

Studies
In
Indian Place Names

(Bhāratīya Sthalanāma Patrikā)

Journal of The Place Names Society of India
VOLUME XXXVII
2018

Secretary and Executive Editor
M.D. SAMPATH



Published by
The Place Names Society of India
Mysore

Studies in Indian Place Names (Bhāratīya Sthalanāma Patrikā)
Volume XXXVII, 2018. Published by THE PLACE NAMES SOCIETY OF INDIA,
Mysore - 570 030

First Published 2018

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Mysore

The Publication of this journal has been financially supported by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. The responsibility for the facts stated, opinions expressed or conclusions reached is entirely that of the authors of the articles and The Indian Council of Historical Research accepts no responsibility for them.

Books can be had from
The Secretary and Executive Editor
Place Names Society of India
D-133, 22nd Cross, Vijayanagar 3rd Stage
Mysore-570 030, Karnataka

ISSN 2394-3114

*DTP Composed and Printed in India by S.K. Lakshminarayana at
Ready Print, V.V.Mohalla, Mysore-570 002*

THE PLACE NAMES SOCIETY OF INDIA, MYSORE

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Foreword

It is a matter of gratification that the Society has brought out in unflinching succession the 37th volume of its journal. The publication of the present volume is entirely due to the exertions of Dr. M.D. Sampath, the Executive Editor.

I offer my sincere thanks to Late Prof. D. Javare Gowda, Chief Patron, on account of whose efforts, the Society is growing day by day. I am deeply grateful to Dr. P. Krishna Reddy and other members from the department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati but for whose efforts the 36th Annual Conference held at Tirupati would not have achieved the appreciation and success it has earned. Dr. P.N. Narasimha Murthy, Mandya was the General President of the 36th Conference, while Dr. Shankar Goyal, Jodhpur, delivered Prof. Ku.Si. Haridas Bhat Shashti-poorti Endowment Lecture No. 28 and Dr. C. Chenga Reddy, Tirupati delivered Prof. D. Javare Gowda Endowment Lecture. I am highly thankful to these scholars to all our patrons and members for their unstinted support to all our efforts in keeping the Society active and effective. The patronage of the department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati the well known educational institution was mainly responsible for the success of the PNSI Conference held at Tirupati. We are sure that they will continue to bestow their blessings on the Society in the years to come.

Mysore-570 030
1st February 2018

T.S. Ravishankar
Chairman

Editorial

I am extremely happy to place before the readers and research scholars the 37th Volume of the Society's journal. The volume contains the subject matter reflecting the original and assiduous research work of scholars from all parts of the country. I express my sincere thanks, on behalf of the Office-Bearers and Members of the Executive Committee to the department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati. It is due to the concerted and sincere efforts of Dr. P. Krishna Reddy and other members from the department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati that the XXXVI Annual Conference held at Tirupati achieved a grand success. I am deeply thankful to all of them. I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude and respects to our *āchārya* Late Prof. D. Javare Gowda, Founder-President and Chief Patron of the Society, who continues to guide me and the members of the Society in all our activities.

Dr. P.N. Narasimha Murthy, Mandya, who was the General President of the 36th Conference, while Dr. Shankar Goyal delivered Prof. Ku.Si. Haridas Bhat Shashtiipoorti Endowment Lecture No. 28 and Dr. C. Chenga Reddy, Tirupati delivered Prof. D. Javare Gowda Endowment Lecture, richly deserves our sincere and healthy thanks for inspiring us with their thought-provoking addresses.

My thanks are due to the Office-Bearers and Executive Committee Members who have helped me in various ways and supported the cause of the Society. The Society is highly thankful to the authorities of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi for their generous financial assistance in bringing out this journal regularly. I am sure that more scholars will come forward to enrol themselves as life members of the Society in the years to come. The Onomastic studies is slowly dwindling day by day and it is high time the universities should take up steps to

introduce this subject as a curricula. This august assembly will help the Society to augment this process. My thanks are due to Sri. M. Suresh, Treasurer who has spared no pains in maintaining the accounts and correspondence of the Society systematically. I am highly thankful to the members of the society and other well wishers who have helped the society to grow from strength to strength. I express my sincere gratitude to Sri S.K. Lakshminarayana of Ready Print and to his staff including Smt. Hemalatha and Sri Manjunath and to the printers Sri Muttu and his colleagues for accomplishing the production of this volume on time.

Mysore-570 030
1st February 2018

M.D. Sampath
Secretary and Executive Editor

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

P.N. Narasimha Murthy

Honourable Dignitaries, Guests of Honour, Dear Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

At the outset I express my deep sense of gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Place Names Society of India for unanimously selecting me as the General President of the 36th Annual Session of the Society being hosted by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati. I am very glad to say that we are meeting thirty years after we met here (from 20th-22nd December) in 1986. The occasion was the 8th Annual Conference of the Place Names Society of India hosted by the S.V. University. Prof. G.N. Reddy, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University had taken very active role in making the Conference a success. Prof. Reddy earlier in 1982 had delivered a thought provoking Presidential Address when we met at Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh for the third Annual Session of the Society. Prof. Reddy was then holding the post of Principal of the University College at Tirupati. But, More than that he had built his enigmatic strength as a great scholar in Onomastic studies and had influenced a number of young scholars to enter into this field of study. I am very much thankful to the present Vice-Chancellor and the Faculty of the Department of Ancient Indian History, of the S.V. University, who have made me, member of the great heritage of the University in Onomastic Studies.

The seeds sown in 1977 sprouted in 1978 and the Place Names Society of India came into existence at

Mysore with Prof. D. Javare Gowda as founder President and Dr. S.S. Ramachandra Murthy as founder Secretary. holding a National Conference in the name of the fresh born baby was not an easy task. The close friendship between Prof. D. Javare Gowda and Prof. K.S. Haridas Bhat made the task easy and the Rashtrakavi Govinda Pai Samshodhana Kendra, M.G.M. College, Udupi, became the venue of the First National Conference of the Place Names Society of India in 1979. Dr. V.I. Subramoniam from Trivandrum became the General President. The Executive Committee of the Society planned to publish the First Volume of its Journal "Studies in Indian Place Names" on this occasion. The editorial Board promptly worked and got the Journal released in the Inaugural Session. I am happy to say that this practice is being continued till this day. Our thanks are due to the Editorial Board and the Executive Editor.

I am happy to recollect now that as a Founder Member, I had to shoulder much responsibility in conducting the First National Conference of the Society. With the blessings of Lord Krishna, the presiding Deity of Udupi, the Conference became a grand discuss beyond the expectations of all. With this spirit of success of the First Conference I have just moved to Tirupati with the hope that I witness the success of the 36th Conference.

Friends, the number of Founder Members is dwindling fast during these days. Stalwarts like G.S. Gai, Sri Madhav N. Katti, Prof. K.S. Haridas Bhat, Dr. K.V. Ramesh who was an ardent worker, thinker, scholar-par-excellence and a friend and guide to all of all ages and many more are no more. The Patron and the Founder President of the Society Prof. D. Javare Gowda was

mainly responsible for the establishment of the Place Names Society of India and getting to it along with Dr. K.V. Ramesh and National and International recognition. Many Onomastic scholars of our country who graced the Society as General Presidents in several of its Annual Conferences are also no more. With all humility and a sense of gratitude I pay my respects to these revered souls for I am proud to say that I had very good contact with all these personalities.

Despite this doom I am happy to see amidst us today my good friend Dr. S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, the Founder Secretary of the Place names Society of India. I pay my respect and Good Wishes for his long and healthy life. He deserves our applause and appreciation.

Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, I am happy to add, is holding the Conference for the second time and has enabled the scholars round the country to assemble here and bow to the sacred feet of Lord Balaji. For this act of nobility all of us - the Society, the Delegates and I are highly indebted to the University and to its authorities.

II

I feel the place Tirupati is quite appropriate for an assemblage like this to discuss about the heritage, problems and prospects of the Onomastic Studies of Bharata, our land. The presiding deity is very generous for He has given us the different names to think. Our people in ancient times have proved their greatness in discovering the abode of the Almighty by climbing the top of the topmost point of Seven Hills. They called Him the Lord of Seven Hills (Edukondala-vada) and started his worship.

Then, the curiosity they surveyed the entire group of Seven Hills and listed a number of enchanting places, named then and began to all the Lord after these names. As a result of all these exercises we got a long list of names preserved in the format "*Ashtottara-shata-namavali*" and "*Sahasra namavali*" of the God of Tirupati. To-day we have the heritage of doing the *archana* of the Lord while chanting these names. Thus we find our ancient people proving themselves as very good Onamasticians. This, in a way, is a process of 'Cultural tendencies' and an expression of 'intellectual genius' of a people. Maj. Gen. G.C. Agarwal is of the opinion that although "the names are attributed to features primarily for their identification, apart from various other parameters, they are true surviving representatives of ancient culture and heritage of man" (Presidential Address in the IX Conference of the PNSI 1988, Anantapur, JPNSI, Vol. X, 1989).

The intellectual genius of the people of the Vedic times was par-excellent. They studied every natural phenomenon in relation to human growth and have recorded them with appropriate names at appropriate places. They moved between the earth and heaven through the process of thinking and investigation, scaled the heights of the Himalayas, got down to the gorges, dipped themselves in the holy waters of the rivers, grazed their herds in the meadows, chanted the Vedic verses and enjoyed their life with music, singing and dancing. The names given to the mountain ranges in the north and Deccan viz., the Himalayas and the Vindhya have remained as the greatest symbols of the heritage of the country. The river valleys have become cradles of human activities and cultural heritage since

the dim past. Their very names speak of their sacredity and reflect the religious temperament of the people ever since they started flowing in this land.

Even a small thing and a simple incident went through their observation and got names very aptly. Kusha or Darbha is a grass grown commonly throughout the country. How fine it is to know that this kusha/darbha became the name of a region, a person and a place. Darbhanga is a place and a region in north India. Kusha is the name of one of the sons of Sri Rama. Darbhe (the Kannada version of Darbha) is a village name and this village exists in the Puttur Taluk of Dakshina Kannada District of Coastal Karnataka. In Goa there is a region called Kushastali.

During the period of Great Epics the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the cultural heritage of the country along with the names of the places crystallised. Much part of the country seems to be the sporting ground of the Epic Ramayana. Ceylon, the Island nation got its name changed to Sri Lanka for the place Lanka has obtained a very prominent place in Ramayana. Sri Rama after reaching Dhanushkodi built a bridge across the sea to Lanka. The remnants of a bridge below the shallow waters of the Bay called the 'Adams Bridge', reminds us of its antiquity. Rameshwaram speaks of the story of Rama installing the Shivalinga there. As a result the God Shiva got the name 'Rameshwara' and from it the place got the name. Anjanadri, a place near Hampi is identified as the place of birth of Hanuman who became an ardent *bhakta* of Sri Rama.

The stage of the Epic *Mahābhārata* spreads over the entire sub-continent. In many parts of South India

we have the reminiscence of the sojourn of the Pāṇḍavas. The place Hānagal (Hāveri District, Karnataka) is identified as the Virāṭanagari of the *Mahābhārata* times where the Pāṇḍavas spent their last and the most crucial year (of the *ajñāta-vāsa*). There is a hill range near the town of Pāṇḍavapura in Mandya district. It is called 'Kunti-betta'. It is said the Kunti stayed here along with her sons. During this time of sojourn Bhima killed the demon Bakāsura who was residing in one of the hills here. Be the tradition is true or not the cultural heritage of place 'Kunti-betta' is unassailable and draws our attention to the period of *Mahābhārata*. Many artifacts of various stone-age periods commencing from the Palaeolithic age have been discovered in this region. During the rule of Tippu this area had become the camping ground of the French army hence, came to be called 'French rocks.' However, the town below the hills came to be called 'Pāṇḍavapura' after the Kunti-betta.

The examples here are limited to space and time. Such examples as this can be multiplied to any extent with reference to any part of the country.

The process of cultural synthesis spread to the nook and corner of the country during the period of the Purāṇas. It reached every social order named properly and surveyed the geographical extent of the ancient land and providing a good name to it. In this regard a verse in *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is worthy of being quoted here:

*Uttaram yat samudrasya
Himadras-chchaiva Dakshinam |
Varsham tad Bharatam namah
Bharati yatra santati ||*

It is difficult to find a better expression to our ancient land than this. The land is named Bharata and the people who live here are Bharatiyas. These two names have imbibed in themselves the power and strength of everlasting nature for they are inspiring the country even to-day despite the social, racial, cultural, linguistic and political vicissitudes that the country has witnessed from time to time.

Lo, what happened to this ancient name of the land and its people is later history of the country. The land was made open to foreign invasions and the first to invade were the Persians. They occupied portions of the Sindhu valley in the West. Since the letter 'sa' was not there in their alphabet they took the nearest letter 'ha' and called the river Hindu. The Greeks, who followed next, called the river Indus (Indhai). Further later the Muslims who began to invade the land often from the 8th century A.D., onwards, picked-up the Persian name Hindu or Sindhu and called the land Hindustan and the people Hindus.

This process did not stop at this stage. The European invasions to the beginning of the modern age caused another change. The European geographers and traders got the knowledge of our country through the Greeks and hence they were familiar with the Greek names Indus and Indhai. Finally it was the English who standardised the name of this land. They called the land 'India' and the people 'Indians'. These names linger on even to-day.

The impact of all these was great. The Persian and Greek impacts were short lived for they were overpoured by the strong Muslim invasions. Its influence on

the society, culture, religion, language and polity was very strong and totally new. In course of time this new influence spread throughout the country. Many places came up with new names. True, to a certain extent this process went on drastically till the close of the 17th century. All these have now become an inseparable part of our country's history and culture.

Similar is the European and in particular, the British impact on our country. The European religion, languages, cultures and society, the customs and habits etc., percolated into every nook and corner of our country very steadily through the politics of trade, war, administration, health and education programmes. The European custom of naming the places and persons has crept into our land. Now, the religion Christianity and the Western culture have become inseparable parts of the country's history and culture.

Many cities with new names came up; e.g., Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. In recent times these names have been changed to their original names as Chennai (for Madras), Kolkota (for Calcutta) and Mumbai (for Bombay).

Topography has played a major influencing role in naming of places in our country. Hence the names of places located in mountainous regions, hills, valleys, river banks, plains, arid zones etc., differ in their qualities and factors of influence. Here we come across different shades of cultural diaspora. An in-depth study into these with a comparative look would certainly help us to reveal the wonderful rainbow of the Onomastic studies. Also, herein we find the growth of history and culture of the region.

In this context let us examine the following place names: **Kamala-shile, Baitari, and Enne-hole.** **Kamala-shile** is a small village situated in thick of the ever green forest surrounded by the Sahyadri ranges (Kundapur taluk, Udupi district). A small rivulet flow here and on its bank is located a famous temple dedicated to the goddess Brahmi-Durga. In recent years it has grown as a famous centre of pilgrimage. Yet, the journey to it is arduous. The ancient name of this place was Kammar-sale. It means Black-smiths' shop/work shop. Nearby there is a hamlet named Kammala-pula meaning black-smiths' land. Years ago I happen to discover some neolithic tools when the local college conducted the N.S.S. camp here. Here we find an example of sanskritisation of the ancient name in later times.

Baiari is a place in the Yedapadavu village of Mangalore taluk of Dakshina Kannada district. In the local language Tulu **Bayata-ari (Baitari)** means rice obtained from the paddy after de-husking the hay stock for the second time. This explanation may suit temporarily. A study of the topography of the place provides us a scientific and correct formula for the name. In Tulu language 'bay' means two/branched etc., and 'tar' means stream/water channel. A small stream flowing here branches off into two and flows in the plains. Thus **Baitari** refers to a stream flowing after separating itself into two.

The opposite of it is **Enne-hole.** This is a river and a place name in Karkala taluk of Udupi district. The meaning of it is **Enne=oil and hole=river (oil river/river of oil).** The local story is that an oil presser was carrying oil on his back and crossing the river. Due to

some mishap the oil spilled into the river. From this day of incident onwards the people began to call the river **Enne** (oil) **hole** (river). But the topographical study of this region reveals the correct reason for the name. The up-stream area is elevated, hilly and covered with forest. Here two channels flow parallel to each other to some distance and join together. In Kannada language 'ene' means parallel, two together etc. Thus, the two streams flowing parallel have joined together and caused the name 'Ene-hole' which in course of time has become 'Enne (oil) hole (river)'. This has become the name of the village too located on the 'northern bank of the river.

We may here refer to one another place name. The place is called 'Devara-kolli'. It is located in the Sampaje Ghat of Mercara taluk, Coorg district. The meaning of place name is very clear: Devara=Gods', Kolli-kill. This may mean either the place where god kills or Kill the god. Can we expect an angry expression through a name against the god? The place is located on the Mercara-Mangalore State High way. Here two hills run parallel and have created deep gorge where a small stream flows. On the one end towards Mercara it looks as if a big chunk of another hill has fallen connecting the two hills. The road here takes a deep curve to climb-up the other hill. There is a small water fall in the corner and a temple of the local deity a little away from this place.

The lexicon meaning of the suffix 'kolli' is 'a deep curve', 'a water fall' etc. What a fine assessment of the topography of this place being reflected by the place name. There is a small but ancient temple, a deep curve

and a water-fall, hence the name 'Devara-kolli'. It is both a wonderful toponym and a beautiful place to enjoy.

Such place names as these are a plenty throughout the country. Only a faithful survey and judicious examination of them would enable a scholar to reveal the secrets and truth of them. The joy they get out of it is immeasurable and that if passed on through writing makes the readers' ave inspired.

Following of English names by the local people in their tongue have sometimes led to amusement; for e.g., the Hamilton Bridge in Chennai became barber. But the local people spelt his name corruptly and called him Ambatton. In Tamil language Amttan (Amattan) means, a barber and varavadi, the bridge. Some people later, very intelligently, have anglicised the name and called the bridge as 'Barbers bridge' (JPNSI, Vol. II).

Similarly we find extensions in the city of Chennai called 'Kaladi Pettai' (Loafer's colony) and 'Kolaikaran Petti' (Murderers' colony). At one time we may accept 'Barbers' colony based on profession. But how to accept the reality of existence of separate colonies for such people as loafers and murderers! Mr. C.R. Srinivasan has probed into the truth of these names though seems to be interesting but very ghostly. According to him Kaladi Pettai located in Tiruvattiyuru, a suburb of North Chennai, was a colony established by Mr. Collect, the British Governor of Madras (1717-1720) and encouraged weavers living in stray areas to come and settle here. The settlers with due regard named their colony after the British governor as 'Collect Pet' (Pettai). This in course of time was localised and Tamilised as 'Kaladi Pettai',

regardless of its meaning. Same is the case of 'Kolaikaran Petti' which was long back named after a person Kulasekhara as 'Kulasekharan Peta'. In course of time it was corrupted by the local people and reduced to 'Kolakaran Petti' (JPNSI, Vol. XI).

The reverse of it also have taken place while naming some of the towns by the British; for example Chitradurga as Chittle Durg, Kundapura as Coondapur etc. To-day these names have been reverted to their original format including the 'Hamilton Bridge'.

Instances like this may be many more when compared to the vastness of the country which for long time, had come under the jaws of the British administration. It is true that both the local people and the British had one common difficulty of not pronouncing correctly each others' names be it of place or person. Only an impartial study of these names by seasoned minds can reveal the truth with their real meaning.

It is true that an in-depth and perspective 'study of names will unravel the historical, linguistic, social and various other hidden aspects pertaining to our past'.

