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Cover images
Front : An exquisitely carved mithuna couple on a gold ring (2nd century A.D.) found at Karur.
Middle : A beautiful bronze of Chandikesvara of the Chola period (10th century A.D.) in the Nayudamma Memorial Hall, Ottawa, Canada, where it was identified by Iravatham Mahadevan (2003).
Back : Two pallava damsels, Arjuna ratha, Mamallapuram.
Dedication

Dedicated to all those
who wish to follow
the foot prints
of
Iravatham Mahadevan
in
historical research & analysis
Editorial Board – Airāvati

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Preface

Anyone can make history. But it takes a genius to write it. Little did the toddy-tapper Nakkan realise, when he scribbled his name on his pot, that he was creating history. Several centuries later, it took the genius of Iravatham Mahadevan to correlate this pot with the widespread literacy in the ancient Tamil country.

This felicitation volume, Airāvati, for Iravatham Mahadevan is brought out, as researchers, scholars, admirers and followers - young and old, spread across the world celebrate Mahadevan’s Golden Jubilee year in Indological research. This volume stands to represent the tribute paid to his outstanding work in Indus Script, Tamil Brahmi, Journalism and Numismatics.

While men of honour in different fields are recognised in various ways, wise men in the field of history, have set a unique tradition by publishing a felicitation volume that carries articles from the best in the field. Airāvati is no exception. It contains interesting articles from several accomplished experts in their fields. The enthusiastic response from the scholars across the globe to our request for an article for this volume testifies the global admiration that Mahadevan enjoys among his peers.

Like any other student of history, our editorial board too is indebted to Mahadevan for his contributions through his multitude of journal articles and his two meticulously worked out books. However, the intention of this volume is neither to show our gratitude nor to eulogise the veteran. Purpose of this volume is to inspire and encourage all those individuals, who are interested in history but are hesitant to pursue research on it, as they feel they don’t have the background to do quality research. This volume felicitates a man, who studied Chemistry and Law; earned his living as a civil servant; did not earn a formal degree in history; nor was he an expert in technology. But through his insatiable thirst for knowledge and passionate pursuit of Truth, he went on to become the best in the fields he worked on.

The volume is divided in to three sections. The first section in English and the second section in Tamil contain articles from proficient historians, archaeologists, journalists and numismatists. The third section is dedicated to Iravatham Mahadevan and it carries his bibliography on Indus script, Tamil Brahmi, a couple of reviews on his magnum opus –
Early Tamil Epigraphy, one article each in his fields of accomplishment and an interview – throwing light on the man behind these great works.

Bringing out such a volume is not possible without the cooperation of the academic community. We thank all the contributors for their prompt response. The Editorial board is a truly global team with members in India, Japan and the U.S. Even at this technologically advanced age, our correspondence would have not been possible without human intervention in the form of Prof. M. R. Arasu, Mr. M. Selvamoorthy, Mrs. S. Sumitha, Mr. S. Seetharaman and Mr. Bala. Padmanaban. Special thanks must be given to Alamu Printers for their highly professional work in printing this volume.

Editorial Board
Section I
From natural caverns to rock-cut and structural temples: The changing context of Jain religious tradition in TamilNadu

Champakalakshmi, R.

Introduction

Jainism, by its very nature as a rigorous and strictly disciplined religion in its origin, has remained less visible in power and authority structures of India, with the exception of some regional and prosperous community based support to its doctrines and philosophy, religious and monastic institutions. The Tamil region has been one of those few regions which have preserved evidence of its spread, influence and capacity to draw a fair number of lay followers in the pre-modern times. Much of its early history is shrouded in legends and traditional lore, which associate its spread in peninsular India, especially the Karnataka and Tamil regions, with the migration of a large Jain community under the Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu and his royal disciple¹ identified with Candragupta Maurya, predating the spread of Buddhism under Aśoka. The migration took the Jains first to Karnataka, where the centre of its early establishment is known to be Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. This centre abounds in Jain inscriptions from about the 5th-6th centuries AD and temples from the 8th-9th centuries AD and continues to be the hub of all Jain activities, especially the evolution of various sects of the Jains in the early period, under the two major branches the Śvetāmbara and Digambara, the latter being more conspicuous in South India. From Karnataka, one Viśākhācārya is believed to have led the Jains into the Tamil country i.e. the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya region.

Interestingly, no significant Jain inscriptions of the early historical period are available in the peninsular regions other than TamilNadu and Kerala, which together formed the Tamiḻakam of this period. The earliest Jain inscriptions in Brāhmī script and Tamil language have been found in this southernmost region and dated to a period from 2nd century BC to 3rd century AD followed by Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions from the 5th century AD. Tamiḻakam therefore contains crucial evidence of the spread and influence of Jainism among a sizeable population and patronage from ruling families, traders and craftsmen.

Indirectly the Tamiḻ Brāhmī inscriptions confirm the tradition of the movement of the Jains to the south, the literary evidence of this tradition coming up only from about the 10th century in the Brḥat Kathākośa of Harisena (AD 931) and the later Rājāvali Kathe and other works². Hence
the rediscovery, correct reading, reinterpretation and dating of the Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions by I. Mahadevan (See Appendix- Chart) assume greater importance for the history of the Jains than for the Buddhists whose presence in the Deccan and Andhra regions is more clearly established by Aśokan edicts and by monumental Buddhist art and architecture in the post-Mauryan period coinciding with a network of trade routes and commercial centres.

The present paper aims at revisiting the early Jain caverns with Tamil Brahmi inscriptions and situating them in their historical context and the trajectory of change in the religious tradition of Jainism in the Tamil region from the early historical (2nd century BC to 3rd century AD) to the early medieval period (6th century to the 13th century AD). The early historical Sangam texts, which are manifestly non-religious in character, refer to many forms of belief and practices relating to folk/tribal traditions and also to what has been generally called the mainstream tradition of the Vedic and Puranic Brahmanism, the counter tradition of Śrāmanism (Buddhist and Jain) along with the popular forms.

Any reading into these texts of the dominance of any one of these traditions is, however, not warranted. At best it can be said that there was a co-existence of different beliefs and no formal or organized religious system had evolved in this period. If, on the one hand, some members of the three major ruling families- the Cera, Cola and Pandya- claim to have performed Vedic sacrifices and built halls for sacrifices, others are seen to be donors of several caverns for the residence of Jain and Buddhist monks, while the folk deities reigned supreme in the eco-zones with which they have been associated in the Poruḷ Atikāram of the Tolkāppiyam³.

Simultaneously, the identities of some of the tiṇai deities with the Purāṇic and Vedic deities are also established, although the process of the merging of identities is not easy to trace. It is, therefore, a clear indication of a society in transformation from a purely tribal organization and folk traditions to a more formal, hierarchically structured society dominated by a universal and systemic religious tradition with the spread/ diffusion of the northern Sanskritic and cultural forms (Āryan- Brāhmanical and Śrāmanical).

It was more in the nature of a symbiotic existence of heterogenous elements in Tamil culture and society at this point of time, which was later transformed significantly from about the 6th century AD in a changing historical context, with the establishment of the first territorial monarchies of the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas who adopted the Purāṇic
Brāhmaṇical world view and institutions like the Brahmadeya and the temple for agrarian expansion and integration and for legitimizing their sovereignty. This represented the whole Brahmanical tradition, combining three major strands, the Vedic, Purānic and Āgamic, apart from the normative Dharma Śāstras.

