places like Uḷipāḍi, Mairimbeṭṭu, Kuḍukumbaḷi, Vadepāḍi, Puḷimbeṭṭu, Tēvalepāḍi, etc. The surrender included all the agricultural produces and even the ploughs and this land was free from ancient debts, future dues, free labours, obligations, intricacies of the permanent tenants, etc. It was agreed upon that the repayment of the loan was to be undertaken in three years by paying back one thousand coconuts and 840 *Kaḷasige* (a *Kaḷasige* rice weighs about 15 kgs) in the month of Tula (later part of October) and Mīna (later part of March) every year. There were eleven witnesses to this agreement but they were not - *Āditya Chandrā Anilōnalas-cha* but were some personalities of the region like Balli Hegāḍe of Valipāḍi, Aṅṅa Mogērāya, Kujumbālva, Kēśava Seṭṭi of Kuḍala, etc. By the study of the whole inscription, we come to know that the agreement was highly detailed and rigid.

Further, this agreement specifies that the responsibility of seeing that the repayment of the loan was made in three years, lay in hands of five gentlemen of the place like Bermu Sēmita of Eḷimba, Hosabu Kambaḷi of Balakunja, Manju Sēnabōva of Ajāru and in case they failed in their duty, they have to pay their own land rent from their land along with gold. It clearly states that the agreement comes into force from the date of its signing, i.e., the 9th of May 1389 A.D.

Thus it is clear from this inscription that during those days Jaina Basadis were also doing the functions of banks just like temples and the five gentlemen referred to above were the surities. The sixth line of the inscription says "*Bidureya Chandōgra Pārśva Dēvara Dharmasāleyakshaya bhaṇḍārada Honnanu Abhinava Paṇḍitadēvara kaiyalu*" which makes it clear that the junior Swāmiji of the the *Maṭha* called Abhinava Chārukīrtidēva as the person managing the whole monetary transactions of the *bhaṇḍāra* (treasury) like a Bank manager.

Another important point to be noted in this inscription is that the value of *Kaṭhāri Gadyāṇa* which was a gold coin used to vary from region to region. The inscription reads from 39th line - "*Nēgilu sahita bittāruvāram maḍagi kaḍana koṇḍa Maṅgaḷūra parivartanake saluva kaṭhāri ga 3000 aksharadalu gadyāṇa mūru sāvira*". Thus a detailed study of the whole inscription gives a clear picture of the economic

system that existed during the early Vijayanagara period in Tuḷu-nāḍu, the southern part of coastal Karnataka.

The text of the inscription is as follows:

**Front Side**

1. Svasti Śrīmatu Śakavarsha 1311 Śukla Saṁva-
2. tsarada Vṛishabha māsa 15 ā Maṁgaḷūr rāja-
3. dhāniyalu Malagarasaru chāvaḍi Baṁgāru
4. Vidyamāna Ballāḷa-rāya jīvaraksha pāla(la)karum a
5. ppa Śrī Chārukīrtti Paṁḍita dēvaru pratishṭe mādi-
6. da Bidureya Chamdōgra Pārśvadēvara Dharmmasā-
7. ley-akshaya bhaṇḍārada honnanu Abhinava Paṁ-
8. ḍitadēvara kaiyalu Eḷimbada Kiṁnikanāyakarā-
9. da Kiṁnika Heggade tanna tammaṁdiru Kōṭināyaru
10. Kamnaranāyaru ī mūvaru kūḍi tammālūruva
11. rēkachhāyavāgi taṁma brahma(hma) dāya Uḷipāde(di)
12. yalu hiriya manebāgila gadde adara sutta-
13. ṇa beṭṭina gadde ha(ho)lavomdāgi bittuva bījavari
14. mūḍe 15 adara baḍagalu beṭṭu tā(ki)ḷa timuru
15. bī mūḍe 8 malimaru bīmū 8 Mairimbiṭṭina bāgila ga-
16. dde bī mū 5 majala gadde hosa timaru bī mū 17
17. kudu kambali timaru bī mū 17 kiriya maja
18. la gadde bī mū 6 mairāṭṭimbeṭṭina gadde ēkatra bī mū 18
19. Vadapāḍiyalu majalu beṭṭinalu a
20. katra bi mū 20 Puḷimchibeṭṭina majalu beṭṭina ga-

21. dde bī mū 16 alliya bayala gadde bī mū 68 tevule
22. Pādiguḷḷa bayalalu jōḷalimaru bī mū 18
23. Perūmaru bī mū 18 Magērila bī mū 13 Mānima
24. ru bī mūde 12 Kaḷayimaru bī mū 8 antu Maḷepāḍi
25. ya paikadalu beṭṭu 5 kam beṭṭumajalalu bī mū
26. 130 kaḷabhūmi gadde 6 kam bī mū 75 matte a jāga[da]
27. lu hiriyamane adara paḍuvaṇa beṭṭinalu pe-
28. rṇnunamdana bālimda teṃkala kamchingo
29. ḍa Nāraṇana majala gadeyiṃda baḍaga-
30. lu beṭṭina gaddegaḷu bī mū 20 mūḍabeṭṭu, majala beṭu(ṭṭu) kam-
31. ḍamgaḷu halavu bī mū 30 bayalalu bāgilagadde ki-
32. dutimaru modalāgi adariṃda teṃkalu māda
33. le marupariyanta gadde 11 kkam bī mū 40 antu Āja-
34. ralu beṭṭu majalu kaḷabhūmi bī mū 90 ubhayam
35. Uḷepāḍi Ajāralu beṭṭu majalu kaḷibhūmi nānā
36. paikagadde bī mū 295 yi yeraḍūra bhūmiya cha-
37. tussimeyoḷagaṇa holagadde āḷubāḷu halasu
38. māvu teṃgu aḍake meṇasina tōpu tevaru kaluve kam-
39. rle kaḍiru tumbe lokkiyoḷagāgi nēgilu sahita biṭ(ṭṭa)ru
40. vāram maḍagi kaḍanakomḍa Maṅgalūra parivartanake
41. saluva kaṭhāri ga 3000 aksharadalu gadyāṇa mūru sā
42. vira yī honniṃge mūde ga 1 kam varāha 21 kuṃdida-
43. ḍi ikkiteruvaru hechchidaḍe homniṃge homnate-
44. ruvaru

## Back Side

1. yī homniṅge yī bhūmiyīṁda prativarsha 1 kke naḍa-
2. suva kēṇi taḷisidakke Tulā māsadalu kāranā
3. ḍa kalasigeyalu kālasige 420 Mīna māsada-
4. lu kālasige 420vu ka 840 prativarsha 1 naḍasuva teṁ
5. gina kāyi 1000 yi bhūmige siddhāya dukha(hkha) vo-
6. sage bēḍuvike modalāgi āva bādheyū yilla
7. yī bhūmige pūrvādiyilla aparādhi salladu[kka]
8. tōṭi toḍaku mūligana bhāra yi homniṅgū
9. kēṇigū rājika de(dai)vikayutarolaṁ kēḍilla i
10. Kennika Heggade nēgilu sahita dēvarige yirisi-
11. da biṭṭāruvārada bhūmiyanu Paṁditadēva
12. ravara kaiyalu yīsikoṁḍu tāvu hiḍidu naḍasu-
13. va hoṇeyāḷigaru āyakaḷada bayisaḷisara | ra-
14. ehehu mola | Eḷimjada Bermu sēmita | Baḷakuṁjada
15. Hosabu Kāmbali | Ajāralu Maṁjusēnabōva |
16. yī ayvaru varusham prati kēṇiya naḍasibaharu
17. naḍasade yi kēṇiniṁdade homna koḍisuvaru
18. koḍisadiddade patradolaḷagidda bhūmiya neyigilu
19. sahita voppisi koḍuvaru podupu madu-
20. pina saladu yī vastuva patrabarada dinaṁ moda-
21. lāgi mūru varshakke koḍuveveṁdu Heggade Hoṇeyā-
22. ḷigaru taṁma svaruchiyīṁda oḍaṁbaṭṭu koṭṭa pa-
23. tra yimṭappudakke sākshigaḷu Valipāḍiyalu Balli[He]gga-

24. de | Amṇa Mogerāya | Kujumbāluva | Payivanaṁda | Ajā-
25. ralu koḍatūra Heggāḍe | Bermmu Kuṁḍali | Perṇunaṁda | Kule-
26. yara nāya | Beṭikeyalu | Nōṭada Kēsava seṭṭi | Nōṭada
27. Nāraṇa seṭṭi Naneya Mābi seṭṭi | Koḍala Dēvaru seṭṭi | im-
28. tivara ubhayānu matadiṁ baradātam ā Kinnika He-
29. ggaḍeya Saṁkara Sēnabōva

The additional piece of an undated inscription found at the lower portion of the back side of this copper plate must be of the same date or period. i.e., of the 14th century A.D. It is in 11 lines narrating its purpose in Kannada prose. The mention of *Kāṭi Kaṭhāri Gadyāṇa* is found mentioned in this inscription. The inscription states that Āyiri Kānti Seṭṭi gave 500 *Kāṭi Kaṭhāri Gadyāṇas* and his nephew, Tēmuḷa Ballāla Seṭṭi gave 2500 *Kāṭi Kaṭhāri Gadyāṇas*, washing the feet of Śrī Chārukīrti-paṇḍitadēva to the treasury of Śrī Chandōgra Pārśvanātha of Mūḍabidre for the permanent observance of divine worship, food, medicine, Śāstradāna, regular charity and worship.

The text of the inscription is as follows:

1. Śrī Chandōgra Pārśvadēvara Dharmmaśālege śāsa-
2. nārōpita grāma kshētra vitarāṇa rūpava-
3. ha dēvapūja saṁgha samudāyada āhā-
4. r-abhaya bhēshaja śāstra-dānārtha nityadāna pū-
5. je āchandr-ārkav-āgi naḍavahaṁge śrī Cham-
6. ḍōgra Pārśvadēvara saṁnidhiyalu Paṇḍitadēva-
7. ra pādava toḷedu dhārāpūrvvakavvāgi Āi-
8. ri Kānti Seṭṭi koṭṭadu kāṭi kaṭhāri ga 500
9. ātana aliya Tēmuḷa Ballāla Seṭṭi koṭṭadu
10. kāṭiya kaṭhāri ga 2500 varddhatāṁ jaina śa
11. sanāṁ śrī śrī śrī ||

## TIGUḶAR

R. Panneerselvam

*Who are the Tigulārs? Where from they came and settled down in Karnataka? What is the connection with the Tamils? Why the lexicographers and commentators consider them as Tamils? Are they a cooking community or a ruling community? Why only Kanakadasa and Sarvajña mention in their writing and not by others? Is Tigaḷāri a language and whether it has a script of its own? Why it is found only in the coastal areas of Karnataka and not elsewhere? These are a few questions, which are yet to be answered.*

### 1. Tigulārs from literary sources:

Tigulā - Tigulārs, Tigaḷa - Tigulārs is the term referred to both in literature and in the inscriptions. But it is not clear to whom the term tigulār is referred to. Neither the historians nor the literary critics are quite clear of the connotation of this term. According to the Kannada - English dictionary, Kittel gives the following lexical terms - tigulā, tigaḷa, tigulār, tigulāti, tigulāgatti and gives the meaning as Tamil man or woman and quotes references from Sarvajña tripadi and also from the local proverbs, *tigula taa keḍutta ēru keḍisida* \*\* (Mysore), which has some connotation with Sarvajña tripadi. Basavaraju is also of the opinion that the tigulār refers to the Tamils. Of one thousand tripadis edited by L. Basavaraju, about half a dozen references are found in which the tigulār is mentioned condemning them '*tigaḷajana geniginda bagaluva suni lēsu*' (friendship with the barking dog is better than the friendship with the tigulā people). Sarvajña tripadi criticizes not only the tigulārs but also the *malavars* (781) and the Kannadigas too (561).

So far no one has ever tried to exploit the sources of the term tigulār with the first hand sources. Because there is no authentic information of the tigulārs and their relationship with the so-called Sarvajña who is believed to have lived near about Chitradurga region. He says that *the barking dog is better than the friendship of the tigulārs* (772); In another verse he says *not to keep company with the Malavars* (781); while criticizing these people he also vehemently attack the Kannadigas. He says that *the friendship of a Kannadiga is just like giving one's own sword (to*

him) and show his back to him; i.e., the Kannadigas will strike from behind or they are unbelievable people. Therefore, we cannot simply happy to note that Sarvajna condemned the tigular and the Malavas but also he exposed the psychological attitude of the Kannadigas.

Though we can be sure of the malavars and malenāḍu, where the heggades are living, where the cunti (ginger) etc. are grown, it is not easy to say definitely who the tigulars are, from the available literary sources. According to Kanakadasa of early 16th century, Tigulars are considered as the best cook and they prepared variety of food items and served vividly to the Brahmins who were hosted by the king of Dwaraka. Kanakadasa in his *Mōhanatarangiṇi* describes as follows:

*parama saukyavanu andu, tigularu patrābhigara paramānnam mundāda, pāyasam, vara sannakki ōgara, tove, palidyava tarataradalli baḍisidaru*

## 2. Tigulars from epigraphical sources:

In an inscription of 12th century A.D., during the reign of the Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana, we find many references to Tigulars, who were defeated by the Gaṅgarāja, the *mahāpradhāna* of the Hoysala king. There are references to Tigula, Tigula Dāma and Dāman. Dāma seem to denote a person or a clan like Rudradāma.

According to the epigraphical references the Tigular is not simply a community but a ruling community or having power to hold a country. In that ruling community hailed a chief called Dāman, also called Tigula Dāman 'Tigula Dāman araṇya saraṇya vṛittiyum'. This occurs in many inscriptions. But in all these inscriptions the composer of the inscription is mentioned with an attribute as 'Gaṅgavāḍiya tigular' with no exception. This leads one to consider tigular as a ruling head held power of Gaṅgavāḍi-Gaṅgabāḍi, before the Gaṅgarāja, the *mahāpradhāna* of the Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana, defeated them and made the country to Viragaṅga, a vassal chief under the Hoysalas.

From the inscriptional sources it is not impossible to conclude that the tigular are the rulers of certain area or land in Karnataka and that they were defeated by the other kings like Hoysala during 12th century A.D. and that they are in no way considered as the Tamils, the Chōlas, the Gaṅgas of Talekkadu, the Pāṇḍyas and the kings of Koṅgu country.

### 3. Linguistic aspects of the references:

*Gaṅgavāḍiya tigularu bengonḍu vīraṅgaṅe nimirchchikoṭṭam* Let us examine the syntactical and semantic aspects of the sentence that refers to tigular. This sentence may be interpreted in different ways:

Gaṅgavāḍiyannu, tigularannu bengonḍu vīraṅgaṅe nimirchchi koṭṭam (restored the Gaṅgavāḍi to Vīraṅga after having defeated the tigular.)

Gaṅgavāḍiya tigularannu bengonḍu vīraṅgaṅe nimirchchi koṭṭam (restored to Vīraṅga after having defeated the tigulars of Gaṅgavāḍi)

Gaṅgavāḍiyalli tigularannu bengonḍu Vīraṅgaṅe nimirchchi koṭṭam (restored to Vīraṅga after having defeated the tigular at Gaṅgavāḍi war)

That means the phrase can be analyzed as follows:

1. Gaṅgavāḍiya (possessive) tigularam bengonḍu ... .... (adannu) koṭṭam
2. Gaṅgavāḍiya (accusative) tigularam bengonḍu ... .... (adannu) koṭṭam
3. Gaṅgavāḍia (locative) tigularam bengonḍu... (adannu) koṭṭam

The above analyses are the possible syntactic explanations of the phrase that refers to tigular.

In all these cases it is understood that the tigular has some connection with or hold over Gaṅgavāḍi which perhaps historically belongs to Vīraṅga who would have been a feudatory of the Hoysala king Vishṇuvarhana during that period.

From the foregoing discussions the following conclusions can be drawn. That the tigular are not Tamils; and that they were a tribe who used to invade and hold control over the territories from other weaker feudal chietlains; that they are overpowered by the crown kings, who settled the feudal system to work smoothly; and that their main target of attack is on the Gaṅgavāḍi region. It is an important fact that though these tigular held control over certain parts of the country, they did not issue inscriptions of their own.

### 4. Tigalāri inscriptions:

Tigalāri is not a language with a separate script. Tigalāri inscriptions are those whose language is Kannada but written in Malayalam script with an admixture of Grantha script. Grantha script generally is used in South India to write Sanskrit.



The Haiva, Tuḷu, Koṅkaṇa area where this type of inscriptions is available is closer to the Malayalam speaking area where the use of Kannada script is in question.

Though Tuḷu script was in vogue at that time the use of it is restricted or nil so to say at present. Therefore the great pandits of that area find Malayalam as more common than that of Kannada script. We cannot assign any sense of secrecy in writing Kannada language in Malayalam script. Malayalam had developed its script fully during 9th-10th centuries deviating from Tamil-Grantha. Therefore there is no reason to say that the inscriptions found at Guṇavante or Hunsehālli were written in Malayalam of a transitional period. Perhaps Malayalam and Tuḷu scripts were popular than that of Kannada in the coastal districts of Karnataka during that period.

The script called tigulari is definitely Malayalam and the use of it is quite natural with the Kannada while the Kannada serves as lingua franca of the coastal towns during that period from where many tigulari inscriptions are found. This phenomenon is just like writing Tamil inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu script used in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya region and in Kēraḷa from 8th to 10th centuries A.D. Even now we can notice that the accent of the coastal Kannada resembles that of Malayalam accent.

To conclude from the foregoing discussions the term tigula or tigala has nothing to do with the Tamils as referred to by many of the early scholars. Even if it means a group of people it is only of the ruling tribe dominating the region around Mysore or the Gaṅgavāḍi of early days. And that the term-tigalar may be equated with Oḷiyar occurring in ancient Tamil literature who were the vassal chieftains under the Chōḷa kings, sometimes fighting against the crowned kings.

The term tīgālāri is to refer to the inscriptions, written in Malayalam script with an admixture of Grantha script.

##### 5. Tīgālāri and its Etymology:

Some scholars are of different opinion in analyzing the meaning of the term tīgālāri. In the word tigula + ārya there is no clue to what ārya means in this particular context. If ārya is connected as opposed to Drāviḍa, then it means a 'Sanskrit' word.

The editors of the inscriptions derived the word from Drāviḍa-divila-tigula and say it denotes Drāviḍa particularly the Tamils. But Drāviḍa in the inscriptions

also refers to a particular sect of Jain ascetics. We have references to Drāviḍa saṅga to mean the assembly of the Jaina monks in many Kannada inscriptions and the question is whether these Jaina monks formed a military group to capture certain territories like Gaṅgavāḍi from other ruling clan.

Moreover the term Drāviḍa not only refers to the Tamil but also in some inscriptions it refers to the Pallava kings, as in the following list *Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Drāviḍa kings*.

Therefore ascribing the Jaina saṅgha to militant group occupying the Gaṅgavāḍi and which is defeated by the Gaṅgarāya, the Hoysala chief and restoring the country to Vīragaṅga, the king of Gaṅgavāḍi, is an unimaginable guess. Therefore equating or deriving the word tigūḷa from Drāviḍa is not convincing from the linguistic point of view.

**Tamil hypothesis: Oḷiyar in Tamil Literature:**

There is a possibility to identify 'tigūḷar' with Tamils if we speculate the Tamil literary sources. In the Tamil literature of the Saṅgam period of about 2nd century A.D., we find a reference to Oḷiyar a ruling tribe who were defeated by the Chōḷa king Karikāla (*Paṭṭinappāalai* lines 274-82) among the list of other kings and chieftains like Aruvāḷar, the northrners, the westerners, the Pāṇḍya, Poduvar and Iruṅkōvēl. Tigūḷ,' in Tigūḷar, which freely varies with tigūḷ meaning Oḷi, a ruling clan, may be equated with Oḷiyar mentioned in the ancient Tamil works.

Pal oḷiyar paṇipu oḍuṅga

Tol aruvāḷar toḷiḷ kēṭpa

Vaḍavar vāḍa Kuḍavar kūmpa

Punpoduvar vali poṅṅa

Iruṅkōvēl maruṅgu chāya (*Paṭṭinapālai* 274-282)

In the above passage the poet lists the names of the kings and chieftains and the clans who were defeated and captured by the Chōḷa king Oḷiyar, Aruvāḷar, Vaḍavar, Kuḍavar, Tennavan, Poduvar, and Iruṅkōvēl.

Semantically oḷiyar means 'of the flam they' or they of shining. The word tigūḷa is to be referred as tigūḷar where tigūḷ means 'shine' (fame) which suits to the

context equating tigular of the inscriptions to Oliyār of the Saṅgam reference. It is not uncommon in Tamil that the poets used to translate the names for which references are available elsewhere. For instance, Sātakarṇi, a name of the Sātavāhana king is translated as nūrruvar kaṇṇar in *Śilappatikāram*, a Tamil epic of 2nd century A.D.

Even the form *tigu* if we analyse as having the connotation of burning fire, etc, as an onomatopoeic ‘tigu tigu (flaming) high is commonly used. Therefore, whether it is tigaḷ or tiguḷ - tiguḷa the semantic expansion goes with something like fire, flame leading to arrive at the meaning ‘shining’, which means oḷi in Tamil.

#### Tāman (Dāma) in Tamil literature:

We find this term as the name of the person for certain poets whose verses are found in ancient Tamil works.

They are as follows:

Tāma-p-palkaṇṇaṇ(Puram 43)

Muḍa-tāma-kaṇṇiyar (238)

Tiru-t-tāmanar (Puram 243)

Madurai-p-pālāchiriyar nal tāmanār (Akam 92)

Nal-tāmanār (*Narrinai* 133)

So far no one had ever tried to identify the name tāman affixed to the personal name of the Tamil poets of Saṅgam period.