III

In the study of Place Names we have to take note of the importance of both the prefixes and suffixes also. For example: Gudda-Gudda-pura, Tai-Kodu, Bandigadi, Batte-Vinayaka, Ane-chaukuru etc. Gudda-Gudda-pura refers to a village that exists on top a hill which in turn, is situated on top a hill. There is temple on the top most point of the hill and the people of the nearby villages visit this. Tani-kodu is a wonderful toponym

found in the Male-nadu region of Karnataka. This is a lone peak that rises above an enchanting wave of hills. Bandiṅ-gadi is the last border point for the carts loaded with goods etc., from there the people have to ferry their goods to reach the opposite village. To-day this place has been named as 'Shakata-pura' [Shakata=bandi-cart, pura=town]. The temple of Vinayaka located by the side of the road (Barakuru, Udupi taluk and district), came to be called 'Batte (road)=Vinayaka (the God).

Ane-chaukuru (Ane=Elephant, chauka=square, uru=place) is a village situated amidst thick forest in Periyapatna taluk of Mysore district. This place, as the very name indicates, is an abode of Elephants. They assemble in large number in a square where the roads from different places also meet. Thus we find even the wild animals also playing their roles in giving names for places. A careful examination is necessary to find out its genuineness.

Not only the Fauna, but also the Flora has caused the names of place or person; for example, the 'Kadamba tree'. The Mother Goddess is called the 'Kadamba vana-vasini' (a resident of Kadamba forest). The famous Royal family that ruled the northern parts of Karnataka from Banavasi in ancient times is called 'the Kadambas' after this tree. The plants, the flowers and the fruits have also played their roles in providing proper source for naming a place or person.

IV

Similar to prefixes and suffixes are the Royal Epithets, surnames and nick names. There was a time when the study of Royal epithets being considered as a futile exercise. Scholars considered it as a jugglery of

words created and framed suitably by the Court Poets and bards for steeling an opportunity for bettering their own conditions. It is true that sometimes the encomia showered on the Royal patronage never suited their actual personality and qualities. But generalising the issue with an amount of indignance is no expression of a good research. By doing so, we miss some important and finer aspects of the personalities or their dynasty. Further, this would lead to lose some very important historical information through which we can take note of the contemporary rulers and families who otherwise may remain in darkness. There are circumstances of bringing to light the local rulers and families only from the study of the epithets of some superiors. I have shown their importance in my two endowment Lectures of the Place Names Society of India at Kalyan (2011) and Raipur (2015). They are published in the Journal of the society Vol. XXXI (2012) and Vol. XXXV (2006). Here I have tried to show how the epithets have helped us in knowing the history of the Alupas and the Santaras, the two minor ruling families who ruled over the West Coast from Udiyavara and Male-Nadu from Hombuchcha respectively.

Similar is the strength of the Surnames. By the study of these names we come to know of the greatness, the achievements, the profession, the good/bad qualities etc., of the individuals and through which are gradation of their families in society and its present position.

Unlike Surnames, the nick names apply to individual persons only. Very rarely it gets attached to the family (to become a surname). They are the names of those particular persons to whom it is addressed. Here the

qualities of a person, his/her physical stature, the behavioural attitude, the way of talking, the food habits and fondness to any dish, the colour of the body, the health condition and many more aspects become root for generating the nick names. Nick name provide a vivid description of a person and sometimes and non-reference to the well established nick name may not help to identify the person correctly.

Though we feel amused of, it must be remembered that the study of surnames and nick names provide us the correct socio-cultural status of the society. The individuals who are not cared in history, come to lime light here. The culture of the commoners is revealed more here. The condition of the social strata can be very well made known to the general public through these studies. Hence, I consider this branch also as important as any other branch of Onomastic studies.

V

Friends, it is time to take stock of Onomastic research in our country. Before the birth of the society this study was undertaken by a few individual scholars of the country based on their interest. At the beginning, the epigraphists had shown interest in this study. Slowly it attracted the linguists. To-day scholars from all branches of knowledge have taken interest in this study. As a result the study of names has obtained a wide scope and scientific touch also. The epigraphists while editing any new inscription used to identify the place names mentioned in the record. This in a way was adding information to a certain extent, to the names study. In these days this kind of a contribution to Onomastics is slowly coming down.

When the Place Names Society of India came into existence along with the usual senior scholars some young scholars also evinced interest in this study. Some of them worked wonderfully well. In the annual conferences I used to take pride in the participation of young and new scholars. They showed their inclination to substantiate the results of their research through very good field work. I felt happy to note their progress. But now the feeling is that the youngsters who had created a lot of hopes of a bright future of Onomastic studies are dragged to easy methods of approach and subject of studies. Names study gets its strength only through necessary field work. I appeal to the senior scholars and Professors of various faculties to instill the spirit of a good approach to the study through the support of field work. For, it is this field that becomes the real practical side of the study for a better and scientific result.

It is said that the Place Names Study in India is of recent origin unlike the study of it in the Western countries. Remember this study is as old as the Vedic times in India. It was taken along with the study of subjects like Nirukta, grammar, poetics and the like. Paninian grammar was consulted to find out the etymology of words or names. Amarakosha serves as a better example to it. The political vicissitudes faced by our country from time immemorial caused for the break of the study but it did not die. When Panini was found difficult to understand an easy formula was created through the writing of 'Katantra' during the Satavahana period which furthered the cause of study and understanding.

With this background now we have to rededicate ourselves to the study of our own subject matters. We

have very good source materials in different formats. Let us bring them together, make them understandable to our fresh scholars. The hope rests only with the 'Young' now. We have to make them physically strong and mentally fit for an Indianised approach of study. It is the native Indian mind that can very well understand another native Indian mind. Let us be optimistic in their capacities and let educational institutions like the Universities create a good platform of training from where the young scholars take a big leap for the achievement of a grand finale.

Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen it is time for me to think once again the authorities, the Faculty of the department of Ancient Indian history of Sri Venkateswara University for hosting this conference, the Executive Committee of the PNSI for the opportunity extended to me to stand before you all on this Inaugural Session and to you all for your patient hearing.

THANK YOU ALL

* Reference: All Volumes of the Journal - 'Studies in Indian Place Names'.

* I am highly indebted to the General Presidents of the PNSI Conferences and for their thought provoking Speeches.

INSCRIPTIONS OF HARSHA : SOME PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS

Shankar Goyal

Honourable Mr. President, members of the Executive Committee of the Place Names Society of India, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

First of all I seek to express my deep sense of gratitude and thanks to the office bearers of the Place Names Society of India for electing me to deliver Professor Ku.Si. Haridas Bhat Shasthipoorthi Endowment Lecture on the occasion of its XXXVI Annual Conference being held at Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh, from 11th to 13th February, 2017. However, I am also very much conscious of my own limitations and realize that I cannot hope to measure upto their expectations. The honour which I have received is obviously a token of their generosity to a friend.

In this Endowment Lecture I talk about all the three inscriptions of Harshavardhana (605-46 A.D.), including the recently discovered one, and related issues. That Harsha is a celebrate monarch of ancient India is an acknowledged fact. He has been made famous by his biography, the *Harshacharita*, written by his court-poet Bāṇa and by the account of the travels of Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India during his reign. Two copper plates of Harsha were also discovered in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The first was found in January 1888 from Madhuban, about 50 kms. north-east from Azamgarh in U.P.¹ it is dated in Samvat 25 (of Harsha) which corresponds to 631 A.D., measures 50 x 33 cms. and weighs 3.86 kgs. No seal was recovered with it.

The second copper plate was found in 1894 at Banskhera, a village about 40 kms. from Shahjahanpur.² It measures 40.5 x 32.5 cms. A seal was also shouldered to it but it was extremely blurred. The plate is dated in the year 22 (of the reign of Harsha), which corresponds to 628 A.D.³

More than a century after the discovery of Madhuban and Banskhera grants, in the year 1900 another copper plate grant of Harsha was found along with a seal from a place near Thanesar or Kurukshetra, the capital of Harsha. It saw its way to *Jñāna-Pravāha*, the Centre of Cultural Studies of Varanasi in February 2002. It may, therefore, be called Kurukshetra-Varanasi grant of Harsha. It was published in the *Jñāna-Pravāha* Annual Bulletin, No. 5 (2001-02), of the aforesaid of the copper plate and seal.⁴ R.C. Sharma, K.K. Thaplyal, T.P. Verma and Devendra Handa examined them to ensure their authenticity. For obvious reasons we shall discuss this copper plate in some detail.

Written in chaste Sanskrit and incised in the post-Gupta Brāhmī characters, the Kurukshetra-Varanasi copper plate of Harsha records the land grant given to Bhaṭṭa Ulūkhalasvāmin in 18 lines on the plate measuring 42.5 cm. in length and 31.5 cm. in width. The surface of the plate is rather uneven indicating rough handling at some stage. It weights 3.80 kgs. The seal, which was originally shouldered to it but is now detached, is of mixed metal which is almost bronze. It appears that during the course of fixing of the seal with the plate the edges of the seal were twisted inside and, therefore, some letters in the beginning and end of lines have become blurred. Some portion of the seal being rubbed

off is illegible, but its major part bears a sharp inscription in relief and can be read without much difficulty. It bears twelve lines which contain the genealogy of the Pushyabhūti dynasty from Naravardhana to Harshavardhana. The top of the seal illustrates a seated bull, Nandī, which symbolizes Harsha's faith in Śaivism also recorded in the epigraph. At the end of the inscription of the seal there are traces of rising sun with two half circles and rays radiating in two different directions.

The Kurukshetra-Varanasi grant was issued in the year 23 of Harsha (=629 A.D.)⁵ Thus, it belongs to about the same general period to which his other two grants belong. The name of scribe in this case is missing, although in other copper plates their names are clearly mentioned. In the Madhuban grant he is called 'Gurjara' while the Banskhera plate gives the name of the scribe as Īśvara'.

The Madhuban and Banskhera plates record that land granted in each of them was given to two Brāhmanas but the Kurukshetra-Varanasi grant reveals that only one Brāhmana namely Bhaṭṭa Ulūkhalasvāmin was its beneficiary. Both the earlier copper plates record the name of the *dūtaka* as Skandagupta, but in the case of the new find it is Kṛishṇagupta. Both these officers were of high rank and enjoyed the title of Mahārāja.

The Kurukshetra-Varanasi copper plate begins with *Om* and *Svasti*. *Om* is in the symbolic form and can be explained as *Siddham* also.

The Madhuban copper plate does not contain the 'signature' of the king. But the Banskhera and the Kurukshetra-Varanasi grant claim to contain it. In the Kurukshetra-Varanasi grant the last line bearing the royal signature

is preceded by the figure of a peacock with large stylized plumage and terminates with a floral motif flanked by two vertical lines. The letter *dhi* in centre of this line looks like a full vase (*pūrṇaghāṭa*) with foliage issuing from its brim.

The perusal of the genealogical table of the three grants of Harsha suggests that the first three kings of the dynasty, i.e., Naravardhana, Rājyavardhana I and Ādityavardhana were simply Mahārājas and, therefore, must have been subordinate rulers. The next three kings, i.e., Prabhākaravardhana, Rājyavardhana II and Harsha are, however described as Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja. Similarly, the first three queens namely Vajriṇī, Apsaro and Mahāsenaguptā are mentioned simply as Devī but the last queen, viz., Yaśomatī, the mother of Rājyavardhana II and Harsha, has been honoured with the title Bhaṭṭārakā Mahādevī. However, the grants of Harsha do not show when did Prabhākaravardhana, the first Mahārājādhirāja, assumed this title. In our view Prabhākara was merely a Mahārāja till the marriage of Rājyaśrī with Grahavarman.⁶

The first king of the Pushyabhūti dynasty does not bear any religious epithet. However, the next three are called *Paramāditya bhaktas* i.e. great devotees of the Sun. Rājyavardhana II is called a great devotee of Sugata i.e. Buddha, while Harshavardhana calls himself a great devotee of Maheśvara, that is Śiva.

Now we move on to discuss at some length about the place names mentioned in these inscriptions and the problem of their identification. The first copper plate of Harsha found from Madhuban was issued from the victorious military camp of Kapitthikā. Its object was to

transfer Somakuṇḍakā village situated in the Kuṇḍadhānī *vishaya* of the Śrāvastī *bhukti* to two learned Brāhmaṇas, the Sāmavedī Bhaṭṭa Vātasvāmin of the Sāvarnī *gotra* and the Ṛigvedī Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvāmin of the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra*, after taking it away from one Vāmarathya who had been enjoying it on the strength of a forged document (*śāsana*).⁷ As the village granted by Harsha was situated in the Śrāvastī *bhukti*, it is evident that he had conquered this region by 631 A.D., the date of this inscription. Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kapitthikā apparently is Kic-pi-tha (Kapitha) of Yuan Chwang,⁸ which, again, is the same as Sānkāśya, identified by the late Sir A. Cunningham⁹ with modern Sankisa¹⁰ on the Kālīnadī river about 40 miles north-west of Kanauj. Śrāvastī has been identified with modern Sahet-Mahet¹¹ on the south bank of Rāptī of the Gonda district of Uttar Pradesh,¹² while Kuṇḍadhānī and the village Somakuṇḍakā have yet to be identified.

The second grant of Harsha found from Banskhera was issued from the victorious military camp stationed at Śrī Vardhamānakoṭī. The village granted Markaṭasāgara lay in the Ahichchhatrā *bhukti*, and in the western *pathaka* of the Aṅgadīya *vishya*. Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Ahichchhatrā was the capital of northern Pañchāla. It has been identified with modern Rāmanagar in the Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh.¹³ But It is not known which territory was meant by the place Aṅgadīya. Markaṭasāgara also could not be identified. The identification of Śrī Vardhamānakoṭī is also not certain. We know of a Vardhamāna in Kāthiāwād which has been identified with modern Vadhvān.¹⁴ There was a Vardhamāna *bhukti* in the Valabhi dominion.¹⁵ Vardhamānakoṭī has also been identified with modern

Burdwan¹⁶ or Bardhanakoṭī of Dinajpur district of Bengal.¹⁷ In the Mallasārul copper plate inscription of Vijayasena of the early sixth century we are informed of the existence of Vardhamāna *bhukti*.¹⁸ It is also mentioned in the Irdā grant of the tenth century and the Naihati and Govindpur grants of the twelfth century.¹⁹ There is a mention of Vardhamānapura in Malwa²⁰ in an inscription of fifteenth century. It is probably the same as Vardhamānapura which is mentioned in an inscription of the Paramāra king Jayavarmadeva.²¹ But as Vardhamāna was the name of Mahāvīra, it is not impossible that several places were named after him. We think that Vardhamānakōṭī of the Banskhera inscription was situated somewhere in the western Uttar Pradesh.

The third and the last known charter of Harsha found from Kurukshetra was also issued from the victorious military camp of Śrī Vardhamānakoṭī. It refers to Paṇḍārātḡāka village situated in the Saṁvarddha *vishaya* of the Jayaratha *bhukti*. We have seen that Śrī Vardhamānakoṭī has been recognized differently, and the other place names of this inscription have not been identified so far.

All the three grants of Harsha make a reference to Rājyavardhana II's victory over 'Devagupta and other wicked kings' and to his giving up his life in enemy's house in consequence of his adherence to his promise. This Devagupta is usually and rightly identified with Mālava ruler who, according to Bāṇa, was defeated by Rājyavardhana with 'ridiculous ease.' He was obviously related to Mahāsenagupta who had earlier succeeded in forcing the two sons of the Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to seek asylum in Thanesar.²²

As regards the murder of Rājyavardhana, Harsha's inscriptions depose that Rājya gave up his life in enemy's house in order to adhere to his promise. This enemy is almost universally identified with Śaśānka of Gauḍa. But in recent years some scholars have opined, and rightly so, that though the murder of Rājya was certainly engineered by Śaśānka, yet there is likelihood that Harsha himself was implicated in the conspiracy. R.C. Majumdar points out that Yuan Chwang has explicitly stated that Rājyavardhana was exposed to danger due to the 'fault' of Pushyabhūti ministers. One of these ministers might have been Bhaṇḍi who was a confidant of Harsha and was with Rājya at that time. Taking this testimony along with the fact that while Śaśānka and Harsha were Śaiva and Rājyavardhana a Buddhist, Majumdar posed the question: 'Who knows that Rājyavardhana's death was not similarly encompassed by his ministers with the help of Śaśānka who was known to be a great champion of orthodox faith?'²³

In 1966, V.S. Pathak made the case against Harsha stronger by pointing out that the authors of the early medieval period, justified the violation of the right of the elder brother to the ancestral throne by the younger brother, their patron, by the use of several motifs (such as some divinity had sent their patron to become king, or that their father wanted his younger son to succeed him, or that the elder son was either incompetent or unwilling to rule).²⁴ As Bāṇa has used all these motifs, to logically follow that some need was felt to justify Harsha's rise to power for which Bāṇa was asked to compose his *Harshacharita*.²⁵

The inscription of Harsha's complicity in the murder of Rājya was made stronger by Devahuti. It is hard to

escape the conclusion' she argued, 'that the unusual twists in the story (of the *Harshacharita*), from the time of Prabhākara-Vardhana's illness to the time of Rājyavardhana's death, however cleverly manipulated, were rendered inevitable because of some episode uncomplimentary to the author's hero'.²⁶

The case against Harshavardhana was made almost airtight by S.R. Goyal.²⁷ Writing in 1986 he pointed out that Bāṇa not only uses the motifs to which Pathak has directed our attention but at one place has also mentioned that 'Like the Lord of the Immortals (that is, Indra), he (that is, Harsha) appeared busy in wiping away the stain of his elder brother's slaughter' (*Amarapatirivāgrajabadhakalaṅkaprakshālanākulah*).²⁸ Now, according to Indian mythology, Indra had committed the crime of killing Viśvarūpa, the three-headed son of Tvashtṛ, who was in a sense his *agraja*. Therefore, it was said that Indra had committed the crime of killing his elder brother. Now, if according to Bāṇa Harsha was busy, like Indra, in wiping away the stain of his elder brother's murder then it can only mean that during the reign of Harsha rumours were afloat that he was implicated in the murder of Rājya. Thus, the theory proposed by R.C. Majumdar in 1943 that in some way the Pushyabhūti ministers belonging to the side of Harsha might have collaborated with Śaśāṅka in the murder of Rājya has now become an almost airtight case, certainly much more than a merely *prima facie* case, against Harsha, to the above-mentioned statement of Bāṇa, quoted by S.R. Goyal in 1986, providing clinching evidence for it.

The administrative structure of Harsha's empire was highly feudalized.²⁹ It seems that he himself began to

make use of the titles of *mahāsāmanta*, *sāmanta*, etc. to honour some of the higher state employees, to bring them on a level with those who were previously autonomous feudatories. In the recently discovered grant Mahākshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛita Sāmanta Mahārāja Kṛishṇagupta is mentioned as its Dūtaka. In the *Harshacharita* Skandagupta is the commander of elephant wing of the army but in the Banskhera plate he figures as Dūtaka Mahāpramātāra. In the *Harshacharita* he also advised Harsha. Mahāsāmantas or Sāmantas were somewhat of lower status than a Mahārāja.

Dūtaka brought the charter or king's order to the notice of the local officers. In the recent epigraph he is described as *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahākshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛita* which probably meant the highest revenue officers and incharge of the revenue department. *Rājasthānīya* meant an officer dealing with the province as the local representative of the king. *Dussādhasādhanika* literally means an accomplisher of difficult task. *Pramātāra* (Pramātr) was a land surveyor. The words *bhaṭa* and *chāṭa* are to be explained probably as regular soldiers and as adhoc soldiers or new recruits respectively.