![Fig. 1: Rock-Cut Sculptures of Tirthankaras and Attendant Deities, Kalugumalai (Tirunelveli District), 9th Century AD.](image)

The distribution pattern of the early Jain caverns with Tamil Brāhmi inscriptions show their occurrence in inaccessible areas on the hills of the Eastern Ghats, located near inland centres in regions traversed by traders or visitors or lay followers of the faith, the donors who made the caverns on hills habitable by getting stone beds for the monks and drip ledges carved for protection from rain. Curiously, although the vassa was the rainy season for the retreat of both Buddhist and Jain monks to such places, it would appear that in early Tamilakam the Jains outnumbered the Buddhists. In comparison architectural remains indicating the presence of Buddhists appear in the coastal areas and have additional evidence from potsherd inscriptions pointing to contacts with Srilanka.

The Jains were less enterprising in their activities as seen in the lack of missionary zeal which the Buddhists evinced for the spread of their religion in distant areas, even beyond the geographical borders of the subcontinent. The Jains were hence confined to a limited geographical horizon seeking patronage within the local socio-political organization.
Their survival was contingent upon their adoption of indigenous cultural resources and promoting the vernacular language and idiom, although their early interests were centered around the Prākrit language (Ardha Māgadhi) and literature. It may be suggested that their main contribution to the local and/or regional cultures was in promoting the regional languages and their literary traditions, particularly Grammar and Lexicography, which may well have made them instrumental in introducing the Brāhmi script by adapting it to the peculiarities of the phonetics of the Tamil language and its alphabet. It is not surprising that their contribution to Tamil literature continued to be significant, starting from the 18 didactic works (including the Kuṟal), epics, Nighaṇṭu and Kāvya. The Buddhist contribution to regional literature was relatively much less significant, both in volume and variety.

Fig. 2 : Rock-cut Sculptures of Tirthankaras and Bahubali (Gommata), Kilakkuyilkudi (Madurai District), 9th Century AD

The evidence of the Tamil Brāhmi inscriptions and natural caverns on hills with rock-cut beds is crucial in tracing the history of this religion from the strict isolation of the teachers of the faith from society, their asceticism and non-theism to a theistic and ritualistic religion adopting the Puranic structures and institutions, evolving a fairly large pantheon centering around the Tīrthankaras.

The Jain Purāṇas were composed on these deified prophets, to whom temples were erected with formal rituals performed by a priestly group following the Āgamic forms of worship. Such a change is clearly visible
in the changing nature of these centres with early Brāhmi inscriptions, from hill abodes of ascetics into places of worship by the laity through the addition of cave temples and rock sculptures in the early medieval period (8th-9th centuries AD), with structural elaborations more easily accessible to the laity, together with inscriptions recording grants of cattle and goats, land and gold for rituals and festivals, thereby bringing such centres into the newly emerging agrarian order of the early medieval land grant system.

Fig. 3 : Near Rock-Cut Sculptures of Pechhipallam at Kilakkuyilkudi. Inscription of 10th or 11th century AD, refering to a Jain Pulli (Tiruvuragampalli). Structural Temple (Base).

There are at least three categories of Jain centres which represent the transformation of the early hill abodes into regular centres of worship and monastic organization.

1. Those which were continuously occupied as indicated by the Tamil Brāhmi inscriptions followed by early Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions marking a change and later Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions with Jain images on rocks and boulders, marking yet another change and making these early centres into Jain settlements with temples.

2. Those which were reoccupied after a gap of five centuries by Jain teachers who were not recluses isolated from society but who were instrumental in converting the abandoned hill abodes into temple-cum-monastic centres, introducing the worship of the Tīrthankaras and their Śāsana devatas, (the Yakṣas and Yakṣis), the latter drawn
mainly from folk traditions and provided with iconographic attributes similar to the Brahmanical-Puranic tradition.

3. Those which emerged as Jain centres near hilly areas where no early Brāhmi inscriptions existed but caverns and caves came into existence with Vāṭṭelūttu inscriptions and Jain Images (See Appendix for chart).

In the process of the revival of many centres, influences from Karnataka, especially Śravaṇa Belgoḷa are clearly attested by the major organizational changes in Jainism, which were first carried out in Karnataka (Śravaṇa Belgoḷa), from where most of the Jain teachers seem to have brought to the Tamil region the changing sectarian beliefs and traditions of the temple and monastic lineages.

While the Mūla Sangha of the Jains in Karnataka was divided into Gaṇas and Gacchas, two of the major Gaṇas i.e., the Nandi and Sena Ganas seem to have established their lineages of teachers in the Tamil region also and hence most of the new names occurring in the early and later Vatteluttu inscriptions carry the Nandi and Sena suffix. Their role in reviving many of the early hill abodes and establishing new ones led to the creation of a chain of caves and rock sculptures introducing the worship of Tīrthankaras and their Yakṣas and Yakṣis.

While most of the Vāṭṭelūttu inscriptions are dated in the 8th-9th centuries AD, it is likely that some of them may well be of the 7th century AD, as indicated by the frequent references in the Tēvāram hymns and the hagiographical work Periya Purāṇam, especially the story of Sambandar and even in the hymns of the saint to the increasing presence of the Jains with Nandi and Sena suffixes in the hills around Madurai. Of these the name Ajjaṇandi dated in the 8th-9th centuries AD figures in almost all the hill abodes starting from Vāḷḷimalai (Āryanandi ?) in the North Arcot district to the southern tip of the peninsula i.e. in Chitaral or Bhagavati Malai in the Kanya Kumari district (See Chart). Ajjanandhi was instrumental in the revival of Jainism and the transformation in the religious tradition and organization of the Jains in TamilNadu.

The change in the nature of the Jain religion and organization coincided with the emergence of a new socio-political order, i.e., a monarchical polity and Brahmanical social organization based on the Varṇa order, which adopted the Puranic tradition to introduce Brahmanical institutions such as the Brahmadeya and the Temple and the Land Grant system under the Pallavas of Kānci and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. This was a part of the
larger processes of change in the sub-continent, which ushered in a new agrarian order through land grants to Brahmanas and the Temple, along with grants to the Śramaṇical religion of Jainism, which sought the patronage of the new ruling families and their subordinate chiefs by adopting the Puranic and Agamic tradition in worship and ritual, focusing on the development of a large pantheon and temples for the Tirthankaras.

Fig. 4: Rock-cut Sculpture of Parsvanatha, Chittamur (South Arcot District), 9th Century AD

In fact the survival of Jainism in many parts of peninsular India may be attributed to this Puranic process and TamilNadu offers interesting
evidence of the change from a strictly ascetic order to an organized Sangha or community of ascetic orders (monks and nuns) and lay followers, whose interdependence was established through the temple and monastery.

Fig. 5: Rock-cut Sculpture of Mahavira in a group of sculptures, Chittamur, 9th Century AD

In the 8th-10th centuries rock-cut sculptures, it is remarkable that the image of Gommaṭa or Bāhubali figures in many centres, in addition to those of the Tīrthankaras and their Śāsana devatas⁶. The most frequently
represented in rock sculptures of the 8th-10th centuries AD are Adinatha, Neminatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira among the Tirthankaras, while Candraprabha and Kunthunatha were also enshrined in some temples. The 24 Tirthankaras are sculpted in a row on hills like Tirunatharkunru and Kalugumalai, the latter with a unique group of the 24 of three kālas or ages i.e., Trikāla Caturvimśati Tirthankaras (See Chart and Figures).

