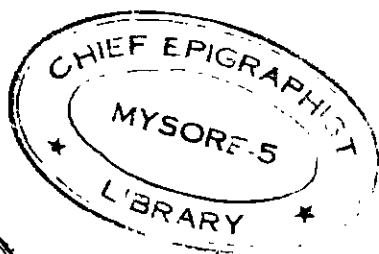


# STUDIES IN INDIAN PLACE NAMES

(*Bhāratīya Sthalanāma Patrikā*)

VOLUME TWO

EDITED BY  
MADHAV N. KATTI  
C. R. SRINIVASAN



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## PRESIDENT'S NOTE

The Place Names Society of India is highly grateful to the Mythic Society, Bangalore, for agreeing to host its Second All India Conference. The Mythic Society is a pioneer cultural and research organisation which promotes the study of Archaeology, Art, History, Mythology and other allied subjects, particularly relating to Karnataka. It is but meet that it has been evincing keen interest in the activities of the Place Names Society.

The Place Names Society is, no doubt, as the name suggests, concerned with the study of the toponymy of India. But it does not exclude the names of persons, gods, trees, animals, etc. as they have a bearing on place names. Place names are considered as the footnotes and fossils of history, the neglect of which renders the study of Anthropology, Ethnology, Linguistics, Archaeology and other kindred subjects incomplete. It is a matter of supreme satisfaction that the scholars in their respective fields have begun to realise the importance and the usefulness of this subject. The success of the First Annual Conference at Udupi is the surest evidence of this awareness. The steady increase in the membership of the Society is also very encouraging.

Since the last conference, the Society has prepared two projects, one for the entire country and the other for the State of Karnataka. They are, in the first instance, in the nature of a sample survey, which, when properly conducted, will pave the way for the National Dictionary of Place Names. It is earnestly hoped that the Government of India and the State Governments will come in a big way to finance the above projects which envisage the inauguration of new fields of study and research. Besides, it is hoped that this new field generates a large number of employment opportunities.

One of the primary activities of the Society is the publication of the journal *Studies in Indian Place Names*. It was intended to include all the papers read at the previous conference in this issue of the Journal. In addition to these papers a large number

of articles was received for inclusion in this volume. Space and time are a challenge to human ability. In spite of our efforts, it has not been possible to include all the articles in this issue. The Society is considering the ways and means of publishing the remaining scholarly articles in a book form.

It is my duty now to thank the members of the Mythic Society, particularly Prof. K. T. Pandurangi, Prof. M. K. L. N. Sastri and Dr. Suryanath Kamath, for their earnest interest and honest endeavour in organising the Conference. I am indebted to all the office-bearers and members of the Place Names Society of India for their unstinted support in moulding its destiny. I would be failing in my duty if I did not remember with gratitude the valuable services rendered to the Society by the Vice-President, Dr. G. S. Gai, the Secretaries, Drs. S. S. Ramachandra Murthy and B. N. Chandraiah, the Editors, Shri Madhav N. Katti and Dr. C. R. Srinivasan, and the Treasurer, Dr. Malati Tandon. My special thanks are due to Shri M. Sathynarayana Rao and his brothers of the Geetha Book House and Shri G. H. Rama Rao of the Mysore Printing and Publishing House, Mysore, who have been instrumental in bringing out the Journal.

Mysore  
March 6, 1981

**D. Javare Gowda**

## EDITORIAL

We are happy to place the Second Volume of the Journal in the hands of readers and research scholars. As in the case of the first volume, the articles represent various facets of the study of place and personal names. We take this opportunity to heartily thank the scholars who have sent their research papers in ready response to our request. The Executive Committee of the Society decided that papers presented at the First Annual Conference at Udupi should also be included in this issue to the extent possible and that has been done. We crave the indulgence of those scholars whose papers or articles, either presented at the Conference or separately sent for publication, could not be included in this issue. We hope to compensate this by their inclusion in the next issue or by bringing out a special volume containing all the papers which have not found a place in this issue.

We express our hearty thanks to the President, Prof. D. Javare Gowda, all the office-bearers and Executive Committee Members of the Society, especially the two Secretaries, Drs. S. S. Ramachandra Murthy and B. N. Chandraiah, without whose encouraging interest and co-operation it would not have been possible to bring out this volume. Our personal thanks are due to Drs. K. V. Ramesh and S. S. Ramachandra Murthy who have given us valuable suggestions in the editing of the Journal and to the latter also for helping us in going through the proofs at one stage or the other and to Shri P. Natarajan for neatly typing some of the articles.

Shri M. Sathyanarayana Rao and his brothers of the Geetha Book House and Shri G. H. Rama Rao of the Mysore Printing and Publishing House have spared no pains in getting the Journal out of the press in record time for which we are grateful to them.

Mysore  
March 6, 1981

**Madhav N. Katti**  
**C. R. Srinivasan**

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## SOME STRAY THOUGHTS ON NICK NAMES

D. JAVARE GOWDA

Personal names are not just a jumble of meaningless words. The milieu, the mental attitudes and the cultural qualities of persons involved in the process of naming are reflected in them. During the early stages of the development of language and even afterwards, men derived source material for personal names from nature, including the animal world, on a selective basis. The invention of God-world was another source of names available to him. Great people like kings, saints, Progenitors, poets, etc. supply a variety of names for human consumption. Personal names are also derived from occupations and place names. Some of the predominating principles that are kept in view by the parents while naming their children are that the children should not become victims of evil powers, that they should have a happy future, that they should lead a life worthy of the divine or worldly persons, from whom they derive their name. It is not the character or the behaviour of the child that justifies his name. On the contrary, it is the parental wish or imagination or fantasy that is responsible for the same.

So much, in brief, for primary or real names. Though there can be only one proper name denoting an individual, sometimes a person may have more than one name. This secondary name is generally called surname. The origin of these surnames is rooted in the distant past and in superstitions. There was a widespread belief among some of the ancient people that if the enemy came to know of their real names, they would be exposed to the evil designs of the enemies through the performance of magical rites.

Therefore real names used to be concealed and Pseudo-names would come into vogue. Since it is always dangerous to make real names known to devils and evil spirits, they will not be pronounced even on auspicious occasions. When a man is suffering from incurable disease, the real name will be replaced by a Pseudo-name which serves as a camouflage.



Later on, at one of the stages of the development of civilisation, surnames which were used as a sort of disguise must have acquired a respectable place in society, obscuring the real names. When man migrated from place to place he must have carried with him the reminiscences of his past life and revelled in the glories of his dynasty, family and even the birth place of his predecessors. Being fond of continuing his association with his ancestry and ancestral place, being aware of the usefulness of such an association, and also as a mark of gratitude, he started appending the dynasty's or family's name or even the name of the ancestral place to his real name. The heritage and influence of such a surname became, in course of time, so strong and powerful that it drove the real name into the background in the form of symbols or initials. These surnames will, of course, throw abundant light on the history and culture of a particular society.

Another class of names known as nicknames is prevalent everywhere in all societies. Surnames are inherited, the real names are given to children by parents soon after they are born; nicknames are bestowed on individuals by the society in consideration of their behaviour and qualities. Surnames and real names are repeated in and inherited by the society, whereas nicknames pertain to particular individuals and die with them. Certain nicknames like 'Pūjāri' (Priest) are likely to attain the status of surnames and pass on to posterity.

Petnames like 'Sini (for Śrinivāsa), Kiṭṭu (for Kṛishṇa), Appāji (Father), tammaiah (younger brother), tāyi (mother), akka (elder sister), taṅgyamma (younger sister) are the outcome of affection and come within the purview of nicknames. Some of them are relational terms, applicable to any dear ones, preferably to youngsters by elders. Those names acquired during childhood persist till the end of life and are used sometimes along with real names in official records also as *aliases*.

Nicknames are not always sweet, melodious, lovely and captivating. Most of them are funny, awkward, harsh, bitter and sarcastic too. They are the convenient means of ridiculing the behaviour, angularities and oddities of a person. A lame man is called *soṭṭa*; a professional liar, *tarle*; a dunce, *gāga*. It is someone other than parents that start calling a person by such

attributive names. When once the name is inaugurated, it gains currency and persists throughout one's career.

The custom of giving nicknames is found in larger measure in rural areas than in urban regions. One in every twenty villagers will be having one nickname or the other. It is possible to identify two cultural levels in these nicknames. They correspond to the two strata of society viz., The upper and the lower. It is true that people belonging to the upper strata are in a minority; but their nicknames, if they have any, will not be bitter or sarcastic. Even if they are used knowingly or unknowingly, they will not sustain for a long period.

The society will be afraid of ridiculing them through nicknames though some of them deserve such names. A certain person whose physical features are akin to those of Europeans and who imitates European behaviour is nicknamed as 'European Gowda'. A person who is lean and rickety is called 'Pesalanna.'

Nickname, bad or good, bitter or sweet, are freely used in the case of people belonging to the lower strata of society. Every physical deformity or odd behaviour will attract an additional name. An illiterate, unsophisticated, poor man does not mind being called by any kind of nickname. He does not get offended. Even if he feels very bad about it sometimes he cannot retort or react, for fear of being snubbed by the society. They receive those names with a sense of indifference or resignation. They become habituated to them in the long run. In fact, they become natural names.

On the basis of scanty material gathered by me, nicknames can be classified into six categories: nicknames based on (1) physiological features; (2) behaviour; (3) occupations; (4) habits; (5) profession; and (6) place names.

### 1. Nicknames based on Physiological Features

Soṭṭa (Śrinivāsa)—His arm is fractured. Hence he gets the name.

Geḍḍemūgu (Jayarāma)—His nose is abnormally thick and is something like a bulbous root.

Kivuḍa (Mudali gowda)—Deaf man

Doḍḍādale (Māraṇṇa)—His head is disproportionately big while compared with his body.

**Keñcha (Veñkata Gowda)**—His body is reddish.

**Dolġa (Veñkaṭappa)**—He has a distended belly owing to over eating.

**Budumi (Nāgamma)**—The word indicates a sort of cucumber. The lady to whom it refers is dwarf, but swollen. It seems as though she is rolling down while she walks.

**Mise (Nāgarāja)**—A man who has a big bundle of moustache.

**Kotti (Khāsim Sāheb)**—His eyes are like cat's eyes.

**Muġġi (Thimmi)**—The scars, formed on account of small-pox, look like deep dots of grinding stone.

**Chōṭa (Veñkaṭa Sanjīva)**—On account of dwarfness.

**Mūga (Rāja)**—On account of his nasalising every sound. Even a dumb fellow is called by this name.

**Dēku (Rāma)**—Because of his crawling habit even when he was five years old.

**Lasagivi (Kariya)**—On account of flow of pus in his ears.

**Pināsi (Añkamma)**—A woman with a purulent nose.

**Kuṭṭa (Puṭṭannaiah)**—Lame fellow.

**Mālaṇṇa (Thimmappa)**: A man with oblique eyes.

**Nati (Honnamma)**—A girl who is abnormally thin, ugly and sickly.

**Chera (Mallappa)**—A person with torn lips, and protruding teeth.

**Karigi (Chikkammanni)**—Black girl.

**Pitre (Bōra)**—Abnormally short, emaciated figure.

**Keṇḍagaṇṇa (Svāmi)**: A person with fiery eyes.

## 2. Nicknames based on Behaviour

**Gabale (Māda)**—a chatter-box.

**Huchchu Pallante (Dyava)**—Aimless loiterer.

**Saṅga (Rama)**—A man of womanish nature.

**Hasimenasinakāyi (Siddaṇṇa)**—A person who is extremely active. He is likened to a kind of chilly which is terribly hot.

**Chokka (Channaiah)**—A man who conducts himself as a women.

**Bulla Katte (Thimme Gowda)**: A person as dull or obnoxious as an ass. Bulla connotes vulgar meaning

**Darveshi (Chikkaṇṇa)**—An immoral fellow. The word is used in the sense of overtalness.

### 3. Nicknames based on Character

Gaga (Kariyappa)-A dunce.

Kōḷihuñja (Mariyappa)-A thief who used to steal cocks.

Garṭe (Hanume Gowda)-A person who always speaks to himself except while sleeping. It may otherwise also indicate a person who brags about himself. The restless tongue is likened to a bell.

Huchcha nari (Thimmaiah)-The literal meaning of the word is stupid jackal, which is cunningness incarnate. Thus a cunning, deceitful person is entitled to such a title.

Gullenari (Thammanna)- Do.

Ekare idli (Bore Gowda)-A person who eats idlis of the size of an acre. He loses all his property for the sake of idlies.

Pakāli (Kariya)-The meaning of the word is a double water-skin carried on a bullock. Being a gulliver, a person is honoured with this name.

Urisingi (Mādaiah)-A kind of snake which runs very fast, making whistling noise. A furious and ferocious person gets the name after this animal.

Kōḍaṅgi (Sidde Gowda)-Monkey-like man.

Nireṇḍa (Nārāyaṇa)-A man who sells toddy diluted with water.

### 4. Nicknames based on Habits

Bōguṇi/Badu (Śrīnivāsa)-A receptacle meant for keeping cooked food like mutton. A person who is in the habit of eating the entire quantity is called by this name.

Ballakki (Channanka)-A man who is capable of eating three kgs. of rice. Baḷla is a measure.

Bhaṅgi Timmegowda (Thimmaṇṇa)-A man who is in the habit of growing opium stealthily in a forest area and who is also addicted to it.

### 5. Nicknames based on Professions

Oduṇu (Kabbala)-A person who reads. Such a name was prevalent at a time when there used to be one or two literates in a particular village.

Tailor (Puṭṭe Gowda)-Sometimes such attributes are necessary to distinguish two or more persons of the same name.

Chirukulli (Mallurappa)-The original form of the word is Chinukuruji (Chinnuku-uruli Huruli) which means fried gram. A man who prepares and sells this gram is known by this name.

When the professional names acquire the status of inheritance they are transformed into surnames. Such names are abundantly found in the northern part of Karnataka, perhaps due to the influence of Maharashtrian culture. Most of the people are known only by their surnames such as Kaṭigi (Bandeppa Gurappa), Tuppada (Basavarāja), Uppar (Sivaputrappa mudiyappa), Sunkad (Gurappa Virupāksha).

#### 6. Nicknames based on Place Names

Suppose a person migrates to a new village and settles down there, and there are many people bearing the same name as the migrant.

The migrant is distinguished by the villagers by calling him by the name of his former village. For instance, when a person by name Channah migrates from Satnur to Kanakapura, he is recognised only by his former village name. In course of time his original name may establish its domination by pushing the new one aside.

It is also possible sometimes that the surname may be qualified with an attribute. The name Savade Jōgi (Bayre Gowda) consists of two elements, the second one being a family name, the first element signifying his nature. He is a talkative fellow. He does not distinguish between truth and lie. He builds castle in the air by means of charming words. Such a man is called Savade Jōgi.

The names like Sudugāḍḍa, mutthala, Mūti which do not come within the first view of any of the above categories may have to be reckoned as nicknames. Since they are defamatory and derogatory, and even vulgar sometimes, their currency is limited to a small circle of people.

These are a few stray thoughts on nicknames. This paper does not profess to be a systematic study, as my informants Revathi, A.T. Dase Gowda and Rama Chandra belong to different regions viz. Chikkamagalur and Bangalore Districts, and as they are living away from their birth place, in an urban surrounding,

since a long time. A regionwise systematic study of these names reveal astonishingly un-known cultural, linguistic and psychological mysteries that lay buried in them. Individualisation and localisation are the inherent characteristics of these names. They are short-lived. Yet their importance need not be overemphasised, since they also contribute their mite in the development of the language in which they take their shape. It is also possible to discover new and different shades of meanings of words unknown to dictionaries.

## STUDIES IN ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF KARNATAKA-II

G. S. GAI

### Kadamba Period

From the famous Tālgunda inscription of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman, we learn that the founder of the dynasty Mayūraśarman wrested from the Pallavas the forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata i.e. modern Śrīśaila in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh. And eventually, the Pallavas made a pact with him and anointed him as the ruler of the territory bounded by the sea on the west and Prēhara or Prēharā on the east. Long ago, Kielhorn suggested that Prēhara might represent a river (though one can't be certain about it)<sup>1</sup> and assuming that the eastern boundary of the Kadamba territory was about as distant from Tālgunda or their principal city Banavāsi or Vaijayanti as the sea is from them to the west, that boundary would probably be the river Tuṅgabhadrā. So Prēhara or Prēharā stands for this river Tuṅgabhadrā. Some scholars, however, suggested that Prēharā may represent Malaprahāri which is a tributary of the river Kṛishṇā in the northern part of the Kadamba empire. But recently, late N. Lakshminarayan Rao made a suggestion that Prēharā might represent the form Pēr-āṅu meaning big river standing for Kṛishṇā river.<sup>2</sup> Though the Kṛishṇā is known as Pērāṅu or Peḷḍoṅe while Tuṅgabhadrā is called Kiḷḍoṅe in the inscriptions, it may be pointed out that Tuṅgabhadrā is also called Peḷḍoṅe in one or two inscriptions. So Kielhorn's suggestion that Prēhara or Prēharā might represent Tuṅgabhadrā on the east may still be correct. Some scholars have also suggested that Prēharā may stand for the big Hagari river which runs from south to north for some distance in the Bellary District and which suitably forms the eastern boundary of the territory given to Mayūraśarman by the Pallavas.<sup>3</sup>

\* The paper is based on a lecture delivered in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwad in March 1974. This is the second lecture of the series.

The territorial divisions or districts found in the epigraphs of the Kadambas are: Suddikundūru-vishaya, Sēndraka-vishaya, Vaḷḷāvi-vishaya, Karavannāḍga-vishaya, Tagarē-vishaya, Mogalūru-vishaya, Āsandi-vishaya and Pāṅktipura-vishaya.

Suddikundūru was the area round about modern Halasige in Belgaum District. Sēndraka-vishaya consisted parts of Shimoga and North Kanara Districts. Vaḷḷāvi-vishaya, according to Rice represented the area around Channagiri in Shimoga District. Karavannāḍga-vishaya is identified with area around Karūr in Sirsi Taluk of North Kanara District. Tagarē-vishaya consisted of the area around Bēlūr in Hasan District. Mogalūru-vishaya represented the area a round Muttagi in Harapanahalli Taluk of Bellary District since Muḷtagi (earlier form Muttagi) was situated in it. Āsandi-vishaya represented the area around Muḷbāgal in Kolar District. Lastly Pāṅktipura-vishaya is identified with the area round about modern Hangal in Dharwar District, since the ancient name of Hangal was Pāṅktipura.