All these conjectures lead to the following conclusions that the tiguḷa may be a translated form of oḷiyar of Saṅgam literature, which is used in Kannada as tigular. That this tigular cannot be derived from Drāviḍa a linguistic change that is not possible. Further Drāviḍa-gaṇa is one of the religious guilds moving towards south like Dēsiga-gaṇa (364) Mahādēsī-gaṇa (374) Balātkāra-gaṇa (380) and also like different saṅgha like dēra, nandi, simha which are referred in the Chikkabeṭṭa inscriptions (364) and that during this period we could not find that they formed any kind of military group to capture the lands.

To sum up, the word means a ruling community who used to invade Gaṅgavāḍi region and not necessarily the word attributed to the Tamils whose presence is not

at all attested by the inscriptions. And that the word tigaḷāri is a script derived from Malayalam or Malayalam with an admixture of Grantha and Tuḷu used to write Kannada language in the inscriptions around the coastal area of Karnataka during 10th and 11th centuries. And as wrongly guessed by the scholars it is not a secret language but a script used in the military training.

**Some more Epigraphical references:**

Is not Dāma, who while the destructive point of the sharp sword in your hand raised with the desire of victory was lifting up the skin of his back, fled in the direction of Kānchī?

Oh! Gaṅga, unable to expose his body to the turn of your sword, once in battle the Tigula Dāma escaped and took refuge in the forest and thinking of sit again and again even now is frightened like a deer day and night to the conservation of his faithful wives.

Having driven out the Tigulas he restored Gaṅgavāḍi to Viragaṅga

**Appendix:**

*Thurston, in his book on Castes and Tribes of South India* mentions the following:

Tigaḷa is summed up, in the *Madras Census Report, 1901*, as “a Canarese synonym for the Tamil Paḷli; applied also by the Canarese people to any Tamil sūdras of the lower castes.” In parts of the Mysore country, the Tamil language is called Tigaḷu, and the Canarese Madhva Brāhmaṇas speak of Tamil Smārta Brāhmaṇas as Tigaḷāru.

Some of the Tigaḷas, who have settled in Mysore, have forgotten their mother-tongue, and speak only Canarese, while the other, e.g., those who live round about Bangalore, still speak Tamil. In their type of cranium they occupy a position intermediate between the dolichocephalic Paḷlis and the sub-brachy-cephalic Canarese classes.

The Tigaḷas are kitchen and market gardeners, and cultivate the betel vine. They apparently have three divisions, called Ulli (garlic or onions), Ele (leaf), and Arava (Tamil). Among the Ulli tigaḷas, several sub-divisions, and sects named after deities or prominent members of the caste, exists:

## I. Lakkamma-

Tōṭa dēvaru (garden god)

Doḍḍa dēvaru (big god)

Doḍḍa Narasayya

Doḍḍa Nañjappa

## II. Ellamma-

Narasayya

Muddaṇṇa

## III. Siddēdēvaru

The Tigalas have a headman, whose office is hereditary, and who is assisted by a caste servant called Mudre. Council meetings are usually held at a fixed spot, called gōni mara kaṭṭe or mudre gōni mara kaṭṭe, because those summoned by the Mudre assemble beneath a gōni (*fiscus mysorensis*) tree, round which a stone platform is erected. The tree and platform being sacred, no one may go there by wearing shoes or sandals. The members of council sit on a woollen blanket spread before the tree.

Like the Pallis or Vaṇṇiyans, the Tigalas call themselves Agni Vanni, and claim to be descendants from the fire-born hero Agni Bannirāya. In connection with the Tigalas who have settled in the Bombay Presidency, it is noted that "they are a branch of the Mysore tigas, who are Tamil Palli emigrants from the Madras Presidency, and, like the Palli, claim a Kshatriya origin." The Tigalas possessing a manuscript, said to be a copy of a Śāsana at Conjeevaram (Kāñchi), from which the following extracts are taken. The glory of this śāsana is great, and is as follows: The worshiping of this purana will enable the Tigalas of the Karnataka country to obtain the merit of surapadavi (the state of dēvas), merit of doing pūja to a thousand līngas, a lakh of cow gifts, and a thousand kannikādanas (gift of virgins for marriage)." The śāsana is said to have been brought to the Canarese country because of a quarrel between the Pallis and the Tigalas at the time of Tigala marriage. The Tigalas were prevented from bringing the various birudas (insignias), and displaying them. This was brought by the Tigalas and was subsequently recovered from the Pallis.

**Notes and References:**

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4. *AREp.*, 1939-40
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6. *Sarvajña tiripadi*, ed. L. Basavaraju
7. *Tigalāri Inscriptions from Guṇavanthe*, ed., by Raghunatha Bhat, in *JESI* 1992
8. *Paṭṭinappālai*

## NAIVĒDYA-REFLECTIONS FROM MARĀTHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

Mohsina Mukadam

Importance of inscriptions as an authentic, contemporary record of historic past is a well-established fact. Many scholars have reconstructed political, socio-economic, and religious history of India with the help of inscriptions. However, in modern times 'territory of historians' as Le Roy Ladurie calls it, has expanded in various directions. One such direction is history of diet, a field of inquiry that has been on the periphery of social history for a long time. After the publication of Fernand Braudel's 'Capitalism and Material Life' in the year 1967, gradually social scientist turned their attention towards the study of diet from historical point of view.

History of diet represents a vital area of history of material life. However conventional sources either neglect these aspects or refer to them in most indirect manner. Therefore, researcher had to make best use of available sources for the study dietary pattern of the society. Hence, inscriptions as a potential source material of this research needs to be explored. In the present paper an attempt has been made to trace some aspect of history of diet through the epigraphic sources. According to Indian tradition whenever a new venture is undertaken, in the beginning god's blessings are evoked. Marathi inscriptions from 11th to 15th century A.D. speak of *naivēdyā*. The religion has always encouraged and contributed to the continuing of dietary beliefs and practices.

Among the various types of inscriptions, donative inscriptions are quite large in number. Many of them refer to land donated for the maintenance and the daily administration of the temple. Allocation of donated funds for the performance of various rituals is the subject matter of some of these inscriptions. Including offering of *Naivēdyā* to the deity. Ter<sup>1</sup> inscription of Kalachuri Vijjan dated 1163 A.D. mentions that, tax free endowment of 4 *nitane* (a type of land measurement) of agricultural land and 23 *nitane* of vegetable garden measured with *sālivāhani-daṇḍa* were made for providing *Naivēdyā* to the temple. Tasgaon<sup>2</sup> copper-plate dated 1251 A.D. informs us that half of the village *Manjervatak* was donated for *Ashtāṅgabhōga* of the deity Kalidēva. It means eight types of enjoyments, which includes food, water, betel leaves, flowers, sandalwood, clothes, bedding and jewelry. From Velapur<sup>3</sup> inscription dated 1305 A.D. it is

evident that one could donate land for *Naivēdyā* even before the temple was constructed. It states that Brahmadevarana and his brother Baidev donated one field and one orchard, respectively, for providing daily *Naivēdyā* to the presiding deity. It seems from Uhnakdev inscription that, it was an administrative policy of Yādavas to donate land for the *Naivēdyā* of Grāmadēvata i.e. village deity.<sup>4</sup>

During this period land donation was considered as most meritorious than cash donations. However, sometimes cash donations were also made. In Velus<sup>5</sup> inscription (1402 A.D.) provision of 4 *tank* was made for *Naivēdyā* to be offered at night, whereas Bandode<sup>6</sup> inscription of Vijayanagara king dated 1414 A.D. assigns income from two fields worth 3  $\frac{1}{3}$  *tank* for making *Naivēdyā*.

To understand how *Naivēdyā* is related to history of diet, it is essential to understand how the idea of *Naivēdyā* developed in Indian ethos. The practice of offering different material to God existed since time immemorial in all the civilization of the world. *Naivēdyā* is one aspect of offering, a portion of which is returned to the offerer for eating.<sup>7</sup> Concept of *Naivēdyā* is also associated with image worship.

It is commonly accepted that as the ancient idea of *hōma* (sacrifice) receded into background its place was taken by an elaborate procedure of *dēvapūja*. i.e. worship of image.<sup>8</sup> As in *hōma* material accompanied by *mantra* is thrown into the sacrificial fire, similarly *pūja* is also a *hōma* in which materials are offered to a deity. This practice is reflected in certain stages followed in *dēvapūja*, called *Upachāras*, which means mode of showing honour.

Traditionally, *Upachāras* are stated to be sixteen in number i.e. *āvāhana*, *āsana*, *pādyā*, *arghya*, *āchamanīyā*, *snāna*, *vastra*, *yajñōpavita*, *anulēpan*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *naivēdyā*, or *upahāra*, *namaskār*, *pradakshiṇa* and *visarjana*. Thus *Naivēdyā* or *Upahāra* is one of the *Upachāras* offered in *dēvapūja*. *Naivēdyā* means materials or items which are proper or fit to be offered to god. In various hymns in *Rigvēda* Gods are offered with food items like *apūpa*, *purōdasha*, milk, curds etc. the underlying conception in these hymns is the same as that involved in offering *Naivēdyā* to an image.<sup>9</sup> Thus *Naivēdyā* is an offering of eatables presented to a deity.

In most of the Marāṭhī inscriptions the generic term *nivēd* (*Naivēdyā*) or *upahāra* is used for the offering to god. However in Panderpur<sup>10</sup>, Uhnakdev and Velapur inscriptions it is referred to as *bonie*. In contemporary Marāṭhī literature we



often come across the word *boṇe* as food offered to God. *Naivēdya* should be pure, auspicious and free from ceremonial defilement is reflected in Velapur inscription, wherein it is defined as a *punit boṇe*. The word *punit* means pure. *Sati boṇe* referred in Panderpur inscription denotes that *Naivēdya* for God Viṭhala to be offered daily.

As *Naivēdya* is part of the religious rituals the rules are naturally followed more strictly. Thus in Tasgaon inscription it is specifically mentioned that daily distribution of free food called as *satra bhōjan* was to be looked after by Gurav<sup>11</sup>. It was the responsibility of Brāhmaṇas to look after *dēvabhōga* which included *Naivēdya*. It is interesting to note that, Paithan<sup>12</sup> inscription of Someshwar refers to *varnatran boṇe* which denotes *Naivēdya* to be offered by three *varṇas* i.e. *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kshatriya* and *Vaiśya*. The origin of this particular practice can be traced to *Liṅgapurāṇa* in which it is stated that the *Brahman* and especially *Kshatriya* and *Vaiśyas* are authorized to worship *Śiva*<sup>13</sup>, hence the special reference of three *varṇas* as an offerer of *Naivēdya* to Lord *Sōmēśvar* was made. In the same inscription Gurav is entrusted with the responsibility of arranging '*pardiyache vān*' i.e. fruits for *Naivēdya* on *Ēkādaśī* day.

The general rule is stated by the *Rāmāyaṇa* as whatever food a man eats the same is offered to his deity.<sup>14</sup> Thus the food items mentioned as *Naivēdya* in the inscriptions definitely reflects the dietary habits of the contemporary society. Unfortunately, Marāṭhī inscriptions very rarely describe the food items to be offered to the presiding deity. However, considering the continuity of Indian civilization certain conjuncture can be made. For the history of diet the most important inscription is the Bandode inscription. (which is mentioned earlier) Probably it is the only Marathi inscription which mentions the specific food items to be offered as *Naivēdya*. It states that, *Naivēdya* for God *Nāgnāth* should include *chauth*<sup>15</sup> of rice, 2 *solshī*<sup>16</sup> of *tupa*(clarified butter), 8 numbers of *Vade* or *Gharige*, 2 types of vegetables, and *Vida*. Similarly for goddess *Mahālakshmi* *chauth* of rice, 1 *gida*<sup>17</sup> of *tupa*, 4 numbers of *vade*. 2 types of vegetables, and *vida* were to be offered. For the morning *upahāra* i.e. breakfast, *ataval* a type of *kanji* (porridge) made with parboiled rice together with *tupa* was offered to *Nāgnāth* as well as to Goddess *Mahālakshmi*. The breakfast item mentioned for deities is the staple morning diet of the people of coastal region of Mahārāshṭra and Goa even today.

It is interesting to note the separate mention of *tupa* i.e. clarified butter as part of *Naivēdya*. In addition to Bandode inscription, Panderpur inscription too makes

arrangement for *tupa* as *Naivēdya*. During this period clarified butter was used excessively, not only sweetmeats were cooked in it, but they were also eaten with the combination of clarified butter. This reference throw light on dietary preferences of the society but *tupa* also has a religious significance in Indian dietary tradition. Offering of *tupa* is related with the concept of purity of food. In the Hindu dietary traditions it is believed that ghee purifies food of any defilement that may have occurred while cooking.

*Naivēdya* is also a reflection of religious beliefs and practices, which has continued since ancient times. Food prepared for *Naivēdya* has to adhere to the rules prescribed in the *śāstras*. One cannot offer food that is declared as unfit by the *śītrakaras*. As the diet of the particular region is primarily based on local ecology, it is possible that the ingredients used for the preparation of food items and the method of cooking may vary. Thus the study of *Naivēdya* helps us to place the local diet in a broader perspective.

*Purāṇas* provide us with the list of the food items to be offered in *Naivēdya* to various Gods on different days of the month.<sup>18</sup> The *Śivapurāṇa* mentions the *Mahānaivēdya* prepared from a measure of *Sali* rice, a *prastha* full of *maricha*, honey, ghee, a measure of *mugda*, twelve types of condiments, the *apūpa*, *modak* etc. all mixed with curds and milk with coconut bits mixed with bits of camphor. The *Skanda-purāṇa* recommends *karambha* and *pruthaka* on the *Ēkādaśī* day. *Su-panaivedya* was to be offered on the twelfth bright night of *Kartika* month. *Ladduka*, *samyava*, *purika*, *apūpa*, *maṇḍaka*, *laja*, *ghṛitana*, *kṛisara*, *pōlika*, *saktu*, *sāstika*, etc were some of the items mentioned in *Purāṇas*. *Skandapurāṇa*, specifically mentions food items like *Sohalika*, *lapsika*, *sevaiya*, *parpata* for the *Naivēdya*. On *Śivarātri* day lord *Śiva*'s *Naivēdya* consisted of *gharige*, *laḍḍu*, *mōdak*, etc.

Among several preparations stated in *puranas vade* or *vataka* as they were called in ancient period, had unique importance. In modern times in Maharashtra *vade* or *gharige* are two distinct preparations made with different ingredients and in different ways. However in early medieval period both the items were made with masha flour, only difference was in their form. According to king *Sōmēśvara*'s *Mānassōlāsa gharige* were round cake with five or seven holes, fried in oil till their colour become red, when they had no hole they were called as *vatakas*.<sup>19</sup>

In *Subhadrachampu* a literary work by Niranjan Madhav, more poetic description of *gharige* is given.<sup>20</sup> Poet attributes the creation of the hole in the *vataka* to a heroic deed of Gods. He informs us that the *vataka* contained *amṛit* in it and to

prevent *daitya*'s from consuming them and thus becoming immortal, Gods took away *amṛit* from it. Since then *vataka* had hole in it. Probably poet was indicating the religious significance of *vataka* camouflaging it with poetic imagery.

*Vatakas* are mentioned in *Dharmasūtras* as well. *Matsyapurāṇa* and *Skandapurāṇa* too mentions them as an item for *Naivēdyā*. According to *Skandapurāṇa* in the month of *Mārgaśīrsha* God *Vishṇu* was to offer nine types of *vataka* made with *masha* pulse. *Vade* prepared with *masha* pulse has special religious importance in Indian diet. Since *Ṛigvēdic* period *masha* pulse was used for sacrificial purposes. In *Atharvavēda* offering made with *masha* pulse is called *mashajya*. It was believed that *masha* had qualities to ward off evil.

Apart from their religious importance, *vataka* was a popular dish greatly enjoyed by the people in ancient as well as medieval period, is evident from the literary references. During Patanjali's time a special *Vatakini Purnamasi* day was celebrated by relishing variety of *vatakas*.<sup>21</sup> We can trace the continuation of this practice in 13th century in Maharashtra. In *Mahānubāv* literature of this period we often come across the term *vadeupahāra* (a diet consisting only of *vade* or *vataka*) for which different types of *vades* were prepared. Even today among some of the communities of Maharashtra and Goa *vades* are essential on auspicious occasions.

Thus an offering of *vade* or *gharighe* to god *Nāgnāth* and goddess *Mahālakshmi* as described in *Bandode* inscription was a reflection of local diet as well as continuation of the religious practice followed by Indians since ancient period.

Chewing betel leaves with some aromatic spices after meals was common as it was believed that it aided digestion. As such, offering of *tāmbūla* to a deity formed a part of *Naivēdyā*. Some *Dharmasūtra* include offering of *tāmbūla* or *mukhawas* as one of the *upachāras* to be performed either after *pradakshīṇa* or *Naivēdyā*.<sup>22</sup> Both *tāmbūla* and *mukhawas* include betel leaves as main ingredient and there is difference in preparation which is elaborated by *Hēmādri* in his *vratakhāṇḍ* of *Chāturvarga Chintāmaṇi*. According to him *tāmbūla* includes betel leaves, betel nut and *chunam* whereas *mukhawas* includes aromatic ingredients like cardmom, camphor, *kankkolbeans*, coconut pieces and *mahātuṅga* fruit. There is no reference to *tāmbūla* in the *Vēdic* literature. Even the epics, as well as *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* are silent about it. However, many literary and epigraphic sources trace the antiquity of this practice to the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier period.

Apart from its medicinal and social importance, it also has religious implications in Indian ethos. According to *Jyōtirbandha Dharmasāstra* the betel nuts pleases god *Brahma*, the betel leaves pleases god *Vishṇu* and *chunam* pleases god *Īśa (śiva)*<sup>23</sup> because of this association with *Brahma*, *Vishṇu* and *Śiva* it was believed that offering of *tāmbūla* fulfills all desires, bring prosperity and good fortune. According to *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* betel leaves contain *Samvatsari Śakti* i.e. yearly power. Therefore offering of *tāmbūla* was considered to be everlasting in merit.

Inscriptional records are in harmony with the religious significance of the *tāmbūla* mentioned in *Jyōtirbandha Dharmasāstra* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. Many of the Marāṭhī inscriptions include offering of *vida (tāmbūla)* as a part of *upachāra* or *ashṭāṅgabhōga*. Separate arrangements were made for the offering of *tāmbūla* or *vida* to the presiding deity. In Velus inscription, 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  *ṭaṅka* was provided for *pan po-fali* which means betel leaves and betelnuts. In Ambōjōgai inscription one *kavada* (a currency of minor value) was set aside for *vida*.<sup>24</sup>

As food cannot be separated from rituals, study of *Naivēdya* from inscriptions becomes an important source material to trace the continuity of Indian diet and its religious significance.

#### Notes and References:

1. S.G.Tulpule., *Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh*, Pune Vidhyapeeth Prakashan, Pune, 1963, p.63 (Henceforth PMKL).
2. *Ibid.*, p.135.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
4. *Ibid.*, p.198.
5. *Ibid.*, p.302.
6. *Ibid.*, p.306.
7. S.A. Dange, *Encyclopalia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices*, Vol IV, Navrang, New Delhi, 1989, p. 1075.
8. P.V.Kane., *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol II, Part II, p. 705.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol I, Part I, p.35.
10. *PMKL.*, *op.cit.*, p.165.

11. According to Molesworth's Marathi-English Dictionary Gurav is a caste among sudra or an individual of it. They are employed in the service of the temple and are worshippers of Śīva.
12. *PMKL., op.cit.*, p.363.
13. Dange, *op.cit.*, p.17.
14. Kane, *op.cit.*, Vol II, Part II, p.733.
15. Chauth was a measure of grain.
16. Soleshi was sixteen measure of grain.
17. Gida was a measure of weight used for liquid items.
18. Dange, *op.cit.*, Vol II, pp 558-60.
19. K.L. Shirgoandkar., (ed), *Manasollasa* of King Somesvara, Part II, 1939, p. 120.
20. L.R. Pangarkar., (edi), *Niranjanmadvavachi Kavita*, Part 2-3, Mumuksha Kachari, Pune, 1925, p. 65.
21. B.N. Puri., *India in the times of Patanjali*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951, p. 100.
22. Kane, *op.cit.*, Vol II, Part II, p. 729.
23. P.K. Gode., *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, Viveshvaranand Vedic Research Institution, Hoshiyarpur, 1961, p. 140.
24. M.G. Dikshit, *Marathi Shilalekh-Nave Path*, Marathi Sanshodhan Mandal, Mumbai, 1963, p. 23.

## SINGAPURA INSCRIPTION OF HOYSAĻA BALLĀĻA III

D.M. Nagaraju

During the course of survey of Holenarsipura Taluk of Hassan District, Karnataka, an interesting HoysaĻa inscription found engraved on a loose slab was noticed in the temple of Hanumān at Singapura. The first few lines of this record are very much defaced. Hence, the text could not be deciphered satisfactorily.

The language and script of the record is Kannaḍa. The record can be assigned to 14th century A.D., to which period the characters belong. Though the number of orthographical errors are seen, yet the features like cursive *va* and *ma* and as well the doubling of the consonants following the *rēpha* are some of the noteworthy features.

The record belongs to reign period Vīra Ballāḷadēva, son of Viṣṇuvardhana Pratāpa Chakravarti Śrī Vīra-Nārasimhadēva. The king is stated to have been ruling from Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa at the time of the engraving of the record. The record dated Śaka 1254, Āṅgīrasa, Śrāvāṇa, śu, 2 Sunday, correspond to 1332 A.D., July 26, Sunday f.d.t. 71.