An attempt is made in this paper to show these changes through a chart providing the chronological phases in the development of the early Jain sites and new ones which emerged in the early medieval times marked by the Puranic process focusing on the temple as the integrating institution. (See Appendix)

All the sites are either on hills or at the convergence of hills and plains and represent the change in the religious tradition of the Jains, marked by a relative isolation in the early historical period to the evolution of Jain settlements with temples (caves and structures) around rock sculptures of Tirthankaras and their Yaksas and Yaksis. The patronage that they received was mainly from the subordinate chiefs under the early Colas and from the Gangas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Bāṇas, Lāṭa chiefs, Milāḍu chiefs (Siddhavaḍaṇa in Tirumalai), Elīni chiefs (Atiyamān in Tirumalai), Irukkuvēḷs, Cedis, Gangaraiyar, Pallavaraiyar and Śambhuvarāya and Kāḍavarāyas and local chiefs (Vēḷān, Araiyar and Kilān), royal functionaries/officials figure in most of these records. Royal patronage was marginal. For example, patronage from the Pallavas and Cōḷas came mainly through the women of the royal family, some of whom were married into the subordinate chiefly families like the Bāṇas and Irukkuvēḷs. Apart from lesser chiefs and minor ruling families like the Nuḷambas, Gangas under the Pallavas and Colas, the Deccan dynasty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who made successful intrusions into the Tamil region in the 9th-10th centuries AD extended their patronage to the Jain religion. In most hill centres the monks and nuns (Guravar, Guratti or Gantiyar with the suffix Bhaṭṭāra-Piḍārar and Bhaṭṭārī- Piḍāri) were themselves instrumental in keeping Jainism alive by making endowments to the early medieval Jain temples.

Merchant groups and guild organizations like the Nānādeśi/Tiśai Āyirattu Aiṅṅūṟṟuvar and the agricultural guild i.e., the Cittiramēḷi Periya nāṭṭār also patronized the Jain religion.

However, with the exception of the Pallava patronage to the Jain temples at Tirupparuttikunram in the 7th century, probably due to the Ganga connections, the mother of the Pallava king Simhaavarman (6th century
Airāvati

AD) being a Ganga princess and Pandya royal patronage to Jainism under Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha of the 9th century (Śittaṇṇavāśal - See Chart), and the patronage of the Cola princess Kundavai (Tirumalai in North Arcot and Dadapuram (Rajarajapuram) in South Arcot), royal patronage to Jainism was marginal and may be attributed to the rise of Puranic Brahmanical religions of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism which became the dominant tradition and ideology, with direct royal patronage after the religious conflict of the 7th-9th centuries between the Brahmanical tradition and the Śramanical tradition and rivalry for patronage.

Fig. 6: Rock-cut Sculpture of Ambika (Yaksi of Neminatha), Chittamur, 9th century AD

By the 9th century the Jains were elbowed out of the major royal centres and became confined to their hill abodes. Yet by adopting the Puranic
tradition i.e., the revivalist activities of the Jain teachers from Sravana Belgola, especially Ajjanandi, these hill abodes were converted into regular Jain centres with temples and ritual forms of worship similar to the Brahmanical temples. The non-theistic Jainism became a highly theistic religion and developed a huge pantheon around the Tirthankaras to whom temples were dedicated. The monastic organization of the Jains which conspicuously evolved in Sravana Belgola with the establishment of the Mula sangha with four major Ganas and several Gacchas influenced the establishment and development of the Drāviḍa Sangha of the Tamil region from the 5th century and later from about the 9th century the establishment of Kuṟaṇḍi Tirukkattāmpalṭi as the southern (ten vaṭṭai) monastic center of the Jains in the hill centres in and around Samanarmalai (around Madurai) with a lineage of teachers, who visited all the hill abodes on the Eastern Ghats and other Jain centres, thus establishing a network of pilgrimage for the Jains of the Tamil region from Vallimalai in North Arcot district to Chitaral in the Kanya Kumari district at the southern tip of the peninsula.

The Dravida Sangha was established by Vajra nandi in Madurai in the 5th century AD. (A Vajranandi is known from a 5th-6th century Vattelutu inscription of Paraiyan Pattu in the South Arcot district - See Chart). It is claimed that it was a branch or sub-division of the Nandi Sangha, named after one of the four major Ganas of the Mula Sangha. The Vira Sangha (Tirunarungondai) known from the 12th century AD, was another of such organizations established in the Tamil region. Even the Jain teachers of the Yāpanīya Sangha, which was mainly visible in the Deccan under the Rastrakutas, were present in northern Tamil region, although they seem to have been less important than the other Sanghas, thus pointing to the constant interaction with the Karnataka region and the direction of influence in the changing context of Jain religious tradition.

It would seem that the Jains of the Tamil country continued to look upon Sravana Belgola as the principal seat of their religion. Monks and lay worshippers visited this center as seen in some of the epitaphs of the medieval times. Some of the celebrated teachers mentioned in the lineages of religious leaders preserved in the manuscripts of the Tirupparuttikkunram and Chittamur mathas and credited with the diffusion of Jainism in the Tamil region such as Sāmantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akaḷanka and Hēlācārya came from Karnataka.

It may be pointed out that in the processes of the early medieval developments (6th - 13th centuries AD), society and economy came to be organized around the mainstream Brahmanical tradition, the land grant
system and the agrarian expansion and integration of the Pallava- Pandya and Cola periods, the major institutions being the Brahmadeya and the temple, the Bhakti ideology contributing to the emergence of Puranic Brahmanism (later called Hinduism) as the mainstream tradition. The Jain centres and other paḻliccandam lands came to be integrated into this larger agrarian order due to the adoption of Puranic structures in their religious tradition with the temple as the institutional focus and ritual forms of worship, with religious leaders controlling the temple and its landed and other property in major centres like Tirupparuttikkunram, Chittamur and Tirunarungondai. Lineages of teachers, some of whom came form Sravana Belgola, established the southern monastic establishment in the region of Samanarmalai near Madurai with its centre at Kurandi (Aruppukottai taluk, Ramanathapuram dist) and created a pilgrimage network through their itineraries visiting all the important Jain centres.

Fig. 7: Neminatha (?) Colossal Image (Rock-Sculpture) with structural addition. Tirumalai (North Arcot District), 9th Century AD
The monasteries in the above temple centres drew their teachers and inspiration from Karnataka, especially Sravana Belgola. According to literary tradition a monastery at Tiruppādidrippuliyūr (Pāṭalīpura) near Tiruvadigai (Cuddalore, South Arcot dist.) is known to have existed from the 5th century AD, where the Jain text Loka Vibhāga was copied by Muni Sarvanandin in the 22nd regnal year of Pallava Simhavarman in Ś. 380= AD 458\(^9\). This site was later converted in the 7th century AD into a Śaiva center with a Pallava temple called Guṇadhara Ēśvaram attributed to Mahendravarman I, who was initially a Jain and later adopted Saivism, destroyed the Jain monastery at Patalipura and built the Siva temple. Such acts of destruction and even persecution of the Jains are referred to in the hagiographical works of the Saivas like the 12th century AD Periya Purāṇam.

In the post- Cola period, i.e., under Vijayanagara, a conscious attempt was made by the rulers with imperial visions and aspirations to encourage the growth of all sectarian religious organizations, including the Jain institutions, either through direct royal intervention in settling religious disputes, as in the case of a dispute between the Jains and Vaisnavas under Bukka Raya I in AD 1368\(^{10}\) or through the patronage of the subordinate Nāyaka chiefs leading to the increase in Jain centres in south India in general and TamilNadu in particular.