#### Kuntala and Karnataka

Kuntala seems to have originally indicated the territory ruled by the kings of the Kadamba dynasty. And in a wider sense, it signified the whole of the Kannaḍa speaking area comprising the present Mysore or Karnatak State and the adjoining parts of Maharashtra State. Kuntala and Karnāṭaka are used as synonymous in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* of Bilhaṇa, the court poet of the Later Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1125 A.D.). In a record<sup>4</sup> from Shimoga District dated 1077 A.D. Banavāsi is described as an ornament of the Kuntala country. The separate mention of Kuntala, Karṇāṭa, Banavāsi and Māhishaka in some of the traditional lists may indicate that these were originally separate geographical units abutting on each other or even one may have formed the part of another.<sup>5</sup>

It is well-known that an early Rāshṭrakūṭa family was ruling in the Satāra area of the Maharashtra State and Mirashi calls them Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura. The Paṇḍaramgapalli Grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Avidhēya describes the first member of the family Mānāṅka as the ruler of Kuntala: (*Mānāṅkā-nṛpatiḥ śrīmān Kuntalānām prasāsītā*). In the Nilgund plates<sup>6</sup> of the



Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1087 and 1123 A.D.), the king's grandfather Jayasimha II is described as :

*Vikhyāta Kṛishṇa-varṇē taila-snēh-ōpalabdha  
saralatvē<sup>1</sup> Kum'ala-vishavē nitarām  
virājatē mallik-āmōdah<sup>2</sup> ॥*

This means "Mallikāmōda (title of Jayasimha) shines in the Kuntala country where the wellknown river Kṛishṇā flows and where the people are upright (or loyal) on account of their devotion to Taila (ancestor of Jayasimha), just as the fragrance of Mallikā flowers appears attractive in the mass of hair (of ladies) known for its black colour which becomes uncurled when it is treated with oil." This verse shows that northern portion of Karnataka and Southern portion of Maharashtra watered by the Kṛishṇā was included in the Kuntala country. That the northern limit extended to the Gōdāvari is shown by the statement in *Udayasundarī Kathā* of Soḍḍhala that Pratishṭhāna i.e. modern Paīṭhan on the Gōdāvari was the capital of Kuntala. Cf.

*Kum'ēshu taṭē Gōdāvar-iti mahā-saritaḥ  
pratiśṭhānam nāma nagaram<sup>3</sup> Pratiśṭhāna-nagara-  
paramēśvara-Kumtalanām-ādhiśvarō rājā  
Malayavāhanō bhavān<sup>4</sup>*

A Sanskrit work known as *Kuntalēśvaradautya* which is ascribed to the famous poet Kālidāsa contains certain passages which have been cited in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājasēkhara, the *Sṛīṅgaraprakāśa* and the *Sarasvatī-kaṅṭhābharaṇa* of Bhōja and the *Auchityavichāracharchā* of Kshēmendra and which suggest that Kālidāsa was sent by the Gupta king Chandragupta II as an ambassador to the court of the lord of Kuntala. Some scholars had taken this king of Kuntala to be the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman whose Tālgunda inscription mentions that he contracted matrimonial alliances with the Gupta king while others identify him with the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. But according to Mirashi, the lord of Kuntala should be identified with the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura mentioned above<sup>5</sup>

Some records of the Vākāṭaka kings contain occasional references to Kuntala. The Balaghat plates<sup>6</sup> of Prithivishēna II

state that he was born of Mahādēvi Ajjihitabhāṭṭārikā, the daughter of the lord of Kuntala (cf. *Vākāṭakānām mahārāja-sri-Narēन्द्रasēnasya sūnōḥ Kumtal-ādhipati-sutāyām Mahādēyyām Ajhita bhāṭṭārikāvām = utpannasya..... Vākāṭakānām parama bhāgavata-mahārāja-sri-Prithivishēṇasya vachanāt* <sup>1</sup>)

The Ajanta Cave inscription<sup>10</sup> of Harishēṇa refers to his conquest of Kuntala, along with other countries (cf. *sa Kumt-Āramti Kaṣiṅga-Kōsala-Trikūṭa-Lāt-Ām̄dhra...* <sup>1</sup>)

Rājaśekhara, the author of *Bālarāmāyaṇa* seems to identify Kuntala with a part of Mahārāshṭra, including Vidarbha.<sup>11</sup> The Goharwa Plates<sup>12</sup> of the Kalachuri king Karṇadēva dated 1047 A.D. refer to the conquest of Kuntala by Gāṅgēyadēva, father of Karṇa: (cf. *Tasmāt-Kuntalabhaṅga-bhaṅgi-rasikō Gāṅgēvadēvō-bhaṭat* ). The Rewa Stone inscription of Karṇa also refer to his defeat of Kuntala country.<sup>13</sup> In the Dhar *Praśasti*<sup>14</sup> of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (whose dates are 1211-12 A.D.), containing a drama or *nāṭikā* called *Pārijātamañjari* or *Vijayaśri*, the queen of Arjunavarman named Sarvakalā is stated to be the daughter of the king of Kuntala who is sought to be identified with the then reigning Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla II: (cf. *Kuntalēndra-sutām s-ēyam rājñah Sarvakalā priyā* <sup>1</sup>). From the Sanskrit play *Viddhasālabaṅjikā* of Rājaśekhara, we learn that the king Vidyādharamalla *alias* Karpūrarsha of Tripurī receives at his court Virapāla *alias* Chaṇḍamahāsēna who is called the lord of Kuntala and who has been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives. He has a daughter called Kuvalayamālā and Vidyādharamalla falls in love with her. This Virapāla, lord of Kuntala, has been sought to be identified with a Rāshṭrakūṭa king of Karnataka who was ruling in the first half of the 10th century A.D. and was probably Baddega-Amoghavarsha.<sup>15</sup>

The *Vāyu* and the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇas* mention Kuntala along with Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Āsmaka and place them in the south.<sup>16</sup>

The Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa who ruled from the end of the 10th to the end of the 12th century are described as the lords of Kuntala. Though the exact limits of Kuntala cannot be ascertained, it certainly included all the Kannada speaking territory and parts of Maharashtra. From a study of the epigraphical

records of this period, it can be shown that Kuntala included Banavāsi-1200, Pānungal-500, Purigere-300, Beļvola-300, Kūṇḍi-3000, Toṛagale-6000, Tardavāḍi-1000, Keļavāḍi 300, etc., the area covering parts of Old Mysore State and almost the entire portion of Northern Karnataka and some portions of southern Maharashtra. Besides, the inscription<sup>17</sup> from Bimara in Deglur Taluk of Nanded District in Maharashtra shows that Avarāḍi-700 comprising the area round about Deglur Taluk was also included in Kuntala-dēśa.

#### Notes and References

1. Prēharā is mentioned as a river in Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarikathā* as being in the vicinity of Aparānta
2. *Raghavan Fel. Vol.*, pp. 139-42.
3. *QJMS.*, Vol. XL, pp. 84-88.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 762
5. *Suc. Sat.*, p. 215-16 and note.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 12, p. 153 and *ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 14.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 14.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-14.
9. *CII.*, Vol. V, pp. 79-81.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 103 ff.
11. *Bal. Act.*, III, verses 50-52.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 143.
13. *CII.*, Vol. IV, p. xciii.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 8, pp. 96 ff
15. Cf. *CII.*, Vol. IV, p. lxxx-lxxxi.
16. *Matsya-purāṇa*, Adhyāya 57, vv. 35 and 47; *Yāmana-purāṇa*, Adhyāya 45, vv. 115 and 126.
17. *Inss. from Nanded Dt.*, No. 23.

## SOME PLACE-NAMES OF THE SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS

K. D. BAJPAI

The label inscriptions found at Sāñchi<sup>1</sup> have furnished valuable material bearing on the historical geography. Out of the various names of towns and villages, the following nine located in the present State of Madhya Pradesh are discussed below. The names of several of these occur more than once in the Sāñchi inscriptions :

(1) Erakiṇa ; (2) Mahisati ; (3) Ujeni ; (4) Vedisa ; (5) Kuraraghara ; (6) Tubavana ; and (7) Isaravāsaka.

1, Erakina : The place has been identified with Eran in the Sagar District of M. P. It is mentioned as *Erakaṇa* on the *janapada* coins of Eran and as Airikiṇa in the Gupta inscriptions. The excavations conducted at Eran by the present author during the years 1960-65 have yielded one inscribed clay sealing of the Gupta period. It contains the figure of Lakshmi and below it the Brāhmī inscription, which has been read by me as *Airikiṇa Gomika-Vishayādhikaraṇasya* (i.e. seal of the officer of the Gomika-Vishya in Airikiṇa.<sup>2</sup> A large number of coins, seals, sealings and other material found from the Eran excavations have clearly indicated that Airikiṇa was an important town of eastern Malwa during the proto-historic and early historical period. This is the single site which has given the largest number of important Gupta inscriptions.

As regards the name Airikiṇa, there have been several opinions. Cunningham thought that the name was given to the town on account of a grass called *Erakā* which grew there in abundance.<sup>3</sup> According to K.P. Jaiswal the place derived its name from Airaka Nāga, a Serpant chief<sup>4</sup>. He tried to identify one of the symbols on the Eran coins as a Nāga motif.

These two views do not seem to be correct. Erakanya or Airikiṇa most probably derived its name from the Puranic Aila (or Aira) dynasty. This Lunar dynasty had its strong-hold in the

Chēdi region. The present site of Eran may have been an important centre of the Ailas in the Chēdi region. From the time of King Vasu Chaidya, the Vedic religion is known to have been vigorously propagated in the Chēdi country. From there, an offshoot of the ruling clan may have gone to the Kaliṅga region in the early historical times. Khāravēla, the well-known ruler of Kaliṅga, belonged to the Aila(Aira) dynasty. The title *Muhā-mēghavāhana* in the inscriptions clearly indicates the association of the Kaliṅga rulers with the cult of Indra<sup>5</sup>, which was very popular in the Chēdi region.

2. Mahisati: This is no doubt Māhishmatī (present Maheshwar in the Khargone District of Madhya Pradesh). After the publication of the *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India* by Allan, several coins bearing the name of this town have been discovered in and around Māhēśvar. Like Eran this site was also an important Chalcolithic township, as has been revealed by the excavations conducted there by H. D. Sankalia.

3. Ujeni: The towns of Ujjayini and Vidiśā find numerous references in the Sāñchi inscriptions. This was but natural due to the considerable glory enjoyed by these two cities during the period of the inscriptions. On the inscribed *Janapada* coins of Ujjayini, which are now numerous, the names of the town are written as *Ujiny* or *Ujinive*.

4. Vedisa: The name of the Vidiśā town in Sāñchi inscriptions usually occurs in the form of *Vēdiśa*. The *Janapada* coins bear the name as *Vēddiśa*. On some coins the name occurs in reverse form due to the defect in die. The coins bearing the town-name are mostly circular, but a few coins are rectangular in shape.

5. Kuraraghara; I have recently discovered a few square die-struck copper coins at Vidiśā. These rare coins bear the Brāhmi legend of 2nd-1st Centuries B.C., which I have read as *Kurarāya*. The coins bear a green ship on them. Kuraraghara can be identified with the Kurāya of the coins. It is probable that the present small town Kurwai near Bina junction of the Central Railway, was the *Kuraraghara* (—*griha*) of the inscriptions and *Kurarāya* of the newly discovered copper coins. Like another

city-state of eastern Malwa, *Bhāgilā*, whose punch marked copper coins have been discovered bearing the legend *Bhāgilāyā* (of *Bhāgilā*). Kurarāya also issued its coins about 100-150 B. C. *Bhāgila* coins are a little earlier than the Kurarāya coins.

6. **Tubavana** : This place is undoubtedly the present Tumain in the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh. Its ancient name was Tumbavaha. In the Buddhist literature it is also mentioned as *Vanasāhavya* on account of the fact that this small town was situated in a forest. It was situated on the main road between Vidisha and Mathura. Another main route passed through Tumbavana and went towards Kauśāmbī *via* Bharhut. The recent excavations conducted at Turmain under my supervision have revealed that from about 600 B.C. to the time of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras, Tumbavana was an important political and cultural centre. During the time of Kumāragupta-I, Tumbavana was a sort of Sub-Capital, where a royal prince was stationed.

Near the present village of Tumain remains of three early Buddhist *Stūpas*. and of several Brahmanical temples (from the Gupta period onwards) have been discovered. The *Stūpas* seem to have been originally built during the time of Aśōka. In my opinion the name Tumbavana or Tubavana was given to this forest-town due to the fact that it had several *tubus* or *thūpas* in its vicinity. From the excavation, besides other valuable material in the form of stone sculptures, metal objects, pottery, etc. ; one punch-marked copper coin bearing the legend *raño Siri Sātasa* (of King Sāta) was obtained. A big hoard of silver coins of the Sassanian type, including a few coins of the Chāhamāna ruler Ajayadēva, was also discovered. A few rock-shelters for the monks, probably constructed during the Maurya-Śuṅga period at Tumain also deservemention.

7. **Sonara** : This has correctly been identified as Sonārī and not far from the main hill of the *Stūpas*. During my recent exploration work some fragments of ancient railing pillars, cross-bars and a few sculptures were noticed at Sonārī hill.

8. **Nandinagara I** :—I think that it can be identified with a place called Nāndner in the Sehore District of M P. Recently some important inscribed punch-marked coins of Kings Rāma-

bhadra and Hāthidēva, assignable to the 2nd-1st century B. C. and also a few other coins with the legend *Kurarāya* have been obtained at the site. The extensive mounds near Nandner clearly indicate that there existed a big town at the site during a few centuries before the Christian era.

9. **Isaravasaka** : This name can be identified with the present Isaravāḍā, a village in the Sagar District. There is a railway station of this name between the present Sāgar town and Bina Junction of the Central railway. The site has yielded punch-marked silver coins and other early antiquities.

#### Notes and References

1. For references see J. Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I to III, C Delhi-1939), Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, plates 19-20; Buhler, *Ep., Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 87-116. Sanchi Stupa Inscriptions'
2. Bajpai, *Sagar Through the Ages* (Sagar. 1964). p. 33.
3. *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 177.
4. *Hindu Polity*, p. 154.
5. It is interesting to note that the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharvela bears a clear symbol of *Indradhvaja*.

## IDENTIFICATION OF 18th CENTURY LOCALITY OF AHMADABAD

Z. A. DESAI

The study of place-names is a fascinating one, but it has yet to take roots in India. A lead in this field was taken first in Western India by the Society of Gujarat-Place-names—Gujarat Sthala-nāma Samsad—which was started some time back at Baroda. This Society arranged a few lectures on the subject, which were subsequently published in a separate volume. These included lectures on such varied subjects as Place-names of Vaḍodara city, Place-names of Gujarat during the Maitraka period, Place-names mentioned in *Kāśyapa-Saṁhita*, Place-names of Charotar region, Geographical Data gleaned from *Bṛihat-Saṁhita*, Place-names in Narmada-Māhātmya of *Matsya-Purāṇa* Sthala-nāmas of Patan (N.G.), Place-names of Vadodara-Taluka, Place-names of Khambat (Cambay) and Place-names of Bhāruch (Broach). These lectures make a very interesting study and furnish valuable information about various facets of our cultural and social life and also provide insight into the working of the human mind.

In the course of my epigraphical studies, I have come across some material which provides some interesting information useful in the study of place-names. Here I take up the name of a locality of the city of Ahmadabad. The name of this locality is met with only in a historical work written more than two centuries ago and has been so long in disuse that not only are its whereabouts unknown, but even its name is unfamiliar now to most of us and hence efforts to locate it in the present city would have been futile. Fortunately, we are in a position now to identify this locality with a certain amount of certainty.

The mention of this once wellknown quarter—atleast till the close of the 18th century—occurs in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, a celebrated historical work—*cum-gazetteer* of Gujarat, written in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It is mentioned



therein atleast twice, one in connection with the enumeration and description of the roads and bazars of Ahmadabad and secondly, in connection with the location of the grave of a fifteenth-century leading learned man of Ahmadabad.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, due to the peculiarities of Arabic script, the name seems to have been variously written. The printed text, for example, has Budujpur in one place<sup>2</sup> and 'Buddupur' in another.<sup>3</sup> In the English translation of the said work, the name is spelt as 'Buddupur'<sup>4</sup> and 'Badupur'.<sup>5</sup>

From this, it is clear that the manuscript from which the translation was made must have the correct name-form, namely 'Buddupur'. the 'Badupur'-form being an inadvertent transcript of the former, as those conversant with the Arabic script will readily recognise.

That these are the scribe's and/or printer's error for 'Buddupur' is also indirectly proved by an epigraph dated A.H. 850 (1446-47 A.D.) from Ahmadabad itself. According to this record, one Bibi Buddu, wet-nurse of the famous Gujarat nobleman Malik Shaban Imadul-Mulk, the Pay-Master of the kingdom under the Gujarat Sultans Qutbud-Din Ahmad Shah II and Mahmud Shah I built a mosque (in the city) in that year.<sup>6</sup>

It is suggested that the quarter Buddupur which was in existence at least in the third quarter of the 18th century, was founded by and named after this Bibi Buddu. The epigraph in question is found on a mosque in the Dariyapur-Dabgarwad locality of the Ahmadabad city. It is reasonable to think that the said Bibi Buddu had her mansion or house somewhere there, and in its vicinity, she must have constructed the mosque. The locality in which the mosque was situated must have thereafter come to be known 'Buddpur', after her, as 'Harirpur' was after the celebrated Bai Harir, the builder of the famous step-well at Ahmadabad. It has not been possible to find out the last resting-place of Qadi Ismail Isfahani who was buried, according to the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* in the Buddupur quarter. If his grave could be located, the location of the Buddupur quarter could also be proved beyond any doubt.

Notes and References

1. Ali Muhammad Khan, *Khatima-i-Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Baroda, 1930), pp. 8,56.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 8. This a printer's mistake for Budduhpur which again is a printer's or scribe's mistake for Buddupur.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 56. This is without, the letter 'ain', again a printer's or scribe's error for Buddupur.
4. S. Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Supplement (Baroda, 1928), p. 8.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
6. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1977-78 No. D, 63.

## EPIGRAPHY AND THE STUDY OF INDIAN PLACE AND PERSONAL NAMES

K. V. RAMESH

It will be accepted on all hands that the study of Indian Place and Personal names is still in its infancy. For any such academic inquiry to proceed on scientific lines, it is incumbent on the part of interested scholars to evolve, at the earliest, a sound and indigenous methodology which would duly account for regional peculiarities and also take proper note of the environmental genius of the people inhabiting the given region. It is to be regretted that in the case of some subjects such as History and Linguistics, obviously because pioneering efforts in those fields had been undertaken by western scholars, we have blindly adopted, with negligible concern for local traditions and genius, the western methodologies as a result of which at least part of our approach to our historical and linguistic problems have long since been haywire. Fortunately for us, the study of Indian Place and Personal names is still a virgin field and the evolution of a sound methodology is wholly in our hands and is also our primary responsibility.