A designation that often appears in ancient records, including Harsha's grants, is that of *Kumārāmātya* which sometimes may have been a title of honour but more often than not appears to have carried some administrative responsibilities. Some of the *kumārāmātyas* figure as district or provincial functionaries, other as members of the central secretariat. Some of the highest government officers, such as the minister of interstate relations, were selected from among the *kumārāmātyas*.

Harsha's inscriptions mention the traditional *grāma* (village), *vishaya* and *bhukti* but not the *deśa* of the imperial Gupta epigraphs, although the division may have existed in his time. Anyway, in the Gupta period also *deśa* was more or less synonym for *bhukti*. The modern districts or commissioner's divisions and provinces may be considered modern counterparts respectively of the *vishaya* and *bhukti* with regard to size.³⁰

The governor of the *deśa* or *bhukti* was a nominee of the king. Sometime she was designated *uparika* and could be honoured by titles such as *mahārāja* and *rājasthānīya*. *Rājasthānīya* literally meant viceroy (one who functions as a king in place of the letter).

Some designations mentioned in Harsha's grants apparently describe police duties. The *dussadhasadhanikas* were probably police officers who were expected to perform those duties which were regarded as difficult (such as arresting hardened criminals). *Chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* most likely performed police duties. The *Harshacharita* mentions *chāṭa-bhaṭas* as soldiers in the vanguard of the infantry.

The *bhukti* and *vishaya* offices were called respectively *adhikaraṇa* and *adhishṭhāna* and were maintained by the keepers of records, the *pustapālas*. The legal aspects of the land transactions and possibly the revenue records concerning them were supervised by the *vishaya* and *grāmākshapaṭalas*. The latter were helped by *karaṇikas* (clerks). *Grāmākshapaṭala* was probably the counterpart of modern *paṭavārī*. The *vishayapatis* worked in cooperation with representative bodies.

The land grants generally mention some taxes, which were exempted when the village was gifted away. *Udraṅga* was the main land tax.³¹ *Uparikara* was an extra tax.

The term *pratyāya* stands for all dues. The expression *sarvarājakulābhāvyā pratyāya* means all dues or taxes, which were to be paid to the state. *Tulyameya* was a tax imposed on the articles of merchandise nature.³² *Bhāga* was king's share of grain, *kara* a tax in kind (or simply a tax in general), *bhog* a periodical offerings,³³ *hiranya* a tax in cash and *bhāga-bhoga-kara*, sometimes written as a compound word, should mean a tax in shape of *bhāga* or *bhoga*.³⁴ The grants also mention *bhūmichchhidranyāya*, i.e., a piece of barren or jungle land brought under cultivation. It means that when the village was gifted, the donee enjoyed all the rights and could also exercise his authority on the nearby barren or unused land.

The last line of the Kurukshetra-Varanasi grant purports to contain the signature of Harsha. The Banskhera inscription also supposedly contains the signature of Harsha. According to V.A. Smith, in the Banskhera grant the name of Harsha was engraved following the form of his signature though the engraver used somewhat bigger than the usual size of the letters. But, as S.R. Goyal has pointed out, the form of the letters of Harsha's signature and those of the rest of the Banskhera grant are similar.³⁵ Therefore, as it cannot be even imagined that Harsha himself engraved the entire copper plate, it follows that the entire record, including its signature part, was engraved by Īśvara, the engraver of the grant. The statement of the last line that Harsha signed the record in his own hand probably only suggests what is meant by the phrase *baqalam khud* in modern parlance which only implies that only the original order was signed personally by the issuing authority. The phrase *svahasto mama* is found in Maitraka inscriptions;

there also it probably suggests the same thing.³⁶ This argument of Goyal has been proved to be correct by the Kurukshetra-Varanasi grant because the script of its signature part is obviously different from the script of the signature part of the Banskhera record proving that none of them is in the handwriting of Harsha. Hence it may also be pointed out that Harsha, who ruled for four decades, must have issued scores, even hundreds, of copper plate grants. That being so, it is difficult to assume that an emperor of his stature found time to personally engrave his signature on these plates, something quite different from putting one's signature on paper documents.

All the three known grants of Harsh were issued from the victorious military camp (*jayaskandhāvāra*) and not from the capital. This may perhaps suggest the celebration of important occasions of which one item was the donation of land or a village (*agrahāra*) to the learned Vedic Brāhmanas. The administrative and financial benefit of such gifts was availed of by the donee while the religious merit went to the king's parents and his elder brother as recorded in the epigraph.

In the end, I offer my sincere thanks to Drs. T.S. Ravishankar and M.D. Sampath and other esteemed members of the Place Names Society of India for having conferred on me this honour.

Notes and References

1. Bühler, G., *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 65-75.
2. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 208-11.
3. Cf. Shankar Goyal, 2004, 'Harsha ke Abhilekha : Kuchha Samasyayen aur Sujhva', in S.R. Debey (ed.) *Ābhilekhika*

Adhyayana kī pravidhi evaṃ Itihāsa-Lekhana, Delhi, pp. 183-89.

4. *Jñāna-Pravāha*, No. 5, 2001-2, pp. 223-32.
5. There is much confusion in reading the date of the third copper plate of Harsha. But as the contents of all the three grants are almost identical we are certain that our reading is quite all right and all these copper plates belong to about the same general period of Harsha : Samvat 22 (Banskhera), 23 (Kuruksheṭra) and 25 (Madhuban). The reading of D.P. Debey and A.K. Dubey ('Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Uttarakhand' in *25 Years of Indian Epigraphy (A Bird's Eye-view of the Progress of Epigraphy in Different States of the Country)*, Ed. Shrinivas V. Padigar, Dharwad, 2016, pp. 301-02) that it is Samvat 33 instead of 23 in the Kuruksheṭra copper plate does not make much difference as far as the reconstruction of the history of the age of Harsha is concerned. But the reading of Samvat 8 or 53 are not at all convincing. We shall discuss this problem separately.
6. Shankar Goyal, 1992, *History and Historiography of the Age of Harsha*, Jodhpur, pp. 143-46; idem, *Harsha : A Multidisciplinary Political Study*, Jodhpur, 2006, Ch. 4.
7. The inscription proves that forgeries were known in ancient India. The Smṛitis prescribe punishments for the forgers of royal grants.
8. Beal, S., 1969, *Si-Yü-Ki or Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, Delhi, p. 202.
9. *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1, p. 271.
10. Cf. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 2nd edn., XII, p. 223.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
12. Smith V.A., Identifies the site of Śrāvastī in the district of Khajūrā in Nepal (*JRAS*, 1898, p. 527) but this view has no convincing argument.

13. Law, B.C., 1954, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, pp. 63.
14. *IA*, XII, pp. 190 ff.
15. *JBBRAS.*, XI, pp. 331 ff.
16. Sinha B.P., 1954, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, Patna, p. 270.
17. Nundo Lal Dey, 1927, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, London, p. 25.
18. *EI.*, XXIII, pp. 155 ff.
19. Sinha, *op.cit.*, pp. 270-71.
20. *JASB.*, LII, pp. 67 ff.
21. *IA*, XIX, pp. 350 ff.
22. Shankar Goyal, *op.cit.*, pp. 110-12.
23. Majumdar R.C. (ed.), 1943, *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Deccan, p. 76.
24. For a detailed study of these motifs see Pathak, V.S., 1966, *Ancient Historians of India*, Bombay, pp. 18-21; Shankar Goyal, *op.cit.*, pp. 150-64.
25. Cf. Shankar Goyal, 'The Rājyavardhana Murder Case', *Heritage of India : Past and Present* (Professor R.K. Sharma Felicitation Volume), ed. Mishra, P.K., and Sullerey S.K., 1994, Delhi, pp. 579-90; idem, *Harsha : A Multidisciplinary Political Study*, pp. 145 ff.
26. Devahuti, D., 1983, *Harsha : A Political Study*. Delhi, p. 82.
27. Goyal, S.R., 1986, *Harsha Śīlāditya*, Meerut, pp. 75-85.
28. *Harshacharita*, trans. Cowell, E.B. and Thomas, F.W., 1968, 2nd edn., Delhi, p. 204.
29. For the political culture of the age of Harsha and the feudalization of the administrative structure see Shankar Goyal, *The Medieval Factor and the Age of Harsha : A Cultural Study*, Jodhpur, 2016, pp. 104-29.

30. Simha, G.P., 1972, *Post-Gupta Polity (500-750 A.D.)*, Calcutta, p. 72.
31. C.V. Vaidya cites several epigraphic evidences in support of the view that *udraṅga* was land tax and *uparikara* was an extra tax (*History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, Poona, 1921, pp. 131-21). D.C. Sircar takes *udraṅga* to be the principal tax (*Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p. 360).
32. Bühler takes *tulyameya* not as a tax but as adjective to the taxes that follow, and translates it as 'to given according to the weight and according to measure' (*EI*, I, p. 75).
33. Sircar suggests the possibility of *bhāga-bhoga-kara* being one compound meaning 'tax in the shape of *bhāga* and *bhoga*' (*Indian Epigraphy*, p. 394).
34. Bühler translates *bhāga-bhoga* as 'share of the product enjoyed by the king' (*EI*, I, *op.cit.*).
35. Goyal, S.R., 1987, *Maukhari-Pushyabhūti-Chālukyayugīna Abhilekha*, Meerut, p. 95.
36. Shankar Goyal, in S.R. Debey, *op.cit.*, p. 188.

* This is part of Ku.Si. Haridas Bhat Shashtiportti Endowment Lecture delivered at Tirupati on the occasion of XXXVI Annual Conference of Place Names Society of India from 11th to 13th February 2017.

EXPLORING KOSALĀ: AN ONOMASTIC STUDY*

(Based on epigraphic records upto c. 8th century CE)

Susmita Basu Majumdar

At the outset I would like to thank the executive committee of the place Names Society of India for conferring this honour on me by inviting me to deliver the Professor D. Javare Gowda Memorial Lecture in the XXXVI Annual Conference. I also express my deepest gratitude to Dr. M.D. Sampath whose unparalleled energy and dedication to Onomastic studies has been a constant source of inspiration not only to me but many generations of scholars. This faith that all of you have shown in my scholarship I do not have any right but as a blessing I accept it with all humility. Here, I have taken up the subject of Kosala which is popularly known in the historical circle as south Kosala or Dakshina Kosala for a study of the history and origin of this proper name and also the place names occurring in the copper plate or land records from this region up to c. 8th century CE.

In this context first we would like to explore the place name Chhattisgarh and also explore the myth that was Kosala. This region under discussion which mainly is formed by the Chhattisgarh plains and parts of western Odisha forms a significant part of the central Indian plains offering a passage for communication between the north and peninsular India. Hence the area emerges as a historical land corridor which was used by travelers over centuries. At the same time this region abounds in

* This is part of Prof. D. Javare Gowda Endowment Lecture delivered at Thirupati on 12-2-2017 held at S.V.V. Thirupati on the occasion of XXXVI PNSI Conference.

forests; the forested zone in this broader region of Chhattisgarh led to a peculiar pattern of settlement in early historic period. One would expect place names to originate from various wild trees, animals, nature or words more akin to environment. A critical study upto the 8th century CE almost reveals a very different scenario altogether. This helps us in understanding the cultural ambiance prevalent in the region in the ancient past.

Mud forts locally known as *gaḍhas* were the usual pattern of settlement with mud ramparts and moats wherein the inner core was used for habitation and the rampart provided the protection from wild animals. The double moats inside and outside the rampart provided extra security to the habitation. Chhattisgarh, perhaps derived its name from the principal 36 mud forts (*gaḍha*). However, the number 36 is figurative or symbolic expression, and the actual number of mud forts is more than fifty. These might have been the localities which came up eventually.¹

The name Kosala was usually believed to have been derived from the homonymous territory in the north which was a *mahājanapada* and to segregate the identity from its northern counterpart this territory in the south was designated as south Kosala. However it is worth mentioning here that the term *dakshina* is not found appended to Kosala in any epigraph preceding 8th century CE. Hence till 8th century CE this concept of north and south Kosala does not hold any substance. Rather we would like to point out that the term originally was not Kosala. In this case it is imperative to draw attention to the sealing reported from Malhar

excavation bearing the legend in early brāhmī characters of 1-2nd century CE reading *gāmasa kosālīyā*. Thus this is the first evidence of the name of a locality or a village *Kosalī* or *Kasalīkā* > *Kosalīyā*. This village gradually grew into prominence and became an important settlement with the same name i.e. *Kosalī*. This may be identified with present day Malhar near Bilaspur in Chhattisgarh. This site has yielded maximum antiquities dating back to the early historic period and continued throughout up to the early medieval and thereafter.

We may also take a close look at the coins bearing the legend *vanajayatasa*² available in our region. The legend cannot but indicate that there were forest units or groups with a different political set up coming together to issue coins from their node at *Kosalī*. *Kosalī* had assumed an urban character, largely on account of its long-distance linkages with the Gaṅga valley, especially Magadha. It is interesting to note that when the region expanded the symbol for indicating the identity of the small locality i.e. *Kosalī* was discarded on the coins and the larger territory was now designated as *Kosalā* instead of *Kosalī*. Here the coinage without the symbol was universally used all over Chhattisgarh or *Kosalā* (excluding the forested region of the present day Bastar).

It is interesting to note that even in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta the region is mentioned as being ruled by a ruler named Mahendra and the name occurs as *Kosaḷāka-Mahendra*. Here the southern influence is very distinct from the use of the letter 'ḷa' in case of *Kosaḷākā*.³ Thus the region received influences both from north and south, being located on the intersection or the cross road corridor. Natural resources of this

region and its vantage position in the north-south link made it a coveted space for pre-eminent powers like the Guptas, Vākātakas and the Chālukyas (4th-8th centuries CE). The Pāṇḍuvarṁśin ruler Tīvaradēva (c. 7th century CE) is the first to have mentioned himself as the lord of whole of Kosala (*sakala-kosalādhipati*) this expression also indicates that the concept of a larger *Kosalā* was already an established fact in the 7th century CE.⁴ In other words *Kosalā* could have comprised of various territorial segments which were integrated into the locality-level entity of *Kosolā*. A distribution of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśin charters clearly shows that it included the territories in the Upper Mahanadi valley also including the portions of western Odisha. It is difficult to ascertain when the region dropped the *ā* from *Kosalā* and came to be known as *Kosolā*. The Sōmavarṁśin inscriptions mention the term *dēśa* along with the region of Kosola i.e. 'Kosaladēśa'. The use of this term 'dēśa' for this territory also speaks of its distinctive identity, apart from their own region or homeland like the use of the terms Āndhradēśa, Kaṣṅgadēśa to indicate an ethnic identity of these regions which may not be political units. However, we have restricted ourselves here up to the reign of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśins i.e. c. 8th century CE. The Bahamani Plates and Malhar plates of Udīrṇavaira, Year 2 and 8 respectively, issued by a ruler of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśin dynasty of Mekala mentions (see verse 9 and 10) the *amarajakula* of *Kosalā* (*Kousalāyām-amarajakulājam*). Here Bharatabala's queen is mentioned to have hailed from the above family in *Kosalā*.⁵ In the reign of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśins of this region we come across a place called *Kosalānagara*.⁶ We are not sure whether this *Kosalānagara* was the same as the erstwhile

Kosalī village. But the possibility of the two toponyms being the same, cannot be completely ruled out and in fact, seem to be very logical. If these two were the same then we may assume that the small village of Kosalī had become an important city or *nagara* by c. 7th century CE.⁷

II

A large number of names emanate from nature, trees, water, waterbodies and myths woven around them these get connected with significant places in the landscape. A thorough study of the epigraphic sources provides us with a list viz., *grāmas*, *padras*, *bhōgas*, *bhuktis*, *viśayas*, *maṇḍala*, *rāshṭras* and so on. An analysis would be attempted on the basis of these place names to understand the then cultural environment. The detailed list in the form of a table has been appended at the end. An analysis of this list reveals certain interesting characteristic features. This region in the early medieval period did not have place names related to forested area or forest produce. Rather we find the association of the term *ṣura* i.e. a city or urban space appended to several localities like Śarabhapura,⁸ Nandapura,⁹ Śrīpura¹⁰ and Kośiranandapura.¹¹ Malhar Plates of Vyāghrarāja also mention another city by the name Prasannapura.¹² This might have been named after the Śarabhapurīya ruler Prasannamātra whose several gold repousse coins are reported. However there are no inscriptions attributable to him till now. Of these, two were capital cities Śarabhapura established by the Śarabhapurīyas and Śrīpura to which the capital was later shifted and this continued to be the capital under the Pāṇḍuvarṣins as well. The capital was shifted from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura either

by Sudēvarāja (after his tenth regnal year) or by his successor Pravaraarāja.¹³ Śrīpura was located at a very strategic location on the banks of river Mahānadī. Several land grants have been discovered from Sirpur¹⁴ and especially during the reign of Śivagutpa it became a prominent city and a pilgrimage centre of the Śaivas. Of all the places bearing the term *pura* most interesting is the case of Kailāśapura.¹⁵ This term *pura* here does not indicate the urban status of the place rather it is mentioned as village. The term *pura* appended to the name of a village is very interesting. It might either represent a settlement of people in large numbers from a city named Kailāśapura who preferred to name their village the same or else we have to assume that it was a city or urban space which later lost its importance and became a village. There are several villages named Kesla in Bilaspur and Janjgir Tahsil one of which may be identified with the place name under discussion. The closest Kosla to Malhar is located some 8 miles to south east.

A study of the place names reflect very few names with elephants or associated with elephants. Only two villages are named after elephants these are Hastipada and Nāgapadra. There is another one which is mentioned as Pillāsunya. This may be an adherence to a place being devoid of elephants. This indirectly also shows that the region was abundant in elephants and hence being a unique thing to name a place.¹⁶ There is a place named Nalipadra which might have been derived either from the ethnic group of the Nalas or else Nali denotes an instrument for piercing elephant's ear. If the second case is taken into consideration then this also bears an allusion to elephants.

There are villages associated with healing and healers. Like we get a village by the name of Vaidya padraka¹⁷ which clearly associates it with the settlement of medical healers. There is another village by the name of Vaidya palāśa-padraka¹⁸ which indicates towards the association of the palāśa trees with medicine. The scientific name of this tree is *Butea monosperma* and grows in abundance in the tropical and sub-tropical climate. Perhaps it was a locality or *padra* with palāśa trees and the settlement of *vaidyas* or healers gave the name to the village as Vaidya palaśa-padraka. It is used for timber, resin, fodder, medicine, and dye. This village may be identified with Parasivani on the bank of river Jonka. The village being on the bank of Jonka river is full of palaśa trees locally known as Parsā.¹⁹ It is worth mentioning here that the original name of river Jonka was Palāśini. It is a tributary of Mahanadi with the village Śānkarā on its banks. The association of the name of the village with *vaidyas* is interesting and Palaśa flower is used for skin treatment thus it might be a local settlement of *vaidyas* expert in this treatment. There are other references to, Palāśavṛinda which further indicate that the growing of Palaśa trees was in vogue. Though nothing conclusive comes forth from epigraphic reference regarding the medicinal usage of Palaśa trees or flowers. Another place name which may have a linkage with medicine and healing is Khadirapadra-tala. This is derived from the khadira tree. Khadira i.e. *Acacia catechu* (Botanical name) is used by healers to treat cough, sore throat etc. The wood extracts contain elements that have anti bacterial, anti-fungal and anti-inflammatory properties.