This *Pattraśāsana* registers the grant of open lands (*kāluvaḷigala*) in the village Guñje Elevāla, Kēlasasamudra, etc., by the *mahājanas* of the village to Śrīmahāpradhāna Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka and his brother Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka, to provide the food offerings and the *Akhaṇḍadhīṇa* to the deity Sōmanāthadēva of the village. Also it records the provision of *tēṛuva-gadyāṇa* and *havaḷa heruḷaṇa* every year to meet the expenses of food offerings. To this effect, an agreement (*idaṁbaṭṭu*) between the *mahājanas*, the elders of the village Singapura and Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka was arrived at and accordingly the *pattraśāsana* was composed by Mādappa who belongs to the temple of Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa. It is a rare instance to find *pattraśāsana* of this kind. The text has been caused to be engraved on stone since the *pattraśāsana* is short lived and perishable.

The record is of great importance from the point of view of the study of the chiefs of HoysaĻa rulers. The reign of Ballāḷa III is significant in the history of Karṇāṭaka. We all know that HoysaĻa Ballāḷa III had a long spell of reign and was an eminent personality. His reign witnessed a number of eventful scenes in many aspects. It was during his period that the relationship between HoysaĻa and

Vijayanagara rulers came to be established. A review of the Ballāḷa's activities reveal that his empire extended from Hampi-Tuṅgabhadrā region in the north to Rāmēśvara in the South. The inclusion of Hampi area in his empire is supported by the epigraphical evidence from Dāvaṇageṛe region. This place was of strategic importance due to the fact that the enemies had overrun the vast territory. But Ballāḷa with his ability, skill and acumen could meet the challenges and a study of the shift of his camping reveal the strategy. During his defence arrangements it seems that Ballāḷa III strengthened his fortress on the north bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā which is referred to in a number of inscriptions.

The Tugluq invasion after the 1327 was one of the reasons for the frequent changes of Ballāḷa's camp from Dvārasamudra to places far away from it. This shifting of the capital is not on account of disintegration, but to safeguard the interests of his feudatories and generals. Prior to the date of our record that is 1332 A.D. especially in 1318 and 1328, etc., he was residing at Uṇṇāmalai, Aṇṇāmalai, Aruṇasamudra, etc., and are identified with the present Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of North Arcot district in Tamilnāḍu. But he could establish his northern stronghold on other side of Hampi between 1330 A.D. and 1340 A.D. King Ballāḷa was camping at Virūpāksha-Hosadurga, while Kāmeya-daṇṇāyaka was ruling the kingdom in 1331 A.D. Three years prior to this date, king Ballāḷa and his ministers Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka along with seven others were ruling the kingdom from Uṇṇāmale.

Our record refers to Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka as the donee, when Ballāḷa III was ruling from Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa. Virūpākshapura is otherwise called in inscriptions as Hosadurga, Virūpāksha-Hosabeṭṭa, Hosapaṭṭana, Hosa-nāḍu, Hosaviḍu, Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa, Pudu-paḍaiviḍu, etc. Inscription from Chitradurga region refer to this stronghold as Virūpāksha Pāda-Vīra-Vijaya Virūpākshapura, Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa and so on. In all these names one can find the association of God Virūpāksha. It can be explained easily for, the temple of Virūpāksha exists in the proximity. On this bank by strengthening his northern frontier, he could establish his control over this tract and mobilise the army for an effective offensive.

The two Hoysaḷa ministers Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka and Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka, whom Ballāḷa treated with reverence, need to be identified. Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka referred to in the epigraphs from Chitradurga dated 1338 A.D., from

Chikkamagalūr dated 1342 A.D., from Mālūr region dated 1331 A.D. and from Malavalli region dated 1333 A.D. is the son of Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka, who had been in-charge of Chitradurga region (Bemmatūra-durga). Ballappa is not the real son of Ballāḷa III, but his nephew (sister's son). Inscription from Mālūr region states that Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka, the younger brother of Dāṭi-Siṅga-daṇṇāyaka as the son of Vīra-Ballāḷdēva. Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka had two sons namely Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka and Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka. The latter got into marital alliance with the daughter of Harihara I, a Vijayanagara king prior to 1330 A.D. Inscription from Mālūr region do not speak of the supremacy of Ballāḷa even as early as 1328 A.D.

The name Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka appears in several inscriptions during the different years of Hoysaḷa period. So also the name Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka. In the Kaṇṇanūr battle one Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka took active part in this battle which dragged on upto 1309 A.D. This Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka is different from namesake figuring in our record. In 1339 A.D. Ballāḷa was able to acquire the Vijayavirūpaksha identical with Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa with help of Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka. Four years subsequent to that date an order was issued for the grant of dues to the farmers by the son of Balladēvarasa in collaboration with Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka. This Ballappa was in powerful position and was biding his time for the change of allegiance to Harihara. From a record of Chitradurga region dated 1328 A.D., we come to know that Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka and Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka were residing at Uṇṇāmalai. Our record was issued near 1332 A.D., when the minister and the other feudatories of the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa could enjoy more powers and freedom of action. That is to say that there was decentralization of power, when Ballāḷa seems to have taken them into confidence, and witnessed the royalty. One of the inscriptions of Chitradurga region dated 1328 A.D. is an example in support of this position. Another inscription from Chitradurga of the same date mentions one Hiriya Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka as the minister of Rāmēya-daṇṇāyaka of king Ballāḷa. The Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka of the present record is quite different from his namesake figuring in Chitradurga inscription stated above. Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka held the highest position in the Hoysaḷa kingdom with whom Ballāḷa had love and affection. Even though he was his nephew, he is referred to as the donee in the *Patrasāsana*. Also Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka, who is mentioned elsewhere as his brother and who was in-charge of Bemmatūr-durga is identical with his namesake (Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka). It is evident from the above survey of the



various records that Ballappa-dañṇāyaka and Siṅgeya-dañṇāyaka lived upto 1338 A.D. if not later. Siṅgeya-dañṇāyaka of our record figures in the inscription of Holenarasipur dated 1331 and 1332 A.D. as the ruler of Puliyūr-nāḍu. The division Puliyūr-nāḍu quite likely represents the well known region in Tamilnāḍu.

Though Ballāḷa III was camping at Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa in 1331-32 A.D. his chief Siṅgeya-dañṇāyaka and Ballappa-dañṇāyaka held control over Puliyūr-nāḍu. This gives us a clue that these two ministers were not only powerful but also held a high rank in the Hoysaḷa set up. Our record confirms the status enjoyed by these two generals.

#### Notes and References:

1. William Coelho, *The Hoysaḷa Varīśa*.
2. J. Duncan M. Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*
3. B. Sheik Ali, *The Hoysaḷa Dynasty*.
4. *Ep. Can.*, Vol. IV.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. V.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI.

## INSCRIPTION ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN TAMIL NADU

S.Rajavelu

In the last quarter of ninth century A.D. and in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Tamil Nadu witnessed an active form of local government. Though the Sangam literature gives stray references on the local government in Tamil country (*Ahanāṇūru*.73:77), it may not be proper to say that the active functions of the local self-government took place only from the time of Later Pallavas of 9th century A.D. onwards. Inscriptions of the Pallavas in the northern part and the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas in the southern part of Tamil Nadu focus vivid picture on the local self-government. The functions of various local institutions pertaining to the micro level administrations namely *Sabhā*, *Ūr*, *Nagaram* and *Nāḍu* and their subordinate elected bodies known as *vāriyams* improved their status and activities during the time of Chōlas around 10th century A.D. particularly during the time of Parāntaka Chōla. The Uttaramērūr inscriptions of Parāntaka Chōla stand testimony to the election system and the function of *vāriyams* in 10th century A.D.

Recently the author came across one such village in the neighborhood of Uttaramerur which actively functioned with the local self government. This is seen in the newly discovered inscriptions of Parāntaka Chōla and Pārthivēndrādhīpathivarman from the village Paḷayaśīvaram located on the northern bank of the river Palar. It is located about 20 kms to the east of Kāñchīpuram and 25 kms to the north-east of the village Uttaramērūr. The village Paḷayaśīvaram is a corrupted form of the inspirational place name Śivapuram and the inscriptions on the walls of Śiva temple refer to this village as Śivapuram. These inscriptions were already reported in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy in the year 1922*, nos C.211-20. But the inscriptions discussed in this paper were copied recently, which are found on the *adhishthāna* and walls of the ruined Perumāḷ temple locally known as Vaikuṅṭhaperumāḷ temple. In these inscriptions the place is referred to as Viṅṅapuram. This clearly shows that this insignificant village in the days of Early Chōlas was bigger in size than now and it had two sectors namely Śivapuram where the Śiva temple and another Perumāḷ temple (Lakshmi Narasiṃha temple) are there and the Viṅṅapuram

wherein the present Vishṇu temple is located. The temple is locally known as Vaikuṅṭhaperumāl temple. There are about five inscriptions found on the base of this temple and three inscriptions are very important to unfold the functions of the *vāriyams* and the *sabhā* of the village. The other two inscriptions mention the donations for burning of the perpetual lamps.

Of these five inscriptions, three inscriptions belong to the reign period of Parāntaka Chōla while the remaining two belong to Pārthivēndrādipathivarman. Since the temple is in a ruined condition for a long time, the inscriptions on the *adhishthāna* are much affected and some lines of the inscriptions are faintly seen. However, due to the importance, one inscription is discussed here.

The inscription under study, belongs to the reign period of Parāntaka Chōla I dated in his 15th regnal year (922 A.D.). This inscription is dated after the two famous inscriptions at Uttaramerur of the same king dated in 919 and 921 A.D. respectively. However it is presumed that the function of *vāriyam* in the village of Paḷayaśivaram seems to be parallel to the Uttaramērūr's local assembly. This inscription is engraved in the Tamil language and script. A few *grantha* letters are used for Sanskrit words. The object of the inscription is to record a resolution of the *Peruṅguri sabhā* of Viṅṅapuram, a village in Ūrṅukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam. The members of the *Peruṅguri sabhā* assembled in a hall known as Śīrkuṭṭi Ambalam and passed a resolution which was called *vyavasthai* in Sanskrit. Accordingly they fixed some procedure to be adopted in future meetings by the members of the *sabhā* as well as the members of the *vāriyams* of the village.

The inscription states that those who were in the *sabhā* and those who came from the ward (*kuṭumbu*) should function together in the *vāriyam* with the approval of the *sabhā* (*sabhaikku ottu*) and whenever they take charge in the *vāriyam* they should take oath and receive two *kalañju* of *poṅ* probably as a token of allowance (*vārpalam*). Besides they should not collect *ēri āyam* i.e., the tax levied for the maintenance of lake and the *Chōrumāttu* i.e., free food from the village for the service rendered by the person. They should not enjoy the privilege such as *Añjarasam*, a special tax levied by the king and *brahmasvam* (tax on brahmins), etc. The members should show their account (assets) to the *sabhā* (*sabhaikku okka*) in the beginning and at the time they leave the *vāriyam* besides taking oath. The members should not miss to attend the deliberation of the *vāriyam* and those who did not attend the *vāriyams* should get the token allowance (*vārpalam*) in the first year only and they are not entitled to get this payment from the second year.

The members of the *vāriyam* should function for two years in a term and they should not dissolve the *kuḍumbu*. From this, it is evident that the term of the members of the *Ariyam* is only for two years and it is to be remembered here that the term of *variya*m at Uttaramērūr is for three years. Hence, it is clear that the period of the *vāriyam* is variable to each and every village according to their convenience.

The inscription further states that those who were selected from the respective *kuḍumbu* should engage themselves in the respective *vāriyams*. When the members of the *vāriyams* started their *maṅṅru* duties in other villages they were entitled to get food from the respective villages. Also they were eligible to get some remuneration from the other villages as *ūr dravyam*. The members of the *sabhā* should not have any close relationship with others when they were in the *maṅṅru* duties of the other villages. It is significant to note here that the members of the *sabhā* of a particular village went outside the village and engage themselves *maṅṅru* duties in the neighbouring villages. Those who were not taking oath in the *sabhā* they should not engage themselves in the deliberation of the *vāriyam*. All these resolutions passed on this day by the *Peruṅguri Sabhā* and they also took oath.

A few words in this inscription are interesting from the lexical point of view. They are *vārpalam*, *añjarasam*, *brahmasvam*, etc. The term *vārpalam* is probably refers to a token of payment to the individual. Our inscription is the earliest reference to this term. Ukkal inscription of Kṛishṇa III refers to the term as *daṇḍamittārku vārpalam kuḍuttum*. This is dated in 956 A.D.<sup>1</sup> This term was not used after 10th century A.D. in the inscriptions of Tamil Nadu. The next word *añjarasm* is a Sanskrit term which probably denotes a kind of tax directly levied by the king. It has two components words *Añja+rasam*. The term *añja* seems to have been derided from the Sanskrit expression *ājña* meaning 'an order'. *Añja* is an order generally issued by the king. The term *brahmasvam* also gives the clue that this is the tax probably given by the brahmins. We never come across these terms in the inscriptions after this period. However, the term *brahmasvam* is probably identified with the Pallava tax term *brahmarasak-kāṇam*. An inscription of 753 A.D. refers to this term for the first time.<sup>2</sup>

From the above inscription it is evident that the function of the *Peruṅguri sabhā* was the higher administrative unit of the village and they were empowered to control the selective body known as *vāriyam* of the village. The members of the *vāriyams* were selected in each *kuḍumbu* and they were associated with the

*Peruṅguri sabhā* and they functioned together in the village administration. It is also interesting to note here that the members of the *vāriyam* took oath when they took charge as the member of the *vāriyam* and when they left the office. They also received a kind of payment as remuneration for their service. However it is presumed that they utilized some taxes like *ēri āyam* and *chōrumāttu* for their own purpose and it was controlled by the *sabhā* by passing this resolution. This inscription is very important as it mentions that the members of the *sabhā* as well as the members of the *vāriyams* should take oath while in power. The *sabhā* restricts, accumulation of assets by the members by using their power while they were in the public service.

### Text

1. Svasti śrī Kōpparakēsari parmarkku yāṇḍu 15 āvatu nāl 12 Ūr̥rukkāṭṭuk-kōṭṭattu Viṇṇapurattu peruṅguriṣabhāiyōm innālāl Sīrkkuṭṭi ambalattilē kūṭṭak kurāivarak-
2. kūḍi irundu ippatiṇaindāvadu mudal vāriyañcheyyum vyavastaiyāvadu āvān kuḍumpirk-ottārum sabhaikk-ottōm vāriyañchēvār-āgavum vāriyam pugumpōdu satyañcheydu vārpalam
3. iru kalañju poṇ aṇṇi marṇu eppērppaṭṭidum ēri āyamum chōrumāttum mudal-āga marṇum aṇṇārasamum brahmasvam eppērppaṭṭidum kollōm-eṇṇu āṇḍarūdi cheydu sabhai-
4. kku okka kaṇakku kāṭṭi vidunālum satyañcheyvār-āgavum pukumpōdum satyañchētu puguvār-āgavum ivvāriyam vārpalañ-kuḍuttup-pokku kāṭṭap-perātār-āgavum vāriyam pukkarallādār

### Phase II, South Wall

5. va[ssān] dōrum vārpalañ-kolṣadāgav-idaṇ mēḷ vārpalam-eṇṇu kollap-perādār-āgavum vāriyam iraṇḍāṇḍattu vāriyañcheyyap-perādār-āgavun kuḍumpalikkap perādār-āgavum-
6. [kurāi] avvav kuḍumpukku ottārāy vāriyañcheyvārē .... vārpalam-aṭṭi-cheytu isaiya kuḍumpum-aṭṭi okka .....

### Notes and References:

1. *SII.*, Vol. III, No. 7
2. *Ibid.*, No. 73

## RUDRAPURISADATA INSCRIPTION FROM PHANIGIRI

K. Munirathnam

The inscription is edited below for the first time with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), A.S.I., Mysore. The recent excavations conducted by the State Department of Archaeology at Phanigiri<sup>1</sup> in Nalgonda District in Andhra Pradesh has yielded a number of Prākṛit and Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to the period ranging from 1st century to 4th century A.D. From among the above discoveries mention may be made of an epigraph engraved on a pillar excavated from this site. It is interesting to note that a *stūpa* structure on a mound wherein excavations have been conducted and down the mound there are two temples which are under worship. The exact significance of these temples and the Buddhist structure above is not clear. The other relevant details may be found in the sequel.

The inscription under study consists of 10 lines of writing on one face of the pillar. The engraver has taken care to split-up the verses by introducing the number of each verse. In all there are 4 verses in this inscription. The engraving of the record is neat and the preservation of the writing is satisfactory.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit from lines 1 to 8. However the Prākṛitic influence on the orthography and language can very well be seen in lines 8 to 10. Reduplication of the consonant is met with in the Sanskrit portion of this record, e.g. the words like *Dharmma* (lines 3 or 5) and *Urvi* (line 7). The characters are the same as those found in the inscriptions, of the time of Rudrapurushadatta, dated in his 11th regnal year.<sup>2</sup>

The present record belongs to king Rudrapurushadatta and is dated in the year 18, Hemanta Paksha 3, and day *divasa* 3. On palaeographical grounds, the record may be assigned to the middle of 4th century A.D. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a pillar containing the *Dharmachakra* (*thabhāya = stambha thāpitam*) by the chief physician<sup>3</sup> (*aggrabhashajā*) of the king. The record further gives the description of the valour of the king, who is compared with god Vishṇu (described as Madhusūdana).

This record is highly interesting from the point of view of historical significance. King Rudrapurushadatta referred to here belongs to Ikshvāku family, who

is elsewhere mentioned as Rudrapurisadatta (Skt. Rudrapurushadatta) of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa record<sup>4</sup> and Ruḷapurisadata of Gurzala inscription.<sup>5</sup> The provenance of other two inscriptions mentioned above is his own capital Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Though the present record bears identity in palaeography, yet the provenance is far away from the capital. This is a very significant feature that needs to be studied in detail.

The already known date of the beginning of the reign period of Rudrapurushadatta according to Dr. D.C. Sircar is 334 A.D.<sup>6</sup> Rudrapurushadatta, as we know, was the successor of Chaṁtamula II whose last regnal year has been fixed as 333-34 A.D. From the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription, it is known that Rudrapurusadatta ruled upto his 11th regnal year, which corresponds to 345 A.D.<sup>7</sup> This date was considered all along as the last year of his rule. With the help of the present record, his reign period may now be extended upto 352 A.D. which coincides with his 18th regnal year.

We know that the reign period of Rudrapurushadatta and his predecessors Chaṁtamula and Vīrapurisadatta witnessed temple building activities in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley in the last quarter of the 3rd century and the first half of the 4th century A.D.<sup>8</sup> It was during this period that there was a joint invasion of the Ābhīras and the Pallavas terminating the rule of the Ikshvākus.<sup>9</sup> If this occupation of Ābhīra- Pallavas is accepted, it would not have been possible for the Ikshvākus to contribute to the construction of temple or erection of *stūpas*, etc. From the dates ascribed to the Ikshvākus by D.C. Sircar, it is clear that the duration of their rule comes to 120 years. In the light of present record, it may be reasonable to extend the Ikshvāku rule to not less than 127 years. If so, the date of the Ikshvāku rule can be fixed around 352 A.D.

It would be interesting to study the discovery of the Phanigiri record of Rudrapurushadatta in the light of the contemporary rulers of Ikshvāku family. D.C. Sircar had stated that king Jayavarman of the Bṛihatphalāyana *gōtra*<sup>10</sup> is known to have ruled for a period of 10 years over the area extending from Kollēru lake in the north to Guntur in the south, and thereby ascribed his reign period upto 356 A.D. It is not impossible to suggest that king Jayavarman could have ruled independently, while Ikshvākus were in power till 352 A.D., the date as yet known to Rudrapurushadatta. M. Ramarao argues that this date is untenable in view of the occupation of Gōdāvari-Kṛishṇa belt by the Sālaṅkāyanas. He has

further stated that by accommodating the Sālaṅkāyanas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins, it may not be possible to extend the rule of Ikshvākus upto the middle of 4th century A.D.<sup>11</sup> The theory of D.C. Sircar supporting the Pallava rule has been questioned by him. At this juncture, it is necessary to examine the Mañchikallu inscription of Pallava Siṃhavarman<sup>12</sup> (315 to 345 A.D.) and considers this ruler as the uprooter of the Ikshvāku family. On the other hand Ramarao assigns 315 A.D. as last date of Siṃhavarman and thus suggested that the Ikshvāku rule came to an end before 315 A.D.

T.V. Mahalingam who made an elaborate study of the Pallavas had stated that king Siṃhavarman of the Mañchikallu inscription removed the Ikshvākus from the Kṛishṇa-Guṇṭūr area and destroyed the Ikshvāku capital at Vijayapuri.<sup>13</sup> Further, he had stated that the Ikshvākus were completely overthrown by Śivaskandavarman I, the successor of Siṃhavarman and assigns his accession to 330 A.D. In which case, Śivaskandavarman assumed the regal status by this date overthrowing the Ikshvākus. If D.C. Sircar's chronology is accepted, then the date of the present record i.e., 352 A.D. may be the last date of the Ikshvākus. It is not known on any count that the rule of Śivaskandavarman had come to an end or extended beyond the date of the Ikshvāku rule. From the arguments explained above, the Pallava intervention would not have taken place on or before 352 A.D. and naturally the extension of the Ikshvāku rule upto the middle of 4th century is possible. Finally, my argument is that the Ikshvāku rule did not come to an end by 315 A.D. as suggested by M. Ramarao and T.V. Mahalingam but extended upto 352 A.D., if not later.