We all know that mythology, legends, literature, folk-lore, foreign notices, oral traditions and epigraphy provide us with much useful information, many times of a contradictory nature, for the study of Indian Place and Personal names. Leaving aside all the other sources for the present, I propose to highlight, in this paper, the relative importance of the copious epigraphical source material in any objective study of Indian Place and Personal names, drawing your attention, at the same time, to the limitations from which this particular source material suffers. I have drawn all my examples from Karnāṭaka if only because this first conference of the Place Names Society of India is being held in Uḍupi, an important centre of education situated in that State.

To illustrate, in one breath, the utility as well as the limitation of the epigraphical source material as far as the study of Indian Place-names is concerned, I can do no better than refer here to Beṇḍikēri, a village in the Dharwar District. Totally ignoring the epigraphical source material, a senior scholar of Karnāṭaka, rightly revered for his genius and original thinking, has hazarded the conjecture that Beṇḍikēri must have earned that name because of the sumptuous growth in and around that village of *beṇḍikāyi*, i.e. lady's fingers. A recourse to the inscription available in that very village proves that the above conjecture is far from the truth. For, we learn from that inscription of the 12th century A.D. that centuries and centuries earlier the epic hero Rāma had, in the course of his anxious search for his abducted spouse Sitā, chanced to pass by that village *en route* to Laṅkā. He chose to rest for some time by the side of a tank in that village and, at that time, his preceptor Vasishṭha narrated to him the holy history of that tank and advised him to proffer libations to his ancestors with the holy waters of that tank. Since such a holy character as the divine Rāma had offered *piṇḍa* to his illustrious ancestors, using the waters of that tank, the village itself came to be called thenceforward as Piṇḍaṅgeṛe. Now, what does this inscriptional narrative prove? For one thing, it leads to the incontrovertible conclusion that the modern place-name of Beṇḍikēri is but the corrupt form of the earlier name of Piṇḍaṅgeṛe. For another, it tells us that that village was known during the 12th century by the name of Piṇḍaṅgeṛe and that the then inhabitants of that village had their own fanciful and extremely subjective explanation to offer for that name which is, in fact, a piece of medieval Indian toponymical study. Here, epigraphy has been instrumental in our knowing that Piṇḍaṅgeṛe was the earlier form of modern Beṇḍikēri. But the limitation of epigraphy, as a source material, lies in the fact that it does not help us to know how exactly the name Piṇḍaṅgeṛe itself came to be applied to that place, and, in the absence of still earlier epigraphs, it also does not enable us to know the still earlier form from which the medieval place-name Piṇḍaṅgeṛe had been derived.

Where and when exactly does epigraphy come in as a useful

source of information in the study of Place and Personal names ? Of course, in the case of such places as have no inscriptions at all to their credit, it is but natural that epigraphy has no role to play. What is more, in the case of a number of places, which do have inscriptions to their credit, the texts of such epigraphical records may not contain any mention of the places in which those records exist. But, in some such cases at least, epigraphy does provide indirect, though valid, evidence to explain away such place-names convincingly. Let us take for instance the place-name Bastipura by which a village in the Kollegal Taluk of Mysore District is known today. There are only two 8th century inscriptions<sup>1</sup> in that village, both of them engraved on a boulder and neither of them mentioning the name of the village. But, significantly enough, both are Jaina inscriptions which go to show that Bastipura was an important Jaina centre in ancient times. We also know that Jaina temples are even today referred to as *basadis* or *bastis* from Sanskrit *vasati*. Hence, we may reasonably conclude that that village got the name of Bastipura after some important Jaina *basti* or *bastis* located in that place.

There are, however, scores and scores of instances in which epigraphy offers us evidence of a very direct nature which not only helps us to offer incontrovertible explanation for a given place-name but also enables us to trace to the very beginnings, stage by stage, through many interesting transformations, present day names of many ancient places. Let me select, as typical examples, three places now known by the names of Muḍigoṇḍa, Maddūru and Agara, the first one situated in the Kollegal Taluk, and the latter two in the Yalandur Taluk, all in the Mysore District.

Muḍigoṇḍa enjoyed considerable importance and affluence as a trade-centre for nearly four centuries from about the beginning of the 11th century to about the close of the 14th century A.D. No less than twentyeight inscriptions<sup>2</sup> written during those centuries have been discovered in that village, and most of them are in Tamil. The primary name of that township occurs in the earliest available inscription as Muḍikoṇḍachōlapura

and in the subsequent inscriptions it is found mentioned differently as Muḍikoṇḍān, Muḍikoṇḍam, Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram and Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapaṭṭaṇam. Of the Chōḷa rulers of Tañjāvūr, Rājendra I (1012-1044 A.D.) is known to have had the epithet of Muḍikoṇḍachōḷa<sup>3</sup> and he is also known to have made extensive conquests in southern Karnāṭaka. It is, therefore, quite possible that a newly founded trading town was christened, or an already existing township was converted into a trade-centre and re-named as Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapura in honour of Rājendra I. Though some other Chōḷa rulers and generals are also known to have borne the epithet of Muḍikoṇḍān, they all belong to the 12th century which is too late from our point of view for, we know that the place was known as Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram from the 11th century itself.

We learn from these inscriptions that the temple of the presiding deity of that township, Lord Śiva, was known as Muḍikoṇḍiśvaram, after the same Chōḷa epithet, though this original name of the temple has now gone out of vogue, the temple being nowadays known as that of Śiva only.

It is interesting to note here that the abridged form of Muḍikoṇḍam has survived to the present day as Muḍigoṇḍa at the expense of the fuller and more popular name of the earlier days, viz., Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram, obviously as a result of man's constant search for greater ease in pronunciation.

But, as I had earlier pointed out, Muḍigoṇḍa rose to prominence in the 11th century as a great trade-centre and many trade guilds conducted their operations from there. It was, therefore, natural that that township had a secondary name reflective of its mercantile status. Thus the inscriptions from Muḍigoṇḍa refer to that town also as Dēśipaṭṭaṇam, Dēśiyuyyakkoṇḍapaṭṭaṇam and Dēśiyuyyakkoṇḍachōḷapaṭṭaṇam in which the word *dēśi* stands for the trade guilds. It is likely that in course of time, with the turn of fortunes, the place lost its importance as a trade-centre and also its causal name.

If Muḍigoṇḍa rose to prominence as a trade-centre, Maddūru, the second of the three examples in my list, appears to have been a brāhmaṇa stronghold of considerable antiquity. The earliest of

the twentyfive inscriptions<sup>4</sup> available in that place, written in 982 A.D., while mentioning its name as Maḷdūr, also refers to the administrative body of that village consisting of 1200 brāhmaṇas. For the subsequent periods, this place-name occurs in the Kannaḍa inscriptions uniformly as Maddūru while in the Tamil inscriptions it is mentioned as Marudūr or Perumarudūr. Though it is difficult to offer an explanation to the place-name Maḷdūr, Maddūru, or Marudūr, a suggestion may be thrown here in the known context of that village having been a predominantly brāhmaṇa settlement. It is well known that those brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the Vedic lore were referred to as Vaidyas, a derivative of the Sanskrit root *vid* 'to know'. In popular parlance *vaidya* also meant 'a physician' from early times, and, again from early times, the Tamil equivalent for Sanskrit *vaidya* is *marutuvan*. We have a Kannaḍa inscription<sup>5</sup> from Bantra in the South Kanara District, datable to the ninth century A.D., in which the Physician of Sādanūru is referred to as *marudagaḷ*. It is very likely, therefore, that the village whose residents were predominantly those who were well-versed in the vedic lore, i.e. were *vaidyas*, came to be called, in Kannaḍa, as Maḷdūr or Maddūru and in Tamil as Marudūr.

Maddūr had at least two alternative names during different periods. In two Tamil epigraphs of the 12th century A.D., the place is mentioned as Perumarudūr *alias* Pañchavan-mādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. Chaturvēdimāṅgalam is the usual Tamil appellation given to *agrahāras* or brāhmaṇa settlements right from early times. Pañchavanmādēvi was the name borne by the queens of at least three different Chōḷa kings, viz., Uttamachōḷa (970-85 A.D.), Rājarāja I (985-1016 A.D.) and Rājendra I (1012-44 A.D.). It is likely that one of them gave a new lease of life to Maddūru as an *agrahāra* by proclaiming it as a *chaturvēdimāṅgalam* and thus rendering it eligible for all the privileges which went with that appellation under Chōḷa administration. It is only to be expected that the grateful residents of that *agrahāra* would have honoured their benefactress by naming their village after her.

In the fourteenth century, Maddūru was given another secondary name, Upēndrapura. We have no means of knowing why and how this name came into vogue,

The most interesting information regarding Maddūru is, however, to be obtained from a Kannaḍa inscription<sup>6</sup> of 1328 A.D. This epigraph reveals the fact that six individuals collectively founded, on a site adjacent to Maddūru or Upēndrapura, a new residential extension which was given the name of Upēndrapaṭṭaṇa (*hosatāgi Upēndrapaṭṭaṇava kaṭṭuvantāgi*). Obviously because the new extension formed a part of Upēndrapura it was given the name of Upēndrapaṭṭaṇa. The inscription gives a detailed account of the taxes to be progressively levied on the houses in the new extension and also lists houses which were to be exempted from such taxation.

The place-name history of Agara, the third and last village in my list of examples, is also epigraphically well documented. The village has yielded as many as 79 inscriptions, though many of them are now in a very bad state of preservation. As for the present name of the village, Agara, it is but the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *agrahāra*. In a number of Tamil inscriptions from the place the village is mentioned as Durggaiyār-āgaram which means 'an *agrahāra* named after or founded in honour of the goddess Durgā'. In a 16th century Kannaḍa inscription, the place is actually mentioned as Durg-āgahāra. It is apparent that from the place name Durggaiyār-āgaram, the name of the goddess Durggaiyār was dropped in course of time and the place came to be known only as Agara.

It is possible to fix the date of the creation of this *agrahāra* with the help of the available inscriptions with astonishing precision. And, surprisingly enough, Durggaiyār-āgaram was not the original name of that village. For, we learn from another Tamil inscription<sup>7</sup> in that place that in his 12th regnal year, i.e. in 1082 A.D., the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I combined three small villages in that area, thus created an *agrahāra* and gave it to a number of brāhmaṇas after naming it as Virudarājabhayaṅkara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam after one of his own favourite epithets. The inscription further states that in his 34th regnal year, i. e. in 1104 A.D. to be exact, he installed in a temple in that village the image of the goddess Durgā. Thus we find that what started as Virudarājabhayaṅkara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in 1082 A.D.,



had come to be re-named as Durggaiyār-agaram from sometime after 1104 A.D., for one thing, in honour of the presiding deity installed by the founder of the *agrahāra* and, for another, obviously because the original name Virudarājabhayaṅkara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam was too long and inconvenient a place-name.

Having said this much about epigraphy and place-names, I wish to conclude my paper with a lone instance on how epigraphy helps us to properly assess the nature of personal names and surnames. I will take up for examination here only one surname, *hebbār* which is borne by a section of the brāhmaṇa community in western Karnāṭaka. Some Kannaḍa inscriptions<sup>8</sup> from Yasaḷe, in the Sirsi Taluk of North Kanara District, refer to a number of individuals, in the context of discharging their official duties, as *Perbbārṅvu-geyyuttire*, i.e. when they were holding the office of *perbbārṅvu*. The word *perbbārṅvu* is made up of two units, *per* meaning *mahā* or great and *pārṅvu* from *pārṅva* which stands for a *brāhmaṇa*. In the light of our knowledge that the *mahājana* administrative bodies were predominantly brāhmaṇa bodies, *pārṅva* here can be treated as equivalent to *jana*, in which case *perbbārṅvu* would be the Kannaḍa equivalent of *mahājana*. We may, therefore, conclude that the present day *hebbārs* are the descendants of those ancestors who had been members of the *mahājana* administrative bodies. That such administrative offices have now come to denote casteistic surnames is only too well illustrated by such surnames as *heggaḍe*, *gauḍa*, etc.

The heavy material I have marshalled in this paper is but a tiny drop from the inexhaustible ocean of information that is available in our inscriptions. For such information to be fruitfully exploited, there is an urgent need to prepare an exhaustive chronological-cum-alphabetical list of place and personal names mentioned in these epigraphs. I believe that the Place Names Society of India is the best agency we can think of to undertake this stupendous yet extremely rewarding project,

Notes and References

1. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV (Revised edn., 1975), Ko. 91-92.
2. *Ibid.*, Ko. 93-120.
3. *History of Later Cholas* (Tamil, 1957), part I, pp. 180-81.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV (Revised edn., 1975), Yl. 40-64.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 23 ff. and plate.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Yl. 62.
7. *Ibid.*, Yl. 98.
8. *A.R. Ep.*, 1939-40, B. K. Nos. 86-87, 91.

## DISTRIBUTION OF SUFFIX -URU IN KARNATAKA

B. B. RAJAPUROHIT

It has been shown earlier<sup>1</sup> how the place names could be descriptively studied. The type of relationship of the stems and the suffixes are also discussed there. The suffixes characteristic of different regions are only tabulated there under six categories. The present paper intends to go into further details of the suffixes.

At the outset, it must be confessed that strict adherence to descriptive technology in the analysis of place names, without reference to historical linguistics, epigraphy, local evidence and ethnography can lead to wrong conclusions. But this is no underestimation of the importance of descriptive study, which can show the direction in which the details could be worked out.

We often come across instances, where the stem of the suffix would have undergone sound changes, and the analysis of the contemporary versions would be difficult. For example, *Sipūru* in Kolar district has suffix-*ūru* seemingly alright; but renders the stem *sipu*-difficult for explanation. It could have been *Sripurā* also. In such situations our normal tendency would be to set up, sometimes hypothetically, a Sanskrit form as the earlier version and derive the existing version from it by making use of standard set of rules of sound change. This kind of exercise can serve no better purpose than a pastime. A place-name in Kannaḍa land is more likely to have a Kannaḍa *dēsi* (indigenous) name. Even its inscriptional Sanskrit version need not serve as an exclusive evidence to posit that it had its name in Sanskrit, unless the fact is established by historical evidence. Since the inscriptions are also a kind of literary record, the original *dēsi* name of a place is likely to have been translated into Sanskrit. We find this tendency of Sanskritization in our times also in making *Dhāravāḍa* as *Tantupuri*. To illustrate the point made earlier that it would be more reasonable to derive

the name from native origin rather than from Sanskritized version, an example of *Gadugu* in Dharwar district may be taken.

Galdugu < Gardugu < Gadugu is an evidenced native derivation. Some scholars tried to derive it as

Kratupura < Kratuku < Gadugu

Though *Kratupura* or *Kratuku* might be evidenced by the inscriptions or literary records they are likely to be the Sanskritized versions and might not have been the original names of the place. Moreover *-pura*, becoming *-ku* is inexplicable. On the other hand *-ld-rd-(dd)-d-* is in accordance with the laws of sound change observed in the history of Kannaḍa language.

The above argument does not, however, rule out the possibility of a place name having a Sanskrit version originally. But it only calls for an intensive study as to which place had a Sanskrit name and which had a native name and which names were translated into Sanskrit. *Maisūru* is one such place which is said to have been originally *Mahishūru*, place of Mahishāsura. But a doubt arises as to how *Mahisha* a Sanskrit name took a Kannaḍa suffix *-ūru*. Then the argument goes one step behind to say that it must have been *Mahishapura*. In such speculations why *ūru* should be derived from *-pura* remains unexplained. If *Udyāvara* in South Kanara district has inscriptional evidence showing *Udayapura*, it would only indicate its Sanskritized version at a particular period. But it is hard to believe that that place came into existence only from the date of that inscription. We may have to go still back into the history.

Another interesting place is *Kōhinūru* in Bidar district. It does not have *-ūru* suffix but has a borrowed name from Persio-Arabic origin.

Chidananda Murthy derives<sup>2</sup> *-vara* and *vāra* suffixes also from *-pura*:

Bāṇapura < Bāṇavura < Bāṇāvara

Nāgapura < Nāgavura < Nāgavara

The sound laws governing the stages, especially from the middle stage to the final stage are not ratified by the sound laws found

in the history of Kannada language. If place names with *-vara* or *vāra* suffix are evidenced as having *-pura* suffix in the inscriptions, they are more likely to have been the cases of Sanskritization. On the other hand, if the topographical evidence shows that there is or was a lake nearby, then it would be more logical to treat *-vara* and *vāra* as native suffixes indicating the proximity of sea or a lake.

One might argue that in old times the villages were built near a natural water-reservoir. Hence it may not serve as a topographical clue. But it can be explained that if we go that back into the history the names for places were required more for the people of other villages than for the dwellers of the village. The people of other villages might have felt the need to distinguish one village from the other for convenience of reference. If all the villages had a natural reservoir of water, that could not have served as a distinguishing mark. On the other hand, if a village had an unusually large lake nearby, that could serve as a distinguishing mark.

In the light of the above discussion, a hypothesis may be proposed. Those places which have *-ūru* suffix, might be the indigenous names. Their names with *pura/vura* suffix might be their Sanskritised version. The places with *vara* and *vāra* suffixes are also indigenous and indicate the proximity of sea or a lake.

The place name suffixes have been classified earlier under six categories in my paper cited above. If we take a comparative view of the occurrence of those suffixes, some noteworthy facts emerge. All the place-name-suffixes collected here are tabulated at the end of the article in the descending order of their occurrence in more than one category. The suffixes numbered from 1 to 13 in Chart 1 occur in the same way. Un-numbered suffixes in Chart 2 are specific to that category.

(Notes on the below charts: seeming occurrence of *koṇḍa kaṭṭe*, *kēri* in more categories than one have been considered as isolated occurrences because they differ in meaning in different regions. *Kēri* appears to have been repeated in the charts under category II; but it has two different meanings. Against item No. 7, in Chart 1, *guḍḍa* and *beṣṣu* are given because they are

synonymous, though lexically different. *Kēri* under category VI has been translated as 'village' because it has that meaning in Koḍugu language. Category VI represents only Coorg of which Koḍagu is spoken).

It is interesting to note that 13 suffixes occur in more categories than one. Out of these, 11 suffixes are native ones and only 2 are borrowed from Sanskrit. It is also interesting to note that most widely used suffixes are the native ones like *ūru*, *haḷḷi*, *pēṇe*, *koppa* (*lu*). This attests the predominance of native suffixes throughout the state. Hence it would not be improper to give priority to native suffixes and stems while deriving place-names.

A priority list in postulating the original suffixes may be suggested here for consideration :

*First Priority* : Suffixes indicating topography like-lake, hill, tank, river, plain, etc.