As far as commodities are concerned the most significant is the case of sugar and jaggery. There are

many references to Śarkarāpāṭaka, Śarkarāpadras and Gūḍaśarkarā. The most interesting is the case of the roads leading to these places being mentioned as long and short i.e. Svalpaśarkarāmārga and Bṛihatśarkarāmārga. Thus sugar and jaggery were very important commodities of trade in this region. These names also might indicate its production in the region concerned.

There is a very interesting case which emerges from a thorough study of the inscriptions from Sirpūr. Here the Sirpūr stone inscription of Śivagupta²⁰ refers to a grant of abundant money for the purchase of four flower garlands of the measure of man's height from all gardeners residing at Śrīpura and gave them to Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha. This gives us an idea of the number of gardeners residing at Śrīpura and the approximate amount of flowers grown by them was little more than what is required to make four garlands of the height of a man. With the increase in the number of temples and dedications to the principal deities enshrined in them the requirement of such articles as flowers, garlands, and other offerings increased. Another inscription from the Gandheśvara temple of the time of Śivagupta gives a clear picture of this growing demand and also the growth of the city periphery which also mentions a personal donation an offering of a flower-garland, measuring a *puruṣa* in height, for the worship of god Gandharveśvara (v. 3-4).²¹ Here, it is mentioned specifically that the flowers for this purpose were to be supplied by all the garland makers residing at Navahaṭṭa, (v. 5). Thus, Navahaṭṭa, as the name suggests, is a new market and the garland makers and gardeners are not residents of the main Sirpūr city. As the Sirpūr stone inscription of Śivagupta Bālārjuna mentions that all the gardeners residing at

Śrīpura were engaged in the making of four garlands to be supplied every day to the temple of Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha. If this is the case then we have to assume that more people took to this profession as the demand of flowers increased and they settled in the periphery, adding to the growth of the settlement area of the city. The last line (In. 6) of the Gandheśvara inscription mentions that these flowers were to be carried or drawn or to be accomplished by the *Kusumagrāma*. If the name of the village was Kusumagrāma then this further justifies the above mentioned point that there came up a village resided exclusively by the gardeners who were growing flowers. They were in charge of supplying flowers to the temple. Further another stone slab inscription at the Gandharveśvara temple at Śrīpura which is found built into the floor of the entrance of the above mentioned temple mentions Pranavaḥṭṭa. These two references work as evidential support from inscriptions and help us to assume that the increase in the number of temples especially during the reign of Śivagupta added to the growth of the capital city to a magnanimous and powerful cultural centre which attracted pilgrims from different places.

III

Chhattisgarh has a rich tradition of water harvesting which can be proved historically beyond doubt with the help of evidences from the region. Geographically located in the Central Indian plains the region has Mahanadi as its main water resource. In the areas lying between the tributaries and distributaries of Mahanadi, water harvesting is done in an archaic and interesting fashion. Here in this region the water forts/mud forts (*gadhas*) were the

usual settlement pattern where a settlement was surrounded by moats and rampart and again outside the rampart another moat was made to protect the inner settlement and also for rain water harvesting. Keeping in mind the forested tract of Chhattisgarh one can very well understand the protection this kind of settlement could have provided to the settlers inside the secured area. The *gadha* at Malhar is a huge one and among the oldest surviving. The site has been excavated and the excavators of this site, Prof. K.D. Bajpai and Prof. S.K. Pandey dated the mud fort back to the 6th century B.C.²² However this seems to be an early dating. No doubt this is the only mud fort or such settlement that can be dated from the artifacts that are discovered in the process of excavation. Western Orissa also formed a part of this geo-political unit. It is interesting to note that such settlement patterns (*gadhas*) are also been reported from few sites of western Orissa like Asurgarh, Manamunda, Ganiapalli.²³ Thus, this strengthens our argument that these were not mud forts but usual settlement patterns with water harvesting and protection from wild animals as their prime focus. It is worth mentioning that most of these *gadhas* still exist and serve the same purpose of water harvesting.

There is a tradition of marriage of these tanks (*talabs*) in this region and it is only after such an occasion that a water body is open for public usage. The marital status of a water tank can be assessed from the post or pillar situated at the centre of the tank. This post or pillar not only helps to identify the tank as open for public use but also helps in assessing the water level of the tank. Such columns or pillars are usually of stone and at times of wood too. In this

context one might associate the Kirari wooden pillar near Chandrapur with such a tradition as this was also a tank pillar.²⁴ However before going further deep into this discussion it might be pointed out that there is no concrete evidence to prove the antiquity of this tradition of marriage of tanks and setting up of pillars as early 2nd century CE. The Kirari pillar is made of *Pterocarpus marsupium* or Bija sal, which grows in Central India. The pillar measures about 13' 9" from top to bottom and is surmounted by a solid Kalaśa, which is about 1'2" high. Hiranand Shastri who published this inscription identifies this pillar as a *dhvajastambha* or a *jayastambha* if not so then a normal *sarovar stambha* or a tank pillar.²⁵ He further mentions that owing to drought this tank (Hirabandh) had dried up and the local villagers were digging it when they hit upon this wooden pillar. Due to sudden change in the condition most of the letters on the pillar got peeled off as the wood dried after a long period of submersion in the tank and then remaining under surface soil, with sudden exposure to sun led to the loss of a portion of an important historical evidence which is unique in its own way. However, the legible portion of the inscription on the pillar does not refer to the excavation of this tank. The portion of the inscription that can be seen presently on the pillar and also taking into consideration the eye copy of the letters prepared by the local Pandit Lakshmiṅrasad Upādhyāya at the time of the discovery of this pillar helps one to understand that this inscription provides the most impressive list and the image of graded functionaries who seem to have been present at the time of the excavation/dedication of a tank.²⁶ One notes the presence of *Nagararakhina* (*Nagara-rakshin*): officer in charge of

the security of the town/prefect of the city police. There were two such officers present in our record. Also present were the *Sēnāpati* - a military commander, *Patihara/Pratihara* - door keeper/ palace guard, *Gaṇaka* - accountant or astrologer, *Bhandakarika* - in charge of the store-house, *Hatharoha/Hastyaroha* - elephant rider/driver, *Pādamūlika* - infantry, *Rathika* - superintendent of chariots, *Mahanasika* - in charge of the royal kitchen, *Hathivapa* - officer in charge of elephants, *Dhavaka* - runner, probably implying a messenger on the run, *Sagandhaka/Saugandhika* - perfumer, *Gomandalika* - in charge of cattle, *Yanasalayuddharika* - officer in charge of the depot of vehicles attached to the weaponry/armoury, *Avasarakaraka* - the meaning of this term is not very clear. It may indicate an officer related to leisurely activities/retreat (*avasara*). *Lehaharaka/Lekhaharaka* - bearer/procurer of documents and notifications, *Mahasenani* - very high ranking military officer.²⁷ However, the exact purport of this inscription is inexplicable this definitely refers to an event in which all these officials under a Kumara took part. The *kalaśa* on the top of the pillar also indicates towards the possibility of this being a tank pillar. On the contrary it is strange that why the portion that was supposed to stay below water was also inscribed. The modern name Kirari is also quite interesting as it seems to be derived from Sanskrit Kariri i.e. Kerda, Ker, Karir or Karril tree scientific name *Capparis decidua*. It is a small much branched tree or shrub of arid regions.²⁸ It is extremely drought resistant and is used in herbal and folk medicine. If we consider this as a *Jayastambha* i.e. victory pillar or a *Dhvajastambha* i.e. a flag post of any monument then we will, have to assume that this was later brought

either after the destruction of the monument or as it lost its original usage and then it was used as a tank pillar. As we have already mentioned that there is still a living tradition of raising tank pillars mostly of stone in the middle of the tanks in this region hence, more likely this *kalaśa* surmounted pillar was the same and if so then this the oldest such pillar not only in the region but in this subcontinent.

IV

Finally it would be interesting to take a glance of the oral and folk traditions in respect.²⁹ As has been already mentioned that the region abounds in water tanks, several villages bear names related to water, water bodies of different sizes and names could be traced with suffixes meaning water or related to water bodies.³⁰ As far as folk tradition in the region is concerned there are several references to water tanks, their construction, maintenance, usage or the role-played by them on specific occasions etc. Some interesting references to such water bodies in the folk tradition are worth mentioning. One such tradition is "*Chai Āgara Chai Korī*" i.e. 126 tanks associated with Ratanpur, Malhar, Kharod, Adhbhar, Arang, Mahant and many such villages. In Bastar region with Barsur, Bade Dongar, Kuruspāl etc. is associated a tradition of 147 ponds "*Sāta Āgara* and *Sāta Korī*." Here we would like to mention specifically that these villages still have numerous water tanks which support this folk tradition to a great extent.

Folk traditions have very interesting references to nine lakh Oriyas and nine lakh *ornins* in the legend of *Dosmat Kainā*. 'Oriyas' and 'Ornins' mentioned here are a community whose profession is that of excavating tanks

and as tradition goes they move in groups and are so efficient that they excavate within no time. The terms *Oriya* and *Ornin* may be related to the people of the *adra-deśa* modern Orissa. This legend is popular in different forms and versions in different regions from Āndhra to the Northwestern India. Similarly there is a folk tradition of *Lakhā banjārā* who moved with one lakh cattle. Again this is a popular folk tradition in Gujarat and Rajasthan and also is popular in Central India. Usually folklore and tradition associate nomads who move in groups with water tanks. In Sarguja district there is a popular tradition about *Pachimahādeva* who caused the construction of 700 water tanks. Again there is another legend referring to a king called *Bālānda* who had an army of 700 soldiers and constructed twin tanks, he collected corroded iron objects in form of taxes. "*Sāta Sau fauj, jodā talvā; Aisan rahe Bālānda rajavā*". To be precise iron is important for construction of tanks and digging activities and taxes in corroded iron would mean collecting iron for reprocessing and the relation of the construction of tanks and corroded iron was probably making tools for excavating the former. On the occasion of *Hala-shashṭhī pujā* imaginary or symbolic water tanks are constructed. All these highlight the importance of the tradition of construction of tanks in this region.

The water tanks are named according to the usage and character but at times they are commemorative and named after person commemorated. These names need special mention *khaiyā* i.e. a tank in the form of a ditch or moat, *naiyā* i.e. a tank used for bathing, *pacharihā*, *panapiyā*, *sātākhandā* i.e. one divided into seven parts, *adhbandhā* i.e. with 8 corners or gates, *dongiyā* i.e. tank

which is bowl shaped, *gobarahā* one which is polluted by cow dung literally but actually which is stagnant and is smelly, *purenhā* an old tank, *deurahā*, *navā talavā* or a new tank, *patharrā* one with a rocky bed or full of stones. Tanks which are considered not worthy of use or associated with bad omen bear names like *kāri*, *ponrri*, *phutahā*, *dokhāhi*, Bhutahi (haunted). Among the ones which are commemorative bear names like *phulasāgara*, *gopiya* and *bhima*. The tanks associated with the marriage procession of a groom either the departure locale; arrival locale or resting locale is often named *dulaharā*.

There are several villages which are named after tanks and associated words like *uda*, *udā*, *dā*, *sara*, *sorā*, *sari*, *tarā*, *tari*, *tarāi*, *tāla*, *chunā*, *boda*, *pāni*, etc. all these words either denote water or water bodies and names of villages adding such suffixes are ample for example *Bacauda*, *Hasauda*, *Tanauda*, *Marauda* with *ūda'* suffix, *Caraudā*, *Koharaudā*, *Bālaududā*, *Malakharaudā* with *ūdā'* suffix, *Cikhaldā*, *Risdā*, *Parasadā*, *Pharasadā* with *dā'* suffix, *Belasara*, *Bhedasara*, *Lakhasara*, with *śara'* suffix, *Khongasarā*, *Akalasarā*, *Telasarā*, *Bodasarā*, with *śarā'* suffix, *Bemetarā*, *Silatarā*, *Akalatarā*, *Bhainsatarā*, with *ītarā'* suffix, *Dumaratarāi*, *Sivatarāi*, *Pandatarāi*, *Bi jātarāi*, with *ītarāi'* suffix, *Semaratāla*, *Udanatāla*, *Sarisatāla*, *Amaratāla* with *ītāla'* suffix, *Bendarachunān*, *Ghuicunān*, *Beharacunān*, *Jamacunān* with *cunān'* suffix, *lataboda*, *Naraiboda*, *Ghagharāboda*, *Kukurāboda*, with *boda'* suffix, *Khongapani*, *Aunrāpani*, *Chirāpani*, *Junapāni* with *pāni'* suffix and there are many more such examples that may be cited. The district head quarter, *Mahāsamund* is a very interesting example which literally means a huge sea and in reality has a huge water body, similarly there is *Bālasamunda*. There are certain names that have independent name or

are directly named as tanks or any of the water bodies or even rivers like *Talavā*, *Jhiriya*, *Bandhvā*, *Guchkuliya*, *Kunā*, *Bāvali*, *Pachari*, *Panchadharā*, *Seta-Gangā*, *Narmadā*, *Gangājala*, *Nipaniyā*.

Notes and References

1. Dikshit, M.G., 1958, *Madhya Pradesh ke Puratatva ki Ruparekha*, Sagar, Nigam, L.S., *Dakshina Kosala ka Aitihāsik Bhugola (Prarambhik Kal se Tervin Shatabdi tak)*. Delhi, 1998; Mahajan, M. Chhattisgarh, 2000, *A Study in the Culture and Historical Geography (From Place Names in Inscriptions)*, Delhi; Basu Majumdar and Baipal, 2015, *Select Early Historic Inscriptions : Epigraphic Perspectives on the Ancient Past of Chhattisgarh*, Rajur.
2. Here it may be pointed out that the complete legend is not readable on any single coin but when all the coins of this type are arranged in typological progression the legend can be read as *vanajayatasa*. See Basu Majumdar, S., 2000, *Local Coins of Ancient India*, a new series: *Coins of Malhar*, Anjaneri, IIRNS.
3. As in northern inscriptions we do not find the use of *ḷa*. This is typical of Deccan and peninsular south. The script of this region was also influenced by the box headed script of the Vākātaka records.
4. Sastri, A.M., 1995, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Pāṇḍuvāṁśin and Sōmavāṁśin* (henceforth *ISPS*), Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, pp. 102 ff.
5. Shastri, A.M., *ISPS*, Part-II, pp. 77, 82.
6. Shastri, A.M., *Ibid.*, pp. 138-140.
7. A similar transformation has been cited by B.D. Chattopadhyaya in case of the village Kalikatti in 12th century Karnataka. For details see Chattopadhyaya,

- 1990, *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*, Calcutta, K.P. Bagchi.
8. Shastri, A.M., *ISPS*, Part-II, pp. 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 35, 39, 41, 43, 46, 50, 51, 53, 66, 67.
 9. Shastri, A.M., *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 7, 121.
 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 44, 55-57, 67, 102, 105, 107, 110, 112, 115-117, 150, 151.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-123
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-69
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94
 14. Sixteen Copper Plates of Mahāśivagupta have been discovered till now from Bonda, Bardula, Lodhia, Junwani, Malhar and Sipur has yielded 12 copper plates.
 15. Shastri, A.M., *ISPS*, Part-II. pp. 134-137
 16. The present author has shown elsewhere how this region was showing elephant motif on coins for more than 400 year's (c. 1st century BCE to 3rd-4th century CE). Udyotan Sūri's *Kuvalayamāla* mentions that a trader mentions this region of Kosala as a place from which he had procured *gaja polas* which had yielded him handsome amount of profit.
 17. Shastri. A.M., *Ibid*, Part-II, pp. 162-164.
 18. Singh, 'Sirpur Copper Plates of Pāṇḍuvarṁśī rulers', *Puramanthan*, pp. 11-27.
 19. The wood is dirty white and soft and, being durable under water, is used for well-curbs and water scoops. Good charcoal can be obtained from it, The leaves are usually very leathery and not eaten by cattle.
 20. Shastri, A.M., *Ibid.*, Part-II, pp 150-151.
 21. *Ibid.*, Part-II, pp 152-153
 22. Bajpai and Pandey, *Malhar*, 1975-78.

23. S.C. Behera, 1982, *Interim Excavation Reports*, Sambalpur University.
24. Hiranand Shastri, 'Brahmi Inscription on a wooden pillar from Kirari', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 152 ff, 1925-26. At present the pillar is cut into two halves and preserved in the Mahant Ghasidas Smarak Samgrahalaya, Raipur.
25. He also mentions less possibilities of this being a *yupa stambha* or a sacrificial post.
26. Shastri, H., *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 152-153; Jain B.C., *Utkirna Lekha*, Revised by (Raikwar and Singh), 2005, pp. 1-3; Basu Majumdar and Bajpai, 2014, *Select Early Historic Inscriptions: Epigraphic Perspectives on the Ancient Past of Chhattisgarh*, Shakthi Prakshan, Raipur, pp. 48-55.
27. Several of the designations have been explained by Sircar, D.C., 1965, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, New Delhi.
28. It bears a mass of slender, leafless branches, the small caducous leaves being found only on young shoots. It rarely exceeds a height of 5 meters. The new flush of leaves appears in November-January. Red conspicuous flowers appear in March to April and August-September and ripe by May and October. The pink fleshy berries are readily eaten by birds. It coppices well and produces root suckers freely.
29. For this portion the author is immensely indebted to Shri Rahul Kumar Singh who has enlightened the author regarding these oral and folk traditions.
30. An article in the editorial page of a local news paper *Dainik Bhaskar*, 15th June 2004 by Shri Rahul Kumar Singh Deputy Director, Department of Culture, inspired me to write this article. The author is indebted to Shri Singh for the information on folk traditions and folklore.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF VAIGAI RIVER VALLEY, TAMIL NADU

P. Balamurugan

Understanding the evolution of macro region with its complexities purely depends on one's appreciation of the nature of micro region and its geographical peculiarities. It is necessary to understand the historical and cultural geography of a region in chronological order by incorporating archaeological, epigraphical, literary and oral traditions that are available in this present study zone. There are several studies on the historical, cultural and political geography in India by scholars like Sankalia (1949), Sumati Mulay (1972) and Subbarayalu (1973). Rajan Gurukkal (1984), Vedachalam (1996) and Rajavelu (2003) analysed the inscriptional evidences of Pāṇḍya region. In this present study, the focus is on historical geography of the lower, middle and upper Vaigai river valley. The river Vaigai flowing in the mid-part of Tamil Nadu served as one of the major cultural zones of Tamil Nadu. It originates at Vellimalai in Western Ghats and traverse in north and northeasterly direction through Varuchanāḍu hills passing through the entire or part of the districts of Tēṇi, Madurai, Śivagaṅgai and Rāmanāthapuram. This present study pays attention to the formation of major administrative units like *vaḷanāḍu*, *nāḍu*, *kūrṟam*, *kuḷa-k-kīḷ*, *iru-k-kai* and *muṭṭam*. Historically the study area was part of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Generally the area between south Vellār river and the tip of the peninsular India, comprising the Rāmanāthapuram, Madurai, Tirunelvēli and Kanyākumari districts was called as

Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam from the 11th century CE (Subbarayalu and Vedachalam 1986: 141). Madurai located on the right bank of the river Vaigai remained as a capital city of the Pāṇḍyas from Saṅgam Age. The study area was ruled successively by the Pāṇḍyas, Chōlas, Hoysaḷas, Vijayanagar rulers, Nāyakas and Sēthupathis of Rāmanāthapuram from the 7th century onwards.