#### TEXT

1. Siddham || Saṁvatsaram 10 8 hemanta pakshaṁ 3 divasaṁ 3 prakhyāta  
dipta-ya
2. śasi rajño Śrī Rudrapurushadattasya aggrabhashaji kṛitōyaṁ sa-
3. muchchhara yo dharmmachakkrasya 1. darppaddhvajī yo makaraddhvajasya  
na pātito
4. gōvṛishabhaddhvajēna taṁpāditaṁ śakkyā-kulōddhvajēna imēna chakkrēna  
sa
5. dharmmajēna 2. mahātmana kamsa-nisūdanēna nasūditō yō  
Madhusūdanēna



6. sa sūditō rāga-nisūdanēna dōsh-āsurō chakkra-varētīm -ēna 3. māyāśarīrā
7. raniṁ saṁmbhavēna tēnōttama-dhyuta-guṇōttanēna Jñitōrvi-īrsha-klēśa mahāvanāni
8. dagdhāni chakkrēna imēna tēna 4. taṁ varisaṁ chakkraṁ mahāsēnāpati saramēnaṁ
9. diṇokasa deyadhamma mupanoni vatosāṁ bharadha-[to]ya thāpitam bhadaṁta dhe
10. masenena a[ṁ]nuṭhidhi[nāṁ] .....nena[sana] ..... mānusolaka iti ||

#### Notes and References:

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 2003-04, No. B 9.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX pp. 26.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 17.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 123.
6. M. Ramarao, *The Ikshvākus*, p. 19.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX pp. 1-22.
9. M. Ramarao, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 1-22.
11. M. Ramarao, *op.cit.*
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 87.
13. T.V. Mahalingam, *The Pallavas*, Introduction.

## ROLE OF TEMPLE WOMEN AS GLEANED THROUGH INSCRIPTIONS

S. Saroja

Women are frequently mentioned in Chōla period inscriptions, most often as donatrix. The inscriptions provide clues that allow us to distinguish different types of women. The temple women are categorised as follows, firstly the temple woman is referred to in the inscriptions by several terms like *dēvarāḍiyāl*, *dēvaṇārmagaḷ* (daughter of God) and *Patiyilār* or *taḷiyilār*. Secondly, she is said to have some functions in a temple and to receive on a regular basis food, rice, cloth or rights over the land from the temple. Thirdly, she is identified in the inscriptions as being a woman “of this temple” or servant or devotee “of the lord of such and such a place”.

In the Chōla period inscriptions, the term ‘*dēvarāḍiyāl*’ is used to denote temple women. The first part of the compound, *devan*, means ‘God’ or king and it is derived from the Sanskrit term ‘*Dēva*’. The second term ‘*āḍi*’ is a Tamil word meaning foot. The concept of devotee as being at God’s feet has deep roots in Tamil religious history and came to be particularly emphasized by the Vaishṇavaite Āḷvārs and the Śaiva Nāyaṇmārs, the Tamil poet-saints whose poems ‘deeply influenced the Hindu liturgy and theology during the Chōla period. In the 9th century *Tiruvāsakam* by the Śaiva Saint. Māṇikkavāśagar, there are hundreds of references to the feet of God, which the devotee is to touch, serve, adorn, worship and take refuges in and the most frequently used term for devotee is ‘*āḍiyār*’. *Āḍiyār* is more often applied to ‘devotees’ than to slaves - and where temple women are counted among both ‘*āḍiyār*’ meaning devotees and *āḍiyāṇ* meaning slaves.

Temple women also had the names of male deities, the most prominent of which is *Nakkaṇ*. The term ‘*Nakkaṇ*’ stands for *Nakkiṇi* i.e., Sanskrit word ‘*Nagna*’ similar to the expression *Ammaṇ* and *Akkaṇ*. All the 383 temple women (*taḷichchēri-peṇḍugaḷ*) whose names are preserved in the Tañjāvūr inscriptions<sup>1</sup> bear this name. The inscriptions of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ mention the name ‘*Nakkaṇ*’ for the first time. *Nakkaṇ* is the common term used both for men and women in the Chōla and Pāṇḍya inscriptions.

An inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in the 29th year of Rājarāja I (1014 A.D.) record the establishment of temple women all around the *tirumaḍai-viḷagan* (in the streets in and around the great Rājarājēśvara temple) at Tañjāvūr. In the same year allowances (*nivantam*) to the temple servants (*nivantakkāra*) was given by Sri Rājarājadēvar. The inscription speaks of the names of a total of 400 women, identifying them according to their hometowns or home temples and their place of residence in the streets around the Rājarājēśvara temple. Each share to be measured by Āḍavallār-marakkāl for one *vēli* of land which consisted of the produce of 100 *kalam* of paddy by these women has been assigned in support from the temple, although no particular duties are specified.

None of the *taḷichcheri peṇḍir* hails from far away Kāñchīpuram. All the fifty four of the town are mentioned in the inscription as the home towns. These women are in the core Chōḷa region of Tañjavur and Tiruchchirappalli districts. Forty six *taḷichēri peṇḍugal* came to the Tañjāvūr temple from Tiruvārūr. Thirty one from Paḷaiyārai, twenty one from Niyamam, eighteen were from four temples at Tañjāvūr, seventeen from Tiruviḍaimarudūr and sixteen from Āyirattali. Who came to Tañjai may be mentioned.

We can find the social background enjoyed by the women who had come and settled down at Tañjāvūr, through their names like Chōḷapurāsundari, Vīrachōḷi Sundarachōḷi, etc. Some temple names like Tirumākālam, Thirumūlatānam ḷāṅkōvil, etc. are interesting to note. Some of the names of chief goddesses like *Parami*, *Chatturi*, *Śivadēvi*, names of village goddesses like Mōḍi, Śāṅkhi, Alli, Piṭchi, Thuthi, etc., names of places like Araṅgam, Kāraikkāl, etc., attached to there names show that they have grown from the status of the village to a higher status in their cultural set up.

The privileges bestowed on Nakkaṅ may be due to the patronage received from the kings. The hierarchy of Tiruvārūr and other village temples can be adjudged from the relationship between taḷichēri women and Tiruvārūr. It may be inferred from this that the Nakkaṅ from Tiruvārūr had enjoyed the prime position. The reason behind this is the religious importance given to them. The priorities have been attributed to them depending upon the places of nativity. They were treated on par with the king. The places came to be called after their names with suffixes (*nallūr*, *chaturvēdimāṅgalam*, *purams*, *paṭṭiṅam*, etc. On the day, of their natal star daily pūjas were performed in the temples.

It has been interpreted some scholars that the temple women had connection with a type of authority called 'Priya Ara'. The exact meaning of the term is not known. However, it has been explained by some that they were chouri bearers who have been engaged in all directions.

In the Suchindram temple of Kanyakumari district, it is learnt that the temple women have been allotted with 32 *kuḍis* of which 1-16 were called the privileged *kuḍis*. They enjoyed higher status while the rest had enjoyed lower status. This classification has been made on the assignment of duties. Among the first category the first 12 *kuḍis* used to dance in front of the main duty. They have been paid annually 100 and 200 *kalam* of paddy. This shows that there was a categorization even among the dance professionals.

From one of the inscriptions found at Kuḷattūr dated in the reign period of Kulōtuṅga III (1208 A.D.), it is learnt that shares have been allotted for the dancing girls attached to the temple residing at different *kuḍis*. They were engaged in different duties according to the allotment of (*muṛai*) or *vattam*. These women were called with the suffix *Māṇikkam* found attached to their original names like Rājagambhīra- māṇikkam, Ammayālvī - māṇikkam, Villavati-māṇikkam, etc. The term *māṇikkam* stands to represent their status in the temple. The expression 'Pollādapillai' found in the names like Tirujñānasambanda-māṇikkam also called Pollādapillai and Chōlakōṅ-manikkam also called *Pollādapillai* denote that they have received this name on account of their profession. The literal meaning of *Pollādapillai* seems to be mischievous. This term occurs for the first time in the inscriptions of 12th century A.D.

From the above study, it may be said that the temple women have been categorized according to the types of services they rendered, the right and privileges they enjoyed and the patronage they received during the different reign periods. It is definite that the temple women enjoyed a privileged status in the society during the period from 9th to 13th century. Inscriptions of this period clearly establish their social background and economic status.

#### Notes and References:

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 66
2. *Ibid*
3. *Pudukkōttai Inscriptions*

## SĀMBAVAR VAḌAKARAI - AN EPIGRAPHICAL STUDY

N. Pankaja

Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai is an important village included in Āykuḍi firca in Tenkasi Taluk of Tirunelveli District. Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai is approachable by road from Āykuḍi. The Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai has become famous during the time of Teṅkāśi Pāṇḍyas (Later Pāṇḍyas). Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai has yielded seventeen inscriptions. It is to the north of the river Hanumān, a tributary of Chittāru.

**Historical importance:** In one of the inscriptions from Viśvanāthasvāmi temple at Teṅkāśi, it is stated that Arikēsari Parākrama established five *agrahāras* of which Vindai or Vindaṇūr is one. *Vindaṇūr* in olden times must have extended as far as the present Vindaṇūr-kōṭṭai at a distance of one kilometer from the village of Āykuḍi, a craggy hill in which there is a natural cave with five stone beds in it which is till today known as Pañchapāṇḍavappaḍukkai. The Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷapperumāl temple at Vindaṇūr is situated at a distance of one kilometer South-west of Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai and is surrounded by the ruins of a mud fort, the site of which came to be called Vindaṇūr-kōṭṭai.

**Etymology:** The etymology of the word Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai can be explained as Śāmbuvar + vaḍakarai. Śāmbuvar or Śambuvar means Śiva brāhmaṇas and Vaḍakarai denotes the northern bank of the Hanumān river.

### Surroundings:

Vindaṇūr and Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai are surrounded by places of historical importance as mentioned in one of the records. They are Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷappēreri, Pañchapāṇḍavappaḍukkai Porrai, Āykuḍi and Kaḍayam. Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai was an extension of Vindaṇūr in the north. Now the name Vindaṇūr has become extinct.

### Migration and settlement:

Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai was a *brahmanical* settlement established by Teṅkāśi Pāṇḍyas especially by Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya. In the inscription of Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya dated in his 2+ 32nd year (1422-1463 A.D.) prince Śrīvallabhadēva on the occasion of his birth star Uttara, granted 54 parts of lands,

house sites and gardens at Vindaṇūr, 48 to *chaturvēdi-bhaṭṭas*, 2 for *vēdavṛitti*, one for *savarṇa vṛitti* (writer of the document), 3 for the God Mūlasthānēśvara. It also recounts the establishment of this *agrahāra* by Parākrama Pāṇḍya (*annāḷvi*). Since the grants made to the *brāhmaṇas* were insufficient, additional grant was made in the 4th + 31st year by Parākrama Pāṇḍya. This gives us a clue that the *agrahāra* was extended further so as to accommodate all the *brāhmaṇas*.

**Renaming:** In the above inscription, Vindaṇūr is stated to have been included in Kuṟumarai-nāḍu. In a record dated in the 23rd opposite to the 2nd year of this king, Vindaṇūr has been renamed as Parākrama Pāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam after its founder. The lands given there as *dēvadāṇa* lie to the east of the lake called Vindaṇūr Periyakuḷam. It is interesting to note that Palāru is mentioned as a tributary of Chittāru.

**Genealogy:** Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Śrīvāllabhadēva are referred to in a record of this place dated 1474 A.D. as *māmaḍi*. Arikēsari Parākrama had four brothers and two sisters. Śrīvāllabhadēva *alias* Kulaśēkhara succeeded Parākrama seven years after the last date of the latter i.e., 1463 A.D. Another brother called Kulaśēkhara born in Punarvasu ruled from 1430 to 1470 A.D. Arikēsvara and Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍyas are the other two brothers who ruled respectively from 1437 to 1478 A.D. and 1423 to 1466 A.D. Arikēsari Parākrama is referred to as *anṇāḷvi* of Śrīvāllabhadēva in one of his records. Two records of Jaṭilavarmaṇ Parākrama *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍya who was born in Aviṭṭa star who is styled like Arikēsari Parākrama Poṇṇinperumāl and which describes that Arikēsari Parākrama and Śrīvāllabhadēva were the maternal uncles of this prince. Therefore, it may be said that Kulaśēkhara was the younger brother of Arikēsari Parākrama. Vīra Pāṇḍya(acc.1473 A.D.) though came to the throne after Kulaśēkhara born in Uttara was not his son but his sister's son. Another son of his sister is Jaṭilavarman Parākrama *alias* Śrīvāllabhadēva born in Tiruvādirai star(acc.1454 A.D.) whose 2 + 30th year records are available at Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai.

**Names of the brāhmaṇa donees:** We come to know the names of the families of the *brāhmaṇa* donees from the records of this temple. Interestingly many of these families are named after the places that can be identified with their namesake in the districts of Andhra Pradesh. For instance, Vaṅgipurattu Kumāra Bhaṭṭaṇ and Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭaṇ, Kurōvi Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭaṇ, Sēṭṭapōśi Kumāra Gōvinda Bhaṭṭaṇ, Uruppuṭṭūr Yajñanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭaṇ, Marugūr Śrī

Veṅkaṭanātha Bhaṭṭaṅ, etc., may be mentioned here. These *brāhmaṇa* donees seem to have migrated from Āndhra Pradesh and settled down in this part of the Teṅkāśi region. It may be recalled here that earlier during the reign of Rājendra Chōḷa I (1012-1044 A.D.) a number of *brāhmaṇas* bearing similar family names are known to have migrated from Āndhra region, to the Tanjore Kāvērī deltaic region. This is referred to in the biggest copper plate inscription called Karandai Plates of this king.

From one of the inscriptions of Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya in the Teṅkāśi temple, it is clear that Parākrama established five *agrahāras* for *brāhmaṇas* at five places commencing with Vindai. The other *agrahāras* may be Mēlai-agaram, Nayinār-agaram, Puliyūr-agaram and Agaram near V.K.Pudūr. In the 5th opposite the 2nd year the reign of Jaṭilavarmaṅ Poṅṅinperumāl Parākrama Pāṇḍya *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍya, the king is said to have granted a share to Sēṭṭapōśi Kumāra Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa and another share to Kurōvi Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa both belonging to Āpsthamba-sūtra in the *agrahāra* of Vindaṅūr *alias* Parākrama Pāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. In the inscription of king Śrīvallabha dated in his 2nd year opposite the 31st year is said to have granted two more additional shares to two *brāhmaṇas* namely Perumānallūr Śrī Kṛiṣṇa-bhaṭṭaṅ, Iruṅgaṇḍi Tiruvēnkaḍa-bhaṭṭaṅ and Muppuram Sarvadēva-bhaṭṭaṅ.

**Administration of temples:** In one of the records dated Śaka 1471 (1549 A.D.) at the instance of Aḷagaṅperumāl, son of Tirunelvēliperumāl, one Parākrama Pāṇḍya Toṇḍaimāṅ of Tōvālai was appointed as a hereditary accountant to the Gōvindarājaperumāl temple. In the Śaka year 1472 (1550 A.D.) the accountant Aḷagaṅ Chokkaṅ who is known as Sundaratōḷudaiyāṅ received  $\frac{3}{4}$ th of a *paṇam* and  $\frac{3}{4}$ th of *kōṭṭai* of paddy per month as *kāṇiyāṭchi*. Another inscription of this king dated Śaka 1474 (1552 A.D.) states that the king appointed one Sokkaṅ Kaṇḍiyadēvaṅ as an hereditary accountant of the temple of Mūlasthānēśvara at Vindaṅūr. This is evident from the fact that the order has been signed in the name of Ādichaṇḍēśvara, which is the procedure followed with regard to all transactions in the Śiva temples. Thereafter during the reign of Ativīrārāma Śrīvallabha, one Irākkuḍa-perumāl *alias* Kallapirāṅ Śivala-kāliṅgarāyaṅ and Sokkaṅ Kaṇḍiyadēvaṅ mentioned earlier enjoyed the position of accountant of the Śiva temple here. The order in the name of Ādichaṇḍēśvara was issued to the *sthāṇika* of the temple. This was to take effect from the Śaka year 1487, Krōdhana (1565 A.D.). It is interesting to note from the record that Aḷagaṅperumāl

Ativīrarāmaṅ *alias* Śrīvallabha is referred to as the son of Tirunelvēliperumāl Vīraveṅbāmālaiyāṅ Daṅmaperumāl Kulaśēkhara, who is credited with titles such as *Bhuvanēkavīra*, *Chandrakulapradīpa*, *Jayantimaṅgala-puravarādhiśvara*, *Kshēmāsuranārasimha*, *Kēraḷa-tamōdivākara*, *Chōḷa-sindhu-vaṭabānala*, *Dēvabrahma-sthāpanāchārya*, *Samgīta-sāhitya-sārvabhauma*, etc. These titles clearly establish the fact that Ativīrarāma enjoyed an imperial status, among the later Pāṇḍyas. He was not only an able administrator but a great patron of art and literature. After 40 years of rule i.e., 1610A.D. when Ativīrarāma died, he was succeeded by Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara, who is also called Śīvalamāraṅ. His 3rd year record corresponding with Śaka 1538 (1616A.D.) states that he made provision of 12 *paṇam* from the *kuravai-kāṇam* lands on the bank of Chittāru and lands from Māṅakkurichchi for maintaining the ghee lamp *kaṭṭalai* in the Tirumūlanāthar temple. Interestingly the later Pāṇḍya rule came to an end with the reign of his grandson named after him is evident from the latter's Kuttālam (Courtallam) record of Śaka 1670(1748A.D.). This may be the last year of this family until further discoveries come to light.

**Social Integration:** Interestingly, Tenkāsī inscription of Parākrama Pāṇḍya dated in the year opposite to the 20th, year the king after meritorious victories over several territories established five *agrahāras*. Among the territories won by the king, Vindaṅūr is one such thing. The commingling of the people from 18 provinces along with *pathiris* (chief architects) and *parikāras* (artisans) resulted in establishing unity and Śaiva faith in the *agrahāras*. The Brahmins were held in high esteem since they have been patronised by these people by enabling them to tend the sacred fire. After 11 years of his rule, again the people from various regions, *vellālas* of 18 provinces, 2 *patris* and *parikāras* assembled when they took up the task of building the Tenkāsī temple. This establishes the fact that the temple building activities and establishment of *agrahāras* was not a single man task but a group of people from various directions. In other words their joint efforts is further established by the grant of villages to these *brāhmaṇas*. Communal harmony is revealed through the gifts made by the king and his subjects as a whole and not individually like the procedure observed in other temples. Also it is interesting to find that there was a close affinity between the Puliyūr-agrahāra and Vindaṅūr-agrahāra both of which are creations of Arikēsari Parākrama in the sense that the lands of Vindaṅūr have been donated for the maintenance of *Rāmānujakūṭa* at Puliyūr-agrahāra. The tradition of maintaining



the *agrahāras* was confirmed by the sons and successors of Parākrama Pāṇḍya including Ativārarāma Pāṇḍya who is the donor of the above lands.

**Conclusion:** Thus the Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai inscriptions throw light on three aspects viz.,

1. The establishment of *agrahāra* pattern started by Parākrama from *Vindaṇūr* and its spread to *Nayiṇār-agaram* with the settlement of 66 *brāhmaṇa* families and 24 *brāhmaṇa* settlements at *Puliyūr-agrahāra*.
2. The uniformity with respect to social integration and
3. The king's tolerance towards all religions that is effectively seen from the establishment of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Jaina religious institutions.

**Notes and References:**

1. *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 219-20, 316 ff
2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917-18, part II, pp 157-162
3. N. Sethuraman, *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*

## OPTICAL CHARACTER RECOGNITION OF THE BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT\*

H.K. Anasuya Devi

### 1. Introduction:

The Optical Character Recognition system is semi-automated or automated software for recognizing characters. Years ago, when scanners first became products for consumers and small businesses, many were packaged with software purporting to be able to read paper documents. In its early phases, though, optical character recognition often interpreted the results of a scanned document into a garbled mess, thus making the process a waste of time and resources. Today's technology for character recognition, however, is for a wider variety of source images, is vastly improved and is more ready for prime time.

Most work in optical character recognition has been restricted to English. Our project involved the recognition of an ancient Indian script called Brāhmī. We shall take a step back to give a quick introduction to the script before proceeding further. The Brāhmī script represents the earliest post-Indus corpus of texts, and some of the earliest historical inscriptions found in India. More importantly, it is the ancestor of several scripts found in South, South-east, and East Asia. Brāhmī is a "syllabic alphabet", meaning that each sign can be either a simple consonant or a syllable with the consonant and the inherent vowel *a*.

There are three main contributions of our optical character recognition framework. We will introduce each of these ideas briefly and then describe them in detail in subsequent sections.

The first contribution of this paper is the determination of features unique to Brāhmī (and some other Indian scripts), which characterizes the script. The script, unlike most Roman scripts, has numerous curved characters emphasizing the need for radial based features (see figure 1). The presence/absence of hole-based features in the characters also proves to be an important one. We have dived deep into identifying and extracting various such features that uniquely identify a character in Brāhmī.

The second contribution of this paper is a novel method to integrate a word-level recognition aid to the recognition of characters. In our work, we have maintained

a dictionary of words, and run some rudimentary word guessing algorithms to gauge and suggest possible identifications for the character level recognition unit.

The third major contribution of the paper is in suggesting a cascading architecture to handle the multitude of combinations of *svaras* and *vyāñjanas* that occur in the script. In this paper, we propose a system to handle this scenario by training multiple classifiers, each to handle a reduced number of *aksharas* (characters). Our initial experiments show a significant reduction in categorization errors with this framework.

Section 2 introduces feature extraction and the details of the features we use. Section 3 deals with the overall architecture of the system and the suggested word-level recognition module. Section 4 talks about the necessity for a cascaded architecture and the framework that supports it.