*Second Priority* : Suffixes indicating colour and structure of soil like-rock, shale, sand, etc.

*Third Priority* : Suffixes indicating royal history like-fort, market, etc.

*Fourth Priority* : Suffixes indicating civilization of people like-town, city, etc.

*Last Priority* : Suffixes indicating village, settlement, etc. If a place-name could not be derived by any other way indicated above then it can be derived under this priority.

It would be a worthwhile exercise to see how each one of these suffixes is distributed in different districts of Karnataka. The picture of their occurrence might give clues to sociological and linguistic studies. In the present paper, the distribution of one suffix-*ūru*, which occurs in all the categories has been presented.<sup>3</sup> The appended [Chart 3] table shows the occurrence of *ūru* suffixes in each district against the total number of places, alongwith the percentage of occurrence. In the first row the State figures and the average are given to make the relative picture explicit.

It is interesting to note that the percentage of occurrence of *ūru* suffix is the highest in the South Western part of the State.

In the South-Central part it is lower than the State average. Similarly in north western and north eastern parts also it is lower. In the rest of the area-i.e. in the northern, north-central and extreme southern parts the occurrence is slightly above the State average.

It is possible to read linguistic meaning out of this distribution. But a historian or an ethnographer might read more meaning and pick up the thread from this point. *ūru* essentially means 'settlement' as available in *taḷavūru* 'to settle down'. This ethnographic meaning might indicate the mobility of people where-*ūru* occurs more. Lesser occurrence may show the stability of settlements. Though-*ūru*, *biḍu*, *gūḍu*, *bāḷu*, *oklu* suffixes indicate 'settlement' approximately, there might be some minute differences in their meanings in addition to their regional characteristics. We have lost this semantic link. It needs to be reconstructed now.

CHART 1

No.	Category I	Category II	Category III	Category IV	Category V	Category VI	Meaning
1.	ūru	ūru	ūru	ūru	ūru	ūru	Village
2.	halli	halli	palli	halli			Village
3.	pēte	pyāṭi	pēte			pēte	Market
4.	pura	pura	pura	pura			Town
5.	koppalu	koppa		koppa			Village
6.	sandra	samudra	sandra				Lake
7.	guḍḍa	guḍḍa		guḍḍa			hill
8.	kallu	kallu	kallu		betṭu		rock
9.	kōṭe	kōṭi	kōte/kōṭa				fort
10.	kere	kēri	kere				tank
11.		holi				hole	river
12.		dinni	dinne				hillock
13.	vāḍi	vāḍi					area, enclosure



CHART 2

No.	Category I	Category II	Category III	Category IV	Category V	Category VI	Meaning
1.	nagara 'city'	Bhāvi 'well'	kuṇṭha kuṇṭha 'pond'	mukka 'face, 'entrance' gadde 'filed' vāḍa ?	angaḍi 'shop'	oklu	'tenants'
2.	bīḍu 'settlement'	kunda 'hill'			nāḍu 'country'		
3.	doḍḍi 'settlement'	durga 'fort'	baḍḍe 'rock'		pāḍi/hāḍi 'jungle, settlement'		
4.	kuppe 'heaps'	haṭṭi 'settlement'	mala 'mountains'	uṇḍe '?'			
5.	gūḍu 'settlement'	maṭṭi 'a kind of soil'	gumba ' ?'		bailu 'plain'		
6.	paṭṭaṇa 'city'	hāla 'settlement' fallow land	hudya ' ?'		āje ' ?'		
	tiṭṭu 'place'	gaḍa 'fort' kolla 'valley'			vāla ' ?' aḍka ' ?'		
	guṇḍi 'low level'	koṇḍa 'shallow, well'	koṇḍa 'hill'				
	area (?)						
	huṇḍi 'official place (?)'	kaṭṭi 'plat-form'			katte 'harbour'		
	maṅgala 'area'	kēri 'lane'			kēri 'village'		
	kāla ' ?'						
	bālu ' ?'						

C HART 3

(NOTE : Percentage are arranged in the descending order)

No.	Region	Total number of places	Places with Suffix-uru	Percentage of Occurrence of ūru
0.	Karnataka	29,402	2,065	7.02
1.	Coorg	308	62	20.13
2.	South Kanara	628	126	20.06
3.	Dharwar	1,377	171	12.42
4.	Mysore	1,764	201	11.39
5.	Gulbarga	1,398	155	11.09
6.	Bijapur	1,284	119	9.27
7.	Bellary	628	56	8.92
8.	Shimoga	1,802	150	8.32
9.	Belgaum <sup>4</sup>	1,229	100	8.14
10.	Raichur	1,527	123	8.06
11.	Chikkamagalur	1,118	80	7.16
12.	Hassan	2,586	151	5.84
13.	Bidar	627	33	5.26
14.	Bangalore	2,772	140	5.05
15.	Kolar	3,322	148	4.46
16.	Mandya	1,439	60	4.17
17.	Chitradurga	1,493	60	4.02
18.	North Kanara	1,366	50	3.66
19.	Tumkur	2,734	80	2.93

## Notes and References

1. Rajapurohit B.B. : Regional Features in Naming Places in Karnataka : *Studies in Indian Place Names*, Vol. 1, (Mysore, 1979), pp. 62 ff.
2. Chidananda Murthy M : A note on the Etymology of the Generic Morpheme 'Vara' found in Place-names. *Studies in Indian Place-names*, *Ibid.* pp. 47 ff.
3. The names of places have been taken from "Census of Indian 1971, Mysore State : Population of Villages and Towns".
4. Figures against this district are tentative.

## KUMBAKONAM AND DARASURAM

N. SETHURAMAN

The modern Kumbakōṇam is the biggest commercial and agriculture centre in the Tanjavur District of the Kāvēri basin. The town is situated between the two rivers Kāvēri on the north and its branch Arasalār on the south.

The ancient name of the town was Kuḍamūkku or Kuḍandai. In the *Tēvāram* hymns of Appar and Sambandhar (7th cent.) the town as a Śaiva centre is referred to by the name *Kuḍamūkku*.

There are scores of Chōḷa temples in and around Kumbakōṇam. The Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple is the oldest and it is situated in the centre of the town. It is an early Chōḷa temple (10th cent.). The inscriptions<sup>1</sup> found on the walls of the central shrine and the front *maṇḍapa* were engraved in the reign of the Chōḷa kings, Parāntaka I (907-54 A.D.), Gaṇḍarāditya (950-57 A.D.), Ariñjaya (953-60 A.D.), Āditya II (960-65 A.D.), Uttama Chōḷa (971-87 A.D.), Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.D.), Rājendra I (1012-43 A.D.), Rājādhirāja I (1018-54 A.D.), Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1218 A.D.), and Rājarāja III (1216-60 AD.). In the inscriptions of the Chōḷas the town is referred to as Kuḍamūkku only. The town was an exclusive Brahmin colony (*brahmadēya*).<sup>2</sup> In Tamil, *kuḍa(m)* means 'pot' and *mūkku* means 'nose or tip of a cone'. Thus Kuḍamūkku means 'nose or tip of the conical (like) pot!' Though the name sounds curious and funny it has deep meaning.

Geographically the Kāvēri delta is in the form of a cone and it occupies major portion of the Thanjavur District. The delta looks like a pot. The city is situated in the tip or the nose of the conical shaped pot like delta and hence the name Kuḍamūkku. In the simple language it means a town situated in the nose or tip of the conical shaped delta.

In the *Vaiśṇava Prabandhams* the town is called *Kuḍandi* or *Tirukkuḍandai*. This name appears in the *Tēvāram* hymns also Appar states that the temple Kiḷkōṭṭam (Nāgēśvara temple is in

Kuḍandai. A record<sup>3</sup> which comes from Nāgēśvara temple is in the 4th year (954 A.D.) of Āditya II. The record states that the temple is situated in the village Kuḍamūkku and it received grants from the Sabhā i.e., village assembly of *Śrī Kuḍandai* (*Tirukkuḍandai*).

A record<sup>4</sup> (1020 A.D.) from Tirunelvēli of Rājēndra Chōḷa I states that one of the donors is Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa and that he hails from Śrī Kuḍandai situated in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam.

A record<sup>5</sup> from Śrīvilliputtūr, dated in the 11th year of Māḡavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya (acc. 1218 A.D.), refers to a donation made by a resident of Kuḍandai in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam to the temple at Śrīvilliputtūr.

Vēlākuḷam is a small village in the Tirukkoilur Taluk of South Arcot District. A record<sup>6</sup> from Bālasundarēśa temple of this village, dated 22nd year of Māḡavarman Kulaśēkara Pāṇḍya II (acc. 1314 A.D.), registers a gift of tax of 1 *paṇam* leviable on the *kaṇmāḷar* of Vēḍarkulam in favour of the temple of Nāyanār for providing oil for lamps. The god is called Tirukkuḍandai-Nāyanār and there is a local tradition to the effect that this small temple was built as a place of worship for the *cheṭṭi* and weaver colonists from Kumbakōṇam (Tirukkuḍandai) who had settled down here. One of the inscriptions of the temple refers to the god as the special deity of these *cheṭṭis* (*nam-kuladaivam-āgiya*).

In the reign of the Imperial Pāṇḍyas the city continued to be called Kuḍamūkku or Tirukkuḍandai. Vijayanagara established its authority over this area after the fall of the Pāṇḍyas. The earlier Vijayanagara kings belong to Karnāṭaka. Probably they could not spell the name Kuḍamūkku and so they translated it in Sanskrit as Kumbakōṇam (*kuḍa(m) = kuṁbha* and *mūkku = kōṇam*) and thus Kuḍamūkku became Kumbakōṇam. An inscription<sup>7</sup> belonging to Viruppaṇṇa Uḍaiyār from the Sāraṅgapāṇi-svāmi temple refers to the grants made for the conduct and service of god Ārāamudu of Kumbakōṇam. (*Kumbakōṇattu nāyamār Ārā-amudu*). Written with admixture of Tamil and Grantha letters, the record is dated Wednesday, the 25th October 1385 A.D. This is the earliest known record which mentions

Kumbakōṇam. In his devotional *Tiruppugaḷ* poems Aruṇagiri mentions the city as Kumbakōṇam only. It is evident that the saint lived around or later than 1385 A.D.

From the middle of the 14th century the town is called Kumbakōṇam instead of Kuḍamūkku. The ancient name Tirukkuḍandai is in usage even today.

The village Dārāsūram is situated about 4 kms west of Kumbakōṇam. The gigantic Airāvātēśvara temple of this village was built by Rājarāja II (1149-73 A.D.).<sup>8</sup> His earliest inscription<sup>9</sup> (1166-67 A.D.) refers to the temple groves situated in the Viḷāgam (colony) in Rājarājan Tiruppati and those east and west of *Rājarāja-viḷāgam*. The treasury *Rāja Rājan Karuvūlagam* and the garden (*tirunandāvanam*) *Chōḷēndra Siṅgan* after the surname of Rājarāja. From the other Chōḷa records<sup>10</sup> we learn that the village was called Rājarājapuram.

The Tamil poet Oṭṭakkūttar lived in the reigns of the three Chōḷa kings namely Vikrama Chōḷa (1118-35 A.D.), Kulōttuṅga II (1133-50 A.D.) and Rājarāja II. In his poem *Takkayṅgapparaḷ* poet Oṭṭakkūttar states that the temple *Rājarājēśvara* was built by Rājarāja.<sup>11</sup> The poet describes the city Rājarājapuram.<sup>12</sup> The hero of the poem is Lord Rājarāja Īśvaramuḍaiyār.<sup>13</sup>

Rājarāja had the surname *Rājagambhira* and this is evident from many of his inscriptions<sup>14</sup> and also from the poem *Takkayṅgapparaṇi*.<sup>15</sup> Fittingly the label *Rājagambhiran* tiru-maṇḍapam is found on a few pillars<sup>16</sup> of the *maṇḍapa* in the Airāvātēśvara temple thus showing its existence from the time of Rājarāja II.

An inscription<sup>17</sup> of the Dārāsūram temple dated in the 8th year of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1218 A.D.) refers to the palace *Rājarājan-tirumāḷigai*. In this inscription the temple is mentioned as Rājarāja Īśvaramuḍaiyār.

In the 14th century when the Chōḷas were no more, their kingdom was under the sway of the later Pāṇḍyas some of whose records are available in this temple. A record<sup>18</sup> in the 3rd year of Māḡavarman Vira Pāṇḍya (acc. 1334 A.D.) mentions the name of the temple as Rājarāja Īśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār in the village Rārāpuram. A record<sup>19</sup> in the 4th year of Māḡavarman

Śrīvallabha (acc. 1351 A.D.) mentions the name of the temple as Irārāsūramuḍaiya nāyanār in the village Irārāsūram. A Vijayanagara record<sup>20</sup> dated 1486 A.D. states that the temple is situated in Irārāsūram. Thus in course of time Rājarājapuram took the corrupt forms Rārāpuram and Irārāsūram which in turn took another corrupt form Dārāsūram as it is called today. Airāvātēśvara, the present name of the temple is not found in the inscriptions. Probably this name came into existence in the 18th century.

The Chōḷa Royal seat Rājarājapuram and its palace Rāja Rājan tirumāḷigai were prosperous. In course of time the city disappeared. Today in its place coconut groves surrounded by green paddy fields exist. In the Government revenue register this tract is called *Chōḷan Māḷigai* a residual remain of a past glory.

#### Notes and References

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1908, Nos. 13 to 15; 1911, Nos. 223 to 260.
2. *SII.*, Vol. V, No. 708, line 4.
3. *A.R.Ep.*, 1911, No. 230.
4. *SII.*, Vol. V, No. 449, lines 46 and 47.
5. *A.R.Ep.*, 1926, No. 550; Pt. II, p. 95, para 50.
6. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, No. 228; Pt. II, p. 64, para 21.
7. *Ibid.*, 1954-55, No. 415.
8. *Ibid.*, 1926-27, d. 82, para 25.
9. *Ibid.*, 1908, No. 17 of Rāja rāja year 21.
10. *Ibid.*, 1927, No. 266 and 1924, No. 433.
11. *Takkayāgapparāṇi*, verse 772.
12. *Ibid.*, verses 17 and 18.
13. *Ibid.*, verse 778.
14. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 440; 1914, No. 45; 1929, No. 128; 1938, No. 146 and 1946, No. 4.
15. *Takkayāgapparāṇi*, verse 774.
16. *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 82, para. 25 read with 1927, No; 256.
17. *Ibid.*, 1908, No. 20.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 21, page 201.
19. *Ibid.*, No. 23. The palaeography corresponds to the middle of the 14th century. Probably this Māḡavarman Śrīvallabha was the king who came to the throne in 1351 A.D. Please refer to *A.R.Ep.*, 1939-40, to 1942-43, p. 245.
20. *Ibid.*, 1908, No. 22.

## NAN MADA-K-KUDAL (MADURAI)—A NOTE

K. R. SRINIVASAN

Tamil literary works from the Saṅgam times onwards employ the alternative name of Nāṇ-māḍa-k-Kūḍal or simply Kūḍal, or with other qualifying prefixes for Madurai. Nānmāḍakkūḍal, on the face of it means “Kūḍal or Madurai of four māḍams”. It is called so in the *Paripāḍaltiraḷṭu* (1-3, 7-6); *Kalittogai* (92-65); *Silappadigāram* (21-39). It is Neḍu-māḍa-k-kūḍal in *Paripāḍal-itiraḷṭu* (13-6) and in the *Muttoḷḷāiyram* (7-4); Māḍakkūḍal in *Paripāḍal* (20-106), *Pari-tiraḷṭu* (1-3, 7-4, 12-2, 13-6) and *Silappadigāram* (24-19-11), *Muttoḷḷāiyram* (7-4); *Kalittogai* (35-17) and simply Kūḍal in *Silappadigāram* (23-22). We need not mention the too numerous references in literature of subsequent times. The early Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants too mention Kūḍal for Madurai. The Vēḷvikkuḍi<sup>1</sup> plates mention it along with the capitals of the Chēras and Chōlas as Kūḍal (Madurai), Vañji (Karūr) and Kōḷi (Uḷṭaiyūr). The Śivaramaṅgalam plates refer to it as Neḍu-māḍakkūḍal and Maṇi-māḍakkūḍal, i.e. Kūḍal (Madurai) of high ‘maḍams’, and ornate ‘maḍams’. The Śivakāśi plates, call it ‘Tamiḷkūḍal’, suggesting possibly that the name ‘Kūḍal’ (Tamil) for *Saṅgam* was derived from the fact that the *Saṅgam* or the Tamil academy of yore was established there; as proclaimed in the Larger Sinnamanūr Copper plates—‘*Madurāpuri Saṅgam vatituru*’. (Kūḍal in general means the site at the confluence of two or more streams).

While ‘*neḍu māḍam*’ meaning tall-storeyed structures will be quite understandable and go well with the character and make up of such a large city like Madurai, the reduction of their number to four (*nāṇ*) in the name *Nāṇ-māḍakkūḍal* will call for thought and explanation. It cannot be as if there were only four storeyed-mansions inside the walls of Madurai. Obviously there were many such as we could infer from the long and picturesque descriptions of the great city in the Saṅgam works—the *Madurai-k-Kāñji* and the *Neḍunalvāḍai*,

The specific mention of four *māḍams* or storeyed-structures, could only refer to the four main cardinal gate-ways—what came to be called *gōpurams* (Sanskritised *Gōpura*) piercing the city wall or *prākāra*. These principal entrances (or exits from inside) were called ‘*vāy*’ (*vāyil*, literally meaning the structure forming the entrance) and the principal entrance *talai-vāy* (or *vāy-t-talai*) and it was often a storeyed structure, in respect of gates of cities, palaces or temples (*upparikai*).

As if to prove this, we have a Tamil inscription on the top moulding of the *adhishṭhāna* of the small *gōpura* entrance of a ruined Jaina stone structural temple that I excavated long back in the early forties and cleared in Cheṭṭipaṭṭi, Kulattur Taluk, Pudukkottai. The inscription is of the 10th century and the old name of the place was Tiru veṇṇāyil. The inscription reads: “*Tiru Veṇṇāyil Aiṇṇūṟṟuva-p-perumpāḷḷi tiruvāy-t-talai māḍam Jayavira-p-pēriḷamaiyāṇ*”

*Tiru-vāy-t-talai māḍam* in the above refers beyond any doubt to the *gōpura* entrance on which the inscription occurs and it means the sacred (*tiru*) main entrance, that is a storeyed structure (*vāy-t-talai-māḍam*). Thus there can be no hesitation to concede that *Nān-māḍa-kūḍal*, means the city of *Kūḍal* with four main storeyed gates, that were either incipient *gōpurams* of later temples and palace walls or *upparige* (as in *Kannaḍa*)

The Saṅgam works, descriptive of Madurai, the *Madurai-K-Kāñji* and the *Neḍunalvāḍai*, have references to the gates of the city that were storeyed. They say that these gate-way structures were tall and broad enough affording passage to three elephants walking abreast: had massive doors of wood armoured with iron plate that was coated (against rusting perhaps) with a red paint in mustard oil that contained as one of its five ingredients red lead or *sindūra* (*aiyaviy-appiya-neyy-aṇi-madunilai*<sup>2</sup>). What is more, its storeyed superstructure constituted a watch-tower which was one of the purposes of *gōpurams*. Evidently, therefore, the presence of four such storeyed gate ways gave the name *Nān-māḍa-k-Kūḍal* to Madurai.