The existence of a kingdom in 3rd century BCE clearly points to the existence of several settlements in this region well before Early Historic period. However the lack of substantial epigraphical evidences in the period between 3rd century CE and 8th century CE place us in an uncomfortable position to understand the changes in settlement pattern. However, the archaeological sites noted in the explorations and excavated sites like Aḷakaṅkuḷam and Kīḷaḍi clearly point to the continuous occupation from Iron Age down to the historical period. The settlements become numerous after the 8th century CE. The Pāṇḍya inscription of Chēndaṅ Arikēsari (770 CE) is the earliest inscriptional evidence of medieval Pāṇḍyas that speaks on the irrigational activities. The earliest evidence of Chōḷa intervention in the Pāṇḍya that speaks on the irrigational activities. The earliest evidence of Chōḷa intervention in the Pāṇḍya region comes from the inscriptions of Parānthaka I (907-958 CE). His inscriptions are found at Āṇaimalai and Chinṇamaṅṅūr in the Pāṇḍya country (*SII*, III: 240, 243-244, XIV: 410-412, 417, 419, 423-425, 428, 439). The Chōḷa inscriptions of Rājarāja I (985-1014 CE) are available in the Pāṇḍya region from 991 CE (Vedachalam 1996). The rule of Rājēndra Chōḷa I (1012-1044 CE) is remarkable for the

establishment of the Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroyalty in the Pāṇḍya country and for certain of several new territorial administrative units.

Nāḍu

The *nāḍu* is the smallest territorial unit. In medieval times, it functioned as an administrative unit. A Tamil-Brāhmī inscription dated about the first century BCE found at Sittanavāsai refers to erumi-nāḍu (*IPS* 1) which is the earliest inscriptional evidence for *nāḍu*. After this, the Pūlāṅkuṛichchi inscription dated 5th century CE (Subbarayalu and Ragava Variar 1991: 59) gives us authentic evidence of the territorial division in the Tamil country (Rajavelu 2003). The famous 7th century CE *vaṭṭeluttu* inscription issued during the 50th regnal year of the Pāṇḍya king Chēndaṅ Arikēsari found on Vaigai river bed near an old channel at Madurai is one of the earliest evidences that speaks of *nāḍu* division. Two territorial units namely Chāl-nāḍu and Parittikuḍi-nāḍu are mentioned in this inscription. According to the inscription, the king built a bund across the river (*maḍuttu*) or dug out a new channel on the bank in which the weir with sluice gate (*madaku*) was installed. The irrigational canal originated from this weir flows to Parittikuḍi-nāḍu presently located in the south-east of Madurai in Aruppukōṭṭai region after passing through Chāl *nāḍu* (*EI*, XXXVIII: 27-32).

Nearly 152 *nāḍu* divisions have been noticed from more than 3000 inscriptions so far encountered in the Pāṇḍya region ranging from the 8th to the 13th century CE (Vedachalam 1996). Of the 152, 41 *nāḍu* divisions fall

in the study area. These territorial divisions have different name suffixes like *nāḍu*, *kūrṛam*, *kuḷa-k-kīḷ*, *vaḷanāḍu*,¹ *iru-k-kai* and *muṭṭam* (*Aḷa nāḍu*, *Pākanūr kūrṛam*, *Māṇavīra-vaḷa-nāḍu*, *Achchaṅkāṭṭiru-k-kai* and *Iraniya-muṭṭam*). It may be seen from the prefixing elements that the names of the *nāḍu* and *kūrṛam* in the study area are derived from the names of some prominent village of the particular *nāḍu*. These villages must have been in existence as prominent ones before the establishment of that particular *nāḍu* division and it served as the headquarters of the particular *nāḍu*. The suffixing terms *muṭṭam*, *kuḷa-k-kīḷ* and *iru-k-kai* for the territorial divisions were found only in the Pāṇḍya region. The term *kuḷa-k-kīḷ* generally refers to the irrigated land located in the command area of the particular tank. In a few occasions, the land located on either side of the feeding channel of the tank also comes under this territorial unit. Therefore, one may conclude that the land associated with tank irrigation is placed under this territorial unit. Generally the size of the *nāḍu*/*kūrṛam*/*muṭṭam*/*iru-k-kai*/*kuḷa-k-kīḷ* approximately range from 6 to 1128 sq.km. Though we come across territorial units such as *kūrṛam*, *muṭṭam*, *iru-k-kai* and *kuḷa-k-kīḷ*, their occurrence in the study area constituted only 32%, putting all the four units together whereas, the *nāḍu* division occupied 67%. It seems all the newly created territorial units were given '*nāḍu*' ending names.

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1. There is a territorial division called Varaguṇa-vaḷanāḍu. This *vaḷanāḍu* division is not placed under *vaḷanāḍu* category but rather placed under *nāḍu* division. This *vaḷanāḍu* does not have any *nāḍu* within this territory. Further the area is so small to be considered as *vaḷanāḍu*. Therefore, this *vaḷanāḍu* is considered as *nāḍu*. Further evidence in future may clarify the context.

Type of Territorial Units			
Sl.No.	Type of Territorial units	Total	Percentage
1	nāḍu	26	63.42 %
2	kūrram	5	12.20 %
3	kuḷa-k-kīl	4	9.75 %
4	muṭṭam	2	4.88 %
5	iru-k-kai	4	9.75 %
	Total	41	100.00 %

The fertile agricultural zones formed due to favourable monsoon, fertility of the soil or through man-made irrigation such as tank and river irrigation played a greater role in the formation of settlements and its density. The density of the population in a particular settlement or density of the settlements in a particular area led to the formation of new territorial units or the old units were recognized by incorporating or removing certain settlements. The presence of large number of *nāḍus* in fertile zones could be attributed due to the above said reasons. In delta region, the villages are found on an average interval of every two or three kilometers.

In the study area, some territorial units like Kāñai-iru-k-kai, kīl-Sempi-nāḍu, Maḍakkūḷa-k-kīl, Vaṭatalai-Sempi-nāḍu, Puraparālai nāḍu, Paṅāṅgalūr nāḍu and Tiyāṅḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu are the biggest territorial units. Some of the bigger *nāḍus* were further sub-divided into upper/lower units based on epigraphical position/gradient or north/south or west/east units based on direction. In general the upper and lower also stands for west (*mēl*) and east

(*kīl*) as the gradient of the landscape of Tamil Nadu always moves from west to east. Sometimes, this subdivision was divided based upon the important irrigation channel or tanks of the *nāḍu* concerned, taking the area lying through its upper course as *mēl* and that lower down called as *kīl*. For instance Sempī-nāḍu was bifurcated as Vaṭatalai Sempī-nāḍu (North Sempī-nāḍu) and Kīl Sempī-nāḍu (East Sempī-nāḍu). Iraṇiya-muṭṭam was divided into Mēl iraṇiya-muṭṭam (upper iraṇiya muṭṭam) and Kīl iraṇiya-muṭṭam (lower iraṇiya-muṭṭam) (Vedachalam 1996). In the study region, some of the territorial units like Aḷa nāḍu, Māḍakkuḷa-k-kīl, Tīyāṇḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu and Vaṭatalai Sempī-nāḍu are found on both sides of the river Vaigai, but locally they are divided as *vaṭakarai* (north bank) and *teṅkarai* (south bank).

The total number of villages identified in a particular *nāḍu* ranges from just one village to as many as 63 villages. Though, the inference is arrived based on the available inscriptions, the data may be valid generally. Nearly 20% of the *nāḍus* are having more than 20 villages, 40% of the *nāḍus* are having 10-15 villages and remaining 40% of the *nāḍus* have less than five villages (Map. 2).

List of Territorial Units

Sl. No.	List of Territorial Units	Number of village	Reference
1	Aḷa nāḍu	9	SII, XIV, 54, Āvaṇam, 2003, Vol 14, pp. 53-59

1	2	3	4
2	Achchaṅkāṭṭiru-k-kai	7	EI, XXV, No. 11, Subbarayalu, et. al, 2014, 11
3	Aḷakiya Pāṇḍya-kula-k-kīl	4	SII, XIV, 194; EI, XXV, No. 11
4	Aṅṭa nāḍu	2	Āvaṇam, 1997, Vol. 8, pp. 60-63
5	Arumbūr-kūrṛam	2	Āvaṇam, 1998, Vol. 19, pp. 79-82
6	Chāl-nāḍu	3	EI, XXXVIII, 27-32
7	Iṭaikkula-nāḍu	5	SII, V, 398
8	Kaḷāṭṭiru-k-kai-nāḍu	3	SII, V, 421, VIII, 398
9	Kāñairu-k-kai	10	Āvaṇam, 1997, Vol. 8, pp. 26-27
10	Karuṅkuḍi-nāḍu	13	SII, XIV, 178, Āvaṇam, 2001, Vol. 12, pp. 12-13
11	Kīl Iraṇiya-muṭṭam	4	SII, XXVI, 143
12	Kīl Sempī-nāḍu	20	SII, XXVI, 495
13	Kīraṇūr-nāḍu	4	EI, XXV, No. 11
14	kōḍi-nāḍu	1	Āvaṇam, 2008, Vol. 19, pp. 60-61

1	2	3	4
15	Kuṅṛattūr kuḷa-k-kīḷ	3	Āvaṇam, 2011, Vol. 22, p. 26
16	Māḍakkuḷa-k-kīḷ	10	SII, V, 417, Āvaṇam, 2003, Vol. 14, pp. 53-59
17	Māṇavīraḷa-nāḍu	1	SII, XIV, 194
18	Mēl iraṇiya-muṭṭam	4	ARE, 1905, 110; SII, XIV, 145, 194
19	Mēneṭuṅkaḷa-nāḍu	2	Vedachalam, 1996, Āvaṇam, 1998, Vol. 9, pp. 60-64
20	Mēṅkuḍi-nāḍu	9	EI, XXV, No. 11
21	Pākaṇūr-kūṛram	13	SII, V, 294
22	Paṇṅalūr-nāḍu	19	EI XXV, No. 11
23	Parithikuḍi-nāḍu	3	EI, XXXVIII, 27-32
24	Poliyūr-nāḍu	3	ARE, 1928, 254; SII, XXVI, 475
25	Puraparalāi-nāḍu	15	SII, V, 302; EI, XXV, No. 11
26	Rājaṅgaḷa-k-kīḷ	5	EI, XXV, No. 11; SII, VIII, 423
27	Senlāṭiru-k-kai	1	MEC, 1914, No. 403

1	2	3	4
28	Sevviru-k-kai-nāḍu	12	Āvaṇam, 1997, Vol. 8, pp. 63-65; 2008, Vol. 19, pp. 79-82; SII, V. 303
29	Teṇ Kalavali-nāḍu	7	SII, XIV, 145, Āvaṇam, 1997, Vol. 8, pp. 56-59
30	Teṇ Kallaka-nāḍu	5	MEC, 1914, No. 613, 614, 616
31	Teṇparappu-nāḍu	10	Āvaṇam, 1996, Vol. 7, pp. 53-57
32	Tirukānappēr-kūrṛam	8	Āvaṇam, 1997, Vol. 8, pp. 6063; 1999, Vol. 10, pp. 57-58
33	Tuvvūr-kūrṛam	4	SII, VIII, 398, Āvaṇam, 1997, Vol. 8, pp. 26-27
34	Tiyāndaikkudi-nāḍu	63	EI, XXV, No. 11
35	Varaguṇa-vaḷanāḍu	1	SII, VIII, 398
36	Varichai-nāḍu	2	Vedachalam, 1996, Subbarayalu et.al., 2014, 9
37	Vaṭatalai Sempī-nāḍu	12	SII, V, 293; XIV, 145, Āvaṇam, 1997, Vol. 8, pp. 53-56
38	Vaṭavallatiru-k-kai	1	ARE, 1961-62, 394; SII, XIV, 245

1	2	3	4
39	Vēlūr kuḷa-k-kīl	1	MEC, 1916, No. 447
40	Venpu-nāḍu	2	SII, V, 318
41	Vīranārāyana-kuḷa-k-kīl	2	SII, IV, 372

Kūrram

Kūrram is found as synonym to *nāḍu*. The term *Kūrram* might have been derived from the word *kūru* which means to divide. In the Saṅgam literature, there is no reference to *kūrram*. Saṅgam chief Vēl Evgi ruled the region of miṛalai (*Puṛanānūru* 24:18-19). But it is possible that the later day miṛalai-kūrram and muttūru-kūrram might have emerged as a territorial division based on the primary places miḷalai and muttūru. The Pūlāṅkuṛichchi inscription issued during the reign of Chēndaṅ son of Chēndaṅ Kūrraṅ in 5th century CE refers definitely to the territorial divisions Ollaiyūr-kūrram, muttūru-kūrram and kūdalūr-nāḍu (Subbarayalu 2001:1-6; Kasinathan 1983:157-165). Thus, the territorial division *kūrram* was in existence well before the 5th century CE, though they are found as yet in a limited geographical zone in and around Pudukkōttai region, the buffer zone of the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa territories. There is some clear evidence to consider that *kūrram* was equivalent to *nāḍu* (Subbarayalu 1973:20). Nearly, ten territorial units were found in Pāṇḍya Maṇḍalam in the name of *kūrram*. They are mostly found on the northern part of the Pāṇḍya country (Vedachalam 1996:34). In the present study area, four *kūrrams* were found on both the sides of the river Vaigai namely Arumpūr-kūrram, Tuvvūr-kūrram, Pākaṅūr-kūrram and Tirukāṅappēr-kūrram.

Iru-k-kai

Iru-k-kai is a territorial unit like *nāḍu* and it was found only in the Pāṇḍya region of Tamil Nadu. Literally speaking *iru-k-kai* means a habitation and by extension it stood for an agricultural settlement. For instance, the terms like *nattattu-iru-k-kai* (residential area of a settlement) and *ūr-iru-k-kai* (residential area of a village) suggest that it was considered as a part of a particular village (Vedachalam 1996). Generally, the term *iru-k-kai* was found after the village name as a suffix and this type of territorial unit was found in the inscriptions after 10th century CE in Pāṇḍya region. Nearly seven *iru-k-kai* were noticed in Tamil Nadu; among them four namely *Vaṭavāḷattiru-k-kai*, *Kāñnai-iru-k-kai*, *Cheṅkāṭṭiru-k-kai* and *Achchankāṭṭiru-k-kai* were found in semi-arid and dry zone area of Vaigai valley. The occurrence of *iru-k-kai* and *nāḍu* together suggests that the prominent villages with *iru-k-kai* suffix were converted later into *nāḍu* without altering the original name. For instance, *Chevv-iru-k-kai-nāḍu* and *Kaḷatt-iru-k-kai-nāḍu* could be cited as the new *nāḍu* division and was created after the prominent village.

Muṭṭam

Nearly seven territorial units were found with the name *muṭṭam* in Pāṇḍya region (Subbarayalu, et.al., 2014: 6-11). This type of territorial unit was located near the foot hills or mountains. Literal meaning of *muṭṭu* (head-to-head) means joining. Probably, the place where the plains or pastoral zones join with hill/mountain was called as *muṭṭam*. The *muṭṭam* was called *Muṭṭa-nāḍu* and the *Irāṇiya-muṭṭam* was called as *Irāṇiyamuṭṭa-*

nāḍu. Later, the Iraṇiya-muṭṭam was sub-divided by into two as Mēl-Iraṇiya-muṭṭam and Kīl-Iraṇiya-muṭṭam.

Kuḷa-k-kīl

Kuḷa-k-kīl is considered as a synonym to nāḍu (Vedachalam 1996). The suffix *kuḷa-k-kīl* may mean "east of a particular tank", but in these contexts the particle *kīl* does not mean 'east' as opposed to 'mēl' (west) but stands for under the below a tank. The territorial unit *kuḷa-k-kīl* is found only in Pāṇḍya maṇḍalam, it does not occur in Chōḷa maṇḍalam, Chēra maṇḍalam and Toṇḍai maṇḍalam (Vedachalam 1996:278-291). Nearly 11 territorial units had the suffix *kuḷa-k-kīl* in Tamil Nadu. In the Vaigai river valley alone five territorial units with suffix *kuḷa-k-kīl* are available namely Māḍak-kuḷa-k-kīl, Rājasiṅga-kuḷa-k-kīl, Kuṇṛattūr-kuḷa-k-kīl, Aḷakiyapāṇḍya-kuḷa-k-kīl, and Vīranārāyaṇa-kuḷa-k-kīl. Thus, one may presume that the term *kuḷa-k-kīl* generally refers to the irrigated land located in the command area of the particular tank. In a few occasions, the land located on either side of the feeding channel of the tank also comes under this territorial unit. Therefore, one may conclude that the land associated with tank irrigation is placed under this territorial unit.

Valanāḍu

The term 'valanāḍu' is used to indicate a distinct territorial unit in the Chōḷa kingdom that was created during the reign of Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. The *valanāḍu* found in fertile zones (as the term stands - *valam* means fertile and *nāḍu* means territory) was marked by natural boundaries like rivers and canals in the Chōḷa region. It was a bigger territorial unit over and above the micro level units called *nāḍu* or *kūṛam*. However,

the practice of naming even smaller territorial units such as *nāḍu* or *kūrṅam* as *vaḷanāḍu* had been known in the Pāṇḍya country even earlier to Rājarāja I (Subbarayalu 1973: 36). The Chōḷa government introduced the new *vaḷanāḍu* arrangement in the Pāṇḍya area in the time of Rājēndra I (1012-44 CE). By this arrangement the Pāṇḍya country was organized under four *vaḷanāḍu*: Rājēndra-Chōḷa-*vaḷanāḍu*, Madurānthaka-*vaḷanāḍu*, Uttama-Chōḷa-*vaḷanāḍu* and Muḍikoṇḍa-Chōḷa-*vaḷanāḍu* (SII, XIV: Appendix p. i). The name Madurānthaka-*vaḷanāḍu* which falls in the study area was renamed as Mudurōdaya-*vaḷanāḍu* after the rule of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas was replaced by the Pāṇḍya rule in late eleventh century.

Rājagambhīra-*vaḷanāḍu*

Rājagambhīra-*vaḷanāḍu* is a special *vaḷanāḍu* not included in the above Chōḷa-period divisions. Tirupūvaṇam copper plate grant mentions this *vaḷanāḍu* (EI, XXV: p. 64-130) in the year of 1214 CE during the reign of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya I (1190-1218 CE). This *vaḷanāḍu* covered a very large portion of the present Māṇāmadurai, Sivagaṅgai and Paramakkūḍi taluks of Sivagaṅgai and Rāmanāthapuram districts. The Rājagambhīra *vaḷanāḍu* might have been named after a title of the king Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya. There is a *brahmadēya*, that is brāhmin settlement, called Rājagambhīra-Chaturvēdi-maṅgaḷam created in the name of the same king. This is one of the biggest *brahmadēyas* in this territorial division. According to the grant, 1200 share of land were given as a *brahmadēya* to 1080 brāhmaṇa families in Rājagambhīra-Chaturvēdi-maṅgaḷam. Each family got one share and the remaining 120 shares were given to the temple and for those who do service to the temple. The newly

constituted *brahmadēya* village included within it as many as 140 old villages which belonged to five separate *nāḍu* divisions viz., Kīraṇūr-*nāḍu*, Paṇāṅgalūr-*nāḍu*, Tiyāṇḍaikkūḍi-*nāḍu* and Purapparalai-*nāḍu*. The circumscribing boundary of this new village had to go across a number of roads, rivers and canals. The Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu covered to area on both sides of the river Vaigai. This *vaḷanāḍu* is not heard of after the time of this grant (Map. 1).