Vijayanagara witnessed a major change in the socio- political organization of South India and Jainism received considerable attention and patronage as seen in all the major Jain centres like Tirupparuttikkunram (Jina Kanci), Chittamur and Tirunarungondai. In the Vijayanagara period (14th-17th centuries AD) renovation and additions were carried out to temples of all religious affiliations and the major Jain centres like those of Jina Kanci and others in northern TamilNadu benefited both from architectural expansion and sculptural and mural representations of the Jain Puranic stories, apart from new Jain centres situated not at the convergence of hilly region and the plains, but in riverine plains also.

Under Vijayanagara royal and chiefly patronage, Jain centres emerged also in Kongu nadu, the influence of the Jains increasing in the western coastal regions and Sravana Belgola continuing to be the hub of all organizational and religious activities of the Jains.
Appendix - Centres of the Early Historical and Early Medieval Periods

Section I-A : Jain centres with Tamil Brahmi inscriptions which remained isolated or abandoned or visited by pilgrims in the early medieval period or converted into Brahmanical centres.
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<td>Early Tamil Brahmi Inscription - 1st Century AD. Reference to the Atiyaman chieftain. See A. Ekambaranathan and C.K. Sivaprakasam, Jaina Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu (A Topographical List), Published by Research Foundation in Jainology, Madras, 1987, Inscription No: 431 (hereafter AE with the number of the inscription) and I. Mahadevan, Early Tamil Epigraphy. From The Earliest Times to the Sixth Century AD, Part Three, Inscription No: 59. (hereafter IM with the number of the inscription).</td>
<td>Early Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions - 2nd-1st Centuries BC. IM 24-33</td>
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<td>Late Tamil Brahmi Inscription- Kaṇimān of Tēnūr. IM 73. Saiva Cave Temple in the Pallava period. (Mahendravarman I 590-610 AD.)</td>
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<td>Late Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions- 3rd- 4th centuries AD. AE 363 / IM 74-75.</td>
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Cēra Nāḍu

Pugalur (Karur) Late Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions (Cēra)- 3rd-4th Centuries AD. AE 509-518 and IM 61-72

Arachchalur (Periyar dist.) Late Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions- 3rd-4th centuries AD. (AE 364-366 and IM 85-87)

Coḷa Nāḍu

Thiruchirapalli (Thiruchirapalli dist.) Late Tamil Brahmi Inscription- 3rd-4th Centuries AD. AE 520 and 521. IM 78.


Section I-B : Sites continuously occupied by Jains from early historical to early medieval times


Section I-C: Jain sites occupied from 5th-6th centuries - Early Vatteluttu Inscriptions and Later Vatteluttu inscriptions, (8th-9th centuries AD) along with Jain images.

Paṟaiyanaṭṭu (South Arcot dist.) Early Vatteluttu inscriptions of the 5th-6th centuries AD.

Niśidhi of Vaccaṇandi- AE 445 IM 115

Nisidhis appear only from the 5th-6th centuries onwards, suggesting influences form Sravana Belgola. They are memorial stones for those who performed the Sallekhana (Vadakkiruttal in Tamil) or rite of slow starvation unto death.
Tirunātharkuṇḍu (South Arcot dist.)

Early Vatteluttu inscription-5th-6th centuries AD.-
Niśidhi of Candrananadi AE 450 IM 116
Later Vatteluttu inscription- 10th century AD?
Niśidhi of Iḷaya Piṭārar AE 451 IM Images of 24 Tirthankaras.

Section II: Hill sites with Tamil Brahmi inscriptions and 8th-9th century Vatteluttu inscriptions and Jain Images of the 8th-9th centuries AD.

Pāṇḍi Nāḍu

Aḷagarmalai (Madurai dist.)


Aritṭāpaṭṭi (Madurai Dist.)


Karungālakkuṇḍi (Madurai dist.)


Kīḷavaḷavu (Madurai dist.)


Kongar Puliyangulam (Madurai dist.)

Tamil Brahmi inscriptions- 2nd- 1st centuries BC- IM 11-13 AE 223-235. Vatteluttu inscription below a Jain figure on rock- Image caused to be made by Ajjanandi- AE 236.

Muttuppaṭṭi (Madurai dist.)

Tirupparan kunjang (Madurai dist.)

Cavern - Tamil Brahmi inscriptions of 2nd-1st centuries BC. IM 53-55. AE 255-258. 9th century- Images of Parsva, Gommata and Yaksi Padmavati.

Ānaimalai (Madurai dist.)

Late Tamil Brahmi inscription- IM 60 9th century inscriptions- AE 208-215. Images of Parsva, Neminatha and Mahavira, with Yaksa Dharaṇendra and Yaksi Padmavati.

Section III: Jain centres which emerged in the 8th-9th centuries AD. Hills occupied from 8th-9th centuries AD. Late Pallava and Early Cola patronage.

Mēlkūḍalūr (South Arcot dist.)


Tirunarungoṇḍai Near Ulundurpettai (South Arcot dist.)


Agalūr (South Arcot dist.)


Cōlavāṇḍipuram (South Arcot dist.)


Tondai Nāḍu and Naduvil Nāḍu

Tirakkōl (North Arcot dist.)

Isolated huge boulder- Parsva, Mahavira and Candraprabha images. 9th century inscriptions- AE 321-328.
Pañcapāṇḍava
malai
(North Arcot
dist.)

Also called Tiruppānmalai - Cave- Adinatha-
Pallava- Nandivarman II (781 AD). Ponniyakki-
Siddhāyika Yaksi and Mahavira. AE 309. 10th
century Cola inscription - Rājarāja I (993 AD). AE
310.

Tirumalai
(North Arcot
dist.)

Early Cola and Rastrakuta inscriptions. 9th to 10th
centuries. AE 327-329. Cola ins. 11th-13th
centuries- AE 331-341. Pandya and Vijayanagara
ins.Rock sculptures- Adinatha, Parsva, Mahavira
and Bāhubali - 9th century. Neminatha ? - huge rock
sculpture - (16.6 ft. in Kundavai Jinālaya- Kundavai,
a Cola princess).

Vaḷḷimalai
(North Arcot
dist.)

Rock images - Adinatha, Parsva and Mahavira -
Shallow cave. Ganga Rājamalla II- Kannada and
Grantha ins AE 350, 353 and 354. Ajjananadī.12th
century - Bana ins. AE 352. Devasena pupil of
Bhavaṇāndi (Grammarian, the author of
Nālaḍiyār ?)

Vaḷḷutalankuṇṟam
(Tiruvannamalai,
North Arcot
dist.)

Rock beds on hill (caves) - 9th century image of
Adinatha. AE 355.

Veḍāl
(North Arcot
dist.)
Pallava cave- Āṇḍar Maḍam. Nandivarman II- 745
AD- Viṭṭār paḷḷi . AE 356. Early Cola- Āditya I
(885)- Nunnery ( 900 resident nuns) along with
the monastery. AE 357.

Vēlappādi
(North Arcot
dist.)
Rastrakuta and Nulamba inscriptions- 10th century-
Nulamban Sri Pallava Murāri. AD 966. Bāvāji hill.
Pannaheśvara- AE 359. AE 360- Later 12th century
Telugu inscription.

Karantai
(North Arcot
dist.)
Kunthu Tirthankara temple. Inscriptions of Pallava
Nandivarman, Cola, Telugu Cola, Kadavaraya and
Vijayanagara ins. Also 18th century ins. AE 279-
295. Tirukkaṭṭāmpalḷi Āḻvār (Kulottunga I- 1115
AD), Vīrājendra Perumpalḷi. The Nagarattār of
Arumoḻidevapuram as donors.
Karuppankuṟu (Chingleput dist.)
8th-9th centuries- Rock images of Adinatha, Mahavira. Parsva with Dharanendra and Padmavati. The niche of Parsvanatha consecrated by the Caturvimsati, probably a Jain committee named after the 24 Tirthankaras. AE 28.