Its name ‘Teṇ-Madurai’ (South Mathurā) as in contra-distinction with *Vaḍa-Madurai* (Mathurā of the North in the



Uttar Pradesh) in the present context of the interpretation of Māḍakkūḍal, recalls another coincidence to the mind of the Indian Epigraphist.

It is the 'New Mathura inscription' of Mahā-Kshatrpa Śoḍāsa of the 1st century B.C.<sup>3</sup> of which lines 6-12 are relevant here :

Line	6 :	<i>Vasunā Bhagavatō Vāsudē</i>
Line	7 :	<i>vasya mahāsthāna Chatuḥ śā-</i>
Line	8 :	<i>laṁ tōraṇam vēdikaḥ prati-</i>
Line	9 :	<i>shṭhāpitō priṭō bhavatu Vāsu-</i>
Line	10 :	<i>dēvaḥsvāmīsyā Mahākshatra-</i>
Line	11 :	<i>pasya Śōḍāsasya.....</i>
Line	12 :	<i>saṁvartēyatam</i>

To a student of Indian temple architecture (like me), this is a very meaningful, though short inscription. It refers to a great temple—*mahāsthāna* for god Vāsudēva, built by the king provided with an enclosure (*vēdikā-prākāra*) with four gates *śāla*, that were fronted by *tōraṇas*, as was the case in all ancient city or palace layouts. The storeyed gate-way, with often, a single *tala* (or tier) over the passage of the entrance (*nāligēha*), is always terminated by a wagon-top or *śālā* roof of *sikhara* since the plan is basically *āyatāśra* or oblong. This Mahāsthāna built by Śoḍāsa in the 1st century B.C., in Mathura, could have been, possibly conceived as reflected in the layout of Madurai or Teṇ Madurai, and hence the nomenclature Nān-māḍa-k-Kūḍal in the earliest references in the literary works of the *Saṅgam*, quoted, which postdate the above temple that was perhaps the most prominent one, in Mathurā. These two may have a connection, and equally, possible it may be just a coincidence. But still the parallelism is most striking.

#### Notes and References

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 17. pp. 291 ff.
2. *Neḍunalvāḍai*. ll. 86.
3. R.P. Chand (ed.) *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*. No. 5. p. 170.

## PERSONAL NAMES IN KALIDASA'S WORKS

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The name of Kālidāsa is as well-known as the Sanskrit literature. In the same way the names of his works are very popular. He is a poet not only known for his figurative excellence, but also for his love and successful analysis of many cultural and artistic refinements. Through his works he represents almost every trait of Indian culture. Whether it is art, religion, iconography, painting, language, philosophy, sociology - almost every thing has got its due treatment in the hands of Kālidāsa. The themes he has selected for his works, are mostly adopted from the Hindu Mythology - the well-known characters whose name and fame are, even otherwise known to us. But, when he deals with theme, in his own characteristic way he makes it all the more marvellous. Of the many factors which make him excel others, his treatment of Personal names of the characters also arrests our attention. Names like - Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha, Mēnā and Umā - though well known to us from other sources, also, have nowhere received so much attention and have never been so meticulously explained in their inherent capacity as personal names as in the works of Kālidāsa. He has tried to probe into the meaning of each and every personal name he has come across and to see how the names are descriptive of personal peculiarities and intrinsic character. We propose here to explore some representative names from his works and see how carefully and in what an interesting way he has explained the charm of the personal names of his characters. In fact, he hardly introduced a name without showing its propriety of the has person who bears it.

*Raghuvamśa* is the monumental work of Kālidāsa and Raghu is its hero. Now who should be Raghu or why he was called Raghu or how far his name itself represents his person is the curiosity of Kālidāsa-which he explains in his own way. According

to him the word *Raghu* which is formed with the root *raghu* (see the comments of Mallinātha as *aghi, vaghi, laghi-gatyarthāḥ*) having a meaning of 'marching forward or a moving force' etc., is a befitting name for Raghu and his personality. His royal father after having considered the verbalism well might have named him so with the zeal that his son should both be an erudite person and a master among victors,

*Srutasya yāyād ayaman tamarbhakaḥ tathā parēsāmudhi  
chēti pārthivaḥ*

*Avēkshya dhātōr gamanārthamarthavich chakāra nāmnā  
Raghum-ātma samhavam (3 : 21)*

We know from the deeds of Raghu how greatly he had justified his name. Credit on the part of Kālidāsa in explaining the mute points of these names is that they were not coined by him but were received rather as a legacy.

*Aja* : Raghu had a son called Aja. Aja is the synonym of Brahmā. Though, in other texts where the lineage of Raghu is noticed, there is hardly any mention about it, Aja was born at the auspicious time presided over by Brahma, but the keen mind of Kālidāsa finds it out with the help of the name Aja itself. According to him since the queen gave birth to the prince at the time presided over by Brahmā - (Aja) the king named his child after him and he became Aja.

*Brāhme muhūrte kila tasaya dēvi kumāra - kalpaṁ-sushuve  
kumāraṁ*

*Ataḥ pitā Brahmaṇa eva nāmnā tamātma-janmānamajam  
chakāra* *Raghu 5. 36*

What the poet wants to highlight is the fact that the trend of naming a child after the names of gods, goddesses and seers was equally in vogue even in those times.

In one of the episodes of his *Kāvya*, i.e. on the occasion of Indumati's *svayamvara*, Kālidāsa grabs a good opportunity to highlight the personal names of certain kings thronged from different states and how delightfully he explains the hidden value

or the cultural properties of those names is worth considering in his work, *Raghuvamśa*.

*Sushēṇa*: There was a suitor, in the *svayamvara* from the country of Sūrasēna called Sushēṇa. The simple etymology of his name may be 'Sōbhanā sēnā yasyā sau Susheṇah', but this simple fact in the hands of Kālidāsa receives a greater beauty and charm when he pushes the meaning and suitability of the name to the fore-front. He says that being 'Sura Sēnādhipati' he was Sushēṇa no doubt: but at the same time he was also a 'Lokāntara gita kirtī (sā Sūrasēnādhipatim Sushēṇam - uddiśya lokāntara gitakirtim - Raghu 6. 45) and these two points where the one denotes his military command and prowess and the other his popularity among his folks making him a really worthy of his name as an ideal king.

*Hēmāṅgada*: Hēmāṅgada is another king of Kaliṅgadēśa who was present in *svayamvara*. Kālidāsa's supposition is that the king who bore the golden armlets (*aṅgada*) was neither devoid of it nor even defeated or defaced, got this name as Hēmāṅgada.

*Hēmāṅgadāślisha bhujam bhujishya Hēmāṅgadaṁ nāma-  
Kaliṅga-nātham* Raghu 6. 53

*Parantapa*: Parantapa is a name of the king from Magadha. He has been introduced as:

*Asau śaraṇyaḥ śaraṇuōnmukhānām agādha sattvo Magadha-  
pratiśṭhaḥ*

*Rājā Prajā rañjana-labdha-varṇah Parantaponāma yathārtha  
nāmā* Raghu 6. 21

This king is called Parantapa and is rightly so named, because he is the refuge of those who look upto him for protection, of an unfathomable spirit, a resident of Magadha and one who has obtained fame by always pleasing his subjects. The purport of Kālidāsa's statement is that first of all he is Parantapa as he subdues and punishes (*tāpayati*) his enemies (*parān*) but at the same time he is not unkind to those who seek shelter under him, nor is he of a fickle mind and unpopular with his subjects. The

meaning added to the name Parantapa by Kālidāsa is that it was not sufficient for a king to be merely good in controlling his external enemies, but he should also have a control over his internal passions and only then he would deserve the name, Parantapa.

*Daśaratha* : Daśaratha, the father of Rāma, is another personal name which Kālidāsa elucidates. He gives four characteristic qualities of Daśaratha for which he is known as Daśaratha.

First he is '*Daśa-raśmi śatōpamādyutiṁ*' – one whose personal lustre was comparable to ten thousand rayed luminary, the Sun.

Secondly '*Yaśasā dikshu daśāsvapi śrūtam*' that his fame was well heard even in all the ten quarters.

Thirdly he became '*Daśa Kaṁṭhāri-guru*' i.e. father of Rāma. It is because of all this, the wisemen knew him a Ratha with Daśa as the prefix. More than the name, what is important here is the keen and all pervading vision of the poet which tries to find the suitability and the full implication of the meaning with every proper name he deals with. It seems as if he is demonstrating the truth that every personal name in Ancient India has a purposeful meaning behind it.

*Lava-Kuśa* : With the same inquisitiveness as above, Kālidāsa finds a good interpretation for the names of Lava and Kuśa the two sons of Rāma. It is a well-known fact that they were born in the hermitage of Vālmiki and as such, they did not receive any royal comfort or princely privileges. Kālidāsa thinks that this environmental aspect is possible to be present with the names of the two. Therefore, having link with the literal meaning of the names of Kuśa (*Kuśa* grass) and Lava (tail-hair of a cow – see, *Lavo lavaṇa Kiṁjalka pakṣhma gōpuchchha lomasu—Vaijayanti Kōśa*, he suggests that they were so named because at the time of birth the moisture of their bodies was probably cleansed by means of a *kuśa* grass and the tail of a cow in the hermitage.

*Sa tau Kuśa-lavan mṛshṭa garbha klēdau tadākhyaya Kavīh  
Kuśa-Lavayeva chakāra kila nāmatah | Raghu 15. 32*

Mallinātha comments on it even more clearly as '*Kuṣōnmṛṣhtaḥ Kuṣha*—and *Lavōnmṛṣhtaḥ Lavaḥ*'. Later on Kuśa and Lava became *yuvarāja* and the poet thought this aspect of their carrier should also be incorporated in the same name. This is why he further remarked on it :

*Sa niveśya Kuśāvatyām ripu-nāgāmkuśam Kuśam  
Sarāvatyām satām sūktair juitāśru lavam Lavam*

*Raghu 15. 97*

That is, when Kuśa took the charge of *Kuśāvati* for his enemies he proved like a goad (*aṅkuśa*) to an elephant, and Lava caused good men to shed tears out of joy through his wise sayings.

*Nishada* : Nishadha is the same king whose grandson was Nala of *Naishadha*. As per Kālidāsa, Nishadha was so named for the following reasons :

1. He was related to the king of Nishadha-dēśa from maternal side.
2. In physique he was equal to the size of Nishadha mountain ; and
3. He had successfully checked (*nishiddha*) his enemies.

*Sa naishadhasyārtha patēḥ ssutāyam = utpādayāmasa-  
nishiādha śatruḥ*

*Anūnasāram nishadhānnagendrāt=putram yamāhur Nishadha-  
khyamēva*

*Raghu 18. 1*

The bare fact may be that he was named after Nishadha mountain.

*Nabha* : Nabha was the son of Nishadha. The meaning of this name is explained by Kālidāsa as hereunder.

*Nabhaścharaiḥ gitayaśaḥ sa lebhe nebhastala-śyamatanum  
tanūjam*

*Khvātam Nabhaḥ śabda mayēna nāmnā kāmtam nabhōmāsam  
iva prajānām*

*Raghu 18.6*

His complexion was like that of a sky (*nabha*) his glory was sung by the Nabhachāri Kinnara and Gandharvas and since he was also pleasant like a *nabhōmāsa* (i.e. *Śrāvāṇa*) to his subjects, he was called Nabha.

*Puṇḍarika* : Nabha perhaps named his son as *Puṇḍarika* with two visions in mind :

1. He should be as powerful as *Puṇḍarika* elephant of the ten quarters.

2. Like *Puṇḍarikāksha*-the Vishṇu-he should become the master of Lakshmi-the lady who sports with (*Puṇḍarika*) lotus in her hands. This name falls under the category of persons named after flowers and vegetations.

*Tena dvipānām=iva puṇḍarikō rājam=ajayyojani Puṇḍarikaḥ  
Sānte pitaryāhṛta puṇḍarikā yaṁ puṇḍarikāksham =ivāśritā  
śriḥ* *Raghu 18.8*

*Kshēma Dhanvā* : According to Kālidāsa, every ideal king is supposed to be a *Kshēma Dhanvā* i.e. one whose bow and arrow are meant only for the welfare (*Kshēma*) of his subjects.

*Sa Kshēma-Dhanvānam=amogha-dhanvā putraṁ prajākshēma  
vidhāna daksham*

*Kshamāṁ laṁbhayitvā kshmayopapannaṁ vane tapakshānta  
taraś=chachachāra* *Raghu 18.9*

*Devānika* : *Devānika* is also such a name which absolutely suits the personality and deeds of an Indian king who during military expeditions use to lead his army personally marching ahead of it. He used to be the god (*dēva*) of his army (*anikini*).

*Anikininām samaragrāyāyi tasyāpi dēvapratimaḥ sūtō bhūta  
Vyāśrūvatānika padāvasānaṁ devādināma tridivēpi yasya*  
*Raghu 18.10*

Likewise, there are other names of Ahinagu, Unnābha, Vajraṇābha and Hiraṇyanābha, etc., which have been well explained with their literary and cultural significance in the *Raghu-vaṁśam*. A very peculiar name and important from historic and cultural point of view is that of the king *Vyushitāśva*. Kālidāsa says that since the facial grace of *Vyushitāśva* was a enlightening or radiant as that of Sūrya (the *Haridaśva Dhāma*) his physical charm was brighter than that of Aśvinikumāras, (the *Aśvirūpaḥ*) and since his army with cavalry (*aśva*) had stayed and rested by

the side of sea-shores on military expeditions he was rightly to be called Vyushitāśva.

*Tasyāvasāne haridaśva-dhāmā pitryaṃ prapēde-padamaśvirūpaḥ  
Velā taṣṣhushita sainikāśvaṃ purāvido<sup>1</sup> yaṃ Vyushitāśvaṃ  
āhuh* Raghu 18.23

In fact, the term '*Velā taṣṣhushita sainikāśvaṃ*' is important even otherwise, as it reminds us of the glorious lines from royal charters like '*Tiya samuda toya pita vāhanasa*' of Gautami Balaśri and '*Chaturudadhi sailāsvādita yaśasah*' of Guptas. Those who are keen in classifying this name may easily put such a name as adopted from the animal world.

Besides, *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Kumārasambhavaṃ* is another major work of Kālidāsa where we come across his explanatory remarks on the personal names. Some of the representative names from *Kumārasambhava* are that of Girirāja, Himālaya, Menā, Umā and Aparṇā, etc.

*Girirāja*: It is the name of Himalaya who is described as '*Dēvatātmā, Nagādhirājah*' and as situated on the north side of the earth as '*Prithivyā miva mānadaṇḍah.*' But Kālidāsa is not satisfied only with this because it could only explain the personality and location of the mountain. In what way he is the king of mountains (*Girirāja*) is yet to be explained; and that, he explains in these words which suggests the splendour and regalia of the Himalayas.

*Lāṅgūla Vikshēpa visarpi śōbhair = itastataś-chandra marīchi  
gauraiḥ*

*Yasyārtha yuktaṃ Girirāja śabdaṃ kuryanti vāla vyajanai-  
schamaryāh* Kumāra-Sambhava 1.13

i.e., the Chamari deers by why of waving their tails fair as moon light, make the title *Girirāja* of the mountain more realistic and significant.

The wife of Himālaya was Menā and she was called Menā because she was held in high reverence even by the sages (*Menā Munināmapī-mānaniyā*). Next interesting names are Umā and Aparṇā. Pārvati who was previously called so by her relations



got the name Umā science her mother forbade her to practice austerities, saying *U* (oh!) *Mā* (don't).—*Umēti mātrā tapasā nishiddhā-paschādumākhyāṁ sumukhī jogāma--Kumara* 1.26.

Later on when she practiced the austerities and was subsisting on the fallen (*svayām viśirṇa*) leaves of the tree (*parṇa*) and at a later stage totally abstained from taking even those leaves, she came to be known as Aparṇā.

*Svayām viśirṇa-druma-parṇa-vrittitā parā hi kāshṭhā  
tapasastayā punaḥ*

*Tadapyapākīrṇamathḥ priyamvadām vadaityaphrṇēti cha tām  
purāvidah Kumāra Sambhava* 5.28

Other names which are so beautifully explained and brought into prominence in *Kumāra Sambhava*, are the names of Śiva which have been here for the lack of space and also since they fall totally under a different category viz., the names of gods.

Some personal names in the dramas of Kālidāsa draw our attention. One such name from *Māḷavikāgnimitram* is that of a maid-servant called Bakulāvalikā which is explained by Kālidāsa as '*Vimarda-surabhir-Bakulāvalikā Khal-vaham*' i.e. Bakulāvalikā is one who smiles and smells more-when roughed up. In such a pithy but witty way the poet has nicely put forth the condition and character of a poor maid.

From *Sākuntalam* we may consider here only two ideal names, Priyamvadā a friend of Śakuntalā and that of Sarva Damana or Bharata.

*Priyamvadā*: Literally 'Priyamvadā' is one on whose lips spring the gracious and sweet words, that is why when Śakuntalā is pleased with the chats of Priyamvadā she remarks 'Priyamvadā-sitvam'-that, O! saucy girl! rightly you have been named as Priyamvadā. Here while implying that the silver tongued damsel who was using eloquent language, Kālidāsa gives expression to the general impression that one's name is or ought to be, a mirror reflecting one's personality and distinguishing traits of character.

As rhetoricians of Sanskrit poetics have preferred drama among *kāvya*s and *Sākuntalā* amongst drama as the best. Kālidāsa

himself has preferred the treatment of personal names more and therein the name of Sarva Damana or Bharata the best.

It is narrated in *Sākuntalaṃ* that while young as a baby and later as a crown-prince Bharata was so powerful and dominant that he could easily subdue a lion and count its teeth. On one side it depicts his character and virtue to be taken note of for an emperor of his calibre, but somehow it lacks further aspects of *prajā-pālana* (Protection of the subjects). This sense is brought out only when he was named as Bharata i.e. one who supports the world. There can be no better tribute than this for the personal name of a king. This may also be the reason why Kālidāsa advances his explanation on the names like Sarva Damana or Bharata in the concluding acts of his masterpiece *Sākuntalam*.