Based on the available sources one could draw a good picture on the historical evolution of settlements in the study area. Thus, the study of the territorial units such as *nāḍu*, *kūrram*, *kuḷa-k-kīl*, *muṭṭam* and *iru-k-kai* suggests that there are several ethno-political based units. When an area is recognized by incorporating one or more villages as administrative units, the rulers prefer the term *nāḍu* over other units like *kūrram*, *kuḷa-k-kīl*, *muṭṭam* and *iru-k-kai*. However, the simultaneous use of the terms *kūrram*, *iru-k-kai* and *muṭṭam* suggests that they were in existence well before the creation of *nāḍu* divisions. Thus, the study of territorial divisions gives a clue to understand the historical geography of the region.

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BABY : AN ANALYSIS OF THE NAME OF THE VILLAGE

S.M. Dhanaraj

As a village called by a name, every name has its own curious story created by the villagers. This happens because they went to setup such stories with mythology and legendary names to spread their village name across the country as well as they went to enhance the reputation of the village.

Such stories which have been drawn by the people, are called *nirukti* (dissatisfaction), *Itihya* (legend) and regional legends by folklorists. We can identify the originality and realistic derivatives of such names, if we analyse it through the views of linguistics and history. Hence, here the word 'Baby' has been analysed as a Native name.

'Baby' village is located 7 km from Chinakurali Hobli center of Pandavapura taluk, Mandya District. The Hill which is situated near to that called 'Baby Beṭṭa' (Baby hill). Many vivid stories have netted about this place which are religiously and culturally famous. Another village is also located at Mandya taluk called Baby.

Many scholars have discussed about the derivatives of the word 'Baby'. And many villages are located around the taluks of Pāṇḍavapura and Mandya. The devotees of Mēlukōṭe Cheluvanārāyaṇaswami or communities are residing here. 'Baby' a native name has derived from the beloved Cheluvanārāyaṇa 'Bībināchchiyār'. She

was the daughter of Delhi Sultānate 'Shahazāde'. She has another name 'Babynāchchiyār', but shortly known as 'Baby'. She kept the idol of Cheluvanārāyaṇaswami with her in her harem, and opened pūja. As Śrī Rāmānuja dreamt about such things and according to god he went to Delhi and got back 'Rāmapriya' the procession idol of Cheluvanārāyaṇa. While he was coming back Baby could not resist the loneliness so she followed Rāmānuja and settled down at Mēlukōṭe. Naturally the devotees of Cheluvanārāyaṇa started doing pūja for this lady. Sri Tailuru Venkatakriṣṇa opined that the word 'Baby' has been derived from the word 'BiBi'.

B. Nārāyaṇa Gowda says 'once upon a time a demon had been living here named Dimbakāsura. He was torturing nearby people and having formulate as beautiful child and roaming in this hill. People who were fascinated by this child and came close to it suddenly he grew big and swallowed them. Therefore it is called as 'Child hill or Maguvina beṭṭa'. During British period they named it as 'Baby hill'. It has been called by the name 'Baby beṭṭa'. In the background of Folk derivation the village near this hill has been coined as 'Baby'. Firstly this name Baby has been called to the village, then followed to the hill which is near to that.

For the above two derivations the scholars depended on Myth. There is no absolute clue for Bibināchchiyār from Delhi came and resided here after Śrī Rāmānuja. The derivation of this has been really far from truth because the inscriptions have proved that this is an old local version. So his theory about the derivation is not convincing.

An inscription of 1157 A.D. (A.K. p. 156), indicates that the old form of the local place name 'Baby' was 'Bebevora'. An inscription of 1200 A.D. mentions this as 'Babināḍu' (*Ibid.*, p. 99) and another inscription of 1237 A.D. has 'Baby' (*E.K.* 7, p. 215) form. As the old version of Baby was 'Bebevōra', we come to know that this village name 'Baby' was not in one unit, instead of that it became 'Bebe+ōra>bebeōra'. The suffix 'Ōra' became 'Ōru'. In the word Bibi+nāḍu>Bibināḍu, the suffix 'nāḍu' indicate the administrative unit and hence it indicates that it was an administrative place.

The origin of the prefix 'Babe' and 'Bibi' is 'Bilimbi'. In the word Bilimbi's, 'la' form having been changed as 'la', but the displacement of these letters it formed such as Biḷimbi>Bilimbi>Bimbali. It is different to pronounce it on account of the repetition of words (duplication) while impetuousness pronunciation, i.e. Tāmbra>tāmra, similarly, the word 'Bimbali' has been called 'Bimli'. Kannada Dictionary of Kannada Sāhitya Parishat, indicate the word 'Bilimbi' for 'Bimli'. For the word Biḷimbi there are some similar words such as Bimbali, Bimbli and says it is mentioned as kind of fruit tree. Even in D.E. Dictionary it is being treated as a Native language, and pronounced it in our sibling languages as Tamil-Pilimbi, Tuḷu-Bilimbi, Bimbuli and Telugu-Bilimbi.

The final form of the word 'Bimbli', has lost its duplication 'la' and formed as 'Bimbi'. In Kittel's Dictionary Bimbi (bimbi) is described as 'a plant bearing red gourd, momordica monadelpha Roxb'. Hence, it is clear that this is nothing but a tree.

Dot of 'Bimbi' is elision and formed as 'Bibi'. During quick pronunciation, it gives the name of the place as a native place name - 'Bibi>Baby'. Although it was a plant name it later became a place name.

'Baby' is a native word and the village in Mandya Taluk is called 'Baby'. The word 'Babyhola' figure inscription in the Vīraballāḷa from Hoskūru in Malavalli taluk. Generally, even now it is a practice to confirm their land and the name in the background of the soil, rock, plant, tree, ravine, stream, etc., i.e. Bēvina hola (Neem land), Māvinahola (mango groove), Ippe hola (Ippe land), Byālada hola (byala land) etc. Therefore it is possible to call a land as Bibi>baby land which might have had Bimbli>baby trees. The term 'Baby' is not a foreign term, absolutely it is a native word, and also, being a word of plant. In grammar it is called natural by norms.... (Prakritivāchaka).

If we analyse the history of native names from the beginning of the human establishment, they will yield the names of nature, next to race and later person's name. So in the period of using natural norms the word 'Bibi' is one among them.

Now the usage of the word 'Bibi' is in the form of compound proper noun. On the basis of the words Bebevōra, Bibināḍu which were used the inscriptions, it indicate the word 'Ūru'. A study of native names will help us to know the origin of the word. The study of native name 'Bibi' is an example to explain original language.

Notes and References

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SARABHAPURIYAS AND PANDUVAMSI OF SOUTH KOSALA

Subrata Kumar Acharya

The kingdom of ancient South Kosala comprised of the territories around the Vindhya mountain and it included the territories in the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Raigarh districts of Chhatisgarh and the Kalahandi and Nuapada districts of Odisha. The river Mahanadi that emerges from the Amarkantak hills and drains the region flows to the east and merges with the Bay of Bengal. The kingdom further bordered the regions like Kalinga, Tosala, Mekala, Chedi and Vidarbha. The earliest reference to Kosala or South Kosala is found in the Parisistha of Atharvaveda. Subsequently it is mentioned in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas.

Although it is difficult to trace the history of the kingdom, yet the literary sources make us believe that it was ruled by the Ikshvaku, the Nandas and the Mauryas. Subsequently it came under the suzerainty of the Satavahanas. The Allahabad Pillar inscription is the earliest epigraphical record that furnishes the evidence that the Gupta ruler Samudragupta in the course of his Dakshinapatha campaign invaded the territory of Kosala ruled by a king named Mahendra. Mahakantara was a bordering kingdom of the South Kosala. The latter was a bone of contention between the Nalas and the Vakatakas in the 4th-5th century CE. The protracted struggle between these two powers of the Vindhya region has been recorded in their charters.

The fall of these two ruling families ultimately led the rise of an important dynasty to claim suzerainty over South Kosala. It was in the 6th-7th centuries; the Sarabhapuriyas came to prominence as the rulers of region and firmly established their hold over it. Their capital was located at Sarabhapura. But the location of this city has not been identified. Some of the inscriptions have also been issued from the victorious city of Sripura, identified with modern Sirpur on the bank of the river Mahanadi in the Raipur district of Chhatisgarh. The Sarabhapuriyas had established a cordial relationship with the kingdom of Mekala. It was Tivaradeva who amalgamated the kingdoms of Kosala and Mekala into one empire and began to rule in the 7th century CE. He started a new dynasty known as the Panduvamsi dynasty with their seat of power located at Sirpur. The rulers of this family continued to rule over South Kosala up to the early decades of the 9th century CE. Later on when the Kalachuris came to prominence in the region to the north and west of the kingdom of South Kosala, the Panduvamsis shifted to the middle Mahanadi valley and they claimed themselves as belonging to the family of the Somavamsis.

Nearly fifty copper plate and stone inscriptions of the Sarabhapuriyas and the Panduvamsis have been discovered so far. They provide a lot of information about villages, cities, political headquarters, administrative divisions, the rivers, the mountains and so on which form substantial data for the study of the toponymy

of the region. They were the early ruling dynasties who issued copper plate grants in this part of the country. They were either issued in favour of the brahmanas, the temples and other religious establishments. The inscriptions further offer a lot of information regarding the brahminical settlements, the construction of temple, monasteries and the free feeding houses, and the administrative divisions. It may be noted here that the Sarabhapuriyas were responsible for issuing gold coins and many gold coins of the rulers of this family have been discovered from different places of Chhatisgarh and western Odisha. In the following tables, topographical details as mentioned in the inscriptions of the two ruling dynasties have been arranged in tabular forms. Attempt has been made to identify and locate some of them.

RULERS OF ŚĀRABHAPURIYAS

Pīparḍulā Plates of Narendra, year 3	Mahārāja Narendra	Śarabhapura	Malhar. It has not been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been made.
		Śarkarāpadraka	Located in Nandapura (bhoga). It cannot be identified definitely. There is a Nandagaur or the Mahanadi in the former Sarangarh state (now incorporated in the Raigarh District) and nearby there exists a village called Sākarā which latter may perhaps be identical with Śarkarāpadraka.
		Nandapura	It cannot be identified definitely. There still exist two adjoining villages named Nandaur big and Nandaur small in the Bilaspur District, some 40 miles from Sākarā, which contain some remains of antiquarian interest and may not improbably be identified with the headquarters of the district of Nandapura.
Kurud Plates of Narendra, year 24	Mahārāja Narendra	Tilakeśvara	It cannot be identified.
		Keśavaka	Located in Chūllādasīmā (bhoga). It is probably represented by the modern village named Keshawa on the bank of a Nullah known

			as Keshwanala, some 5.5 miles to the south-east of Mahasamund, the head-quarters of the tahsil of the same name in the Raipur District.
		<i>Chullāḍasīmā</i>	The bhoga may have been so called because it probably bordered on a place called <i>Cullāda</i> , which has been tentatively identified with the modern village of Charoda, about 7 miles due east of Keshwa.
		<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has not been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been hazarded.
		<i>Tormaka</i>	Located in <i>Maṅṭarāja</i> (bhukti). It cannot be identified. Though both Bajpei and Jain took the name of the village to be <i>ārāmaka</i> , but it is clearly <i>Torāmaka</i> .
		<i>Maṅṭarāja</i>	Bajpei and Jain relate it to king <i>Mantarāja</i> of Kurāla in Dakshināpatha defeated by Samudragupta and suggest that his kingdom was situated in the Chattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh.
		<i>Vaṭapadra</i>	The village cannot be identified satisfactorily.
Rawan Plate of Narendra	Narendra		

			Evidently* vatapadra has nothing to do with it unless it is supposed that the area in which the village was situated was recognised under the <i>Pāṇḍuvamsins</i> . As there are numerous villages named after the banyan tree.
Amgura Plates of <i>Jayarāja</i> , year 3	<i>Mahā-Jayarāja</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been hazarded
		<i>Rājyagrāma</i>	Located in <i>Sāmparāja</i> (bhukti)
		<i>Sāmparāja</i>	
Mallar Plates of <i>Mahā-Jayarāja</i>	<i>Mahā-Jayarāja</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has not been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been hazarded
		<i>Kadamba-drupallaka</i>	Located in Antaranālak. Sircar suggests that the names of the village Kadambadrupallaka seems to be a combination of the names of two contiguous localities called Kadambapadraka and ullaka. But it cannot be identified.
		<i>Antaranālaka</i>	It was evidently the name of the district but it has not been identified.

Arang plates of <i>Mahā-Jayarāja</i> , year 5	<i>Mahā-Jayarāja</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has not been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been hazarded.
		<i>Pamvā</i>	Located in <i>Pūrvarāshtra</i> . According to B.C. Jain, <i>Pamvā</i> is probably represented by modern Pamgarh, about 32 kms. To the east of Bilaspur.
		<i>Pūrvarāshtra</i>	Fleet observed that it was perhaps so called because of its lying on the east of the Mēkla range of Mountains.
		<i>Śarabhapura</i>	B.C. Jain - it probably denoted the region round Bilaspur. It was known by this name evidently because it comprised the eastern part of the <i>Śarabhapurīya</i> kingdom
Mallar Plates of <i>Jayarāja</i> , year 9	<i>Jayarāja</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has not been identified satisfactorily through several conjectures have been hazarded
		<i>Mokkeppikā</i>	Located in <i>Nagarottarapatṭa</i> . Probably identical with modern Mopka, about 10 miles from Bilaspur the headquarters of the district of the same name.
		<i>Nagarottarapatṭa</i>	It was probably the name of a district situated to the north of the capital city

	<i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Śabarabhogika</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i> . It may be identified with modern margoda, about 10 miles from Bilaspur
Nahna Plates of <i>Sudevarāja</i> , year 2	<i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Navannaka</i>	Located in Ksitimanda district (<i>āhāra</i>). Now represented by <i>Nahnā</i> or <i>Nainā</i> or <i>Nainā</i> , the findspot of the plates; three miles south of Khariar.
		<i>Śāmbilaka</i>	Located in Ksitimanda district (<i>āhāra</i>). It is quite possible that it has lost its separate existence and merged itself in the village of <i>Nainā</i> .
		<i>Kshitimanda</i>	It cannot be identified.
	<i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Śrīpura</i>	Modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh.
		<i>Khalapadraka</i>	Located in <i>Ḍakarībhoga</i> . B.C. Jain identify it with modern khalari in the Ripur District, which is found mentioned by the name <i>Khalvāṭikā</i> or <i>Khalavāṭkālā</i> in an inscription of Hari-Brahma-Deva.
Dhamatari Plates of <i>Sudevarāja</i> , year 3		<i>Ḍakarībhoga</i>	<i>Ḍakarī</i> , the chief place of the bhoga, has not been identified.

Sirpur plates of <i>Mahā-Sudevarāja</i> , year 7	<i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has not been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been hazarded
		<i>Vaka</i>	Donated. <i>Cullādasīmā</i> and <i>Keśavaka</i> were probably the name of the district and the village respectively.
Arang Plates of <i>Sudevarāja</i> , year 7	<i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has not been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been hazarded
		<i>Śivaliṅgaka</i>	Located in <i>Tosaḍḍa</i> (bhukti). It has not been identified.
		<i>Tosaḍḍa</i>	According to pandeya, the headquarters of the bhukti, <i>Tosaḍḍa</i> , is probably represented by the modern village of <i>Tosarā</i> in the erstwhile Patna state V.V. Mirashi's identification of it with <i>Tusdā</i> near Dumarpalli about thirty miles to the south-east of Arang.
Kauvatal Plates of <i>Sudevarāja</i> , year 7	<i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Śrīpura</i>	Modern Sirpurin the Raipur district of Chattisgarh.
		<i>Sunikā</i>	Located in <i>Hakirī</i> (bhoga)
		<i>Hakirī</i>	

Raipur Plates of <i>Sudevarāja</i> , year 10	<i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has not been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been hazarded
		<i>Śrīsāhika</i>	Located in <i>Pūrvarāshtra</i> . According to Hiralal it is represented by the modern <i>Śrīsāhī</i> in the Balada Bazar, Tahsil of the Bilaspur district.
		<i>Pūrvarāshtra</i>	Evidently the eastern part of the Śarabapurīya kingdom.
Sarangarh Plates of <i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Sudevarāja</i>	<i>Śarabhapura</i>	It has not been identified satisfactorily though several conjectures have been hazarded
		<i>Chullandāraka</i>	Located in <i>Tuṇḍarāka</i> (bhukti). It cannot be identified. But it must have been situated close to the modern village of <i>Tuṇḍrā</i> , which represents the bhukti in which it was situated. Hiralal observes that if the village exists, then we would now find the name in the form like Chulāndur, a Characteristic Chattisgarh name. V.V. Mirashi proposed to identify the village with the modern Childa.
		<i>Tuṇḍarāka</i>	<i>Tuṇḍarāka</i> is now represented by the village of <i>Tuṇḍrā</i> , about six miles south of

			Sheorinarayan on the Mahanadi and about thirty-five mile west of Sarangarh, the spot of the places
Thakurdiya Plates of Pravararāja, year 3	Pravararāja	Śrīpura	Modern Sirpur in the Raipur district of Chattisgarh.
-		Āshādhaka	It is probably represented by the modern village of Asonḍ.
		Tuṇḍa rāshira	Tuṇḍa is the headquarter of the rāshira christened often it, may be identified with one of the villages named Tuṇḍa, Tuṇḍī or Tuṇḍragāon near Sheorinarayan. Some 25 or 30 miles from Thakurdiya.
Mallar Plates of Pravararāja, year 3	Pravararāja	Śrīpura	Modern Sirpur in the Raipur district of Chattisgarh.
		Mitrarāmaka	Located in Śankhachakrā (bhoga)
		Śankhachakrā	

RULERS OF PĀNDUVAMŚIS

Bonda Plates of Tīvaradeva, year 5	Tīvaradeva	Issued from <i>Srīpura</i>	Sirpur
		Bondaka and <i>Avadika</i>	Bonda, in Raigarh <i>Avadika</i> may be a nearby village
		<i>Piharāja bhukti</i>	<i>Piharāja</i> may be ruler not known from any other source modern Pihara south east of Bonda
Rajim Plates of Tīvaradeva, year 7	Tīvaradeva	Issued from <i>Srīpura</i>	Sirpur
		Pimparipadraka	Piparaud? 3 miles northwest of Rajim
		<i>Penṭhama bhukti</i>	May be modern <i>Pāṇḍukā</i> near Rajim or Pondh 6 miles north of Rajim. However this name suggests that the bhukti derived its name from a Penṭha a market town.
Sirpur Copper Plate of <i>Mahāsiva</i> Tīvaradeva, year 7	<i>Mahāsiva</i> Tīvaradeva	Issued from <i>Srīpura</i>	Sirpur
		<i>Pañchakutya</i> village	Cannot be identified

		<i>Anangapalla bhoga</i>	Can be identified with <i>Anarghavallī vishaya</i> mentioned in the <i>Sivarināyān</i> plates of Kalachuri king Ratnadeva II
Sirpur Copper Plate of Mahāśivagupta, year 6	<i>Mahāśivagupta</i>	<i>Pillāsūnya</i> <i>Devabhoga vishaya</i>	Cannot be traced Present Devabhoga Tahsil headquarter of Dhamtari district well known for its alexandrite (diamond) deposits. Sirpur plates of <i>Mahāśivagupta</i> year 46 and Katak plates of <i>Mahābhavaguta Bhīmaratha</i> mention this <i>bhoga</i> . <i>Terāśingā</i> plates of Maharāja <i>Tushūtikara</i> mention it as Debhoaka
Sirpur Copper Plate of Mahāśivagupta, year II	<i>Manāśivagupta</i>	<i>Adkeraka</i> <i>Svalpaśankarāmānga</i>	In the <i>Pānduvamāsin</i> charters this place is mentioned as <i>Sankarāpadra</i> this the growth of this place from a pataka to a marga is really quite interesting. It has been identified with <i>Sānkara</i>
Sirpur Copper Plate of Mahāśivagupta, year 19	<i>Manāśivagupta</i>	<i>Vaidya Palāśapadraka</i>	May be identified with <i>Pārāśivamī</i> on the bank of river Jonka. The village begin on the bank of Jonka river is full of <i>Palāśa</i> trees locally known as <i>Parsā</i> . It is worth

mentioning here that the original name of river Jonka was it. It is a tributary of Mahanadi and *Sāṅkarā* is on its banks. The association of the name of the village with vaidyas is interesting and *Palāśa* flower is used for skin treatment thus it might be a local settlement of vaidyas using this treatment. There are other reference to *Palāśavinda* which further indicate that the growing of *Palāśa* trees was in vogue. Though nothing conclusive comes forth from epigraphic reference regarding the medicinal usage of *Palāśa* trees or flowers.