Chittāmūr (South Arcot dist.)

Toṇḍūr (South Arcot dist.)
Rock-cut beds - Late Tamil Brahmi inscriptions IM76.

**Pandya region**

Ammāchatram (Pudukkottai dist.)
Cavern with beds (Kuḍagumalai). 10th century Cola and 13th century Pandya inscriptions- AE 378-381. Āḻuruttaimalai- (Tirupāḷimalai) 9th century- Images of Adinatha and Mahavira on Boulder.

Nārttāmalai (Pudukkottai dist.)

Tirumayam (Pudukkottai dist.)

Ceṭṭippaṭṭi (Pudukkottai dist.)
Samaṇarkuṇḍu. Ruined Jain temple. 10th century inscription.

Tēnimalai (Pudukkottai dist.)
Champakalakshmi, R.

Aiyampāḷaiyam (Anna dist.)

Vīraśikhāmaṇi (Chidambaranar dist.)
Cave - Vatteluttu inscription - AE 157. Neminatha (Sikhamaninatha) and Ambika Yaksi (9th century). 14th century inscription - AE 158.

Kīlakkuyilkuṭi (Madurai dist.)
Samanarmalai Kurandi Tirukkattampalli. A dilapidated temple on the hill. 12th century Kannada ins.- Balacandradeva of the Mula Sangha of Sravana Belgola and others.

Kuppālnattam (Madurai dist.)

Pēccipaḷḷam (Madurai dist.)

Uttamapāḷaiyam (Madurai dist.)
Vatteluttu inscription AE 261-269. Images of Adinatha, Neminatha, Parsva with Dharanendra and Mahavira.

Kaḻugumalai (Tirunelveli dist.)
Panorama of remarkable sculptures at several places on the hill. Adinatha, Neminatha, Parsva, and Mahavira, along with Yaksa Dharanendra and Yaksis Ambika and Padmavati (five hooded) Sarvāhna Yaksa and Gommata- Vatteluttu ins. of 8th-9th centuries. AE 55-155. Loose sculptures of the 10th-13th centuries.

Ēṟuvāḍi (Tirunelveli dist.)

Mēḻpāṟaippaṭṭi (Tirunelveli dist.)
9th century- Adinatha and Mahavira images.
Chitarāl (Bhagavati malai) (Kanyakumari dist.)

Bhagavati temple- Padmavati image (9th century Vatteluttu ins.AE. 174-182. Images of Parsva with Yaksi and Mahavira.Ajjandhi.Also 14th century ins.

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Notes


3 Tolkappiyam, Porul Atikaram, 5:5.


5 K.Vellaivaranan, Panniru Tirumurai Varalaru, Tirunavukkarasu Varalaru and Tirujnanasambandar Varalaru, Annamalai Nagar, 1970; Tevaram of Sambandar, Patikam 858.


8 Upadhye, Pravacanasara, Introduction, p. xxi. The Dravida Sangha is said to have been founded by one Vajranandi, a pupil of Pujiyapada (the Grammarian ?) in AD 470. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XVII, p.72. It is claimed that it was a sub-division of the Nandi Sangha named after the Nandi Gana of the Mula Sangha of Sravana Belgola.

10 The Loka Vibhaga (in Sanskrit) is said to have been copied in Saka 380= AD 458 by Muni Sarvanandin in Patalika i.e., Tiruppadirippuliyur, near Tiruvadigai, in the South Arcot district, where a monastic establishment existed in the 5th century AD. This date is also said to coincide with the 22nd regnal year of the Pallava king Simhavarman, whose queen was a Ganga princess.

11 Bukka I’s Sasana was intended to settle the dispute between the Jains and Vaisnavas. It states that the Jaina and Vaisnava were not different from each other and that Jain temples which were destroyed should be rebuilt, with the co-operation of both the communities. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II, No: 334, pp. 146-147. The Sasana was inscribed in several places.
When speaking of the so-called messenger-poems in Indian literature one cannot avoid mentioning Meghadūta by Kalidasa, the most celebrated poem of the genre designated by Indian tradition as dūta—or sandeśakāvya. It is known that Kalidasa’s poem generated imitations, the earliest among them, perhaps, Candradūta by Jambukavi (between 8 and 10 cent.). The next one is Dhoyi’s Pavanadūta. There are also others – in Sanskrit and manipravalam (a special poetic language, a mixture of Sanskrit and one of Southern languages - Tamil, Malayalam or Telugu), for which Meghadūta was to a certain extent a model¹. A natural question arises: if there was a model for Kalidasa’s poem, what sources he could rely on. One can point out the story of Nala from Mahabharata where Nala sends a message to Damayanti with a goose which later brings Damayanti’s answer to him. Indian tradition, in the opinion of a medieval commentator Mallinatha, names as Kalidasa’s source Ramayana, or more exactly the episode of Hanuman’s embassy to Lanka [Kale 1979, 12]. No doubt both stories could be a source of inspiration for Kalidasa, but this does not explain, however, the origin of the given poetical form. Anyway, Kalidasa’s poem seems to be the earliest known representative of the genre and opens a long list of poems created in India throughout many centuries and in many languages - not only in Sanskrit and Prakrit but in Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Kannara, Bengali and others. We also find sandeśa poems in Sri Lanka written in Singhala language.

The poems considerably differ from each other in their contents. There are, first of all, love poems, the best example is again Kalidasa’s creation (a yaksha separated from his wife sends a message with a cloud); let us mention also Kōkilasandeśam by Uddandakavi (15 cent.) the hero sends a cuckoo from Kanci to Kerala to his beloved.

Many poems are clearly religious. There is one more Meghadūta, a poem by a Jaina author Merutunga from Añcalagaccha (15 cent.) - a message to the tirthankara Neminatha from his wife with a plea to him to return to the mundane life; in a Tamil poem kacci anantaruttirēcar by Kacciyappamunivvar (18 cent.) a bhakta sends a bee to Shiva in Kancipuram; another Tamil poem Aḷakar kiḷaiavidūtūṭu by Palapattai Cokkanata Kavirayar (18 cent.) describes a message to Vishnu through a
parrot; in a Sanskrit poem Patânkadūta by Krishna Sarvabhauma (a. 1645) gopis send the imprint of Krishna’s foot to Mathura.

There are panegyric poems. In a Tamil poem Paṇaviḍutūtu by Cokkanata Kavirayar (18 cent.) the heroine’s maid sends money with a message to a local ruler; a Malabar Brahman sends a message to the king Ramavarma, praising his qualities and asking for his patronage in a Sanskrit poem Catakacandeśa (18 cent.).

We can also single out poems with philosophical contents. In an anonymous poem Hamsasandeśa a shaiva adept sends his soul in the form of a goose to the God; a famous medieval Tamil author Umapati Sivacharya (14 cent.) sends his heart to Shiva (Neñcuviṭutūtu).

In modern times some poets composed sandeśa poems even with political purposes. For example, in a Sanskrit poem Pikasandeśa by a certain Dadhichi Brahmadevasharma a cuckoo sends a bee to a poet to tell him about a disastrous state of India; a patriot sends his heart to Mahatma Gandhi in a Tamil poem Kantiyaṭka neñcuviṭutūtu by N.M. Venkatacami Nattar.