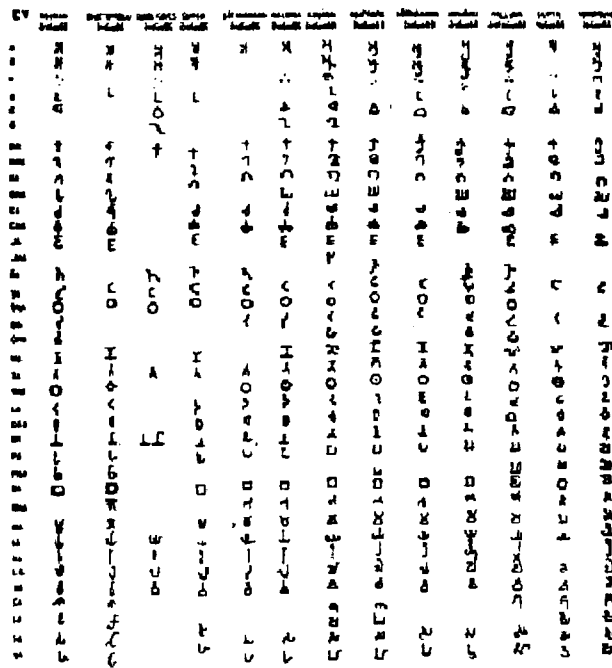


Figure (1): A sample of the Brahmi script

## 2. Features

Feature extraction is the process of finding a set of parameters which will define the underlying character as precisely and uniquely as possible. Essentially a good parameterization will need to have: *precision, uniqueness and continuity*. We have

concentrated mainly on offline optical character recognition with emphasis on geometrical features of the character-images.

To carry out the process of feature extraction we divide the image into many (smaller) vertical and horizontal segments and apply extraction algorithms on each of these blocks.

### 3. Architecture

The system has two main components:

1. The character-level recognition unit
2. The word-level recognition unit

The character-level recognition unit takes as input, a raw image. The image is then pre-processed (explained in detail in the following section) and fed to a unit which does segmentation. Segmentation is done on three levels:

1. Page layout segmentation, where the image is stripped to individual lines of writing.
2. Word level segmentation, where individual words are segmented out from the lines. The information thus extracted is saved so as to be used by the word-level recognition module, discussed in a later section
3. Character level recognition, where characters are extracted from words

The output of the segmentation module is the individual characters and some information about the word they belong to. The characters are then passed through a trained classifier which identifies the characters.

The classifier recognizes characters and associates it with a probability of recognition. Information about the word the character probably belongs to is also encoded in some way. This data is then sent to the word-level recognition unit. We suggest some algorithms based on ternary trees to aid recognition of the constituent letters given a dictionary of words.

The word-level recognition module can 'correct' recognition of the characters by the character-level module. In a later stage, a context-sensitive word level recognition module can aid the word level recognition module.

## Detailed Design

### Preprocessing

Preprocessing of the image involves the following algorithms.

#### *Noise Reduction*

Noise reduction can be done using the standard noise reduction filters depending on the type of noise present on the document. One of the noise reduction filters is proposed in [1].

#### *Thresholding*

This optical character recognition systems works on bi-level images. Since the input image is a grayscale it has to be converted to a bi-level image by choosing an optimal threshold. The selection of the optimal threshold was done by the Otsu's method of image thresholding which chooses the optimal threshold by maximizing the between-class variance with an exhaustive search [2].

#### *Thinning*

Thinning, also called the medial axis transform is the process of choosing the skeleton of an image. This process reduces the data storage while at the same time retaining topological features, to facilitate the extraction of morphological features from digitized patterns.

The algorithms can be classified into two classes: parallel and sequential. For our application we chose a novel sequential thinning algorithm. This algorithm also ensures that the figure is kept connected even after the thinning has been performed.

The existing thinning algorithms follow one of the two approaches. When a pixel is decided as a boundary pixel, it is either deleted directly from the image or flagged and not deleted until the entire image has been scanned. Deficiency of the first strategy involves lapse from medial axis and the second strategy leads to excess deletion. We used a novel algorithm combining the two strategies discussed in [3].

#### *Segmentation*

Segmentation is a technique of cutting the given document into smaller recognizable parts, effectively characters in our application. Segmentation involves the following steps.

## Page Layout segmentation.

This is the process of cutting all the lines in a given page.

## Word level and Character level segmentation.

Each horizontal strip obtained by the above procedure has to be cut into words and finally into individual characters. Since the skew of the characters are irregular, detection and correction of skew is not feasible.

## Feature Extraction

Our goal is to find a set of parameters (features) that define the shape of the underlying character as precisely and uniquely as possible. Another important feature of a parameterization method, for providing the highest degree of noise immunity and a good generalization capability of the resulting system, is the continuity of the representation. This means that similar objects must be mapped into similar representations. Thus, the three features that identify a good parameterization method are: *precision*, *uniqueness* and *continuity*.

To extract the features the image is divided into many segments vertically and horizontally and the feature extraction algorithms are done on each of these blocks.

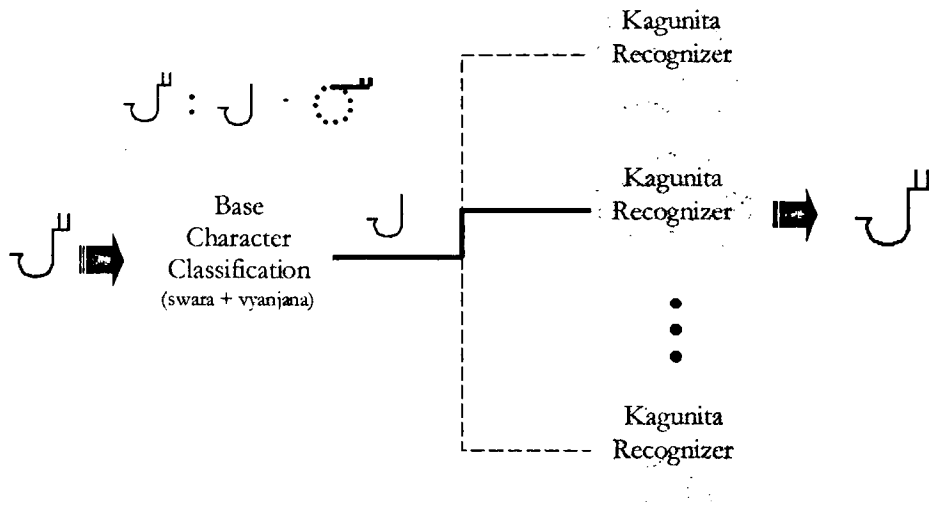


Figure (2): Cascaded Architecture to boost performance

## 4. Recognition

In order to increase the relevancy of the recognition of the Brāhmī characters we have come up with a novel method - this is based on the structure of

the Brāhmī characters themselves (and many other Indian language character sets). This method relies on the observation that Brāhmī is structured as follows: the character set can be broadly divided into 'svaras' (vowels) and 'vyañjanas' (consonants) and the *vyañjanas* along with a *svara* results in an 'akshara'\* (syllable).

$$vyañjana + svara = akshara$$

Now our method recognizes the fact that this relationship is completely and adequately reflected in the actual structure of the *aksharas* in the Brāhmī scripts (as is true for many other Indian languages). To put in another way: it is not a weak conjecture to state that while writing an 'akshara', the major portion of the *actual image* of the *akshara* is always the *vyañjana* with a minor portion being the 'mātra' representing the *svara* which results in the formation of the 'akshara'.

This observation can now be exploited to come up with more efficient OCRs for Brāhmī script. The way we take advantage of this simple fact is as follows: we build a generic classifier which is solely capable of recognizing the base *vyañjana* or *svara*. Based on the output of this 'base' classifier we then pipe the output to another 'recognizer' (not necessary for base *svaras*) which is trained for each *vyañjana* and its own variations only.

Consider for example, if we are to train a single neural network to recognize all variations of all characters in Brāhmī, the neural net has to take a given image of a character and correctly classify it as one of the 500 odd variations of all possible combinations of *svaras + aksharas*. Now with the method that we have proposed we will have a single *base classifier* which has to classify a given image as one of the 30 odd *base* characters (say 'ka'), the output is then cascaded to one of the 20 of array of recognizers which are trained exclusively for the all variations of that particular *vyañjana* (*ka, kā, ki, kī*) etc., *only*.

So in effect we have reduced the complexity involved in the task of recognizing the correct Brāhmī 'akshara' for our neural networks by a *huge* factor. This has the immediate benefit of resulting in better recognizable capabilities for the neural nets. In addition we took this idea of *cascaded neural nets* further by trying out a *combination* of neural nets for *each* of the two critical components i.e. base classifier and the character recognizer. This architecture of a base classifier + character recognizer lends itself to a lot of flavours in the sense that we can use a combination of various training algorithms for the neural nets themselves involved. For e.g. we used a Self Organizing Map for the base classifier and a cascaded combination of a Support Vector Machine and a simple Back Propagation Neural Network for the actual character recognizer.

## Conclusion

We have proposed a novel method for correctly recognizing Brāhmī characters as outlined. We believe that this method can be further used in aiding the correct and relevant recognition of other Indian character sets which have a similar structure as the Brāhmī characters.

## Notes and References:

1. Creation of data resources and design of an evaluation test bed for Devanagari script recognition. Surya Prakash Kompalli, Srirangaraj Setlur, Venugopal Govindaraju, Ramanaprasad Vemulapati. *13th International Workshop on Research Issues on Data Engineering: Multi-lingual Information Management*.
  2. Automatic Separation of Machine-Printed and Hand-Written Text Lines. U. Pal and B. B. Chaudhuri *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition. (ICDAR '99)*.
  3. "A feature-based scheme for the machine recognition of printed Devanagari script", S. Palit and B.B. Chaudhuri, *In Pattern Recognition, Image processing and Computer Vision*, Ed. P. P. Das and B. N. Chatterjee, Narosa Publishing House, 1995, pp.163-68.
- \* Associates are: Mr. Arun C. Murthy, Mr. Bipin Suresh and Mr. Deepak N. Koushuk. Senior Soft Engineers at Yahoo.



## MERCANTILE AND TRADE ACTIVITIES IN TAMIL NADU

S. Kayarkani

The Agrarian activities and the expansion of settlements in large measure have contributed for the establishment of trade centers. An increase in food production was one of the reasons for the rise of various mercantile guilds, because, the crop yield from different centres and from different places could find a market for sales. It is on account of the merchant bodies that existed during the reign periods of different rulers, Nagaram centres came into existence. Nagaram being a mercantile organisation evolved from local groups controlling the local trade. The traders assumed the terminology 'nagarattār' throughout the period of activities. Some of the centres received impetus, on account of the brisk activities of the nagarattār. The Nagaram became Mānagaram after sometime, and the 'Nagarattār' became Perumnagarattār, on account of the activities of the mercantile groups. The place names connected with the activities of these nagarattār have been coined with the name suffix 'nagaram for example Kāñchī Mānagaram', Madurai Mānagaram, Tañjāvūr Mānagaram, etc. The Mānagarams, as intepreted by some scholars as denoting a local nagaram, is not convincing. The places where such Nagarattār conducted mercantile activities gradually wielded the power, like the expansion of the activities of Pudukottai and Ramanathapuram districts, Kongunadu district as well as Salem and Coimbatore districts.

References to the names of the places connected with the particular community of a particular place, is not wanting. For example, places connected with Śāliyanagarattār and Kikkōlas on account of nagaram's, long distance trade, gained momentum along with urban development. Due to the increase in unprecedented degree of *nagaram* activities, a number of settlements and groups of merchants started colonising. A number of *nagaram* centres started excercising their powers. Such centres are Vālikaṇḍapuram, Sēngālipuram, Tirukkōyilūr, Salem, Pērūr in Coimbatore, Piranmalai, etc.

The *nagaram* centres have been developed especially in Chōla period, in the different trades like textiles, oils, cloth and seafaring activities, etc. The textile trade was very brisk in places like Chidambaram, Radhapuram in Tirunellveli district, Sēngālipuram in Tanjore district, Salem and Kāñchīpuram, while the

oil trade was known in centres like Kīlūr, Sanbai (Jambai in South Arcot district) Tiruppaiññili (in Tiruchi district) and Vēlankuḍi in Ramanathapuram district. From the records of the 11th century, we come to know that the Nagarams received impetus, from the nagarattār, for one such *nagaram* is Śaṅkarapāḍinagaram at Uyyakoṇḍāṅ Tirumalai and Vālikaṇḍapuram in Tiruchi district, Śrīpuram in Tanjore district, etc. The Vāṇiyanagaram is a bigger organisation consisting of merchants and the nagarattār coming from the 18 regions (Paḍiṇṇbūmi). These Vāṇiyanagarattār seems to have belong to a Vaiśya caste. In Andhra, they used to be called Teliki (oil merchants).

There are places connected with this guild eg., Chakkarappalli in Tanjore district (*iraṇḍu-karai-nāṭṭu vāṇiyanagarattār*) The Vāṇiyanagarattār were found settled on either banks of the river Kāvērī. The term *Sāttum* Parisaṭṭanagaram seems to have been coined, on the basis of the technique employed by the textile manufactures. The Śāliyanagarattār especially during the Medieval Pāṇḍya period were well known in the places like Chidambaram, Uttamachōlapuram in Chēra-nāḍu. The Śāliyanagarattār were patronised by the Chetṭis of this place. Mēltalai Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam was a centre on the bank of the river Kāvērī where these settlements found concentrated and engaged in the weaving activities.

Another important group is Vaḷaṅṅiyar which was also known after states like Karnataka and Andhra. It is a body which was found spread over various parts of the Tamil country. The Vaḷaṅṅiyar had their own Dharma and ethics. This is revealed through the inscriptions from Nellur and Tripurāntakam in Andhra Pradesh, Dambal in Dharwad district, Kāṭṭūr in Chengalpattu district in Tamilnadu, etc.

The *praśastis* of Vīra Baḷaṅṅadharama are recorded in the inscriptions of Andhra and other areas. All the other groups followed the code of the central chamber of commerce, in the Kannada country. The Nellore copper-plate inscriptions of 13th to 14th century speak of the *dharma* of Vīra-Baḷaṅṅas. The Tripurāntakam inscription of Śaka 1214 (1292 A.D.), the Chintapalle record of Śaka 1162 (1240 A.D.) and the inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI dated Śaka 1017 (1095 A.D.) from Dambal in Dharwad district refer to the Baḷaṅṅa class of merchants. This organised trade seem to have embraced, Jainism and Brahmanism. Its composite nature and activities are known through the records of the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas, etc. This group has a

representation in places like Tiruvēluikuḍi of Viḍēlviḍugu - chaturvēdimāṅalam, Vālikaṇḍapuram in Vēṅ-nāḍu, Vikramapallavapuram (Vempatti in Coimbatore district), Maḡilārppil in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam (Mylapore), Vijayanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdi maṅalam or Vaḷañjiyakkuṛichchi in Nāṭṭāruppōkku (Tirunelvēl district), Dēsiya Siriyapaṭṭāṇa (Aruppukkōṭṭai), etc.

The Vaḷañjiyars have been bestowed the Erivīrapaṭṭiṇam on the village Vikrama Pallavapuram. The place Kāṭṭūr seem to have been conferred with the status of this kind. The persons who have setteled down in these villages are warring personages is clear from their activities extended to the sphere of militant guilds.

There are number of mercantile corporations that are revealed through the inscriptions from various parts of Tamilnadu. From among them, mention may be made of Tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūruvar, Āyiratt-aiññūruvar, Paḍiṇēṇvishaiyattār, etc.

These guilds have taken active part in trade and commercial activities from 9th to 14th century A.D. They had linkages with organisations outside Tamilnadu in order to gain the patent mark and affiliation from the major guild like Ayyāvōḷe guild. The details of various guilds especially their scope and activities forms a study of its own.

## AN ODD PLATE OF CHALUKYA VISHṆUVARDDHANA

M.D. Sampath

This is an odd plate<sup>1</sup> of a set, the remaining plates of which are missing. This plate is oblong in shape measuring  $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{2}{2}''$  with writing on both the sides. It has a hole at the centre of the left margin  $5/8''$  in diameter. It weighs about  $7\frac{1}{4}$  *tōlas*.

This copper-plate belongs to the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. Written in Sanskrit language, the characters belong to the Telugu-Kannada type. Palaeographically the characters may be dated back to early 8th century A.D. *Sandhi* rules have been followed and the grammar has not been disregarded in this record, not to speak of any peculiarities.

The genealogy portion recounting the early Chalukya rulers prior to the time of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja is lost since the first plate is missing. It refers to Vishṇuvarddhana's father Maṅgi-Yuvarāja with the title [A\*] *bhīlakshitakārya-Vijayasiddhi*. *Vijayasiddhi* is known to have been the surname of Maṅgi as recorded in his records and in the copper-plate charters of his son Vishṇuvarddhana.

The present charter registers the tax-free grant of land with the sowing capacity of 12 *khaṇṭika* of *kōdrava* seed made by the king to the scholar Vṛiddha-śarma well versed in the three Vēdas, who was the son of Rēva-śarma and grandson of Śaṅkara-śarma belonging to Hārīti-gōtra and Āpastambha-sūtra and a native of Vaṅgiparu.

Both Maṅgi-Yuvarāja<sup>2</sup> and his son Vishṇuvarddhana are mentioned in the Māviṅṭhapalli<sup>3</sup> and Pasapubarru<sup>4</sup> grants of the latter king. The charters of Vishṇuvarddhana including the one under discussion are not dated. The *ājñapti* of the present charter is also not known to identify with his/her namesake mentioned elsewhere. In the case of Pasapubarru grant, his queen Vijaya-mahādēvī was the *ājñapti* of the grant.

The present charter does not furnish any historical information of real interest but for the mention of his father Maṅgi-Yuvarāja. Maṅgi, as is generally known, had two queens and had only one son through his first wife i.e., Jayasīmhavallabha

(II), who naturally succeeded him on the throne while by the other queen he had two sons Kokkili and Vishṇuvarddhana and a daughter Pṛithvīpōṛi. Maṅgi-Yuvarāja took the *Yuvarāja* title while he was associated with Jayasimha I as a heir-apparent. He is referred to in his charters as *Vijayasiddhi*. Maṅgi was a great scholar, who achieved success in controversies of metaphysical debates, discussions and other sciences. He achieved victories in a number of battles on account of the metaphysical mind and scholarship in Nyāya in defeating those involved in agnostic philosophy of the Buddhists. It is these qualities that fetched him with the title *Abhilakshitakārya Śrī Vijayasiddhi* as mentioned in the present charter.

It is known from his records that he could retain the Vēṅgī kingdom extended from Nāgavali in the north to Karma-rāshṭra or the river Pīnākinī in the south. The western boundary is covered by the Teliṅgāna area. He had extended his kingdom upto Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in the south. His Timmāpuram plates well establishes his gain over the Kaliṅga region when he wrested the Bhōgapura-vishaya from Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman II. This enables us to infer that Maṅgi-Yuvarāja was the contemporary of Eastern Gaṅga ruler of Kaliṅga.

Vishṇuvarddhana reigned for thirty-seven years i.e., from 719 to 757 A.D. This king had the title *Makaradhvaja*, *parama-brahmaṇya*, etc. In the *praśasti* portion of several charters, he has been credited with *birudas* like *Samastha bhuvanāśraya*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhṭāraka*, etc. Among his victories over the enemies, he claims to have won the Nishāda chief Prithivīvyāghrarāja, who was the lord of Rēnāṇḍu and Muṇḍaka country or Malva-nāḍu. The enmity between the Pallavas and Chalukya Vishṇuvarddhana arose on account of the attitude to occupy the southern part of Rēnāṇḍu and Mulkināḍu. From his copper plate charters it is learnt that the territories of East and West Godavari districts as well as Guntur district, were well under his jurisdiction. For instance, Attili-vishaya named after Attili in the West Godavari District, Prōlunāṇḍu-vishaya in East Godavari District, which were the grant areas are recorded in the Gannavaram and Īpūr plates of this king.

A record from Peruvali in Guntur Taluk and District mentions the grant village Reṇḍuballi as included in the Gudrahāra-vishaya. Another inscription from this place refers to Māvinthapalli of Vēṅgināṇḍu-vishaya. The Pernañjili plates

of this king contains the details of the grant village and the *vishaya* both of which can be identified in the area of West Godvari district. The town of Pṛithvīpallava-paṭṭaṇa, in which the village headman of the Reṇḍuvadala-paṭṭaṇa built a temple and endowed grants, has been identified with Pallapaṭṭa in the Repalle taluk of Guntur district. These grant villages clearly reveals the fact that the king concentrated in establishing a peaceful reign and patronized the religious migration of the people from north to south. This resulted in the establishment of the brahmanical settlement in the coastal and interior areas that came under his rule.

Also from a record of his son and successor Vijayāditya, which recounts the genealogy of his family from Maṅgi-yuvarāja, the recipients of the grant of *agrahāra* villages in Velanāṇḍu-vishaya belong to Āpastamba-sūtra and Hārīti-gōtra. The brāhmaṇa donee of this *gōtra* received the village Sakarambu. They are the residents of Kārambichēḍu in Bapatla Taluk of Guntur district. The donee of the Vishṇuvarddhana's grant under review and the donee of the Vijayāditya's record belong to one and the same *gōtra* and *sūtra*. It may be inferred from this that a group of *brāhmaṇas* from Guṇṭūr region received the patronage of the Eastern Chalukya rulers like Vishṇuvarddhana III (acc. 719 A.D.) and Vijayāditya (acc. 755 A.D.). Due to the consistent efforts of the kings of Vēṅgī till the time of Vishṇuvarddhana III or a little later, the brāhmaṇa donees were not only benefitted but also could travel freely through the length and breadth of the land atleast as far upto the northern borders of the Pallavas.<sup>5</sup> It was only the last days of Vishṇuvarddhana III that witnessed a set back from the hands of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

Among the boundaries of the gift lands mention may be made of the villages Nekkoṅṅa in the east, Ātukūri in the south, Boddhamāri in the west and Reṇḍuvaddi in the north. Of these places, the place Ātukūr may be identified with Ātmakūr in the Guntur Taluk and district while Vaṅgiparru, where from Śaṅkara-śarma, the donee's grandfather hails, may be identified with Vaṅgipuram in Bapatla Taluk in Guntur district. Other places could not be identified at present.