In the *Pāṇḍuvamsin* charters this place was mentioned as Sarkarapataka this the growth of this place from a pataka to a marga and then Brihatsarkara and Svalpasarkara is really quite interesting. Prabhat Kumar Singh identifies it with *Sarkarāḷaka* mentioned in the Sirpur stone inscription of Acharya Buddhaghosa. Jain identifies *Sarkarāḷaka* with Gudasarkara mentioned in the Senkapat inscription of *Mahāśivagupta*. Singh mentions this as a wrong identification as this according to Singh should be the same village situated

*Brihaccharaka-
rāmārga*

	Baloda Plates of <i>Tīvaradeva</i> , year 9		<i>Tīvarideva</i>	Issued from <i>Śrīpura</i>	Sirpur	on the right bank of river Jonka 30 miles northeast of Sirpur.
				<i>Meikiddaka</i>	Cannot be identified	
				<i>Bilvapatraka</i>	Cannot be identified	
				<i>Sundarikāmārga</i>	<i>Mārga</i> has been taken in the sense of a territorial division road or the way leading to <i>Sundarika</i>	
	Aḥbhāra Plates of <i>Namarāja</i> , year ?		<i>Namarāja</i>	Issued from <i>Śrīpura</i>	Sirpur	
				Lordship over Kosala Utkala and other <i>mandalas</i>		
				<i>Koṭinika</i>		Jain suggests that it can be identified with <i>Kāthākoṭi</i> or <i>Koṭmī</i> 12 miles from <i>Aḥbhāra</i>

		<i>Aṣṭadvāra vishaya</i>	<i>Aḥabhāra</i> located in the Sakti Tahsil of Bilaspur district
Bardula Plates of <i>Śivagupta</i> , year 9	<i>Śivagupta</i>	<i>Vatapadraka</i>	<i>Baṭapādaka</i> 12 miles from Bardula the find spot of the grant
		<i>Kośiranandapura</i>	Nandapura <i>bhoga</i> There is a Nandapura small and Nandapura large in the Sakti Tahsil of Bilaspur district probably Nandapura large is an assimilation of <i>Kośira</i> and Nandapura which were probably adjacent to each other
Bonda Plates of <i>Śivagupta Bālārjuna</i> , year 22	<i>Śivagupta</i>	<i>Śarkarāpātaka</i>	
		<i>Lāyadḍaka vishaya</i>	<i>Lārā</i> 10 miles north by east of Bonda the findspot
Lodhia Plates of <i>Śivagupta Bālārjuna</i> , year 57	<i>Śivagupta</i>	<i>Vaidyapadraka</i>	Baidpali in Bargarh tahsil of Raigarh dist.
		<i>Oni bhoga</i>	
		<i>Pattana Khadirapadrata</i>	Khadirapadratala Sonepur plates of Khairapali 10 miles from Baidpalli
		<i>Pañchayajñatapovana</i> in Dvaitavana	From which the ascetic <i>Pramathacharya</i> hailed whose student was Sulapani

Mallar Plates of <i>Śivagupta Bālārjuna</i> , undated	<i>Śivagupta</i>	<i>Kailāśapura</i>	There are several villages named <i>Keslā</i> in Bilaspur and Janjgir Tehsil. The closet <i>Keslā</i> to Malhar is located some 8 miles to south east. The term <i>pura</i> appended to the name of a village is very interesting. It might either represent a settlement of people in large numbers from a city named <i>Kailāśapura</i> who preferred to name their village the same or else we have to assume that it was ignorance of the meaning of <i>pura</i> which led them to append it to their village which is very unlikely.
Mallar Plates of <i>Śivagupta</i> , undated	<i>Śivagupta</i>	<i>Śushkasirilikā</i> <i>Oni bhoga</i>	Mirashia and Pandeya have suggested it as probably the same as <i>Talahāri-maṇḍala</i> mentioned in later epigraphs. A.M. Shastri suggests Jaitpur as the <i>Taraḍarīśaka</i> on the ground that this inscription mentions a Buddhist monastery and Jaitpur is near Malhar the provenance of the present record and also has few Buddhist remains. Cannot be identified. <i>Śushkasirilikā</i> near a dried water source as in Sanskrit and work <i>Saralaka</i> means water and <i>Śuśka</i> means dried. Cannot be identified

<p>Sirpur <i>Lakshmana</i> Temple Stone Inscription of the time of <i>Sivagupta</i> <i>Bālārjuna</i>, undated</p>	<p><i>Sivagupta</i></p>	<p><i>Toḍaikaṇa</i> <i>Madhuvēḍha</i> <i>Nālīpadra</i> <i>Kurapadra</i> <i>Nāgapadra</i></p>	<p>Cannot be identified Cannot be identified Cannot be identified Cannot be identified Junwani copper plate also donates the same village or another village bearing the same name Cannot be identified</p>
<p>Sirpur Gandheśvara temple Inscription of the time of <i>Sivagupta</i> <i>Bālārjuna</i>, undated</p>	<p><i>Sivagupta</i></p>	<p><i>Navahaṭṭa</i></p>	<p>A new market not a village but a residential area all garland makes residing at <i>Navahaṭṭa</i> are instructed to give flowers for the worship of God <i>Gaṇḍheśvara</i> as a certain <i>Jorjjarāka</i> instituted the offering of a flower garland measuring a purusa in height.</p>
<p>Senkapat Stone Slab Inscription of the Time of <i>Sivagupta</i> <i>Bālārjuna</i>, undated</p>	<p><i>Sivagupta</i></p>	<p><i>Guḍaśarkaraka</i></p>	<p>Dikshit and Sircar hint at several villages named <i>Sāṅkrā</i>. Jain mentions it at a distance of 13 miles from to the provenance and west of Sirpur lies the nearest village of the same name Prabhat Kumar Singh mentions this as a wrong identification as this according to Singh should be the same village situated</p>

on the right bank of river Jonk 30 miles northeast of Sirpur.	From here hailed a Śaiva <i>āchārya</i> . In Ranod Stone inscription Purandara is mentioned <i>Āmarḍaka-tīrtha-nātha</i> and he was the founder of the famous <i>Mattamayūra</i> lineage. Thus a connection of this region which was famous for Soma <i>Siddhānta</i> and other Śaiva lineages had a connection with other Śaiva sites in Madhya Pradesh.			<i>Lāṭa (Jhorā)</i> in Gadchirauli tahsil of Chandrapur District.	<i>Śivanapalli</i> in Sironcha Tahsil of Chandrapura District or may be identified with Sirocha itself.	Same as <i>Kikkidā-ābhoga</i> Kukda 18 miles from Durg.
<i>Āmarḍaka</i>		<i>Koḍasīma</i>	<i>Vivānaka</i>	<i>Lāṭa</i> in the village <i>Śrīparṇikā</i>	<i>Śrīparṇikā</i>	<i>Ravituṅga</i> <i>Kikkidā-bhukti</i>
						<i>Śivagupta</i>
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of <i>Śivagupta Bālārjuna</i>						

from Sirpur, year 25th, set I		<i>Phuṭṭapāṃṇi</i>	Same as that mentioned in Pipardula plates of <i>Sarabhapuriya</i> king Narendra.
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of <i>Śivagupta Bālārjuna</i> from Sirpur, year 37th, set II	<i>Śivagupta</i>	Nandapura Hastipadraka <i>Svalpasāṅkarānārga</i>	As the done hailed from Nandapura the <i>Sarṅkarāpāṭaka</i> mentioned in the Pipardula and Bonda plates was also located in the Nandapura- <i>bhoga</i> .
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of <i>Śivagupta Bālārjuna</i> from Sirpur, year 38th, set III	<i>Śivagupta</i>	Nandapura <i>Bhāṇḍāgāra- chātāka</i> <i>Aryyanika bhoga</i>	Same as the one mentioned in Pipardula plates of Narendra Arang near Raipur
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of <i>Śivagupta Bālārjuna</i> from Sirpur, year 46th, set IV	<i>Śivagupta</i>	<i>Bhāṇḍāgāra- takkāṇiśaka</i> <i>Devī-bhoga</i>	Cannot be identified

A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, year 48th, set V	Śivagupta	Bhāṇḍāgār- Āsvatthaka	Cannot be identified
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, year 55th, set VI	Śivagupta	Devapadrullaka	Cannot be identified
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, year 55th, set VII	Śivagupta	Chullāṭasīmā- bhoga	Known from the Krud plates of Narendra
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, set VIII	Śivagupta	Nandapura	
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, year 55th, set VI	Śivagupta	Vittoḍaka village	Cannot be identified
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, year 55th, set VII	Śivagupta	Uṇi-bhoga	Same as Oni bhōga
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, set VIII	Śivagupta	Katambapadrullaka	Also the same as mentioned in the Śārabhapuriya charter of Jayarāja.
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, year 55th, set VII	Śivagupta	Chullāṭasīmā- bhoga	Cannot be identified though should be somewhere near Antaraṅkala where it was said to be situated in the grant of Jayarāja
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, set VIII	Śivagupta	Kosambra- village	Cannot be identified. Something to do with mangoes

		<i>Svalpa-Sārkarāmārga</i>	Same as the one mentioned in the grant of 37th regnal year
A Hoard of Nine copper-Plate Grants of Śivagupta Bālārjuna from Sirpur, set IX	Śivagupta	Chorapadraka	Cannot be identified. But does this establish a connection with the Chōlas country or some immigrants from South?
Mallar Plates of Śivagupta, 57th year	Śivagupta	<i>Rohāsīmā-bhoga</i> <i>Pāśipadraka</i> <i>Kurupadraka</i>	Cannot be identified <i>Pāśid</i> on the southern bank of <i>Mahānadī</i> Kolapadar diagonally opposite <i>Pāśid</i> on the southeast. This place reminds us of the Kurus of Kolhapur and there are several other connections with the Kurus found here.
		<i>Oṅi-bhoga</i>	Same as the other <i>Oṅi-bhoga</i>
Mallar Stone Inscription of Śivagupta Bālārjuna	Śivagupta	<i>Bhāṅḍāgāra-Tulapadraka</i> <i>Gokshagrāma</i>	Cannot be identified. This seems to be a cotton store house. Cannot be identified but it might indicate a place where devil'sthornplant [Tribulus Lanuginosus - Bot.] grew in abundance. From Sanskrit Goksura

		<i>Vorāpātaka</i>	Cannot be identified. Vora can be derived from a sort of pulse or from the fruit known as ber locally also known as bor.
Stone Slab on the <i>Gandharveśvara</i> temple	<i>Śivagupta</i>	<i>Pranavahattaka</i>	<i>Mālākāras Ajay Mitra Shastri</i> identifies it as the same as <i>Navahattaka</i> but it seems to be a separate place.

PLACES FIGURING IN THE GRANTS OF CHĀLUKYA VIJAYĀDITYA III

M.D. Sampath

The rulers of the Eastern Chālukyan family are known for their munificent gifts. The land grants made by the early Chalukyan kings need a critical study from the point of view of their contents.

Besides the land or villages donated to the temples, the king took more interest in the acquisition of territories or boundaries of lands. The predecessors of Vijayāditya III earned the good will of the neighbouring ruling families by several means.

It was from Bhīma Saluke that Vijayāditya wrested the Vēngi kingdom. We come to know from the Chālukya grants that Vijayāditya defeated the enemy forces and the kingdom. The Masulipatṇam grants do not attest this act of credit and achievement. The Vēngi region was the form of contention between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chalukyas in the 8th-10th century A.D. It was in Chalukyas came into provinance of the region. The onomastic study of the different places and the establishment of their rule over Vēngi forms an interesting study. A few places from the above grants have been identified.

In the Korrapaṅṅu grant of Vijayāditya III, one Nṛipa-Rudra is referred to as the *ājñapti* of the grant. He is described as the brother of the king (Vijayāditya II) and as a descendent of the Haihaya family. In all probability, he was a half-brother born of a different wife of Viṣṇuvardhana. In which case he is said to

have belonged to the lineage of the Kaḷachuris of Tripura.

According to Fleet Vēngi was held as a subordinate area by Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III. The contemporary of this ruler was Vijayāditya II. But the Pāmulaḷpāḍu, Guṇṭur and Pōnaṅgy plates suggests that Bhīma Saḷuke held Vēngī under the control of Gōvinda III for a period of 12 years. It was probably from Saḷuke, Vijayāditya II wrested the Vēngī kingdom through a successful fight with both ends. Vijayāditya II defeated the forces of the Rāshtrakūṭas and Gaṅgas. This information is available from all the Chalukyan grants except the Masulipaṭṇam plates.

Vijayāditya III is mentioned to have erected the banner before his residence in his Sātalūru grant. The banner contains the symbols of Gaṅgā and Yamunā rivers. These as well as the *pālikētana* indicates the royal insignia of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The fact that the *dhvaja* planted before the residence of the Chalukya king seems to indicate that the Rāshtrakūṭas were defeated in the hands of the Chalukyan forces. The Guṇṭur plates attribute several epithets Vijayāditya III including *Raṅaraṅga-sūdraka*, *Vikrama-dhavaḷa*, *Parachakrarāma*, *Birudāṅka Bhīma*, *Guyakanallān*, *Tripurāmātya-mahēśvara*, etc.

Besides the Masulipaṭṇam plates of Vijayāditya III, the Sātalūru plates refer to the list of earlier kings and their achievements. Therefore this charter can be assigned to an early period of his reign. In addition to the legendary account, the Sātalūru charter gives the names of the king's predecessors upto five kings of the name

of Vishṇuvarddhana, two of Jayasīṃha and one by name Maṅgi and three kings by the name of Vijayāditya, including the donor of the present charter.

It is interesting to find a reference to the Haihaya princess and to Nṛipakāma born of this princess. At the instance of this Nṛipakāma, the donor is said to have endowed the village Sānta-grāma.

Vijayāditya III despatched an army under Pāṇḍuraṅga, the son of Kaṭakarāja to acquire the Bōya's territory. This raid resulted in the annexation of the south-eastern portion of the Telugu country. Pāṇḍuraṅga worsted the chief Rāhaṇa in war and achieved success for his overlord. Further Vijayāditya received Stambhapuri identified with Cumbum in Kurnool district which was under the control of the Rāshtrakūṭas. This provoked the contemporary ruler Amōghavarsha to retain the Chalukyan army and finally sustained a defeat.

The Eastern Chalukyas acknowledged the overlordship of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Amōghavarsha I.

Thereafter the Rāshtrakūṭa's position became weak and they retired to their own territories. Amōghavarsha did not permit the Gaṅga king and his allies to carry on their rebellion unnoticed. Vijayāditya was asked to proceed to Gaṅgavādi to check the ruler. Vijayāditya was not allowed to proceed towards Gaṅgavādi by the Nolamba Maṅgi and Gaṅga king Nītimārga Permāṇḍi. Vijayāditya's forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the Gaṅgas and then the Gaṅga king was forced to enter into peace negotiations with Amōghavarsha I.

In the conquest against the Rāshtrakūṭas, Vijayāditya was ably supported by Pāṇḍuraṅga who claims to have

burnt the city of Kirāṇyapura. In order to reassert his independence he secured the allegiance of his feudatories of the south like Yuddhamalla, Baddega and others. In his attempt he was supported by the Chēdi king Saṅkila against Vijayāditya III. Kṛishṇa II was accompanied by the Chēdi king of Dāhala and said to have made an attempt on Vijayāditya III. He was defeated in this battle and took shelter in the city of Kiranapura. Vijayāditya, with this victory, further marched against Dāhala under the leadership of Pāṇḍuraṅga. The expedition was to southern Kōśala through Kaliṅga. The kings of Kaliṅga, Kōśala and they Chalukya chief of Vēmūlavāḍa resisted this invasion.

He devastated Dāhala, defeated Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila in the battle and set fire to Kiranapura and Achalapura, the cities of Dāhala kingdom.

Krishṇa II realised his position, paid tributes to Vijayāditya III who restored his kingdom and returned to his capital Vēngi. In the Sātālūru grant, there is a reference to the battle with the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas. His southern campaign including the protection offered to the Chōla king through his general Pāṇḍuraṅga is nowhere recorded except the Dharmavaram epigraph. During his reign the Chalukyan kingdom emerged as the biggest by extending from Mahēndragiri in the north to Pulicat lake in the south. He was a great warrior can very well be adjudged from the way in which the Rāshtrakūtas were subjugated, the success in the Dāhala campaign and his claim as the emperor of Dakṣiṇāpatha. He had a brilliant career of over 44 years.

Bhīma I succeeded Vijayāditya III after he could get over the problems of his enemies like Yuddhamalla and the Rāshtrakūṭa army headed by Kṛishṇa II. The invasion of the Rāshtrakūṭa forces, the imprisonment of Bhīma I has delayed the process of the restoration. Though Kṛishṇa II was supported by the *dāyādas* of Chalukya Bhīma I yet the support came from the side of the chief of Mudugōṇḍa family rallied under Kusumāyudha. Then Bhīma could establish himself on the throne firmly from 14th April, 892 A.D. Kṛishṇa II again despatched his army against the Chalukyas under the leadership of Daṇḍena Guṇḍaya along with the forces from Karṇāṭaka and Lāṭa. The Chalukya forces met the opponents at Niravadyapura and inflicted a defeat on them. Daṇḍena Guṇḍaya was killed at Peruvāṅgūru. The Lāṭa forces were driven out. Thus the Chalukyas regained the victory and Vēṅgī was saved from the clutches of Karṇāṭaka and Lāṭa forces. To mark this occasion Bhīma raised the temples at Bhīmavaram and Drākshārāma in East Godavari district and ruled peacefully for further two decades or so.

Amma II, son of Bhīma III was coronated in 945 A.D. At this time Dānārṇava, his elder half brother superseded him due to reasons not known. He was called Vijayāditya in several records. Immediately after his assumption to the throne he was attacked by Bādapa and Tāḷa. They took the help of Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. Later on it was the Chōḷa-Chālukyan relationship that helped in the restoration of the Chālukyan supremacy over Vēṅgi.

The Masulipatnam plates of Guṇaka Vijayāditya III, describes him as the son of Vishṇuvardhana V, who

was the son of Vijayāditya II Narēndramṛigarāja also called Chalukya-Arjuna. It records the defeat of an enemy named Maṅgi and registers the grant of the village Traṇḍapaṛu in the Gudravāra-vishaya. The boundaries of the gift village are Aṅgalūru in the east and south, the Velpūru on the west and Chavitapaṛu in the north.

The Sātalūru grant gives us the list of kings from the time of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana and right upto the days' of Vijayāditya III. B.V. Krishna Rao has attributed this grant to the early years of Vijayāditya III and perhaps as the earliest with the exception of Masulipatṇam plates.