The groupings of poems given here is, of course, quite arbitrary, because in many cases we have to deal with a mixture of contents. Thus, the famous Pavanadūta by Dhoyi (12 cent.) in which a gandharva girl sends a message with the wind to the king Lakshmanasena, combines the theme of love with panegyrical motives; an anonymous Tamil poem Sri patmakiri natar tegralviṭutūtu (a girl sees Shiva during a procession, falls in love with him and sends him a message with a Southern wind) can be described as both love and religious; the philosophical poem by Umapati Civacharya mentioned above, is saturated with religious fervor.

So, the contents of the poems are diverse. The same can be said about objects chosen by poets as messengers. Tamil poems are especially interesting in this connection. They use, apart from traditional messengers like clouds, winds, birds and animals etc., quite unexpected objects: a tobacco-leaf, a piece of cloth, shoes, money and even Tamil language itself. But a general scheme in messenger poems is one and the same: a person (male or female) sends a message to another person with a certain purpose and uses the help of a messenger. Sometimes the messenger is a human being (for instance, in Viprasandeśa by Lakshmana Suri Rukmini sends a Brahman to Krishna; in Kuḷappa nāyakkaṇ viraliviṭutūtu by Cupradipa Kavirayar, 18 cent., a vīrali, a traditional Tamil songstress, is
chosen), but objects of nature seem to be more specific for the genre and represent its most characteristic feature.

Judging by a vast number of messenger poems in Indian poetry (of different kind, in different regions and languages) we can hardly expect that they were designed on a single literary model. Perhaps, it is more fruitful to think that there was a general tradition (or, rather, traditions) in which the genre was born and developed. This tradition itself had utilized a possibility to enter a dialogue with animals and plants which was characteristic and natural for archaic folklore, saturated with animistic notions. In poetry, even in its epic stage, an explanation, or, rather, justification of such cases was considered necessary. Kalidasa devotes a whole strophe (5) to explain the reason of the yaksha’s addressing the cloud, stating that it was the shattered state of his mind: “those who are affected by love are incapable to distinguish between sentient or insentient objects”. The epic hero Rama, who after having been separated from Sita inquired animals and plants after her disappearance, is called a person who had lost his sense.

There is no doubt that the problem of the genre’s origin can be found after a profound research in the tradition (in its regional variants first of all), which, however, has not yet been properly undertaken. This paper is an attempt to generally observe the genre and its development in one regional literature, in Tamil language.

A motif of a messenger in Tamil love poetry, akam, (as well as elsewhere in Indian poetry) is connected with the situation of separation. A hero or a heroine wants to receive information about his or her counterpart or to inform him about his (or her) state of mind, body and soul. The canonical set of personages in love situations includes those, to whom the heroes address for help, advice and support. In Tamil tradition they are called vāyil and listed in the poetical treatise Tolkāppiyam: “Vayils who are famous for being connected [with the heroes] are: the friend of the heroine (toḻi), mother, a Brahman, the friend of the hero, paṇṭṭi, a songstress, a youth, a guest, a dancer, viṟali, the wise man, an onlooker” (Tol. 191)². Some of these persons who play an important role of mediators between the lovers, belong to the corresponding parties and are sometimes virtually identified with the heroes (this is the case of the heroine and her friend). But, as it seen from the sutra, the connection between the lovers is also established by strangers. Among them those who are regularly play the role of messengers are representatives of ancient Tamil wandering poets and actors, musicians and singers (pāṇṭṭi, viṟali, kūṭṭan, pāṭṭi). For instance, the poem KT 75 represents a
monologue of the heroine addressed to such a musician, a pāṇaṇā, in which she is expressing an anxiety about her far-away husband:

_Have you seen [him] yourself, or have you heard those who have seen?
I want to clarify one thing, won’t you tell me?
And let you get the town of Patali on the Conai-river,
[The town] rich in gold and silver-tusked elephants.
[Do tell] from whom you’ve heard about the arrival
Of my beloved._

In another poem the heroine is literally imploring a pāṇaṇā to console her: “Oh pāṇaṇā, if he does not come now what shall I do? Say just a word” (AN 314, 13–14). The hero on his part also uses a service of a pāṇaṇā. “Tell us, oh pāṇaṇā, what our beloved, weak with suffering, said” (Ain 478, 3–4); “Great is her grief,—thus a pāṇaṇā who came as a messenger told us” 4). (AN 244, 10-11).

In the last example the poet used the word tūtu for a messenger (pāṇaṇa vantanaṇa tūṭe), a borrowing from Sanskrit dūta. The term was freely used in early Tamil poetry in the meaning “a messenger”, or “a message” (tūtum ceṭṭaṇa—“messages have gone [to the beloved]”, AN 251, 1) and in the Medieval times came to designate a specific poetical genre, a messenger-poem.

The importance of a message for the heroine suffering in separation was explained by me in terms of a certain ritual, a feminine ritual of separation, a kind of a “rite de passage” [2, 88-103; 3, 126-128]. A deplorable physical state of the heroine during the separation (emaciated body loosing its usual color, impurity, passive behavior) represents the second stage of the ritual and, symbolically, a danger to the feminine power of fertility, procreation and wealth. When the hero comes back the heroine recovers her beauty and returns to her previous state, which is understood as new and purified. “She with a refined decorations got a new beauty” (AN 384, 14); “She will have a new hair” (AN 314, 20); “She is eagerly preparing for a renewal” (NT 361, 9). And what is crucial in this connection—the process of renovation, purification of the heroine’s beauty starts at the moment of receiving a message. The poem NT 42 tells us that on learning about the return of the hero (this time the role of a messenger is played by a group of young warriors) the woman cleans up her dirty hair and decorates it with flowers. In AN 214, 9 the hero straightly states that the heroine’s hair “has become clean by the knowledge of our arrival”. It is obvious that messages and messengers play an important role, the role of a purifying mediator between the two
parties, a kind of a preliminary meeting, which a line from Meghadūta (II.40) quite aptly illustrates: “For women, to receive news about husbands from their friends is almost equal to a union”.

So far we have talked about a general meaning of a message and mentioned messengers, or mediators, represented by human beings. But, as was remarked earlier, the most specific and interesting feature of messenger-poems is that the main role in them is played by natural objects. In this connection we should consider one important convention that is observed throughout Indian poetry: the beginning of rains is usually understood as a proper time for the hero, absent from home, to return back. Tamil poetry confirms this rule abundantly: “This is the time of rains, the season of which he said: “We shall be back” (AN 194, 16...19); “He has not returned, though the jasmine mullai has covered itself with blossoms” (KT 221, 1) etc. Whether the hero comes in time or whether he is late, the motives of his timely return and the arrival of the monsoon are interwoven and interdependent. The link is so vivid that the rainy season and its attributes (plants, animals or other objects) are treated as heralds of the hero, or his messengers. “The mullai buds seem to be saying: “This is kār, the season of which he said: “We shall return” (KT 358, 4-7).