#### Text

1. °bhīlakshitakārya Vijayasiddhiḥ Śrī Maṅgi-yuvarājasya priya-tana-
2. yaḥ sv-āsīdhārān-amita-ripu-nṛpati Makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-maṇi-kira-

3. ṇa yugalaḥ sva-vikram-ākṛānta-mahīmaṇḍalaḥ vara-yuvati- jana Ma-
4. kara-dhvajaḥ paramabrahmaṇyō mātā-pitri-pād- ānudhyātaḥ Śrī Vi-
5. shṇuvardhana-mahārājaḥ sarvān-ittham-ājñāpayati viditam-astuvaḥ  
Vam-
6. gipaṛu va(vā)stavyāya Hārīti-gōtrāya Āpastambha- sūtrā-

**Second Plate : Second Side**

7. ya vēda-vidē-Śaṅkara-śarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Rēva-śarmmaṇaḥ putrā-
8. ya Vēda-vēdāṅga-pāragāya tri-vēda-vidē Vṛiddha- śarmmaṇē uttarāya-
9. ṇa ni[mi\*]ttē dvādaśa-kaṇṭika-kōdrava-bijāvāpa mātraṁ-kshētraṁ sarvva-
10. kara-parihāraṁ kṛitvā uñchasaḥitam dattam kshētrasya- sīmā-
11. ni - pūrvataḥ Nekkonṛa-sīmāvadhiḥ sīma(mā)-dakshīnataḥ Ātukūri-sīmā-
12. vadhiḥ sīma(mā) paśchimataḥ Boddamāri Reṇḍuvaddi uttarataḥ kariya-u<sup>7</sup>

**Notes and References:**

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1932-33, No. A7
2. B.V. Rao, *History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, pp. 116 ff.
3. *A.R.Ep.*, 1914-15, No. 43
4. *Ibid.*, 1914, No. 49
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. III, pp. 361 ff
6. The first plate is missing.
7. Plates containing further lines are lost.

## JESAR COPPER-PLATES OF MAITRAKA KING DHROVASĒNA II OF VALABHI

Bharati Shelat

An unpublished set of copper-plates of Maitraka king Dhruvasēna II of Valabhī was originally found from Jesar in Savarkundala taluka of Bhavnagar District in Saurashtra and was brought for reading through Paṅnyāsa Shri Pradyamna Vijayaaji of Jesar, to Dr. Harivallabh Bhayani and Shri Lakshmanbhai Bhojak (of L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad) and the author of this article both deciphered the plates.

The set consists of two *plates*, each measuring about 35.5 × 25.5 cms. The weight of both the plates is 4 kgs. and 950 grams. Of the two rings that held the plates together, one is simple, while the other right bears an impression of the royal seal. It contains the emblem of seated *Nandi* on the upper panel as well as the legend *Śrī Bhaṭārka* in Sanskrit Language and Brāhmī Script on the lower panel. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. The record consists of 45 lines - 23 on the first plate and 22 on the second plate.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets prevalent during the Maitraka period. The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except for three benedictive and imprecatory verses cited from *Vyāsa*, the record is in prose. It is composed in high elegant style of classical prose.

The orthographical peculiarities are as follows:

- (i) The conversion of म into *anusvāra* even at the end of a line of the verse, e.g. फलं (लम्) - L.42; (ii) the frequent doubling of consonants after *r* in conjunct consonants; e.g. मानाज्जवेपाज्जिता (L.2) मटाक्का (L.2) मार्ग (L.4), गाम्भिर्य (L.5), घर्मा (L.15), घुर्थ (L.16) पूर्वस्या (L.36) चन्द्राक्क (L.39) etc.; (iii) Use of *Jihvāmūliya*; eg., कलाप कान्ति (L.27), कलङ्क कुमुद (L.27) गर्वित कान्तो (s\*)पि (L.30), भुञ्जत कृषत कर्षयतः (L.40) etc. (iv) use of *Anunāsika* इ before letter श; e.g. राजवइशा (L.3), वइशात्रै (L.41) etc. (v) Non use of *Avagraha* indicating the elision of 'a' after ए and ओ e.g. पादपिलो [s \*] पि (L.17) विभागो [s \*] पि (L.23) etc. Non-use of दण्ड after half verse or a complete verse (Ls. 19, 20 and 21). (vi) The date of the record is given in ancient numerical system; e.g. (Valabhī) Saṁ. 300+10+1=311 [L.45].

There are a few scribal errors; मुपल्लवावां e.g. in place of मुपल्लवानां (L.9), दौपि in place of दौषि (L. 19), मानीव in place of मानिव (L.26), मानकं in place of मानकान् (L.32).

The record commences with the usual auspicious symbol of *Dakṣiṇāvartī Śaṅkha*.



The inscription records a grant of land and a step-well. The donor of this inscription was Dhruvasēna Bālāditya (Ls. 31-31) who belonged to the family of the Maitrakas (L.1). The eulogistic prose refers to the predecessors of the donor king. The genealogical account refers to *Sēnāpati Śrī Bhaṭārka*, the founder of the dynasty (Ls. 1-3), *Śrī-Guhasēna* (Ls. 4-7), *Śrī Dharasēna* and his son, *Śrī Śilāditya Dharmāditya* (Ls. 11-14), his younger brother *Śrī Kharagraha* (Ls. 16-21), his son *Śrī Dharasēna* (Ls. 22-25) and his younger brother *Śrī Dhruvasēna Bālāditya* (Ls. 26-32). Dhruvasēna was a *Parama Māhēśvara*. The king was proficient in *Rājya-tantra* and *Śālāturiyatantra* (Pāṇini's system of Grammar) as well (L. 30).

The object of the grant was to increase the religious merit and glory of the parents of the donor king (L. 32). The recipient of the grant was Brāhmaṇa *Pratirūpa*, son of Brāhmaṇa *Dēvaśarmā*. He had emigrated from Sthāṇēśvara and settled at Maṭasara. He belonged to the Kauśika gōtra and was a student of the Mādhyandina branch of the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* of *Yajurveda* (Ls. 32-33).

The grant states that a step-well and a *kshētra* (field), were donated to Brāhmaṇa *Pratirūpa*, within the limits of *Pepyāvaṭa grāma* situated in the *Osātivoṭa-sthalī* (L.34). The field measured one hundred *Pādāvartas*. The *Vāpī* with a circumference of 12 *Pādāvartas* was called *Vaṭa vāpī*, which belonged to relative *Kuhuṭa* and was within the western limits of *Pepyāvaṭa*. The four boundaries of the *vāpī* donated were as follows :

- i) In the east of *Pepyāvaṭa-grāma*, there was a *vāpī* of *Mahattara Miśraṇaka*.
- ii) In the south a *vāpī* of the owner *Guhadāsa*.
- iii) In the west *Yamala vāpī* and
- iv) In the north was a road leading to *Vivīta-grāma* (Ls. 34-35).

Four boundaries of the field of relative *Nāgahṛida*, measuring one hundred *Pādāvartas* given towards the south of *Pepyāvaṭa* were:

- i) In the east a field of *Dinnaka's ownership*,
- ii) In the south was river *Mandasātī*,
- iii) In the west a field of *Drāṅgika Miśraṇaka* and
- iv) In the north a village named *Rāmasthalī* (LS. 36-37). The privileges and exemptions granted along with the piece of land are the same as the ones that are mentioned in the other copper-plate grants of the Maitraka

kingdom. The appeal made to future kings for sanctioning and maintaining this grant is corroborated by the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses edited by Vyāsa., viz. १. बहुभिर्वसुधा मुक्ता....., . २। यानीह दारिद्र्यभया ..... and ३. षष्टि वर्षसहरत्रापि .... (Ls. 42-44).

The *dūtaka* (executor) of the royal edict was *Sāmanta Śīlāditya* (L. 44). The charter was composed by Divirapati Vatrabhaṭṭi. He also officiated as the *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita* (Minister of peace and war).

The grant is dated in the (Valabhi) year 311, Śrāvaṇa, śu.di. 3(L. 45). It ends with the autograph of the king (L. 45).

King Dhruvasēna who issued the grant is king Dhruvasēna II *Bālāditya* of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī. Eleven copper-plate grants of this king including the present grant dated from (Valabhī) year 310- 323 have been found so far. The present grant dated year 311, Śrāvaṇa, śu.di. 3 seems to have been issued ten months and 13 days later than the earliest grant which was issued in (Valabhī) year 310, Āśvina, ba.di. 5.

The genealogy of the Maitraka kings given in these plates is as follows:

Sēnāpati Śrī Bhaṭārka

(c. A.D. 470-480)

Dharasēna I (480-500 A.D.)	Drōṇasiṃha (500-520 A.D.)	Dhruvasēna I (520-550 A.D.)	Dharapaṭṭa (550-555 A.D.)
			Guhasēna (555-570 A.D.)
			Dharasēna II (570-595 A.D.)
		Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya (595-612 A.D.)	Kharagraha I (615-620 A.D.)
		Dharasēna III (617-625 A.D.)	Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya (625-643 A.D.)

The copper-plate grants of Dhruvasēna II found upto now are as follows:

No.	Find spot	Date
1.	Botad (Dist. Bhavnagar Saurashtra <sup>1</sup> )	(Valabhī) Sam. 310 , Āśvina, ba.di.5
2.	Jesar (Dist., Bhavnagar, Saurashtra)	(Valabhī) Sam.311, Śrāvaṇa, śu.di.3
3.	————— <sup>2</sup>	(Valabhī) Sam.312, Jyēṣṭha, śu.di. 7
4.	————— <sup>3</sup>	(Valabhī) Sam.313, Jyēṣṭha, śu.di. 10
5.	Goras <sup>4</sup> (Mahuva, Dist. Bhavnagar) Saurashtra.	(Valabhī) Sam.313, Śrāvaṇa, śu.di.14
6.	Vala <sup>5</sup> (Dist. Bhavnagar)	(Valabhī) Sam. 319
7.	Bhamodra Mota <sup>6</sup> (Dist., Bhavnagar)	(Valabhī) Sam. 326, Āshāḍha, śu.
8.	Nogava <sup>7</sup> (Ratlam, M.P.)	(Valabhī) Sam. 320, Bhādrapada, ba.di. 5
9.	Nogava <sup>8</sup> (Ratlam, M.P.)	(Valabhī) Sam. 321, Chaitra, ba.di. 3
10.	Malia <sup>9</sup> (Dist. Amreli, Saurashtra)	(Valabhī) Sam. 323
11.	Vala <sup>10</sup> (Dist. Bhavnagar, Saurashtra) -	

Among the eleven copper-plate grants of king Dhruvasēna II, six have been found from Bhavnagar District, one from Amrēli, two from Ratlam and the findspots of the two grants are not known. The grants dated in the years 310 to 319 were executed by *Sāmanta Śīlāditya*, while those issued in year 320-321 were executed by prince *Kharagraha*, both being remote cousins of the king. It is only in Malila grant dated year 323 that prince Dharasēna obviously the son and successor of king Dhruvasēna II, figures as the *Dūtaka*. The *Dūtaka Śīlāditya* of the copper-plate inscription dated (Valabhī) Sam. 313 has been mentioned as *Rājaputra*, whereas in the rest of the grants of Dhruvasēna II, dated from Va. Sam. 310-319, the *Dūtaka Śīlāditya* is mentioned as *Sāmanta*. Thus he would have become *Sāmanta* and not remained as *Rājaputra* from Va. Sam. 310, the mention of *Rājaputra Śīlāditya* instead of *Sāmanta Śīlāditya* in the grant of Dhruvasēna II, dated Va. Sam 313, being the error of the draftsman. The charters dated (Valabhī) Sam. 310 to 313 were composed by *Divirapati Vatrabhatti*, whereas the charters dated (Valabhī) Sam.

320-323 were composed by *Skandabhata*, the son of *Vatrabhatti*. The name of the donee, Brāhmaṇa *Pratirūpa* and the name of the place *Sthāṇeśvara* from where his family came appear for the first time in this royal grant. Of the localities mentioned in the grant, *Osātivoṭa-Sthali* (*Sthali* is smaller than a *tālukā*) may be identified with modern *Vanshiyali* in Savarkundala taluka of Bhavanagar District, which is about 32 kms. away in the north-west of the village. The references enable us to identify *Pepyāvaṭa*, the village where the land was donated, with modern *Piyava* in Savarkundala taluka, Bhavanagar, District. *Piyava* is about 130 Kms. away from Jesar, the findspot of the grant. The village *Vivīta* in the north may be identified with modern *Vanda*, though linguistically *Vanda* can to be derived from *Vivīta*. *Vanda* is about 20 kms. away in the north from *Piyava* and there is an ancient *tīmbā* called *Haṭhīla Tīmbā* where the remains of an ancient nagar, a step-well and a small shrine of goddess *Vārāhī* can be found even today. The river name *Mandasātī* in the south of *Pepyāvaṭa* has not been identified. *Rāmasthalī* in the north of *Pepyāvaṭa* seems to be modern *Ramagadh*. The village *Maṭasara*, where the donee resided may be identified with *Maḍhaḍā* in Savarkundala Taluka, which lies about 80-85 kms. away from *Piyava*. In the Jesar Copper-plates of Śīlāditya III, dated (Valabhi) Saṁ. 357 (676 A.D.), we come across a reference to a step-well in the Maḍasara village in the Maḍasara-Sthali donated to Brāhmaṇa *Dikshita*, the son of Brāhmaṇa Sāmbadatta of *Kausika* gotra and belonging to Vājasanēya branch of *yajurvēda*.<sup>11</sup>

The stepwell named *Yamala* is also mentioned in the Dhank plates of Śīlāditya I, dated (Valabhī) Saṁ. 290 (A.D. 609)<sup>12</sup>.

The donated land mentioned in the grant is given in terms of *Pādāvartas*. One *Pādāvarta* equals to one foot long one foot broad piece of land. According to this measurement, a field of one hundred *Pādāvartas* equals to  $100 \times 100 = 10,000$  square feet of land.<sup>13</sup>

The date of the grant Saṁ, 311, Śrāvaṇa, śu.di. 3 belongs to the *Valabhī* era (the epoch being the year 318 A.D., Kārttika, ba.di.1) and corresponds to 18 July, 630 A.D.<sup>14</sup> At that time the current year of the *Vikrama* era was 686.

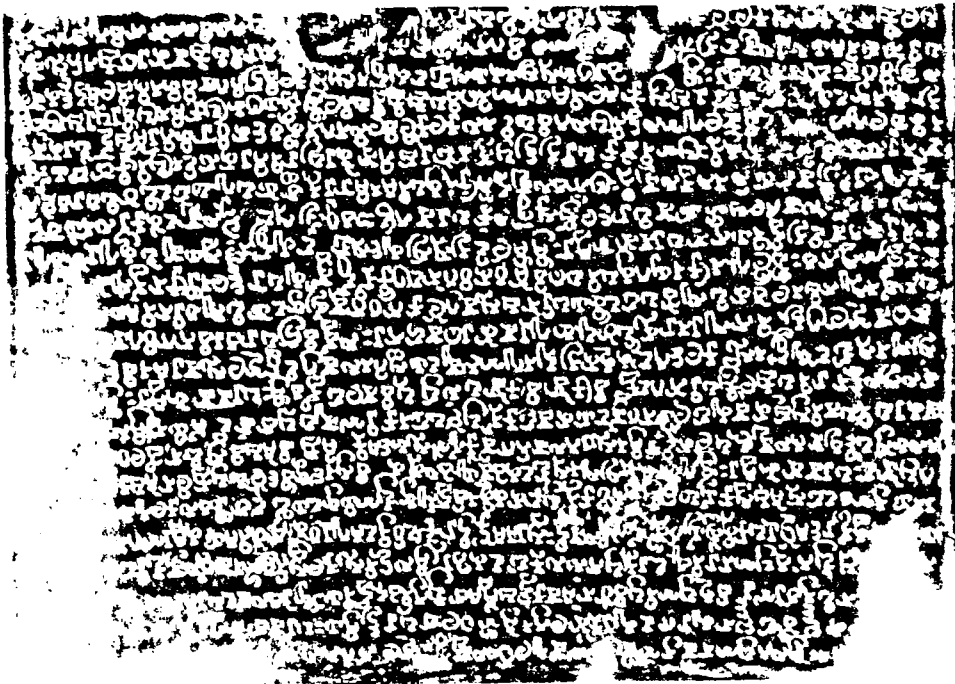


Plate I

*Jesar Copper - Plates of Maitraka King Dhruvasēna II*

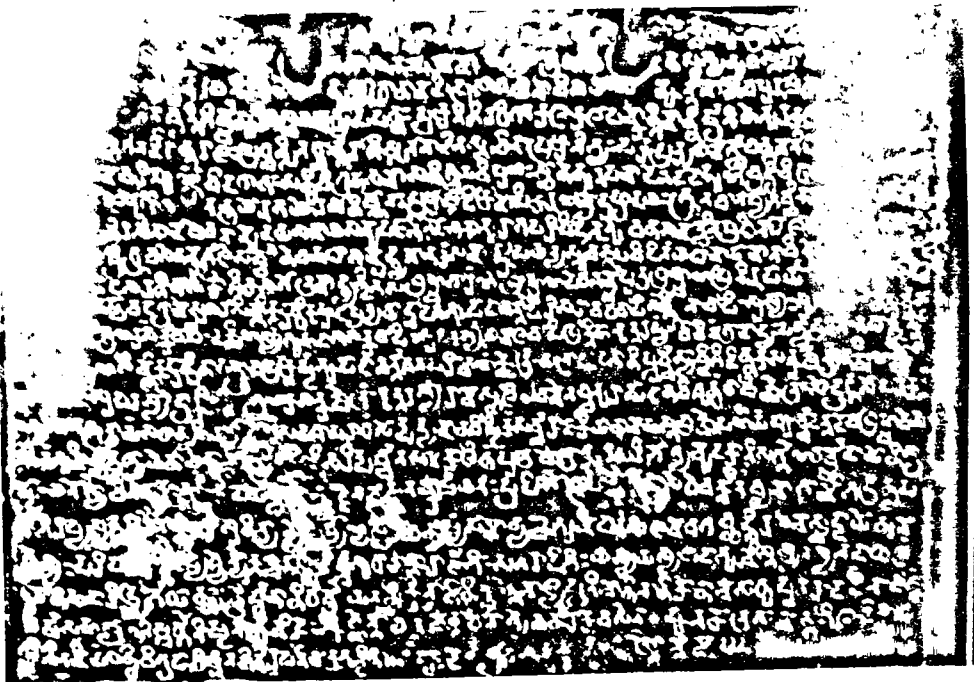
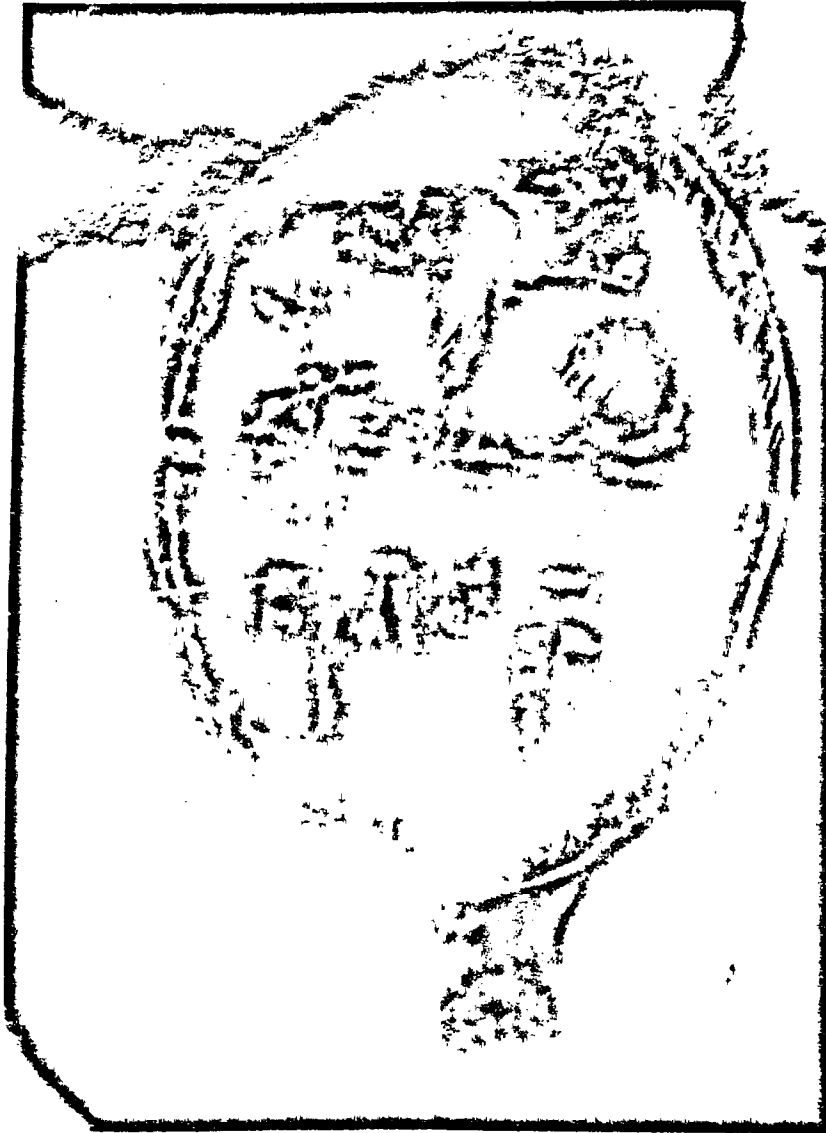


Plate I

*Jesar Copper - Plates of Maitraka King Dhruvasēna II*



*Royal Seal*

## Notes and References:

1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 12 ff.; G.V.Acharya *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat (HIG)* in Gujarati, Part I, Bombay, 1933, no. 63
2. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS)*, N.S., Vol. I, p. 69; *HIG.*, Part I, no. 64.
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10. *JBBRAS.*, N.S. Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.; *HIG.*, part I, no. 98
11. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 114 ff.
12. *Ind.Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 238 f.; *HIG.*, part I, no. 57
13. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (CII.)*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1888, p. 170, f.n. 4
14. L.D.Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, Table X, p. 222 (Reprint, Delhi, 2982).