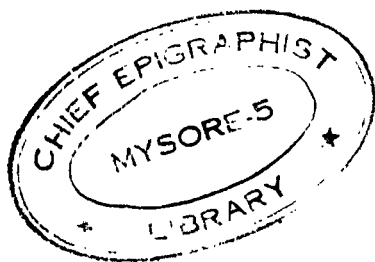
*Rathēn=ānutkhāstimita-gatinā tirṇajaladhiḥ*  
*Purā sapta-dvīpāṃ iyatt vasudhāmapratirathaḥ*  
*Ih āyam sattyānāṃ prasabha-damanāt Sarvva-Damanaḥ*  
*Punar=yāsyatyākhyāṃ Bharata iti lōkasya bharaṇāt.*

*Sākuntalaṃ* vii. 197

Sarva-damana is also found used as an epithet by the later kings in their *praśastis*. Moreover, the royal epithet '*apratirathaḥ*' is the same as *Sarva-damana*.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that the personal names of our ancestors and kings whether named after gods, goddesses and seers or after *muhūrta*, *nakshatra*, flowers or other remarkable objects which were held in esteem by the person who bore it, one thing is discernable i.e. they were all full of meaning-purposeful meaning that always reflected one's personality and distinguishing traits of his character as a mirror. In fact, this is the point which Kālidāsa has successfully tried to demonstrate through the personal names of his works.

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## PLACE NAMES AND FOLKLORE: A BRIEF NOTE

JAWAHARLAL HANDOO

The history of folkloristics as an interdisciplinary field of study began in the modern times with the herculean work of Grimm brothers in Germany. Although, for sometime, folklore remained subordinate to the linguistic work the Grimms had started doing; later, as it usually happens, linguistics did not remain the centre of Grimms' academic activities; instead folklore, particularly research in the area of oral narrative, its dissemination and transmission, became the main objectives of Grimms' academic career. There is enough evidence to believe that Grimms had shown interest in German place names with so frequently occurred in *Marchen*. This was confirmed by the German group of scholars representing Kurt Ranke's school of thought in personal discussions I had with them, in Edinburgh during the deliberations of the seventh Congress of the International Society Folk-Narative Research. August this year. Lack of a sound methodology to study place names and to establish their relevance to the massive data of folk-tales, they were collecting, left Grimms with no choice other than to abandon the area of place names. This reminds us of de Saussure, the father of modern linguistics, who was convinced that the structural (or semiotic) theory he developed, should, for reasons of Universality and broad base of the theory, be able to explain other communicative phenomena, equally successfully, besides ordinary human language. de Saussure, naturally tried the theory on legends ignoring the very fact that the data he was dealing with was different from natural human speech. The results were rather wooden. But this made him to realize that the data he was trying to handle was entirely different, meant for a different level of communication and therefore the tools he developed for ordinary language might not work on this gen/ere unless they are slightly sharpened. Before de Saussure could do that he was dead and his hand-written scribblings atleast gave

us some hope (Culler, 1977); it set in a trend; a way of thinking; and the Saussurean dream of a unified structural theory for explaining the phenomenon of total field of communication has partly been fulfilled or we are heading towards that. What I am trying to emphasize is that sometimes inadequate methodological tools, besides other factors, prevents an important area of human inquiry from developing. This, if I am not misunderstood, has happened, to some extent to the field of place-names.

Onomastics, as the "discipline" of place name studies is called now has, as I indicated above, remained an ignored area of study; a thing which it shares completely with folklore studies. The reasons are obvious: the history of the human knowledge of the modern times clearly indicates that more and more emphasis has been on the so-called "elite" subjects; by and large a city phenomenon. Under these circumstances, many vital areas of human civilization including place names were considered "waste lands" (see Levi-strauss, 1969). Another depressing, yet important aspect of place name studies has been the attempts of some enthusiastic scholars in defying the norms of cultural growth and unity and isolating the area of place name studies from the related fields (see Roming, 1973 (?)). This has certainly thwarted the growth of place name studies and deprived many other disciplines of a big chunk of knowledge; which otherwise should have been known and shared by now.

However, my main aim in these brief notes is to draw your attention to three important aspects of place names and to show how much closer relationship each aspect has with folklore. These three aspects are: 1. Collection and indexing of place names, 2. Analysis of place names, 3. Results of place name analysis.

### 1. Collection and indexing of place names :

Like folklore, onomastics is, by and large, a field science. There are some place names which however, possess documented history preserved in smaller archives and administrative files. But such place names very small in number and again form a segment of the "elite" studies I mentioned earlier. In other words, leaving a few major towns and cities, most of the place

names in our country do not have a well documented (whatever that means?) history and therefore need to be collected in a scientific manner by field work. The technique of the field work I propose should be of folkloristic nature, i.e., preparation, selection of the location, the informant and the method of interview etc. Although field work is an essential part of many disciplines, by proposing folkloristic type of field work for place name collection. I am trying to make a point. For exemplification, let us take the informant. A linguist's criterion for selecting the informant is to make sure that the informant does not have defective speech and knows the immediate meaning of linguistic items. Therefore, an informant highly knowledgeable but with no teeth is useless for a linguist. This is not the case with a folklorist and certainly should not be with a place name specialist. Unlike a linguist, both the folklorist and the onomastist would ignore speech defects and try to collect as much information as they can from such an informant, his experiences, his memory and other things,

Another reason why an onomastist should depend on folkloristic type of field work for the collection of his data and the background information, which eventually will help him in analyzing this data; is that after all an onomastist does nothing by just collecting the names. He might make an alphabetically ordered directory of place names, but, then, leads to nowhere. His aims can be various; to prepare a lexicon of place names with justifiably adequate information or to study the names in the light of the historical or socio-cultural developments or he might as well; try to decipher the meanings and other semantic aspects of place names in order to find out deeper things about human behaviour, mental structures, world view etc. Therefore, in order to achieve these ends, mere collection of place names is not enough. Background information, the narrative or the story element, the historical event etc. is equally essential and all that hard stuff remains usually hidden in the minds of the folks. To excavate these hidden mines of human knowledge, one has to use certain techniques and I believe folkloristics has such techniques and can be useful to a onomastist in the collection of his data.

## 2. Analysis of data :

Place names depending on the nature of academic needs, can be analyzed in various ways, each dependent on the other, and all levels of analysis in the end will lead us to better understanding of our cultural phenomena. What I am trying to emphasize here is that without folkloristic evidence, It is almost impossible to arrange, classify or analyze place names. It is true that linguistic analysis of place names will help to uncover the etymology and formulate phonological or syntactic rules, but it certainly does not take us beyond that. Besides linguistic analysis, which by and large is diachronic and helps in its own way, one has to uncover the deeper semantic aspects of the names which however are based on certain events, episodes, and folk explanations, For instance place names generally speaking, can be classified into the following broad categories :

1. Founders and settlers.
2. Historical and important personages.
3. Foreign names or names given by other cultures.
4. Classical sources.
5. Physical geography.
6. Flora and fauna.
7. Noteworthy happenings, events, activities etc.

And none of these categories seem such which will not be abound in local tradition. In other words, each place name will be supported by a "story", be it folk or historical. Collecting such narrative explanations is an important step in analyzing place names. Sometimes, these narratives on the surface seem unrelated and meaningless and do not directly explain the place name. Folkloristic methodologies will certainly be useful at such stages. Building paradigms and rearranging the narrative events will certainly give meaningful clues. We must know that meaning in the objective reality remains hidden and as such needs to be searched.

Similarly, treating a folk-tale, a myth or a legend ; which supports the place names, as a real piece of history is as dangerous as trying to falsify the historical events and reduce them to the level of fairy tales. One has to be cautious and only an

interdisciplinary approach and orientation will, perhaps, help. Any methodology which will not take these factors into consideration is bound to fail. Let me give an example: In Kashmir, scholars, ethnographers and place name experts were trying to locate the village which occurs in a most frequently used proverb: *andry andry vōtus tsandar gōm* "inside inside (secretly and with hardships) I have reached *tsandar* village". The proverb is used when a person is in distress, but does not show the symptoms and keeps distress concealed. Scholars believed that this village existed once in remote isolated mountain, full of dangers on the way. Therefore reaching this village, full of wilderness, was hard and full of sufferings and that is why when someone is in distress he compares his sufferings with the sufferings and hazards of travelling towards this particular village. Investigations proved that this village does not exist or never existed. Even local traditions did not even indicate the direction in which this terrible village could have existed. Very soon a folkloristic field trip accidentally discovered an aged and experienced informant who was interviewed on the subject. To the surprise of all of us he gave the following much older version of the proverb with appropriate meaning: *andry andry tsandar gōm* "within within (me) I became crescent". In other words distress or pain has reduced me from a full moon to a half (crescent). This ended the speculations about the village which never existed. A simple lexical item's metaphorical shades were ignored and almost a fairy tale created. This can happen at any stage of place name analysis,, particularly when the analysis is of a diachronic nature.

### 3. Results of Analysis

Analysis, as I said earlier, is dependent on the needs of an analyst. Place name studies are no exception to this rule. But more surprising and even frustrating is the fact that results drawn by following certain methodologies in various related areas are not correlated into a unified system to answer the questions we all are scorching under different umbrellas. Linguistic-etymological, archaeological-epigraphic or folkloristic-historical studies of place names, if done in isolation will

certainly not help solve the multi-dimensional problems of Indian culture and civilisation. Of course all disciplines working in the area of cultural phenomena have their own limitations, but these can be partly overcome if attempts are made to unify the results in a systematic manner to explain a phenomenon which otherwise remains unexplained. A linguist, for instance, would not tell us why in a given language (Kashmiri, for instance) a penis is designated as feminine item and vagina a masculine item, quite opposite to the norms of natural human logic. Similarly a folklorist fails to explain many things which according to him fall outside his area of study. A place name specialist, in the same manner, leaves many questions for the historian to answer.

Besides collecting, classifying-according to geographical, historical and linguistic norms, making lexicons or directories of place names, I firmly believe that with the supportive folkloristic and ethnographic evidence, we can certainly discover through place names more about the world view, the combinatory processes and the thought patterns of given cultures and also decipher some universals which ultimately will help us to understand our past, our mind and its working (*See Handoo, 1978*).

That "places need names first. The associations and connotations come later". (Emrich, 1972) seems, to me, a nice but superficial way of looking at the whole issue. *I would say that associations and connotations come first and then names are created for places.*

#### Notes and References

- |                   |   |
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| Duncan Emrich     | <i>Folklore on the American Land</i> .<br>Boston : Little, Brown Company (1972) |
| Jawaharlal Handoo | <i>Current Trends in Folklore</i> .<br>Mysore : Mysore University (1978).       |



## NAMES OF VILLAGES DONATED TO BRAHMANAS

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The paper intends to discuss types of names of villages donated to Brahmanas. It is true that all such villages were not given new names when they were converted into gift villages, so that such villages could be identified through inscriptions or any other written document like Tāḷagunda and Lakkunḍi. All gift villages do not have inscriptional references. In such situations, the only way is to try to identify them with the help of place-names. The presence or absence now of a Brahmana or Brahmanas is not an evidence at all to identify gift villages, because by nature Brahmanas are the most mobile people in India and this could be easily understood when we take into consideration that they are, even now primarily non-agriculturists, and hence not having any vested interest in one place.

1. *Agrahāra*: This is the usual word employed to signify villages given to Brahmanas as a gift. Some villages were known as *anādi agrahāras*, (= *agrahāras* time immemorial), and they were so called, because nobody knew who instituted them. Some times, mythical persons like Rāma, Janamējaya, Hariśchandra were believed to have instituted the *agrahāras*. For example, Tāḷagunda<sup>1</sup> of Shimoga district, Koḍaganūr<sup>2</sup> of Chitradurga district were *anādi-agrahāras*. Lakkunḍi was considered as an *agrahāra* instituted by Śrī Rāma.<sup>3</sup> Villages were converted into *agrahāra* (*'agrahāri kṛiya'*) and given over to Brahmanas. The word is derived by D. L. Narasimhachar as *agra* + *ahāra*, the area or region (*ahāra*) given over to 'agras' or Brahmanas. But the usual form is *agrahāra* and not *agrāhāra* and the latter form *agrāhāra* rarely occurs in inscriptions and even when it occurs only as a scribal error.<sup>4</sup> The compound *agrahāra* is correctly derived as *agra* + *hāra* (*hṛi* = to carry, to take).

Some villages bear the old names along with the descriptive term *agrahāra* either prefixed or suffixed. Ex: *Agrahāra Bāchaḷḷi* of Mandya district, *Navaratna-agrahāra* of Devanahalli Taluk ;

and Sibi-agrahāra of Tumkur District. In many cases, generic terms like *haḷḷi* and *pāḷya* are suffixed to agrahāra. Ex: Agrahāra-pāḷya of Nelamangala Taluk, and Agrahāra-haḷḷi of Chintamani Taluk. The term *agrahāra* itself is an independent place-name. Ex: Agrahāra of Holalkere Taluk, Hosadurga Taluk and Sondur Taluk.

'Agrahāra' has a variant in aghrāra where golottal fricative (*h*) has changed its position Ex: *aghrāra*.<sup>5</sup> Aghrāra gets simplified in the form agrāra.<sup>6</sup>

2. *Agara*: *agara* comes from *agrāra*. There are many villages which bear that name Ex: Agrāra of Yelandur Taluk. An inscription from this village Agara<sup>7</sup> gives 'Duggayār-agaram' as the earlier name, and this was an agrahāra is clear from the description 'Virudarāja-bhayaṅkara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam' given to it. We can see how the earlier name 'Duggayā (ū)r' was given up and the descriptive term *agaram* itself became the name for the village. This seems to be the usual process in all such cases, i.e. the descriptive name (*agrahāra* and *agara*) itself becoming the name proper. The portion *agara* of Agara-bannihatti of Shimoga district is the same as agrahāra. Araga of North Canara district is definitely *agara* originally. Āraga of Tirthahalli Taluk looks like another form of *agara*, with metathesis and initial lengthening. The initial length could be a remnant of the long vowel in *agrahāra*.

3. *Explicit names*: Under this heading come names like Brāhmaṇahaḷḷi (Chintamani Taluk), Brahmapura (Holalkere Taluk), Brahmōr (Ankola Taluk) which are self-explanatory. Like *haḷḷi*, *-ūr*, other generic terms like *-gadde* (Ex: Brāhmaṇagadde of Chintamani Taluk, cf: Maṇḍa-gadde), *-vāḍa* Ex: Brāhmaṇavāḍa-hakkal of Sagar Taluk). Like *agrahāra* or *agara*, the word 'brāhmaṇa' could be prefixed to an older name. A host of such names are found in Sagar Taluk. Ex: Brāhmaṇa-bēḍrū, Brāhmaṇa-guḍigere, Brāhmaṇa-citrahaṭṭi. Brahmanas were known as 'mahajanas' in earlier Karnataka and the name Mahājanada-haḷḷi of Hadagali Taluk probably suggests that the village was an agrahāra. 'Bhaṭṭa' meant a scholar, a Brahmana, and the name Bhaṭṭara-haḷḷi of Nelamangala Taluk probably derives its name from Brahmanas.

4. *hārō* and *bomma*-villages: A large number of villages begin either with *hārō*- or *hāran* and *bomma*- or *bommē*. It could be easily shown that they derive their names from *hāruva* (pārvaṇ, 'a Brāhmaṇa') and *bomma* (Brāhmaṇa). An inscription from Coorg district calls the present-day Hārōhaḷḷi village (of Somavarpēt Taluk) an 'agrahāra'.<sup>8</sup> The village Bommūr<sup>9</sup> of Srirangapatna Taluk is known even now as an *agrahāra* (Bommūr-agrahāra) and a Tamil inscription of 1192-03 A.D. calls it a 'chaturvēdi-maṅgalam'.<sup>10</sup> In Bommenahaḷḷi of Channagiri Taluk, there are no Brahmanas living now there. But, people remember a Brahmana family who lived there some time back, who sold away their property and migrated. The house where the family lived has an inscribed stone in the back-yard with the 'Vāmana' symbol and an unpublished inscription clearly says that the property belonged to a Brahmana. Names like Hāruvanahaḷḷi, Bommanamābaḷḷi, Bommanūr, Hārōhaḷḷi, Bommanahaḷḷi, Hāruvanahaḷḷi, Bommana-kaṭṭe, Doḍḍabommanahaḷḷi are too many to be listed. While *hārō*- clearly suggests Brahmanas, *Bomma*- could sometimes be the name of an individual, may he even a non-Brahmana at least some-times.

5. There is at least one clear example where the name has *śrōtriya* (= a Brahmana) as a component. The present-day Suttūr of Nanjanagud Taluk is known more for the Viraśaiva Math there, but inscriptions tell us that it was a *brahmadēya*<sup>11</sup> or an *agrahāra*. It was also known as *Śrōtriyūr*<sup>12</sup>, according to an inscription of 1032 A.D. (Nanjanagud 215). The Brahmanas of the village are called *mahājanas* or *mūliga mahājanas*<sup>13</sup> (the original Brahmanas). 'Sattiyūr' is another form of Sottiyūr.<sup>14</sup> Sattūr of Harapanahalli Taluk may have been another *agrahāra*. In Devanahalli Taluk, there are two villages Tellōhaḷḷi *Śrōtiya* and Tehaḷḷi *Agrahāra*. Both seem to bear the same name, and it seems as if they are two gift villages, or one village divided among two groups of Brahmanas, one group naming it as a *śrōtriya* village and another group naming it as an *agrahāra* village.

Satyamangala of Tamil Nadu must have been an *agrahāra*, and it won't be a surprise if the earlier portion 'satya' comes from *śrōtriya*.

6. -*maṅgala*, -*gāla* villages. South Karnataka has a number of villages which end in -*maṅgala* or -*gāla*. They were all *agrahāras* and inscriptions prove beyond doubt that -*gāla* is another form of -*maṅgala*.