In the anthology Kārnāṟpatu (“Forty verses on the season of rains”), which is considered to be a little bit later than the bulk of the so called caṅkam poetry (1–3 c. AC), the messenger motif stands out very expressively:

\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{The rays of the cruel sun are softening,} \\
    \text{The forest is producing many flower-buds,} \\
    \text{Gaining beauty and the wealth of kār.} \\
    \text{Oh you with ear-jewels! “He will come soon” —} \\
    \text{Thus says his the messenger (tutu) —} \\
    \text{The cloud beautiful with flashing lightnings.} \\
    \text{(Kārnāṟpatu, 2).}
\end{align*}
\]

The parallelism between human and natural situations (as well as the purifying function of a message) was well realized by Tamil poets, what is seen, for example, in a poem 16 from the same anthology:

\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{A black cuckoo is grieving and beautiful peacocks are dancing,} \\
    \text{The loud cloud is roaring—this is all in order} \\
    \text{To take away, oh you with shoulders wide,} \\
    \text{A gloomy pallor from your body, that resembles new ashoka stalks.}
\end{align*}
\]
So, it is clear that the appearance of the motif of messenger in poetry is not connected with any individual poetical initiative. It has its roots in a structure of a “ritual of separation” (from which it was borrowed by poetry as an element of the situation and reinterpreted in terms of a poetical canon) and in folk songs, also connected with separation (feminine lamentations). It was then borrowed by professional poetry and then turned into full-fledged and polished poetical device which in its turn developed into a specific poetical genre called dūta or sandeśa-kāvya in Sanskrit and tūtu in Tamil.

Speaking of the development of the motif of a natural messenger in Tamil poetry I should mention the fact that Tolkāppiyam does not speak about it at all. As we have seen, messengers, or, rather, mediators between lovers (vāyil), which Tol. enumerates are only persons. As for the term tūtu it is mostly used in the sense of “embassy”, for instance, when reasons for separation are given: ōtal pakaiyē tūtivē pirivē (27), “separation [occurs because of] reciting sacred texts, [fighting] enemies, embassy” (these are reasons for the hero to leave his home). Only in one case, when defining signs of behavior of the heroine which point in the direction of a full union, Tol. 267 mentions “the absence of anger [on receiving] a message” (tūtu muṇiviṇmai). The manner of a message is not specified.

To the classical poetry represented by two collections—eṭṭuttokai (“Eight anthologies”) and Pattuppāṭṭu (“Ten songs”) the motif of messenger is, however, well known and can be found in akam anthologies KT, NT, AN. There are poems in which the role of natural objects as messengers is implied but not expressed verbally. The hero addresses them but actually does not think of sending a message with them. In NT 248, for instance the heroine is addressing the cloud accusing it of “a false alarm” and scolding it for this:

They told [us] that the time of coming was the season of kar,
When fresh, blossoming and gaining beauty
Branches of small-budded and honey-smelling mullai
Resemble a grayish-brown, all in spots and lines, elephant’s muzzle.
Will I go dull [on seeing] you, like a flock of foolish peacocks,
Who are dancing taking for a truth your false voice of loud strikes,
Which you produce out of lack of love and dignity,
In order to see how a heart in great distress is trembling,
Live long, oh cloud!

This poem represents lamentations of a woman separated from her beloved. Being in a state of anguish she is involving the cloud in her amorous emotions, certainly regarding it as the hero’s messenger but in a
very general, “seasonal” way. Likewise, in NT 251 (kuṟiṇci-t-ṭiṇai), the heroine is addressing the millet asking it to grow slower in order to let the lovers meet for a longer time. But one kuṟiṇci poem (NT 102), also developing the motif of millet, puts it in a clear-cut message-form.

*Oh, green parrot with a red beak,*  
*Who feeds on bent spikes of millet.*  
*Leave aside your fear and take food [from me].*  
*Having satisfied your need, satisfy mine —*  
*I am imploring you with folded hands.*  
*If you move to your kin to his country,*  
*Where jack-fruits grow in abundance on mountain slopes,*  
*Tell the chief of those mountains*  
*That the modest girl of the forest kuravars from these mountains*  
*Has already started to guard the ripening millet.*

The point of this poem is a poetical hint on a possibility for the hero to meet the girl (in fact, it is an invitation to him to come), which is sent through a parrot. In the poem 392 from the anthology Kuṟuntokai, on the contrary, the girl is addressing a bee asking it to warn the hero that she is under heavy guard of her parents and cannot leave the house. Other poems that use a poetical device of sending a message using objects of nature are constructed generally in the same way. The mission of a messenger is performed by a parrot (NT 102) or a flock of parrots (NT 376), a bee (NT 277, KT 392), a heron (NT 54), a crab (AN 170).

The poem AN 170 (neytal) is especially interesting. A girl from the seashore is asking a crab to tell the hero: “will she, who many times took away your distress, overcome her own?” This is more or less a usual idea, but here it is given as the text of a message and preceded by words of address: “Oh, crab, you, who belong to him (the hero) in whose bay bees are exhausted to fly and full of joy after drinking cool pollen and having mistaken for amrita fragrant petals of neytal flowers resembling eyes in big lagoon waters! Beach-groves won’t pronounce it, lagoons won’t say it, the puṇṇai tree with blossoms smelling of honey won’t speak. There is no one but you. You must say it!” The actual reason why the girl did not address groves, lagoons and trees which are connected with the hero not less then the crab, is not that they wouldn’t speak, but that they, obviously, wouldn’t move. It is not entirely clear why the crab has been chosen as a messenger, for, contrary to the statement, there are a lot of moving objects (birds, bees, winds etc.) that could undertake the mission. The thing is: here we witness an early example of a poetical convention that can be called “a choice of a messenger”, an integral part of later Tamil messenger-poems, in which the hero (the poet in reality) gives reasons or
justifications for choosing this or that object, describes and praises it, compares it to other candidates.

Another element inseparable from the genre is clearly formulated address to an object of nature with a request to pass a message (“tell”—uraiyāy NT 277, 12; uraimati NT 102, 7; “won’t you tell”—ēṇmō NT 392,6; “you should tell”—collal vēṇṭum AN 170, 8 etc.). But what is conspicuously missing from these poems is a description of the route that the messenger should follow. Sometimes, though, its final point is briefly characterized or just named, like in the poem NT 102 (“his country”). More eloquent in this respect are some poems of the puṟam division. This poetry is mostly heroic in its character and generally does not describe situations of love. However, in the anthology Puṟāṇūṟu we come across a poem (67), which very much resembles the examples of love lyrics. A poet whose name was Pisirantaiyar (“Antai from the village of Picir”) is sending a goose to his patron, a Chola prince:

Oh goose! Oh goose!
When the moon is brightly blossoming after united its horns,
Resembling the shining face of a victorious chief of murderous battle,
We are in distress in this sad evening.
If you, having eaten airai fish in a beautiful ghat at Kumari,
Go to the mountains in the North
And in the middle of your way come down to Koli, the Chola’s capital,
And spend some time with your small she-goose in the high palace.
Then without a delay enter the king’s dwelling
And when our great king Killi asks [you],
If you say: “I stay at the feet of Antai from grate Picir’”,
He will give you as a sign of his friendship
Beautiful decorations—for your mate to wear.

The poem is interesting because it contains not only signs of a situation of separation (though not in love)—addressing a messenger, the message itself, but a clear-cut designation of a route, which makes it look like a sandeśa in a miniature. On the other hand it resembles very much a Tamil poetical form called āṟṟuppaiḍai. This form reflects the ancient ways of wandering bards, when one poet on returning from a generous patron meets his colleague in need and sends him to the same patron, praising wealth and generosity of the latter. Here is an example—a short poem PN 105, designed as an address to a virāli, a traditional Tamil songstress, musician and poet.

Oh, virali with shining forehead!
You will get beautiful decorations,
If you go and sing [the glory] of Pari,
Whose sweetness excels the streams of water
That fall from high mountains passing ladders for collecting honey
And sprinkle spacious fields ploughed for millet,—at any time
Irrespective of rains, come they or not,
Their drops mix with cool moisture of flowers
Of beautiful lilies with many petals
Newly blossoming in ponds
Surrounded by bees.