## Plate I

## Text

१. स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्ध-  
प्रतापात्प्रतापोप[-\*]
२. नतदानमानार्ज्वोपार्ज्वितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावासरारज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटावर्कादव्यवच्छिन्नरा-  
जवङ्गान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषशैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटा-  
स्फोटनप्रकाशित [-\*]
४. सत्त्वनिकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नभासंसक्तपादनखरशिमसङ्घतित्सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गस्सम्यक्पि-रपालन-  
प्रजाहृद[-\*]
५. यरञ्जान्वात्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्यबुद्धिसम्पद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोद्विधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयान-  
शरणागताभयप्रदानप[-\*]
६. रतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयपादचारीव सकलभुवन-  
मण्डलाभो[-\*]
७. गप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः  
प्रणयिश[-\*]
८. तसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितस्सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिल-  
धनुर्धरः प्रथ[-\*]
९. मनरपतिसमतिस्मृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवावां(नां) दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्व-  
त्योरेकाधि[-\*]
१०. वासस्य सङ्घतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्त  
[-\*]
११. स्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलस्समरशतविजयशोभास  
[-\*]
१२. नाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्सपीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्वविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिर [-\*]
१३. पि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषस्समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयो[5\*]पि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपर  
[-\*]
१४. मकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्मानुपरो[धो\*]ज्वलतरीकृतात्थं सुख-  
सम्पदुपसे[-\*]
१५. वानिरूढो धर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव  
गुरु[-\*]
१६. णात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्बह  
[-\*]



१७. न्वेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्त्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्पद्दशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छयोपगूढपादपीठो[५\*]पि परावज्ञाभि  
[-\*]
१८. मानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृ  
[-\*]
१९. तनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसङ्घटितप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्नीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्दोषै(षै)-  
रनामृष्टा[-\*]
२०. त्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्र(ग्रा)हप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषः प्रथम  
[-\*]
२१. सङ्ख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातस्सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमन  
[-\*]
२२. परितोषातिशयसत्त्वसम्पदा त्यागौदार्येण च विगतानुसन्धाना श(स)माहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गस्सम्यगु  
[-\*]
२३. पलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगह्वरविभागो[५\*]पि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषणस्समर  
[-\*]

## Plate II

२४. [शतजयपताका]हरणप्रत्यलोद[ग्र]बाहुदण्डविध्वन्सितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदप्पोदयः स्वधनुः प्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशला  
[-\*]
२५. [भिमानसकल]नृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातस्सच्चरि[-\*]
२६. तार्तिशायितसकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां मूर्त्तिमानी(नि)व पुरुषकारः परिवृद्धगु  
[-\*]
२७. णानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलाप <sup>५</sup>कान्तिमान्निर्वृतिहेतुरकलङ्क<sup>३</sup>  
<sup>५</sup>कुमुदनाथः
२८. प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालः प्रध्वन्सितध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितस्सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथ-  
प्रयोजना[-\*]
२९. नुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णं विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थाने[५\*]नुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधान-  
जनितसंस्कारस्सा[-\*]
३०. धूनां राज्यशालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमो[५\*]पि करुणमृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्वित<sup>३</sup> <sup>५</sup>कान्तो  
[५\*]पि प्रशमी स्थिर[-\*]
३१. सौहृदय्यो[५\*]पि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथितबाला-  
दित्यद्वितीयनामा पर[-\*]

३२. ममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेन कुशली सर्वानेव यथा सम्बध्यमानकं(कान्) समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय स्था[णे?]
३३. श्वरविनिर्गतमटसरनिवासी कौशिकसगोत्रमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणदेवशर्मपुत्रब्राह्मणप्रतिरूपाय सुराष्ट्रेष्वोसातिवो[-\*]
३४. टस्थल्यन्तर्गतपेप्यावट ग्रामे अपर सीम्नि कुटुम्बिकुहुटप्रत्यया द्वादशभूपादावर्तपरिसरा वटवापी संज्ञिता वापी अस्यां आघाटनानि पूर्वस्या[-\*]
३५. न्दिशि महत्तरमिश्रणकसत्कवापी दक्षिणस्यां गुहदाससत्क वापी अपरस्यां यमल वापी प्रतीह उत्तरस्यां विवीतं ग्रामाद्यः पन्था व्रजति [1\*]तस्मिन्ने[-\*]
३६. व ग्रामे दक्षिणसीम्नि कुटुम्बिनागहृदप्रकृष्टं भूपादावर्तशतपरिमाणं क्षेत्रं यत्राघाटनानि पूर्वस्यान्दिशि दिन्नकसत्कक्षेत्रं दक्षिणस्यां[म]-
३७. न्दसातीनदी अपरस्यां द्राङ्गिकमिश्रणकसत्क क्षेत्रं उत्तरस्यां रामस्थली एवमेतच्चतुराघाटनविशुद्धवापीक्षेत्रं सोद्रङ्गं सोपरिकरं
३८. सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टी(ष्टि)कं सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्वदत्तदेवब्रह्मदेय[-\*]
३९. रहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राकर्काण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयपरिभोग्यमुदकातिसर्गणे धर्मदायो निसु[-\*]
४०. श्लो - यतो[5\*]स्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जत<sup>५</sup> कृषत<sup>५</sup> कर्षयतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वासेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृप[-\*]
४१. तिभिरप्यस्मद्वड्शजैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्विरयमस्मदायोनुम [-\*]
४२. न्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च[-\*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)[11\*]
४३. यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि [1\*] निर्मान्त(निर्भुक्त)माल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु [:\*] पुनराददीत [11\*] षष्टिं
४४. वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतको[5\*]त्र सामन्त शीलादित्यः [1\*]
४५. लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृत दिविरपति वत्रभट्टिना ॥ सं. ३००[+] १०[+]१ श्रावण शु ३ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

## NEW COPPER PLATE GRANT OF ŚILĀHĀRAS

S. G. Dhopate

A set of three copper plates was discovered by Sri Shiragaonkar, a social worker of Ratnagiri District (Maharashtra), in a house of Sri G.R. Jadhav at a village Panhale Durga (Dapoli Taluka, Ratnagiri District). Sri Shiragaonkar handed over it to me to decipher and study. I am thankful to him for presenting its finding here in this conference.

Surprisingly after my preliminary study I realized that it is very interesting because (1) for the first time a copper plate grant of Mallikārjuna, the 17th ruler of North Koṅkaṇa Śilāhāra dynasty and (2) for the first time (and probably the only one) recording a donation given by North Koṅkaṇa Śilāhāras to Tīrthānkara Arihanta of Jaina sect.

These plates were found without the usual Garuḍa seal of Śilāhāra dynasty. However there are holes on the first and second plates but the third plate has no such provision. It is somewhat difficult to explain this abnormality.

The first two verses are the usual invocation to Lord Śiva which is found in almost all the Śilāhāra copper plate grants.

Verses 3 to 30 eulogies of fifteen rulers from Kapardi to Aparājita. These are commonly found in several other grants. Apart from these there are five more verses which describes the following kings.

- (1) two for prince Vikramāditya (the donor of Panhale grant) and
- (2) Three for the donor Mahāmaṇḍalēśwara Mallikārjuna of the present grant.

Two verses 31 and 32 narrate Vikramāditya's valour in war, generosity and dutifulness towards his subjects and so on. The verse 33, 34 and 35 are the eulogies of donor Mallikārjuna. All these verses contain full of figures of speech. However, they are not strictly according to their meter rules. Then other lines are devoted to his titles and designations.

Two separate donations are recorded in this copper plate grant, they are:

- 1) At a place Chitpuluna sometime in auspicious Chāturmas (the holy

rainy season), Sāmanta Nāyaka vowed for the rituals namely i) Chandra: practicing increase in food intake from one mouthful to fifteen in bright moon half and decreasing from fifteen to one in dark moon half of (most probably Bhadrapada) month of Lunar Calendar. ii) Pulinda: Meditation for prevention from sorrows and iii) Jogati: Yōga performance to attain the merits for other pious world but they were interrupted. As taken atonement for expiation Ladoro Hatiya and Supai Śrēshṭhi donated to the Arihanta temple privately owned and managed by Supai-śrēshṭhi, Śōmati-śrēshṭhi and Kēśava Śrēshṭhi i) pearl studded idol, ii) ring of blue diamond iii) three gold ring iv) various types of garments (for resident teachers and pupils) v) pure ornaments and coins. This atonement took place in Māgha month of Lunar Calendar, although the incident took place earlier in the rainy season.

- 2 On the same day another donation of a village Bhalavasi situated in Vadhavaravati-vishaya of Śaptasata-dēśa by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mallikārjunadēva to the same Arhantadēva to perpetuate worship and perform Abhishēka (a bath with fragrant holy water), and nurture and feed all the dependents and also the pet animals of the temple complex.

The boundaries of the village are at the east: a mountain with a complex of trees Aanui and Kinjal (*Terminalia Paniculata*), Aaina (*Terminalia Tomentosa*) trees and a rivulet with sufficient water that south Paschima river at west and Sadoo river originated on a mountain and joining the Paschima river is at the north. These boundaries do not point out at the exact location of the donated Bhalavasi village. This village is nearer to present Rajapur city, a Taluk head quarters in Ratnagiri district. Local people say that there is a mountain called Neminath and also some scattered ruins of a Jain temple at the outskirts of Rajapur city. The name Aanui is not found in dictionary, it might have changed to Arjuna (*Terminalia Arjuna*) as even today these trees are abundantly found in Rajapur area along with Aaina and Kinjala.

The place from where the donation, was given is not mentioned. The prominent *Śrēshṭhis* as the persons from business community were also present. This place appears to be Rājapura. During the visit of the King to this place were Present Prime Minister Sūryadēva, minister Santugi, minister of revenue, law and stores departments, royal priest, queen and the prince and minor officers, invited local

dignitaries such as governors, chief district officers, town chief, village chiefs, citizens, village population, business community, and all people of three classes. The chief beneficiary Rudradhēndēva accepted the donation.

The collection of taxes excluding the our previously committed to brahmins and otherwise along with common permitted fines including those unmarried girl victims of sex atrocity are included. Residents were informed to pay taxes and fines in time.

The debates of date corresponds to 3rd February 1151 A.D., but the day was Saturday. It is interesting to note that year 1073 denotes the 12th ruling year of Mallikārjuna from the capital Panhale-durga of Saptaśatadāśa, the surrounding area of Vadhavaravati-vishaya. This is a new country like Koṅkaṇa - 1400, Karad - 4000, Kuṇḍi -3000 etc. This country was ruled by Vikramāditya for a short period. He was followed by Mallikārjuna in the Śaka year 1061 (the date of Panhale grant). This information is made known by the statement Varsha Dvayāyēyam. It was predicted by Mirashi in Panhale grant the bifurcation of Aparāditya's kingdom into two parts one ruled by Harapāladēva from Ṭhāne and another by Vikramāditya from Panhale Durga this is confirmed by this grant. Further he was succeeded by Mallikārjuna. This grant specifically mentions Vikramāditya as the sixteenth ruler of North Koṅkaṇa.

Harapāla's known Śaka dates are i) Ranjali inscr. 1070, ii) Agashi inscr. 1072, iii) Mahul inscr. 1075 and iv) British Museum 1076. Similarly Mallikārjuna's known dates are i) present grant 1073, ii) Chipluna inscr. 1078 and iii) Vasai inscrip. 1083. This shows simultaneous rule of the two rulers from 1061 to 1076. This is the new data we get from the present copper plate. Further the Vasai inscription indicates that after 1076 Mallikārjuna must have succeeded to North Koṅkaṇa as Vasai falls in North Koṅkaṇa. We do not have direct proof to conclude Haripāla's relation with Aparāditya from the data available from this plate.

The relation of Mallikārjuna with Aparāditya seems to be uncertain. This grant mentions that he is the younger brother of crown prince Vikramāditya of Panhale grant.<sup>1</sup> The present grant has confirmed Vikramāditya as the son of Aparāditya. Kēśidēva<sup>2</sup> is also known to us as son of Aparāditya. Thus Kēśidēva, Vikramāditya, Mallikārjuna (and also Haripāla) are uterine brothers and are the sons of Aparājita.

The chartar was composed by Joupai, the son of Khëttāleprabhu and written by Naravanadusēna (?), son of Ēkadṛiṣṭi.

### Notes and References:

1. V V Mirashi, Panhale Grant of Vikramāditya. *C.I.I.*, Vol.
2. S G Dhopate, New Copper Plate Grant of Śilahāras. *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. XXVI, p 133.

### First Plate

### TEXT

- १) ॐ लभते सर्व्व कार्येषु पूजायां गणनायकः विघ्नस्य वः पायादपायाद् गणनायकः ॥११॥ स क पातु शिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति जाह्न-
- २) वी । सुमेरुशिखरोद्गच्छदच्छ चंद्रकलोपमा ॥२॥ जीमूतकेतु तनयो नियतं दयालुर्जीमूत वाहनं इति त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धः । देहं निजं तृणमिवाक-
- ३) लयन्परार्थं यो रक्षति स्म गरुडात्खलु शंखचूडां ॥३॥ तस्यान्वये निखिल भूपति मौलिलम्न रत्नकु- तिच्छुरित निर्मल पादपीठः । श्रीसाहसां-
- ४) क इव साहसिक कपर्दी सीलार वंशतिलको नृपति बभूव ॥४॥ (१) तस्मात् अभुच्च तनयः पुल- शक्तिनामा सीमासमः सुरगुरुदित राज-
- ५) नीतेः निर्जित्य संगरमुखेखिल वैरिवर्गं निष्कटकं जगति राज्यमकारि येन ॥५॥ (२) ततश्च सम- भूत्सुतो नृपशिरोविभूषामणिः ॥शि-
- ६) तः शुण्डिरिवापरोपि करिणां कपर्दी लघुः । यदीय सहसा जगत्यतिशयेन शुक्लीकृते न भाति सुर- वारणौ न च शशी न दुग्धांबुधिः ॥६॥ (३)
- ७) तस्मादप्यभवत् विभूति पदवीप्राप्तं पवित्रीकृता । शेषक्ष्मा बलयो महिपतिलकः श्री वप्पुवन्नः सुतः । संग्रामांगण रंगिणासिलतयालुने-
- ८) क दन्ता हठात् । सर्व्व येन विनायका विरचिता विद्वेषिणां दन्तिनः ॥७॥ (४) तस्माज्ज्यायते तस्य तनयो रज्जिनकर इवानंदिता शेषलेकः । श्लाघ्यः श्री
- ९) झंझराजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्त निःशेष दोषः । शंभोर्यो द्वादशापि व्यरचयदचिरात्कीर्तनानि स्वना- म्ना सोपानान्नीवमन्ये । प्रणत
- १०) तनुभूता स्वर्गमार्गोक्तानां ॥८॥ (५) भ्राता तस्य ततस्तनुज्ज्वल यशोराशिः प्रकाशीकृता शेष- क्ष्मा बलयो बली बलवतो श्री योगि-
- ११) राजोभवत् । चापाकर्षण कर्मणि प्रबलतां यस्मिन्गते भूपतौ । भीष्म द्रोण पृथासुत प्रभृतयश्चित्रे चमत्कारिताः ॥९॥ (६) तस्मात् विस्मय-
- १२) कारिहारि घरित प्रख्यात कीर्तिसुतः । श्रीमान्वज्जडदेव भूपतिरभूत् भुषकचूडामणिः ॥ दोर्दण्डैक बलस्य यस्य सहसा संग्रामरंगां-
- १३) गणे । राजश्री स्वयमेत्य वक्षसि रतिं चक्रे मुरारेरिवः ॥१०॥ जयन्त इव वृत्रारे पुरारेरिव षण्मुखः (७) ततः श्रीमानभूत्सुतः सच्चरित्र अ-
- १४) ऽपराजितः ॥११॥ कर्णस्त्यागेन यः साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः । प्रतापात् दीप्ति मार्तंडः कालदण्ड- श्च यो द्विषां ॥१२॥ शरणागत सामन्तापरे-
- १५) ऽपि जगति रक्षिता येन । स जयति यथार्थनामा शरणागत वज्रपंजरोदेकः ॥१३॥ अपि च । येन स्वागतमागताय विहितं गोमाय नानाविधं । ये -
- १६) नैक्यप्रदेव नाम्निस्वलितं राज्यं स्थिरं कारितं ॥ भित्त्वंषाम्मुण्म्बुवक्षिति भृतां दत्तं च येनाभयं । तस्य श्री बिरुदंकराय भूपतेरन्यतुकि-

- १७) मा वर्ष्मते ॥१४॥ (८) तस्माद्भुवज्जडदेवनाम्ना भूपाल मस्तकमणिस्तनयो नयज्ञः । अद्यापि यस्य चरितानि जन्ना समस्ता रोमांच कं-
- १८) चुक्ति गात्रलता स्तुवन्ति ॥१५॥ (९) तद्भ्राताऽथ ततोरिकेसरी नृपो जातः सतां संमतो । दृप्ता - राति कुलाचलैक दलने दम्भोलिलीलां दधत् ॥ गत्वा
- १९) शैशव एव सैन्यसहितो दृष्ट्वा च सोमेश्वरं । तस्याग्रे पितुराज्ञया जगदलं यः कीलयित्वा गतः ॥१६॥ (१०) तद्भ्रातृजो वज्जडदेवसुनुः श्रीछित्तरा -
- २०) जो नृपति बभूव । शिलारवंश शिशुनापि येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ॥१७॥ लम्बालकानि कुच - कुंभ तदोपकंठ प्रभ्रष्टहार लतिकानि निरंजना-
- २१) नि उत्खात तीक्ष्ण करवाल विदारितस्य योन्तपुराणि परिपंथिजनस्य चक्रे ॥१८॥ हतारि नारि नेत्रां - भ्रसेक संवर्धनादिव । ब्रह्म्याण्ड मंड-
- २२) पं यस्य कीर्तिवलयधि रोहति ॥१९॥ दृप्तारातिषु कोपकाल दहनः सौभाग्य नारायणो । वारस्वीषु ततो ऽनुज समभवन्नागार्जुन क्षमा -
- २३) पतिः ॥ (११) यस्या मानुषमूर्जितं भुजबलं दुरानिशम्यदिवषां । निद्रातीव रणांगणव्यसनिनि दोर्दण्ड कंडूलता ॥२०॥ यदसम शि -
- २४) बिरान्तमत्तगंधेभदानं । प्रसरदनिलः शुष्यत् स्रोतसो दिग्गजेन्द्राः । अस्मिन्नगरनिदाहोद्दाम दिग्ब्यापि तेज प्रस -
- २५) र दनिल शुष्क लोचनानोन्मिषंति ॥२१॥ (१२) तदनुतदनुजन्मा मूर्तिमान्मीनकेतु । क्षतरिपु विभवो - भून्मुमुणि -

Second Plate A

- १) क्षोणिपालः । विधुत धनुषि यस्मिन्वाजिनांते राजनांते बलिभिरपि बलियान्वार्षिकं चापमौञ्जत ॥२२॥ (१३) तस्मिन्नूपे प्रवर
- २) कीर्ति शरीर भाजि नागार्जुनस्य तनयो नय चक्रवेदी । भूपो भवत्परमधर्म विशुद्ध देह सिलार गोत्र नृपरत्नमन्तपाल ॥२३॥ जाते
- ३) द्यादवैरिब्यसनिनि समये यैरवाप्तप्रभा वैर्ध्वस्ताः । देवदिवजाति प्रमथन विधिना कोकण क्षोणिरिषा । तानुग्रान्पापराशिन्मु -
- ४) नयवरन भटान्खड्ग धारान्बुरासैः । क्षिप्तोच्चैश्चंद्रबिम्बे स्वकुलपतिसखो यः स्वकीर्तिलिलेख ॥२४॥ (१४) श्रीनागार्जुनराज सुनु तनयो
- ५) जित्वा ततो भूतलं । स श्रीमानपराजिताख्य नृपति पातुं समर्थाभवत् ॥ पुण्यैरुत्तसितं श्रिया विकसितं तेजोभिरुजुभितं । शौर्य -
- ६) णोदितं गुणगणैर्यस्मिन्मही शासति ॥२५॥ शत्रून्संहरति श्रियं वितनते शौर्यम् समालंबते । धत्ते धैर्यभरं परं रणरसाभ्यासे पु -
- ७) रो धावति ॥ स्तोत्रं वा बहवो न वेत्ति तुरगारुढो दृढं प्रौढीमान् सहायं तदपेक्षते न सततं कस्यापि तत्रांतरे ॥२६॥ आसित्कोप्य सुरो जग -
- ८) द्दलयितुं छित्तुं कनामाधक । तत्तस्यैव मिलितं सामंतं चक्रं ततः ध्वस्ते धर्मधने गतेषु क्लिष्टे विभासंश्रये शीर्णे -
- ९) जीर्णपुर प्रजापरिजने नष्टे च राष्ट्रोदये ॥२७॥ एकश्चैक तुरंगमश्च भुजयोर्द्वंद्वम् च खड्गाश्च तं । प्राग्दृष्ट्वा कठिने रणे सरभसं तत्सन्मुखं
- १०) धावितः ॥२८॥ चिंतामणौ प्रणयिनां नयनाभिरामे कामे कुरंगकदृशां जगदेकवीरे निर्वैरिवीरम - वनीदलयं त्रिघाय धर्मण पालयति तत्र
- ११) नरैर्दधन्ने ॥२९॥ धैर्योदार्य विवेक विक्रमनिधिर्गाभिर्भयमुद्रांबुधि । सौभाग्येकनिधिः प्रसिद्धविलसत् संगीत विद्यावधिः ॥ शस्त्रेभ्यः सगुणा -
- १२) र्जुनप्रतिनिधिर्जीयात्सहस्रं समा । स श्रीमानपरादितो निरवधिः शौर्येण संपन्नितिः ॥३०॥ (१५)