In Tamil Nadu, the *agrahāras* were called *chaturvēdimāṅgalams* and in Karnataka Chōḷa kings and following them later the Hoysaḷa kings gave different names to *agrahāras* invariably after the name of the donor. All such names ended with -*maṅgala*, and those names fell into disuse later. The word *maṅgala*, came to mean *agrahāra*. An inscription from Heggadadevanakote Taluk uses the expression *chaturvēdi-maṅgala* in the sense of a *aghrāra* or *agrahāra*<sup>15</sup> (“*Chaturvēdi:maṅgalavāda Sāgareya Śrīmadāēshsa vidyanmahājanaṅgaḷu tanma aghrārada tāmbra sāsanaṅvanu .. toralāgi*”). So to say, a large number of place-names like Nāgamaṅgala, Nelamaṅgala, Betamaṅgala, Aimaṅgala, Koramaṅgala, Vajimaṅgala etc. were all *agrahāras*. Nāgamaṅgala is described as “*śrīmadanādi agrāhāra śrī Viraballāḷa chaturvēdi bhaṭṭaratakāravāda Nāgamaṅgala*.”<sup>16</sup> During the end of the twelfth century i.e., during the time of Hoysaḷa king Viraballāḷa. During 1134 A.D.<sup>17</sup> it was called Nāgamaṅgala only. Viraballāḷa seems to have renewed the grant and given his name for the *agrahāra*, saying that the *agrahāra* ‘was an ocean containing the jewels, the Brahmana-scholars.’ Since it is called *anādi-agrahāra* in the inscriptions of the twelfth century, it was not known even in these times who instituted the *agrahāra*. It was probably called Idugur during 963-4 A.D.<sup>18</sup> and since the ‘*gāvunḍas*’ and not the ‘*mahājanas*’ are referred to, the village was not an *agrahāra* during 963-64 A.D. It seems to have been donated to Brahmanas sometime between 964 A.D. and 1134 A.D. by some one, whose name is lost for us, and hence it is one of the ‘*anādi-agrahāras*.’

An inscription of the 17th century from Vājāmaṅgala from Mysore Talk mentions the village as ‘*Ojamangala*’<sup>19</sup> (probably *Ujamangāla*), and since it refers to ‘*samasta praja gauḍagaḷu*’ and *mahājanas*, the Brahmanas who were settled there earlier seem to have migrated by the seventeenth century. *Maṅgala*, like *agrahāra*, has itself become a place-name. In Nanjanagud

Taluk, there are two places called Maṅgala, in Kollegal, and Mandya Taluks.

7. *-gala* names: place-names which end in *-gala* originally come from *-maṅgala*. Examples:

Kandagala (Gundlupet Taluk) 'Kandemaṅgala'<sup>20</sup>

Sirangala (Somavarpet Taluk) 'Sirivaṅgala'<sup>21</sup>

Kandagala (Gundlupet Taluk) Okandamaṅgala<sup>22</sup>

Hullegala (Malavalli Taluk) 'Hullavaṅgala' (1249 A.D.)<sup>23</sup>

'Hullavaṅga (lā)'<sup>24</sup> (1178 A.D)

'Hullengala' (17-8 A. D.)<sup>25</sup>

Kannagāla (Gundlupet Taluk) 'Kannavaṅgala' (1315 A.D.)<sup>26</sup>

(\*Kannavaṅgala

\*Kannamaṅgala)

Kottagala (Heggadadevanakote

Taluk) 'Kottamaṅgala' (...)<sup>27</sup>

'Kottagala' is mentioned in Nanjanagud inscription may be the same as 'Kottamaṅgala' mentioned in Nanjanagud 263 of 969 A.D. Malmbi inscription of Somavarpet Taluk (*Ep. Carn.*, I, No. 65) mentions 'Kannavaṅgala' which may be the same as Doddakanagal village of the same Taluk. The earlier name of Kottegala was 'Kologala'.<sup>28</sup> Before that time, it was known as 'Kollagarai' or 'Tribhuvanamādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgala' during the 11th cent. A.D. The final *agara* is the same as *agrahāra*. The final *-maṅgala* of the above name seems to have replaced *-agra* of the same meaning after 1224 A.D.<sup>29</sup> The development can be shown as follows.

'Kollavaṅgala' Kollēgala. The medial (*a*) becoming (*e*) is found in 'Kannagala' of the 14th-15th centuries becoming 'Kannegala' later.<sup>30</sup>

Since the place-name of the present-day Kolagala village was 'Koligala' even as early as 1053 A.D.<sup>31</sup> which is one of the earliest. It can be said that the change of *-maṅgala* *-gala* had already began to operate in the eleventh century and continued to operate even during 18th century A.D. The place-name 'Attigal' of Malavalli Taluk<sup>32</sup> is earlier than tenth century, but its consonantal ending forbids us to identify it as the name of an

agrahāra. The name still remains unidentified. "Chandigala Agrahāra" is another place-name recorded in the fifteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

Purigali of Malavalli Taluk seems to derive its name from the generic -kalve, not from : gala (maṅgala). The names Pallikale,<sup>34</sup> Tuligele, Nerilgale, Konnindagale, Ankolegale<sup>35</sup> are all from Nanjangud Taluk inscriptions belonging to the 7th, 8th and 10th centuries. None of them is identified now, and probably final generic -gale has become -gali in Purigali, and this generic is most probably from -kālve, 'a channel'.

There seem to be other names like Iṭṭige (probably from 'ksiṭka' meaning a sacrifice), Bhaṭṭarahalli which suggest Brahmana affinities. There may be other similar names and it is worthwhile unearthing them.

#### Notes and References

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2. *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 149, 1113 A.D. (Rice).
3. *Bombay Karnataka Inscriptions. I. i. p. 152, 1007 A.D.*
4. *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1942, p. 67, 1133 A.D.
5. *Ibid.*, 1932, p. 42, 1418 A.D.
6. *SII*, ix. ii. No. 408, 1364 A.D.
7. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Yellandur (Mysore Edition).
8. *Ibid.*, I, No. 60 (Mysore Edition).
9. *Ibid.*, VI, Srirangapatna, 67 (Mysore Edition).
10. *Ibid.*, III, Nanjanagud, 213 (Mysore Edition). The Tamil inscription says- "iḍaināṭṭu brahmadēya Sottiyūr."
11. *Ibid.*, Nanjanagud. 215, 1032 A.D.
12. *Ibid.*, 220, 1196-97 A.D.
13. *Ibid.*, 239, 10th century A.D.
14. *Ibid.*, III, Heggedadevanakote. 150 (Mysore Edition).
15. *Ibid.*, VII, Nāgamangala, 1, 1173 A.D. (Mysore Edition).
16. *Ibid.*, Nāgamaṅgala. 7
17. *Ibid.*, Nāgamaṅgal. 12, 963-64 A.D.
18. *Ibid.*, V. Mysore, 122 (Mysore Edition).

19. Ibid., III, Gundlupet, 28 (Mysore).
20. Ibid., I, No. 38 (Mysore Edition).
21. Ibid., III, Gundlupet, 153, (Mysore Edition).
22. Ibid., VII, Malavalli, 36 (Mysore Edition).
23. Ibid., No. 39.
24. Ibid., No. 38.
25. Ibid., III, Gundlupet, 233 (Mysore Edition).
26. Ibid., Heggadadevanakote, 5.
27. Ibid., IV, Kollegal 1, 1569 A.D. (Mysore Edition).
28. Ibid., No. 2, 11th cent. ; No. 4, 1224 A.D.
29. Ibid., Chāmarājanagar. 173, the 'Kannagala' of this inscription was an agrahāra, because it mentions 'Mahājanas' residing in the village.
30. Ibid., III, Heggadadēvanakōṭe. 32, 1053 A.D. (Mysore Edition).
31. Ibid., VII, Malavalli, 122, before 10th cent. A.D. (Mysore Edition)
32. Ibid., VI, Srirangapatna, 25, 1430 A.D. (Mysore Edition).
33. Ibid., Vol, III (Mysore Edition).
- 34 and 35. Ibid.

## NUMERICAL TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS IN KARNATAKA

MADHAV N. KATTI

It is known through innumerable inscriptions discovered in the present day Karṇāṭaka and the adjoining regions that this State had a unique system of territorial divisions which had a numerical appendage after their names. The entire Karṇāṭaka empire was known for some centuries as Raṭṭapāḍi-seven and half lakh<sup>1</sup> and had the territorial divisions like Kavaḍadvīpa-Savālakka, Gaṅgavāḍi-ninety six thousand, Noḷambavāḍi-thirty two thousand, Banavāsi-twelve thousand, Palasige-twelve thousand, Koṅkaṇa-nine hundred, smaller divisions like Panuṅgal-five hundred, Māvāḷi-five hundred, Purigere-three hundred, Beḷvola-three hundred, and still smaller divisions like Eḍvoḷal-seventy, Iṭṭige-thirty, Ātakūr-twelve, Tammiyūru-twelve etc.<sup>2</sup> While the earliest reference about the exact existence of any territorial division can be traced back to the end of the 7th century A.D.<sup>3</sup>, the period when the Chalukyas of Bādāmi had their sway over Karṇāṭaka, the latest reference could go up to the middle of the 14th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> when the Vijayanagara rulers had taken charge of the land, but perhaps not established their firm hold on the empire. After the Vijayanagara rulers established their complete hold on not only the major part of Karṇāṭaka, but the adjoining Telugu, Tamil and even Malayalam speaking territories, they seem to have abandoned the system of numerical territorial divisions, obviously because they had to follow a uniform policy for the entire empire, some parts of which did not come under the purview of such a system earlier. After the Vijayanagara power established its full hold, the divisions were no doubt referred to by their earlier names but without their numerical suffixes.

How and why this system of numerical divisions came into existence by the end of the 7th century in Karṇāṭaka and was followed with a meticulous care, by all the succeeding dynasties



like the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Kaḷachuryas, Hoyaḷas, and Sēvuṇas and the feudatory families like the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, Gōva, and others and even the Vijayanagara rulers in the early phase of their rule, what these divisions meant and whether their significance was the same throughout the seven centuries has to be examined very thoroughly and how this system helped the administrative machinery is a matter of great interest to the students of history-be it political, cultural or socio-economic.

In the affairs of State politics and administration, *Sukraniti*<sup>5</sup> presupposes the surveying of the land and prescribing the revenue for each unit like the number of *kārshāpaṇas* (coins of a particular value), on account of which the divisions, smaller and bigger get a numerical appendage after their names.<sup>6</sup>

It is a well known fact that in Karṇāṭaka the Chalukyas of Bādāmi were the first to establish an empire in the real sense. Vikramāditya I (656 to 81 A.D.),<sup>7</sup> son of Pulakēsin II, had to re-establish the sway of this dynasty, over Karṇāṭaka consequent on the defeat of his father in 642 A.D. and after that he and his successors ruled continuously upto about 757 A.D.<sup>8</sup> when the Rāshtrakūṭas succeeded to this empire. It will be very reasonable to suppose that after Vikramāditya I re-established the strong and firm hold, of this dynasty over Karṇāṭaka, by consolidating his power and perhaps reconquering many of the feudatories, the larger territory which for the first time gained the status of an empire required an administrative system which would ensure the emperor the stability and economic progress of the empire under his sway. If we take into account the fact that as early as 683 A.D., there is an inscriptional evidence, showing the existence of a numerical territorial division, *viz.* Beḷvola-300<sup>9</sup>, it would be quite proper to presume that this system had already come into existence in Karṇāṭaka by this time. Therefore, it is possible that Vikramāditya I may have himself been responsible for introducing this system which was followed by his successors. It is likely that more number of divisions were added by his successors (both of his as well as the other dynasties mentioned above) in the subsequent years, especially in the territories that were added to their

original kingdom. The Rāshṭrakuṭas had perhaps made this system perfect by completing the surveying of the entire territory and hence the empire under them came to be known as Raṭṭapāḍi-seven and half lakh. The inscriptions from the 8th century onwards<sup>10</sup> meticulously mention the territorial divisions in order of their governance or administration, first the division with the largest number, then its sub-units etc. giving them numerical figures as for example Banavāsi-12,000, then Pānuṅgal-500 etc., or Palasige-12,000, Māvalli-500, Tammiyūru-12 etc. The inscriptions not only make it clear that the divisions with smaller numerical suffixes in the given order were situated within those with the larger suffixes, but had administrative officers of lesser rank as compared to those of the larger units.<sup>11</sup> In other words Palasige-12,000, could be compared to a province, while Māvalli-500 to a District, Iṭṭige-30 or Tammiyūru-12 to a Taluk and so on. The provinces were always ruled by the Governors of the rank of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, *Mahāsāmantas*, etc., and usually by the personages of the royal family—like the queens or princes of the ruling house or by established feudatory families, the Districts and Taluks were administered by the *Daṇḍanāyakas* *Nāḷ-gāvuṇḍas*, local *Chieftains* etc. and each village had an *Urgāvaṇḍa* (the village headman). From this system it becomes absolutely clear that in formulating the system, political necessity, administrative convenience and economic viability of the units were taken into consideration. It is very interesting to point out here that Karṇāṭaka was the only State which followed this system, meticulously and effectively for nearly seven centuries. Some of the parts of the present day Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, had such divisions like Aije-mūnūru (300)<sup>12</sup> and Kannaḍa-nālasāsira<sup>13</sup> (4,000) respectively, during the times when those regions formed part of the Karṇāṭaka empire or had come under its influence in one way or the other.

There is a controversy about the interpretation of the meaning of these divisions. While some scholars opine that the numerical figures appended to the territorial divisions stood for the number of villages, others think that they indicated the tax-income of a particular number of coins or the estates or *nāḍuṣ*<sup>14</sup> etc. It is not possible to imagine that Raṭṭapāḍi-seven and half

Lakh or Kavaḍadvīpa-savālakka had so many villages within their territory, while in cases of the smallest of the units like Tammiyūru-12, the number of villages could be actually counted. It is also not the tax-income like 7-1/2 lakhs or 12,000 *paṇas* (coins) or in smaller cases 12 coins etc. of a particular value which could have been really meant by the numerical figures. It is not even the estates in the sense of *Jahagīr* etc. as the system of *Jahagīrdars*, *Dēsais*, or *Dēśpaṇḍēs* came into vogue very late, and we could not have thought of any estate-owners in the real sense of the term during the period under reference. By examining the data at our disposal and the system which was prevalent for nearly seven centuries, I feel that the numerical figures connote the number of units in an agricultural system where the land was demarcated into so many units<sup>15</sup> taking into account the yield of the land in terms of the economic value, based on which the annual tax or revenue in cash or kind could be assessed. In case of the smallest numerical divisions even the villages, along with the land under their territorial limit, could have been regarded as single units. The economic viability of the land was the main criterion in the formation of such units which in their turn were grouped into small and big divisions as explained above, keeping in view the exigencies of administration. Thus, any number of units could be under a particular village, the smallest unit being one. In the same way the number of units did not signify the same number of villages in all cases. For instance, a District did not necessarily have the same number of villages as the numerical figure after its name indicated. Throughout all the seven centuries, the territorial units may not have remained the same in all cases, due to the additions or loss of territories (on account of territorial re-adjustments because of political or administrative reasons); but the basic idea must have been upheld by the successive generations of rulers. It was not the tax-income in terms of number of coins (like *paṇas* or *gadyāṇas*), which could not have remained the same through out, when even the actual value of money must have undergone a change, nor the number of villages, in all cases, which naturally changed during the centuries, nor even the system of estates as each estate presupposes an owner for it, which was not the case during

the centuries under reference. It was, therefore, a system which was based on the demarcation of land into units, taking into account the agricultural yield of the land, in relation to the economic value of the produce<sup>16</sup>.

It may also be stated here that in the basic concept, each unit may be required to be under a cultivator, which may or may not be the case in the actual practice. The smallest unit may be cultivated by one individual or a number of units could be under one cultivator. At times, several units under the ownership of one rich person may be cultivated by a number of individuals, who may be the registered cultivators or tenants for the time being, not owning the land, but doing the actual cultivation and giving a part of the produce to the actual owner of the land.<sup>17</sup> Thus the number of units of land demarcated and brought under cultivation<sup>18</sup> at the time when the system of numerical territorial divisions was formulated and given effect to must have signified the numerical figures which are met with after the territorial divisions. During the centuries that followed, after the numerical territorial divisions were established and gained currency, majority of the divisions were not given new numerical figures but retained the original ones,<sup>19</sup> inspite of the fact that there might have been some change in the number of actual units due to various reasons as explained above. In the same way, whenever new divisions were formed, the basic principle must have been kept up.

It may be stated that tax on land from each territorial division was assessed on the strength of the number of units under such a territory.<sup>20</sup> Thus Karṇāṭaka had developed a distinct administrative system based on agricultural economy, which stood for the longest period in the history of any State in India.

#### Notes and References

1. This signified the Karṇāṭaka empire from the time of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Raṭṭapāḍi could be derived from the words *Raṭṭa + pāḍi* meaning the *pāḍi* under the administration of the Raṭṭas i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭas. Also *Vide* Shri K. G. Krishnan, '*Studies in Indian History and Culture*', (Dharwar, 1971), p. 270 ff,

2. These divisions can be met with in a number inscriptions. *Vide* G.S. Dikshit, *Local Self Government* (Dharwar 1964), pp. 24 ff.
3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 4, p. 3.
4. *Ibid.*, Nos. 229 and 230, pp. 278 ff.
5. V. S. Agarwal, *Harsha Charita: Ek Sāmskṛitika Adhyayan* (Hindi-Patna, 1964), pp. 223-24. I am thankful to my colleague Shri S.P. Tewari, for drawing my attention to this reference.
6. *Ibid.*
7. P.B. Desai, *A History of Karnataka*, (Dharwar, 1970) pp. 100 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
9. *S.I.I.*, *op-cit*, p. 3.
10. G. S. Dikshit, *op-cit*; also *Vide Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXIII p. 310.
11. G. S. Dikshit, *Ibid.* and *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, No. B 407 to
12. I have also discussed this at length in an article submitted for *Ep. Ind.*, (under publication) and in my paper *Concept of Karnataka as a State*, presented at the 1st Karnataka History Congress, organised by the Mysore University in the year 1980. *Vide* also Dr. S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, *Bhāavi* (December 1979), pp. 9 ff.
12. *A.R.Ep.*, *Ibid.*, No. B. 28.
13. Madhav N. Katti (ed.), *J.P.N.S.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 97-98: Some areas of Tamil Nadu which may have at times come under the sway or even influence of the Karṇāṭka rulers must have also adopted this system, but we have yet to come across solid examples of the numerical territorial divisions in that region. We come across a stray instance of one numerical territorial division in the Tamil speaking area, *viz.* Milāḍu-iraṇḍāyiram (i.e. two thousand. *Vide, Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 146). I am thankful to Shri Krishnan for drawing my attention to this reference.
14. G.S. Dikshit, *op. cit.* pp. 26-28 and A.S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and their times* (Poona, 1934), pp. 136 ff; especially pp. 147 ff. According to the 'Nāḍu' theory, each nāḍu was having a 'thousand' villages, which is also not accepted by many scholars.