Guṇaga Vijayāditya III had a brother named Bhīma Saluke, who held Vēṅgī as vassal of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king and reigned for 40 years. According to Fleet the Vēṅgī ruler who was held as a vassal by Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III (784-814 A.D.) was Vijayāditya (799-840 A.D.). But the grants like Pāmulapāḍu, Guṇṭūr and Pōnaṅgi plates confirm that it was Bhīma Saluke was the contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king and seen to have obtained the kingdom. It was Vijayāditya II who drove put at his brother from the country and defeated the combined army of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gaṅgas. In order to ward off the atrocities committed by Vijayāditya III, he is said to have propitiated god Śiva and built temples dedicated to this God. Vijayāditya III defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭas and crushed their power totally.

It registers the grant of the village Śāntagrāma included in Gudrahāra-vishaya. The grant village Śāntagrāma has been identified with Sātalūru in the Bandar Taluk. Among the villages mentioned as boundaries, the villages

Urivi, Aṛitagūru and Tumbarupalli still exists with identical names.

The donees of the grant hail from the villages identifiable in Guntur and Krishna districts. Vaṅgipaṛṛu, Kāranachēḍu, Karṛora, Vagipaṛṛu, Uppuṅūru, Krūvaśrī, Krāñja, Rāyīru, Kundūru and Śrīpuram are the villages from where they hail.

The ājñapti of the Sātalūru and Chimbulūru grants of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III is one and the same. On the other hand the identification grant village Maṅgavēḍu has been identified with Maṅginapūṅḍi in the Bandar Taluk, Krishna District. The donee's residence Krōrachūru has been identified with Krōsūru in Sattenapalle Taluk, Guntur District. The boundaries of the gift land are Kappuṛēni-Chēnu in the east, Chreṛukari-Chēnu in the south, Chāmara-bōyu-chēnu in the west and Raḷṭōḍi-chēnu in the north.

In the Chimbulūru grant the donor king Guṇakanalla Vijayāditya and his queen Chellakāmbā gifted the village Chimbulūru and its boundaries Dattiyavaṛṛu, Golavadyapūṅḍi, Idulamaddavali and Kelipūṅḍi are referred to.

The Pōnaṅgy plates registers royal grant of the villages Koḍamupaṛṛu and Poḍagu in Vēṅgi-vishaya to 105 *brāhmaṇas* who were well-versed and residents of Poḍagu-village, on the occasion of *uttarāyana* and *mahānavami*.

It is also learnt from the Addaṅki inscription of Paṇḍaraṅga, that he was appointed as the general of the king in the year of his coronation, which has been taken to be 844 A.D. This charter suggests that this general succeeded his father who is mentioned by the designation of his office i.e., Kaṭeyarāja and not by his

personal name. These are only two records including this charter that furnishes this information. All the charters of this ruler are known to have been issued by his ājñapti Paṇḍaraṅga. Therefore, Pāṇḍaraṅga could have been appointed in succession to his father after the latter death in 844 A.D. It may be emphasized that the appointment of Paṇḍaraṅga as the commander of the army against the twelve Bōya-kōṭṭams in the first year of Vijayāditya's reign, though not necessarily presuppose the death of his father earlier but least on this date.

This charter (the Pōnaṅgy) points to the capture of the royal insignia of the Vallabha by Vijayāditya. The identification of Vallabha of the present inscription with Rāshtrakūṭa needs further confirmation.

We come to know from his Sātalūru plates that he captured the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, the Sun, the moon, the symbols of the Rāshtrakūṭa royal insignia and the Pāli-dhvaja. None of his records give us a clue to the date of his war with the Rāshtrakūṭas. It is probable that the attack was made on the Rāshtrakūṭas after his success over the Bōya-kōṭṭams. The contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa king during this period was Amōghavarsha I (c. 814-880 A.D.). A number of Rāshtrakūṭa charters like the Begumra plates of Indra III and Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV allude to the involvement of this king in a war with his Chālukyan enemy at Vēṅgavalli. Sri Parabrahma Sastri had suggested that this could have been Vijayāditya III who is referred to have destroyed the place Stambha. But since the name of the Chālukya whom Amōghavarsha opposed is not mentioned in the above Rāshtrakūṭa charters, it is difficult to accept this. Moreover it is not known as to how long and when Amōghavarsha I

accepted the overleadership of the Chālukyas. This is evident from the Kalachumbarru plates of Amma II which states that Vijayāditya was an *aṅkakāra* of his master whose arms were worshipped by the Vallabha (i.e., the Rāshtrakūṭas). A Rāshtrakūṭa is said to have opposed the enemy kings by worshipping Vijayāditya's arms is further emphasized in the Sīsali plates of Vijayāditya III. (*yasya bhujam-nṛipatuṅga prati-dinam=abhy=archchya bhavati ripu-nṛipatuṅgāṅgaḥ*) The Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Amma III alone refer to the participation of Vallabha in support of Saṅkila, the lord of Dāhala, in the latter's war with Vijayāditya, who is also called Parachakrarāma. It is further stated that Paṇḍaraṅga burnt the city where Kṛishṇarāja was encamping. If this evidence could be relied upon, it has to be explained as to the this Kṛishṇarāja is and how he happened to camp here. It is nowhere specifically mentioned that the general of Vijayāditya III invaded the forces of Kṛishṇa II and put them to fight. On the other hand it is his brother's son Bhīma I (acc. 892 A.D.) who is stated in the Vedatulūru grant to have defeated his dāyādas and to have vanquished the army of Kṛishṇa-Vallabha of the Rāshtrakūṭa family in the battles at Niravadyapura and Peruvaṅgūru. Kṛishṇa II (acc. 880 A.D.) was the Rāshtrakūṭa adversary of the Chālukya king Bhīma I and not Vijayāditya III as continued by some scholars from the account given in the Dharmavaram epigraph of Bhīma I and Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Amma II. These records do not bear any date, but can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date later than our grant. The success of Bhīma I over the Rāshtrakūṭa army is referred to in his Paṇḍipāka grant to have

taken place before he crowned himself king. This must be the first attack over his enemies Karnāṭakas and Lāṭas which is referred to in the Vedatulūru and Mōga grants of Bhīma I.

It may be said that the Rāshtrakūṭa-Chālukya encounter seem to have commenced either in the last years of Vijayāditya III or after his death, for it is alluded to in the Ēḍēru plates of Amma I that the Vēngī region was encircled by the forces of the Raṭṭas and the Chālukya kinsmen, as if by darkness. Thus the Vēngī region that was once lost to the Rāshtrakūṭas was regained by the successor of Vijayāditya III i.e., Bhīma I probably before his accession to the throne in 892 A.D.

The Pōnaṅgy plates reveal that Śīlamahādēvī of the Rāshtrakūṭa family was the queen of Kali-Viṭṭarasa and the mother of Guṇaga Vijayāditya. She is the same as Śīlakāmbā, a Rāshtrakūṭa princess and daughter of Indrarāja (i.e., Indra) and Paramakāmbā referred to in the Kāṭlaparru grant of Vijayāditya III. Again this Indrarāja can be identified with his namesake who was appointed by his elder brother Gōvinda III as a governor of Gujarat and Mālwa. Śīlamahādēvī of our grant was named after her grand-mother the daughter of Chālukya Vishṇuvarddhana IV who was married to Nirupama-Dhruva. Thus it is clear from the above records that she was a Rāshtrakūṭa princess of the Gujarat branch and not of Mālkhēḍ line.

It is learnt from the epigraphs that it is a hard nut to crack not only in the identification of kings as well as the places.

**PLACE NAMES OF SOME PORTS IN AND
AROUND MADRAS REGION WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO MADARĀSĀPAṬṬANAM - A
STUDY**

S. Rajavelu

In the year 1996, the then the Government of Tamil Nadu has changed the name of the capital city of Tamil Nadu Madras as Chennai since the Dravidian political leaders presumed that the name Madras is not of a Tamil origin. In this article the etymology of place name Madarāsāpaṭṭanam and a few port towns have been discussed with a light of the recent inscription of Kampaṇa of Vijayanagara period found at Pennēśvaramaḍam near Kāvēripaṭṭanam of Krishnagiri District of Tamil Nadu.

The name Chennai is a short form of Chennappaṭṭanam which was derived from the Telugu ruler Dāmarla Chennappa Nāyakuḍu who ruled from Chandragiri. He served as a general of Vēnkaṭa-III of the Vijayanagara Empire of 16th century C.E. The entire Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region of present Tamil nadu along with the long coastal region on the East was under the control of Chandragiri rājya during this time.

The East India Company reached Coramandal Coast for trade and anchored their ships on the Eastern Coast in 1600 C.E. The British approached the chief Dāmarla Venkaṭapathi Nāyak of Chandragiri rājya, the son and successor of Dāmarla Chennappa Nāyaka and requested him to allot some land near Madarāsapaṭṭanam. The chandragiri Chief accepted their request and allotted

some barren waste land near the eastern coast of Madarāsāpattanam on price.

The Chandragiri chief also permitted the British to build a ware house and a fort near the sea. The land was located between the two streams namely Egmore (inscriptional name Eḷumūr) and Aḍyāru of Kūvam river. This barren land was known as *Narimēdu* consisting of a small island and some waste land on the west (the present Island ground, St. George Fort and part of General Hospital opposite to Central Station, Chennai).

The British built a ware house and a fort town for living purpose of the British families which was known as St. George fort. Subsequently a Church was also raised within the fort. The East India Company in order to pay their gratitude, the newly created town where they built St. George fort was named after the Telugu chief name Chennappa Nāyaka as Chennappattanam. The first official use of the name Chennappattanam is appeared in a sale deed, dated 8 August 1639 by the British Officer Francis Day. However, the British on a whole retain the old name of the port and town name as Madarāsāpattanam in their official letters and records. This name was continued by the Indians until 1996.

The name Madras is originated even before the advent of the British in this region. There are many theories regarding the etymology of the name Madras or Madarāsāpattanam which was prevalent amidst the scholars. According to Some scholars, the place name Madras is said to have originated from a Portuguese phrase 'maede Deus' which means 'mother of god'. Due to Portuguese influence before the arrival of British in this region earned the name of the port city as

Madrāsāpaṭṭaṇam. Some scholars believed that the word madras is derived from Sanskrit word *madhuras* meaning juice of honey. The British assumed the name Madrāsāpaṭṭaṇam is originated from a personal name of a native king Mandarāja. According to some scholars the word Madras is a derivation of *madarāsa* the Arabic word which is denoting a school for Muslims. All the above theories are mere hypothesis and there is no authentic evidence to prove the name of the city Madrāsāpaṭṭaṇam. However the Government of Tamil Nadu also strongly believed the above entomological meanings of the city name Madrāsāpaṭṭaṇam and objected to retain the old name Madras as the capital city of Tamil Nadu. Thus in the year 1996 the name of the Madras city has been in to a Telugu personal name Chennappa Nāyaka paṭṭaṇam or Chenna paṭṭaṇam as Chennai. (The government of Tamil nadu and the Tamil scholars believed that the Chennai is supposed to be a Tamil origin)

Until recently, the author and Professor Y. Subbarayalu happened to edit an interesting inscription from a place called Peṇṇēśvaramaḍam near Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam in Krishnagiri District, dated to the period of Kampana of Vijayanagara Dynasty. This inscription is engraved at a not so easily approachable height of a big boulder on the west bank of the river Pennai in the above said village. The date of the inscription is referred to in the inscription as Saka year 1291 (expired) equivalent to the current cyclic year Pilavaṅga, Karkāṭaka month, tenth tithi of bright fortnight, Wednesday and star Rōhini which corresponds to 1367 C.E., July 7th. But the star Rōhini falls on the tenth tithi of dark fortnight; hence the fortnight is wrongly quoted in the inscription. The inscription mention

the name of the chief Mārāya nāyakkar who had the title Kaṇṇara Kuli and he was also referred to as Pradhāni of Kāmapaṇṇa Uḍaiyār, the son of the ruling king Bukkanna Uḍaiyār, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and lord of the four oceans.

The inscription is interesting one to narrate the victory and southern campaign of the Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār and his military general, pradhāni Mārāya nāyakkar in chronological sequence. While mentioning several campaigns of Tamil Nadu, the capture of some ports located on the Coromandel Coast in the year 1363 C.E. are most significant and which gave the important clue of the existence of the port Madrāsapaṭṭaṇam of that time. The inscription narrates the following ports and the harbours which were captured by pradhāni Mārāya nāyakkar around 1363 C.E. The ports which were captured and levied taxes by the chief are Chatiravāchakan paṭṭaṇam, Puduppaṭṭaṇam, Mātaracan paṭṭaṇam, Kachchikkuvayittān paṭṭaṇam. Nilagangaraiyan paṭṭaṇam and Kōvalam.

1. Chaturavāchakan paṭṭaṇam

The present Chaturāṅgapaṭṭaṇam is referred to in this inscription is Chaturavāchakan Paṭṭaṇam. An inscription from Tirukkalukkunram of Vijayanagara period the name of the port and the harbour is referred to as Chaturavāchan paṭṭaṇam. It was a busy harbour from the time of the cholas and continued till 18th century C.E. The Dutch East India Company occupied the port and built a fort it was referred to as Sadras. It is located on the eastern coast on the way from Chennai to Pondicherry East Coast line. The Chaturavāchakan Paṭṭaṇam later on referred to as Chaturāṅga paṭṭaṇam and changed into Sadras by the Dutch traders.

2. Puduppattanam

At present Puduppattanam is an insignificant fisherman harbor at present during the time of Vijayanagara was a busy port city. It is located near to Chaturanga pattanam. It retains its old name as Puduppattanam. This harbor could be created and functioned as a port around 13th century C.E. onwards.

3. Madarāsāpattanam

Coming to the port Madarāsāpattanam which is referred to in the present inscription could be identified with the present North Chennai area near Rayapuram. The English while they established the new port Chennaipattanam between two ports Rayapuram and Mylapore, then the first one was referred to as Madarāsāpattanam in their record. An old Map prepared by the British also clearly indicates the location of the Rayapuram as Madras Pattanam. The records and official letters of the British clearly mention the old port Madrās Pattanam was located 3 kms to the north of Mylopore. Hence the present Rayapuram area was known as Madarāsāpattanam from the early time onwards. Hence our inscription helps us to identify the Madarāsāpattanam with the Mādarasan pattanam. Madras pattanam is a corrupt form of Mādarāsan pattanam which was existed from the time of the Pallavas of Kāñchī up to the arrival of the British. After the establishment of the port Chennappattanam between Mādarāsan pattanam and Mylopore ports, Mādarāsan pattanam became insignificant port and lost its importance.

The name of the port Mādarasan in due course lost its first segment Māda and referred to as Rajapattanam;

the Tamil term arasan became rāja and then corrupted as rāya the synonyms of rāja and arasa and the suffix puram was added and it became Rayapuram the place name. From this inscription it is evident that the Madras paṭṭanam is derivation of a Tamil word Madrasan paṭṭanam which was a busy harbour at least from the time of the Pallavas and continued as an important port until the arrival of the British. It is also known from the above discussion, it is known that the Madras paṭṭanam is not a Portuguese or a non Tamil origin. It is a pure Tamil name and referred to in a corrupt form as Madras and continued to spell by the British as Madras. Thus the Government of Tamil Nadu without knowing the fact of the etymology of this city, they changed the original Tamil name Madras into Chennai, a later origin created by the British.

4. Kachchikkuvayittān paṭṭanam

The fourth port is referred to in this inscription is Kachchikkuvayittan paṭṭanam. At present, there is no port name in and around Madras region with the name Kachchikkuvayittan paṭṭanam. The name Kachchi clearly indicates that this port is close related to that of the Pallavas of Kanchipuram or Kachchi. Pallavas had their famous harbour at Mamallapuram with architectural wealth. It was referred to in their inscription as Kaḍalmallai or mallai. During the time of Chōlas this port city was known as Jananāthapuram named after the title of famous king Rājarāja I. Hence, it could be possible that the Kachchikku vayittān Paṭṭanam was yet another port city of the Pallavas on the northern side of Mamallapuram.

In the medieval period, Mādarasan paṭṭanam was surrounded by many villages and towns, which served

as Taluk headquarters. It had its western entrance at Maduravāyil. Quite a number of inscriptions record the place names of Madras in and around. They were Pudupakkam (present Pudupet near Anna salai), Mylārpar (Mylāpore), Kōttūr (Kōttūr puram), Eḷumoor (Egmore), Velichēri (Vēlachēri), Taramani - which was donated to the Velacheri Siva temple, Tāmpuram (Tambaram), Ādanpākkam (Ādambākkam), Kundrathūr, Māngāḍu, Māpulam (Māmbalam), Pōrūr, Viruganpākkam (Virugambākkam), Pammal and Pozhisēlur (Pozhichalur of today). The metropolitan city included Ambattūr, Kurattūr, Villippākam (Villivākkam) Ayanapuram (Aynāvaram) Mugaippēr, Chōlan Pēḍu, Tirumullaivāyil, Puḷal, Ākudi (village for cattle breeders) -Avadi) Kōvanpēḍu (Kōyampēḍu), Tiruvērkāḍu, etc., some of the villages were served as the Headquarters of Tondaimandalam from the time of Pallavas. They were Ambattūr nāḍu, Māōgāḍu nadu, Pōrūr nāḍu Puḷal kōttam and Puliyūr kōttam, etc. The inscriptions of this area also mention the place names to the North-West and West of Mādarasanpaṭṭaṇam, they are Vepēry (Vēpperi), Vēsharupāḍi (Vyēsar pāḍi i), Pirambūr (Perambūr) and so on.

From the above discussion it is inferred that the inscriptions help us to know the original names of many place names which are knowingly or unknowingly got changed from their original forms due to political, linguistic, social and economic influences. The Tamil name Mādarasan paṭṭaṇam in due course corrupted into Madarāsapattāṇam, which became Madras, and which was a busy port surrounded by many hamlets and metropolitan cities like Mylopore, Tiruvallikkeni in the medieval period. The British created a small fort settlement and warehouse area named Chennappattinam and they

issued official letters from the metropolitan city Madarāsapattanam and it became one of the greatest presidencies as Madras Rajadhani till their rule. Without knowing the etymology and historical significance of this great city, the Dravidian movement and the Government of Tamil Nadu changed its name as Chennai, a later origin. Hence it is amply quoted in daily news here about the city 'the old famous city Madras pattanam is not a 375-year-old baby established by the British and it was a grand old lady of 2000 years old.

5. Nīlagaṅgaraiyan Pattanam

This Pattanam could be identified with the present Nīlāṅkarai, a fisherman hamlet located 10 kms to the south of Tiruvānmiyūr. There was a chief Nīlagaṅgaraiyan of the Chola period, the name of the chief is often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Cholas. In his name Nīlagaṅgaraiyan, the port was called so. This was also a busy harbour during the time of Vijayanagara Empire. In due course, Nīlagaṅgaraiyan pattanam became a corrupt form as Nīlāṅkarai.

6. Kōvalam

This port is retaining its old name as Kovalam till day. Kovalam was a busy harbour during the time of Cholas. This small fisherman harbor, once was a flourishing port and was busy with the manufacturing of salt. The name Kovalam suggests that this was a centre for manufacturing salt belonging to King's monopoly. The word *kō* denotes the king and the suffix *alam* denotes salt pan. They belonged to king's salt pan. Hence it is called so. The place has a number of salt pans till day in and around.

From the above discussion it is evident that the inscriptions and other literary sources will certainly focus valuable attention and information on the real name of the place names of India which were knowingly or unknowingly got corrupted or misspelled which lead to wrong and corrupt history of the places.

Notes and References

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