तेन तस्य ततो दधत्प्रतिदिनं लक्ष्मीमसा -

१३) धारणी । लीलोल्लालित भूधरोवल द्युती गोमण्डलानंद कृत् ॥ सं चक्र क्षयिजारि विग्रहकत्वं सत्यानुरक्तः सदा । देवः कृष्ण इवा -

१४) परोनरपति श्रीविक्रमर्को भवत् ॥३१॥ लब्धं जन्म कुलेमले गुरुकुलात्विद्याः समासादिताः । साते कर्मभिरिष्टानिष्ट विदुषां निष्पावि -

१५) ता नृ त्रयः ॥ प्राप्तं येन शिलार सद्मनि पदं सर्वातिशायि द्रुतं । तेनाकारिनिराकुला कलियुगे - प्यस्मिन्प्रजाः सुप्रजाः ॥३२॥ यस्य च दानं व -

१६) र गजकरेणु निकरेषु च द्विजादिनां । भक्तिः स्वामिनि गुरुषु च निरतिशया शूलपाणौ च (१६) तस्मिन् नृपे नृ दशराजपुरं प्रयाते । भूमण्डलं सकल -

१७) मेव च कंपमानं ॥ तस्यानुजे प्रबल राज्यधुरंधरेपि । सोमेश्वरे भुवनमिच्छति चानुमेता ॥३३॥ श्रीमन्मल्लिकार्जुन नृपः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां । जा -

१८) तस्मरः स्मरति यं वनितासमूह । तं नृ प्रसिद्ध विभवं भुवनैक मल्लं । प्रमैव राज्यकमला स्व - पतिन्वकार ॥३४॥ सामन्त चक्र सकलावनि

१९) देव गुरो धर्ममात्रा स्वजन सचिवैश्चसमं मिलित्वा । राज्येभिषिक्त इति निश्चित दैवयोगाद्वैरीभ- कुम्भदलनेतृगराज च यः ॥३५॥ स्वत्तेज

२०) यश्चाभ्युदयश्च अक्षेह समधिगताशेष पंचमहाशब्द । महासामंताधिपति । तगरपुर परमेश्वरा श्रीशि लाहार नरेंद्र । जिमुतवाहना-

२१) न्वय प्रसूत । सुवर्णगुरुड ध्वजाभिमानमहोदधि । मलयगलगण्ड । गण्डवंगर । अंबरमेघडम्बर । दीप्ती - मार्तण्ड । पश्चिमसमुद्राधिपति ।

२२) मलय विभाकर चक्रवर्ति । सौभाग्यनारायण । हरिचरणपारायण । सरस्वतिकंठाभरण । वसुमति स्वयंवरु । परनारी सहोदरु ।

२३) शौचगांगेया । अभिनव कामदेउ । कामिनीजन हृदयाण्डु । मण्डलीक त्रिनेतृ । वीर पुरंदरु । निःशंक लंकेश्वरु । रिपुमुण्डमालालंकृत ।

२४) अरिराय पतन केदारु । वीर चरित भारतावतारु । भीमपराक्रमु । कलिकालराम । एकांगमुद्रक त्रेतारु । कोपकालानल । दंग वि-

२५) षय दहन प्रज्वलेन धूमकेतु । परराष्ट्र दहन दावानलु । शनिवार सिद्धि । शंखचूड वरत्वथ प्रसादु । प्रतिपन्न कर्णावतारु । सत्येन

## Second Plate B

१) च युधिष्ठिरु । त्यागेन नागार्जुनु । त्यागजगझं प झंपडाचार्य । राय पितामह । शरणागत वज्रपंजरे त्यादि । समस्त नृपावली समलंकृत । विरा -

२) जित महामंडलेश्वराधिपति श्रीमन्मल्लिकार्जुनदेव कल्याण विजयराज्ये एतत् प्रसादात्समस्त मंडल राज्य चिन्ताभार समुद्वहति

३) महाप्रधान श्री सुर्यदेव पंडित । अमात्य श्रीसांतुगि नायक । श्रीत्रिविक्रम नायक । श्रीकरण भाण्डा- गारे वेतामप्रभुसुत परभराउ

४) सेन खेत्तालेप्रभु प्रभृति श्रीकरण भाण्डागारे सत्ये तस्मिन्काले प्रवर्तमाने सति सर्वान्नेव स्वसबध्य- मानकान्मन्त्रि पुरो -

५) हित युवराज राज्ञी सेनापति समाहित वा अन्यं सति चात्र यो नियोगिकान् राष्ट्रपति युक्त नियुक्तग्रामपुरुष नगर हंज -

६) मन जनप्रदाश्च समनुबोधयति अस्तु यः संविदितं यथा । श्रीमद्राज्ञः वर्ष द्व य क य के का यां (द्वयकेकायां) सामंत नायकस्य यतिं करणात्वं श्री चित्पुलु -

७) ण चार्तुमास स्थवित्र दुषु चाँदु . पुलिंद . जोगति आपादितानंतर एतत् अवसरे लादु हटिय वणिक सुपै सेदी कृत दर्वा पनि -



- ८)का सर्वभावेन मौक्तिकलिङ्ग । नीलमुद्रिका । त्रिकमुद्रिका । पल्लवत्रय रंगित आंव चीवरे । रंगित थाव चीवरे । मडियोग्य
- ९)द्रव्य । प्रभृति सर्वभाव कृतानंतर श्रीमल्लिकार्जुन देवैः प्रसाद बुध्वैष संतोषेण सुपै श्रेष्ठि । सुमति श्रेष्ठि केशव श्रे -
- १०)ष्टि आदिनां सक्त बसदिका श्री अर्हन्तदेव पूजा सत्कारार्थम् धर्म प्राणिनाम् भोजनार्थम् च जले - गन्ध आयस्नानप्रति वधवरवटी विषय -
- ११)मध्येवर्तिनः भालवसि ग्राम शासने प्रदत्तः। चला विभृति क्षणभंगि यौवनं । कृतांत दन्तांतरवर्ति जीवितं॥ तथाप्यवज्ञा परलोक सा -
- १२)धने अहो नृणां विस्मयकारि चेष्टितं ॥३६॥ अन्तर्त्लीन जरा राक्षसी प्रारब्धग्रासं यौवनं । स्वर्ग - वासान्तरकपात समिष्ट समगम वि -
- १३) योगदुःखं । व्याधि जरा मरण साधारणकं शरीरकं। क्षण दृष्ट नष्ट विद्यात् विलसित जल बुदबुद तृणाग्र जल लव समस्थिता
- १४)शाश्वतं जीवितं । निःसर्गं चपलकपि चरितं चंचला लक्ष्मी । अन्तःशून्य कदलीसार निःसंसार संसारः । इति यौवनेषु सं -
- १५) गम सरीर जीवस्त्रियः । संसारात् दृढतर विरक्ति बुध्या संग्रह्य इच्छं च दानफलं । कृत त्रेता द्वापारेषु तपोत्यर्थम् प्रसंस्यते । मुन -
- १६) योत्र तु प्रशंशति दानमेकं कलौयुगे ॥३७॥ न तथा सफला विद्या न तथा सफलं तपं । यथात्र मुनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कलौयुगे ॥३८॥ तत्रापि
- १७) आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहा । भूमिदोस्मिन्कुले जातः स नः संतार इष्यति॥४०॥ अन्य च
- १८)कृतं दत्तं वा दायितं वाऽपि सहज मत्वा कृतं । इति मुनिमंत्रान्यवधार्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च अयो- न्विता संजात शकनृपकालातीत
- १९)सम्बत्सर शतेषुदशसु त्रिणिसप्तत्याधिकेषु प्रजापति सम्बत्सरे यत्रांकतोपि संवतु १०७३ अहोयां माघ सुध पक्ष पौर्णिम्या तिथौ
- २०)अंकतः माघ सुध १५ रविदिने श्रीमद्राजनाड हटिय सुपैश्रेष्ठि सर्वभाव कृत कारणेन निर्वाहार्थम् भालवसीग्राम प्रदत्तः
- २१)एतत् समये श्रीमद्राजपार्श्वे विज्ञप्तिका कृतनंतर अनुज्ञया संजात स्वकिय वसतिकयां श्री अर्हत देव पूजा सत्कारार्थम् ध -
- २२) र्म प्राणिनां भोजनार्थम् च परिविषये सप्तशत देशमध्ये जलेगंध आयस्नानप्रति वधवरवटी विषये मध्येवर्तिन भाल -
- २३)वसिग्राम क्षेत्रसिद्धाय कण्ठेह दिवदग्नि स्तुत्यादि समस्त राजभोग समन्वितं नमस्यवृत्या सार्था - शक्तिसहित सजाद्र
- २४) एत रुद्रधेनदेव पूजा सत्कारार्थम् धर्मप्राणिनां भोजन निर्वाहार्थम् च ग्राम सार्थाशक्ति सहित धर्म उदके प्र -

### Third Plate

- १)दत्ताः । अस्य ग्रामस्याघाटनानि पुर्वतः डोंगरस्योपरि आणुइ किंजल वृक्ष संकूल । आइण पाणिबहु पवही प्रविष्ट ए -
- २)तत्पवही दक्षिणतः । भवयात् पवही पश्चिम नदी प्रविष्ट एतद् नदी पश्चिम सीमा । उत्तरतः डोंगर धारा विर्निगत
- ३)पवही सादु नदी पश्चिम नदी प्रविष्ट एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः । सोद्रंग सपरिकर सवृक्षमाला - कुल ससीमापर्यन्ता सतुणकाष्टोदकोये -
- ४)त कुमारीसाहस प्रपुत्रिकादि प्रधान दोषबाह्य भिद्राय सहिरण्यदाय सभोगभाग सप ——— (?)

सनदी सप्रतिकारुक ———(?)

५) वृत्तिकाकार स्थलजलचरसमेत नमस्यवृत्त्या सार्थाशक्तिसह समर्पितः । आचन्द्रान्क्षितेपर्यन्तादित्य समुद्र समकालिन अन्य कोपि भोग्य अ -

६) नावेद्य अनादेश्य अपरिपंधान केनचित् सुपैसेठी कृत गृहितान दण्ड प्रतिवधपडिनरि आगार देउ-पालसक्त वृत्ति स-

७) वृक्षमालाकुल ससीमापर्यन्त पूर्वमर्जदेय वसतिकायां श्रीरहंतदेवायं प्रदत्ताः । ग्रामीय लोकैदेणक पडणक प्रतिपालनीयः ।

८) यतः उत्क्रमेत मुनिभिः । यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थं यशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्त प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराद -

९) दीतः ॥४०॥ बहुभिर्वसुधाभुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥४१॥ सद्योदानं निरायासं सयासं दीर्घपालनं ।

१०) अत एव रिषयः प्राहुर्दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥४२॥ दत्त्वा भूमीम् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् । भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ सामान्योयं धर्मसेतु नृ-

११) पाणां । स्वे स्वे काले पालनीयो भवदिभः ॥४३॥ भूतयो जलतरंग भंगाम जीवित च सरददु संनिभ ॥ नित्यावत्य परकीर्ति लोपने मा कृषि -

१२) ध्वमिह वामनः ॥४४॥ यस्येवमप्यभ्यर्थितो लोभादेवदाय ब्रह्मदाय धर्मदाय लोपनभाचरिष्यति । स पंचभिर्महा पात -

१३) कैः उपपातकैः च सकलैः गृहिता रौरव महारौरव तामिस्रा अतितामिस्रासितान पुलवन कुंभी - पाकादि चिरमनुभविष्यति ।

१४) यथा चोक्तं महारिषि व्यासेन । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वापि यो हरेत्वसुंधरां । षष्टिं वर्षं सहास्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृषिः ॥४५॥ षष्टि वर्षं सह -

१५) स्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥४६॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतो यासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णहयोभिजायं -

१६) ते ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः ॥४७॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण आरामाणां शतेन च । गवां कोटी प्रदानेन भूमी - हर्ता न शुध्यति ॥४८॥ गामेकं सुवर्णमेकं च भू -

१७) मेरुप्यकमंगुलं । हरन्त्क्रमाप्नोति यावदाहृतं संप्लवं ॥४९॥ इति महारिषि वचनानि अवधार्य समस्तागामि भट्ट नृपति निरवधि

१८) पालन धर्मफल लाभ एव करणियः । भूपतिदायकोभवत श्रीमद्राजानुमत्या समस्त प्रधानानां संवि दितं यथा । लादु श्रेष्ठि -

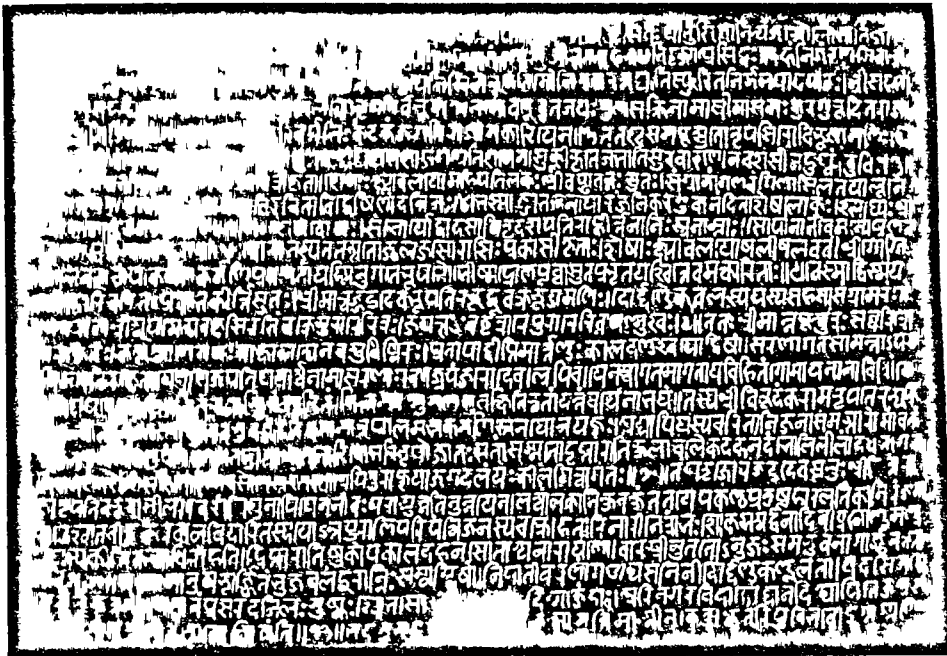
१९) सुपट । श्रेष्ठि सुमति । केशव श्रेष्ठिनां एकमति भूत्वा स्वकीय बसतिका श्रीरहंत देवाय जले - गंध अयस्नानप्रति वधवस्वटी वि -

२०) षयमध्ये भालवासि ग्राम क्षेत्रसिध्दायसहित शासने प्रदत्तः । श्रीमद्राजादि सात श्रीकरण भाण्डा-गारे नियुक्तं खेतालेप्रभु जोउपै

२१) सुताये लिखितं । यदत्रोनाक्षरमाधिकाक्षरं वा तत्सर्वम् प्रमाणमिति । मंगलं महाश्रीः । भरपुष्टि-रवगृधा एकदृष्टि सुत नरवन (?) -

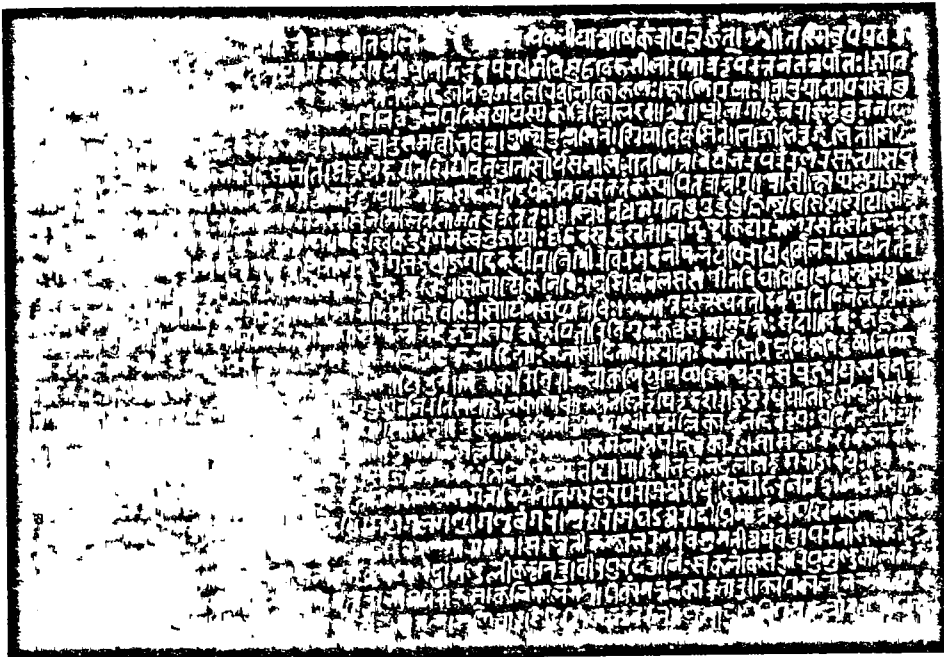
२२) दुसेन लिखितं शास्त्रं यत्नेन प्रतिपालयतु ॥

Plate I



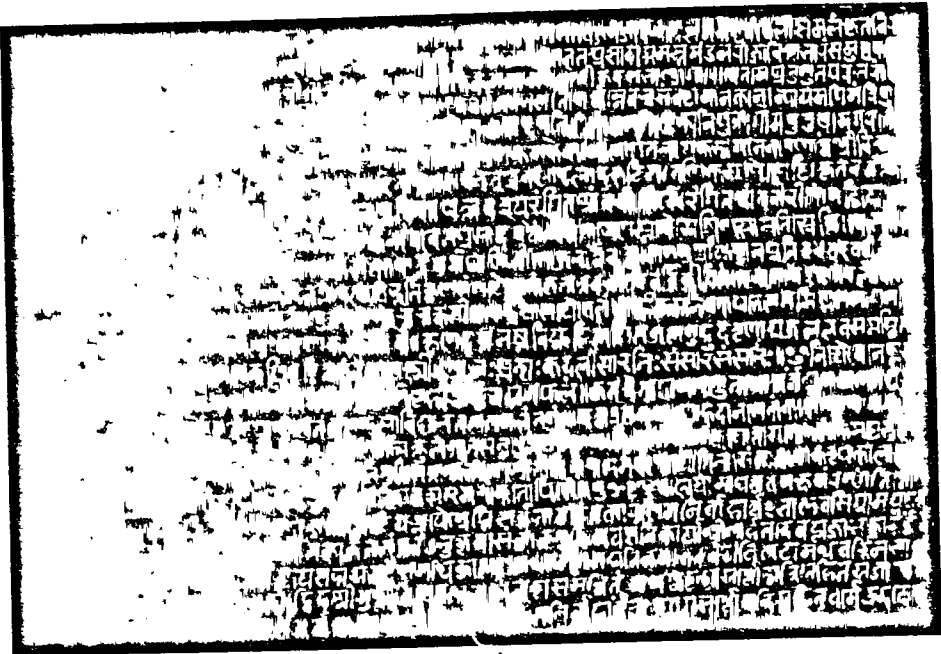
Copper - Plate Grant of Śilāhāra Dhruvasēna

II Plate: First Side



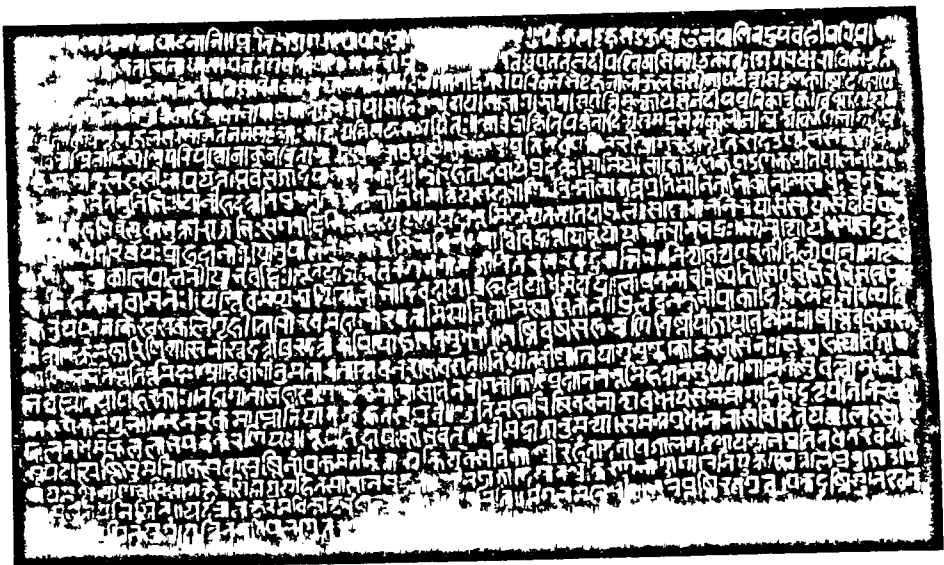
Copper - Plate Grant of Śilāhāra Dhruvasēna

II Plate: Second Side



Copper - Plate Grant of Silāhāra Dhruvasēna

III Plate



Copper - Plate Grant of Silāhāra Dhruvasēna