15. In the North Karnataka area each land unit is called *hola* (field). I am thankful to my colleague Dr. K. V. Ramesh, who informs me that in some parts of North Karnataka, the distance in between any two given villages is measured in terms of the land units i.e. *holas*. It may be mentioned that a *hola* varies in its area. A prson may be owning a *hola* of two acres or ten acres etc., which indicates that it is more as a unit of land rather than of a particular measurement that a *hola* is referred to. Same can be said about the wet land *viz.* *gadde* or a garden *tōḷa* etc. We may remember that in the earliest stages when the system was introduced the land units as explained in the article, were formed according to their economic viability, which does not necessarily mean the same area for each unit, for a unit of wet land with a higher economic yield may be smaller in area than a unit of dry land or even amongst dry lands a unit where cotton is grown or mango-grove is developed need not be the same in area as that where the crop is *Jawār* or wheat. Its annual yield in terms of cash could be taken as the viability for the formation of each unit and this could be the underlying principle, whenever the new units were formed. We come across the terms like *mattar*, *kamma*, *nivarttana* etc., for linear measurements and the fields fot instance could be any number of *mattars* in measurement.

The Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, dated in Śaka 556 (634 A D.), states that this ruler (Pulakēsin) established his hold over the Mahārāshṭraka-traya, [the three *mahārāshṭras*-probabiy parts of the present day Karṇāṭaka, especially its northern portion, and the adjoining regions of Mahārāshṭra and Andhra Pradesh. I have discussed this issue in detail in my paper 'Concept of Karnataka as a State' referred to above], which is presumed to have consisted of ninety nine thousand villages (*nava-navati-sahasra-grāma-bhājām*). Dr. Ramesh is of the opinion that the term *nava-navati-sahasra* indicates the number of permanent land tenancies distributed over a defined political territory. In the light of the above discussion, I may point out that the phrase *nava-navati-sashasra-grāma-bhājām* appears to indicate (persons who enjoyed the produce from) ninety nine thousand units of land. Thus it can be said that the area of the three Mahā-rāshṭras consisted of or had under its territory ninety nine thousand agricultural land units. This may have.

provided the basic concept for the formation of numerical territorial divisions consisting of units of land as explained in the article. The system of numerical territorial divisions which was introduced by the Karṇāṭaka rulers, was followed by the rulers of the adjoining areas, even when they were not part of the Karṇāṭaka empire, as this system must have been found very convenient in various ways.

16. It is possible that even forest lands, un-cultivable or barren lands where grass could grow and on which the State could levy certain percentage of tax could also have been taken into account while demarcating the land into units or while the total area under a territorial division—big or small was decided. This would be one of the causes for the varying size of different territorial divisions.

17. In this context it can be said that it was not always a single family or head of a family who might have been the only cultivator of a particular unit or units of land. Three adult-sons of a person, for instance, could be the tenants of three separate units of land, while the father himself may be a cultivator of a separate unit or each one of them may be cultivating more than one unit. Therefore, I am unable to take the number as representing number of families or permanent land tenants.

18. The total number of units under any territorial division newly formed naturally included the lands which were under cultivation upto and at the time when the system was introduced. A number of inscriptions refer to the *mūligas* of a particular place. The term seems to indicate persons who were the original cultivators of land in respect of such a place.

19. Of course, in some cases the divisions gain new numbers for example Koṅkaṇa-900 becomes Koṅkaṇa-14,000. This can also be seen in case of the Veṅgi division which has the figure 1000, 12,000, 13,000, 16,000 etc.

20. The amount of tax must have varied from time to time and area to area, depending upon the actual yield of the crop, which in turn depended upon the rains, irrigation-facilities etc. and the political conditions or other emergencies like the natural calamities and so on, though in principle it could be a unit-wise assessment.

A NOTE ON THE PATTERNS OF THE  
PERSONAL NAMES IN GUJARAT AS AVAILABLE  
FROM KSHATRAPA EPIGRAPHS

RASESH JAMINDAR

I have attempted in this small note, in a cursory manner to make a study of the personal-names of Gujarat at the time when it was under the Western Kshatrapa rule. As we all know the Western Kshatrapa kings of Śaka origin ruled over Gujarat for more than three centuries after Christ i.e. from c. 23 to 398 A.D. Silver coins issued by these rulers are the most copious source material for reconstructing the chronology and genealogy of Western Kshatrapa dynasty. Nearly 30 stone-inscriptions of the time of the Western Kshatrapa kings are also of much importance as they throw some more light on fixing the upper limit of the chronology of these rulers.

For this note the following epigraphical evidences have been used.

As we all know there is everything attached to names, even though Shakespeare has said 'what is there in a name'. Contrary to this, name is rather every thing. Name helps us to get the clear idea about any object, thought or action. Viewed from this angle it is pertinent to study names, whether personal or place, for cultural understanding.

By the close observation of the personal-names as found in the Kshatrapa coins and inscriptions, one gets some glimpses about the patterns of naming the persons in the then Gujarat region. The only limitation here is that whatever personal-names we find in these records are mostly those of kings, and therefore it is difficult to get more information pertaining to the system of giving names in Gujarat in general during Western Kshatrapa rule.

At the very first sight it seems that some of the names of these (Western Kshatrapa) kings have had some foreign influence as



they came to India from Central Asia *via* Iran; that is the personal-names other than those of Bhūmaka, Nahapāna, Ysamotik and the names having Dāman as the last term in compound (i.e. suffix) are Indianised. Lack of proper sources do not allow us to enlighten more on the tradition of personal-names in the then Gujarat.

Names like *Rudradāman*, *Rudrasimha*, *Rudrasēna* and *Rudrabhūti* are so common amongst the Western Kshatrapa kings that it seems that many of them took their names from the religious faith they were following i.e. the Śaivism. The first unit of the compound in all these names is *Rudra* i.e. *Śiva*. Of course, this was not the faith of the royal-family but as many as nine kings and one general (i.e. *Rudrabhūti*) had subscribed to this faith. We come across 2 *Rudradāmans*, 3 *Rudrasimhas* and 4 *Rudrasēnas*.

Strangely enough, that the names having *simha* as their first unit were not in much use for we have just a lone example of the 3rd sister of *Simhasēna* son of the *Rudrasēna*. As for the cases *dāma* as prefix, we come across one *Dāmsēna* and two *Dāmajadśri*.

Contrary to this, *simha* and *sēna* as the suffixes in the compound were much in vogue as found in the names of *Viśvasimha*, *Rudrasimha*, *Satyasimha*, *Viśvasēna*, *Damasēna*, *Simhasēna*, *Siddhasēna* and *Rudrasēna*. Of these *Simhasēna* is a typical name having both *simha* and *sēna* as prefix and suffix at a time. Likewise personal names having *dāman* as suffix were also much popular as we have *Rudradāman*, *Jayadāman*, *Jivadāman*, *Yasodāman*, *Satyadāman*, *Sanḡhudāman*, *Viradāman* and *Bhartrudāman*.

*Rishabhadatta*, *Trēshḡhadatta*, *Isvaradatta* and *Usavadatta* are name having *datta*-suffixes in them. *Yaśadatta*, *Jyēshḡhavira*, *Dakṣhamitra*, *Padmāvati* and *Durlabhadēvi* are few names of the women we find in the Kshatrapa records. It is difficult to elicit any significance in the names of *Dinik*, *Ayama*, *Sihil* etc.

Having indicated the personal names found from the Kshatrapa records in Gujarat, I now broadly classify them into the following categories :

1. Names originating from the personal-names of Gods such as *Rudra*, *Iśvāra*, *Rishabha Ushava*.
2. Names adopted from the names of animals, flowers and vegetation such as *siṃha* (Lion), *Vṛishabha* (Ox), *padma* (lotus), *parṇa* (leaf).
3. Names signifying the character, quality or the abstractness of the first terms of the personal-names such as, *satya*, *daksha*, *jyēṣṭha*, *vira*, *bhartru*, *jāyā*, *yaśa*.
4. Names derived from constellation such as *vtśākhā*.

It can be concluded, in the light of facts cited above, that personal names provide useful information on a variety of things and aspects of cultural history and enhance our knowledge about the past.

## IMPACT OF ENGLISH AND TRADITION ON PLACE NAMES

C. R. SRINIVASAN

Every name has got its own connotation. This is governed by so many factors such as ethnological, etymological, anthropological, geographical, mythological, historical, traditional and religious elements. In a wider sense, the place derives a name depending upon any one of these elements cited above. Thus the name of a place has got its own story to tell in regard to its character or association.

When one remembers the place Jāliyanwālābāg, he recollects the sordid and melancholic episode of the British rule. If the student scans the pages of history, the name Rakkasa Taṅgaḍi makes him recall the nostalgic memories of the fall of Vijayanagara—the so called city of victory—bending so low to the barbaric and brutal attack of the minor rulers on a mighty empire of pristine glory. Here an attempt is made to present how some of the places bearing English names now have undergone perceptible or imperceptible changes in the vernacular or *vice-versa*.

To illustrate, there is a place called Hamilton Bridge *i.e.*, a bridge named after Mr. Hamilton in the Madras city between Mylapore and Triplicane. Till recently it was called as 'Barber's Bridge.' It is a very fascinating story bringing to light how Mr. Hamilton became a barber. The fact is that the natives could not pronounce the name of Mr. Hamilton but only succeeded in pronouncing as Ambaṭṭan. In colloquial Tamil *ambaṭṭan* (lit. *ambaṭṭan*) means a barber. Thus the bridge came to be known as Amaṭṭan-vārāvadi and *vārāvadi* being a Tamil translation of the English word 'bridge'. In course of time, the original name was completely lost sight of. An enthusiastic translator rendered it into English as 'Barber's Bridge'. Of course, it is a faithful Tamil translation of Amaṭṭan-vārāvadi. I understand that fortunately the fate of Mr. Hamilton has now been rehabilitated.

Let me take another place name *viz.* St. Thomas Mount. This is a suburb of Madras wherein the residents are mostly Anglo-Indians professing Christianity. There is a small church on a hillock tracing its origin to the renowned St. Thomas of the remote past and who is said to have performed miracles there during his visit. Though it retains the original name as St. Thomas Mount, curiously enough even now it is being called in Tamil as Paraṅgi-malai, 'The Mountain of the whites.' *Paraṅgi* is a nick-name given to an Englishman by the native Tamils. In Tamil the word *paraṅgi* denotes the 'sweet cucumber', the colour of which is closely akin to the colour of an English man or an European. Here the analogy of colour between the cucumber and the foreigner was the criteria in naming the first European settlers of this place. It is to be noted here that *Faraṅgi* is a Portuguese word and it is nothing to do with cucumber. *Fa* becoming *pa* is a common feature in Tamil language. In reality, *faraṅgi* is a variant of *firaṅgi* (*birāṅgi*) and it means a cannon. The longest road that leads to St. Thomas Mount from the city was known as Mount Road. But it is now renamed as 'Aṅṅā-Sālai' after the Ex-Chief Minister, Annadurai.

The colour analogy, as a matter of fact, did not hold good in another case. When the Britishers or British settlers set their feet on Indian soil first as traders and later as empire builders, they never hesitated to build fortifications—first for the safety of their goods and later for the defence and aggressive activities. Thus Fort St. George came into existence. The whites were dwelling in the fortified area. They used to call those natives who were outside the fort as 'Blackies' and their quarters as 'Black-Town'. The rebellious blood of the Indians never tolerated the apartheid policy of the British. When the city blossomed into one of the important metropolis and when the natives realised the implication of the name 'Black Town', they put up a strong remonstrance and representation and succeeded in getting the name changed at last into George Town which at present is comprised of several streets covering a very large complex of business centre.

Parry's corner, just opposite to the High Court Buildings, is an important place and also the terminus) for the city buses. On

hearing the name Parry's corner, one may easily be tempted to associate it with Paris, the capital of France. This euphonic affinity has nothing to do with France. This is a place where William Parry started his business scores and scores of years ago. Housed in 'Dare House', now this company which bears the name of the founder on the sign board has a wide net work of factories all over the State and caters to the need of the urban and rural masses of India. From the present Tamil rendering *Pāri Muṇai* there is every chance of committing the howler to trace its origin from the name of a king called Pāri of the literary fame who has become now a by word for benevolence and philanthropy.

Egmore and Madras Central are the two important Railway Station at Madras. While the former is intended for the passengers bound South the latter is for the North-bound passengers. Egmore is actually the 'Gate way of the South'. Eḷumbūr is the modern Tamil name which has been Anglicized as Egmore. It was also called *Eḷukiṇaru* probably due to the existence of seven wells. The inscriptional references do tell us in unequivocal terms that it was called as Eḷumūr or Eḷumūr-nāḍu.

The China Bazaar was so named because of the imported Chinese-wares that were sold in this part of the city. This is now renamed as Subhashchandra Bose Road after the independence. The pavement vendors of this bazaar are now evicted by the order of the High Court and they are now permitted to have their shops in an alternative place where the traffic congestion is less. But the story of the present Burma Bazaar on the Beach Line Road is different. The Indian Nationals of Burma who were evicted from there on account of political turmoil set up a Bazaar consisting of a row of huts of combustible materials. To eke out their livelihood they began to sell the foreign fancy goods which they had brought along with their meagre belongings. These unauthorised vendors contrived to get the approval of the State Government for setting up the Bazaar as a part of the scheme of rehabilitation of repatriates from Burma.

The Arermenian Street derives its name because of its association with the Arermenian traders of the bygone past. Strangely it is now being called in Tamil as Aramanaikkāra Street which

means the street of the persons of the Palace. In Tiruchi, there is a street called Pulivār Road. In Mysore there is a street which goes by the name Bullward Road. A careful study of these two streets reveals that is nothing but the French word Boulevard which can be defined as a parallel Road in which there should be a row of trees in between. It is well-known that in an avenue the trees should be on either side of the Road. Thus the French word Boulevard has changed completely in the above two cases as Pulivār and Bullward. These are in no way connected with tiger (*puli*) or bull.

The two important places in Madras are Triplicane and Mylapore. Inscriptional and religious literatures attest to their hoary past and both the places are held in high reverence by the Śaivite and Vaishṇavites. The Tamil name Tiru-allik-kēṇi means the sacred Lilly Tank. Some later works give the Sanskrit equivalent as *Kairavini*. The traditional account says that the great religious reformer Rāmānuja was born to his parents only when they had a holy dip in this tank as advised by Tirukkachchi-nambi. Later Āḷvārs refer to this place as Mā-Mayilai, Māvallikkēṇi or Mā-Mayilai-Tiruvallikkēṇi i.e., clubbing Mylapore with Triplicane as Mylapore happens to be the birth place of Pēyāḷvār. The aliens however spelt it as Triplicane, which has gained so much currency.

Similarly Mylapore was known to be the centre of the Kāpālikās. The local legend says that Pārvatī worshipped Śiva in the form of a peacock and the place was called as Mayil+ārpu Mayilāppil and Mayilāpuri. The phrase *Mayilārpu* means the majestic strut of a peacock. The Tamil sources add that this was the place where Pūmpāvai was revived to life by Tirujñāna-sambandar from the mortal remains that were interned in a pot. The foreign sources give different variants such as Mahilup, Mirapōlis, Mirapōr, Malēpur and Mailapore and Portuguese sources particularly call Mylapore as Santhome, though Santhome is a locality of Mylapore. The Apostle, St. Thomas of First century A.D. was stabbed here by a spear and was laid to rest in the Santhome Church. Mylapore was also a centre of Jainism. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the author of *Tirukkuraḷ* is stated to have lived here.

Pallāvaram, another suburban area definitely traces its origin to the erstwhile Pallavas. The generic *varam* is nothing but *pura* and thus it denotes Pallāvaram was bustling with activities during the reign of the Pallavas. Minambākkam which is yonder perhaps signify that it was the habitat of the fisherman. The ancient name Minavan+pākkam, rather in the course of centuries might have been syncopated as Minampākkam.

The suffix *pākkam* deserves some explanation. It is generally tagged to a place on the coastal belt or a place near the lake, tank etc. As such, in Madras we do have examples—Kōḍambākkam, Nuṅgampākkam, Chēppākkam (Chepauk) etc. Of course, these examples can be multiplied. The Chetput of the present day was Sēṅrupaṭṭu or colloquially, Sēttupaṭṭu which means 'Marshy land'.

Likewise the suffix *pāḍi* in place names indicate that it was a military contonment or out-post. Vyāsarpāḍi of North Madras which comes under the ancient territorial division Puḷal-nāḍu/kūṅgam probably was one such on account of the strategic position. For e.g., Kāṭṭpāḍi, Torappāḍi, Kaniyampāḍi, Vāṅgaḍipāḍi, etc. The geographical position of these *pāḍis* reveals that they are formed on either side of the bank of the rivers probably in order to defend the vulnerable points and to avoid the infiltration of the foes.

Sadras is about 35 miles south of Madras. It was a Dutch settlement from 1647 and it was taken by British in 1795. Again the Portuguese got it back in 1818. Finally in 1824 it was ceded to the British by the Portuguese in exchange for some of the places under British rule in Sumatra. This place was noted for its fine flourishing muslin industry. The ancient name of the place was Chaturāṅgappaṭṭaṅam<sup>1</sup>. Rājanārāyaṅa Sambuvarāya's inscription mentions this place as Rājanārāyaṅappaṭṭiṅam. Covelong, 20 miles south of Madras was another Dutch settlement. East India company built a trading station and Fort. Fort, Saadat Bandar was built by Anwar-ud-Din in 1744. The French took this place by surprise. Lord Clive retrieved it in 1752. This place was noted for its salt pans. The Tamil name is Kō-valam. *Kō* means Lord or king and *vaḷam* signifies fertility. Probably it was a revenue yielding port of its salt trade.

22nd August 1639: It was the red letter day for the East India Company. The Grand Vazier, Lord General of Karnatic Damailā Venkaṭa, son of Chenna of the Velugōṭi family of Kālahasti graciously permitted Francis Day to build a Fort, in the little village Madraspatam which consisted of 15 to 20 fishermen's hut. The Fort was completed on 23rd April, 1640 a day which coincided with St. George's Day. The Fort came to be known as Fort St. George. Scholars derive the word Madras variously from Madresan (fisherman), Madarasa (Mohammadan College), Madre de Deus (of St. Mary's Church), and Madras-kuppam (Mss. from Persian source), Maddarazu (Local chief).

The present name Chennai, an abbreviated version of Chennappaṭṭanam clearly owes its origin to Chennappa-nāyakka, father of Venkaṭa who permitted the British to have the land. In conclusion, I would like to point out that the study of the place names of different quarters of any given major coastal city or town and its neighbouring settlements will be of absorbing interest in as much as there is likely to be a significant interplay of the influence of different foreign tongues. My paper is a very cursory and random attempt and further exertions in this field are bound to be rewarding.

#### Notes and References

- 1 *A.R Ep.*, 1933, Nos. 103-04.

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