What attracts one’s attention in connection with two poems given above, is practically one and the same lexical formula, used by poets: “if you go (say, sing etc.), you will get [some reward]”. In PN 67: peyarkuvaiyāiṅ…eqiṅē… nankalaṅ nalkuvan niṅakkē (“if you go….if you say... he will give you good decorations”), in PN 105: ceyilai perukvai…pātiṅai celiṅē (“you’ll get beautiful decorations… if you go and sing”). The presence of such a formula (which in fact constitutes the most important formal feature of the āṟṟuppaḍai genre) in these two poems testifies to their inner relationship, which consists, to my opinion, in the fact that both of them deal with a notion of a distance to be overcome, that is, with a way, a journey, a route. In short poems of the āṟṟuppaḍai genre (like the one demonstrated above) this element (let us call it geographic) may be absent or given only by some details, but it is still there, at least potentially, and can be developed in a full-fledged picture. This is exactly what happens in big poems from the collection Pattuppāṭṭu. A description of the route along which a poet seeking for a patron is directed, occupies hundreds of lines and in fact constitutes the main contents of the poem. It is worth noting that such descriptions in Tamil poems are remarkably vivid, detailed and precise, sometimes reminding us of a topographical explications. For instance, in the poem Malaipaṭukatām a wandering bard gives the following recommendations to a group of musicians: “get up at the sunrise, take a good path in a wood and go, trying to avoid a big snake that lies there like a big log” (MPK 258–261); “go along a forest river with high banks, hold on to branches of trees and support each other in order not to fall down” (214–218); “do not come close to the slope of the mountain where heaps of stones lie” (367).

Precision and reliability in the description of a route is a characteristic feature of sandeśa-poems. Beginning from Kalidasa such descriptions are inseparable from them and play an important role in their artistic structure, at least in poems created in Sanskrit, Malayalam and manipravalam (the fact that such descriptions can be interwoven with mythological elements—cf. a description of Alaka in Meghadūta,—does not change the general picture). Suffice it to mention Pavanadūta by Dhoyi or a poem, written in
manipravalam by an unknown author of the XIV c. from Kerala—Unnumunilisandeśam, in which a path from Tiruvanandapuram to a place named Kadutturutti is minutely described.

As to Tamil poetry, the genre of a message-poem in it developed in a special and even peculiar way. In spite of the fact that the tradition knew the lyrical situation of separation, the motif of message, the poetical device of addressing an object of nature and the description of a route, a fusion of these elements into a form of sandeśa-kāvya did not take place. I suppose that the only example of a message sent with an object of nature and combined with a description of a route, is the poem PN 67 presented earlier, which, however, does not belong to the love theme. Nevertheless, in the Middle ages a separate genre of a message-poem took shape.

The genre tūtu became prominent first of all in religious poetry. Being a direct heir of Tamil love poetry it was used in situations when an adept’s craving for God was interpreted in terms of a love passion. Here is a fragment from a hymn (37) composed by a famous Tamil shaiva-bhakta Sundarar:

Oh, herons! He who dwells in beautiful and cool Arur
Among the vast fields where flows juice from broken sugar-cane,
Is [constantly] consumed [like juice] and humbly praised [by me],
I [always] think of him and melting is my heart —
About this will you inform him?

Oh, flying our parrots!
Oh, singing our mynas!
I can’t forget the One, the Saint,
Worth being named the Eye of dharma,
Whose dwelling is Arur,
And bangles are slipping from my arms
And sleep escapes me —
About this will you inform him?.

The rest of verses of this patikam (10 + 1) the heroine, that is an adept, addresses other objects—other herons, cakaravaka, cuckoo, bees. The structural model is one and the same in all verses, the last line being the formulae of the address: upartta vallurkale. This line stitches all the verses of the patikam into a cycle and should be considered a formal criterion of a genre, which can be labeled as a small messenger-poem. We often meet such cycles in Tamil religious poetry: in Andal’s Nacciyārtirumolī (Mekaviṭutūtu, “A message with clouds”), in Tiruvacakam by Manikkavacakar (Tirukōttumpi, “A message with a bee”; Kuyilpatṭu, “A
message with a cuckoo‖) and in poems by some other poets. This genre became popular in medieval India in other regions also.

Around the 14 c. a separate genre of a big poem called tūtu appeared in Tamil poetry. The first example known of this genre is a big poem Neñcuviṭūtu by a prominent shaiva philosopher Umapati Civacarya, who used the device of sending a message to eulogize his guru and Shiva. The author sends to the guru his heart as a messenger. It should be noted by passing that the choice is quite appropriate for the elevated spiritual atmosphere of the poem. At the same time the motif of addressing the hero’s own heart and sending it to the other hero is usual for Tamil lyrical poetry (not to speak of the earlier poetry of the Buddhist canon in Pali). The specific features of the poem in question which make it a tūtu-poem are: addressing the heart (“Oh, strong heart, listen to what I shall tell you with a grace”, 29), sending it along a route (“Oh, wise heart, I shall tell you about all places that you will pass”, 107) and a request (“Oh, heart, praising God, take beautiful flowers of koṇrāi and come back”, 129). In fact the whole poem is devoted to praising Shiva and to discourses on theological matters. It can be understood as a kind of a disciple’s report to his guru sent to him with the aim to demonstrate a degree of the disciple’s spiritual maturity and to obtain the guru’s (or the God’s) approval (which is symbolized by the flowers of koṇrāi).

The description of the route deserves special attention. There is no geography at all,—places to be passed by are only certain points of the discourse or the sermon that points in the direction of self-improvement and the right conduct. There is, for instance, a statement that one should not believe in words of brahmans who recite Vedas not knowing their inner sense (116), that it is not proper to talk to low people who despise Shiva’s sacred places and the sacred ashes (112), that one should not come near caves where jainas live (115) etc.

The poem is composed in verses that follow a certain structural pattern: each verse consists of two lines in kali-veṇpā meter and came to be known as kaṇṇi. Such a form became a characteristic formal feature of the genre tūtu.

It seems probable that there were poets who composed such tūtu-poems before Umapati or immediately after him, but those who are known to us are dated from 18 cent onwards. It seems that the culmination point in the development of the genre is the period covering the 18 and the 19 centuries. The poetical pieces that came down from that time look (as far as can be judged by the available texts) well organized, stable and
codified. To my opinion they represent the genre quite convincingly and make it possible to single out characteristic features of their artistic structure.

The first observation we are able to make is that they are mostly love-poems, only in some of them the love-theme is combined with religious feelings (messages to gods), in others—with panegyric motives (messages to kings or patrons). Almost in all cases the person who sends a message is a girl. The typical story can be reconstructed as follows: a girl with a group of her friends watches a ceremonial procession of the hero (a God or a king), falls in love with him and begins to suffer in separation. In a state of love-sickness she decides to send a message to her beloved in which she praises him and tells him about her deplorable state. She chooses an object for the messenger and asks it to convey the information about herself to the hero. After delivering the message the messenger should take a garland of flowers from the hero and return back to the heroine.

The heroine’s request to bring a garland has a definite inner meaning: she wants to enter into matrimonial relations with the hero (as it known, exchanging of garlands is an important detail of Indian marriage ceremony). The motive of a garland is present in almost all poems known to me.

There are only two exceptions: the poems Tamiḻ viḻi tūtu and Paṉaviṭutūtu. Accidentally, these poems also lack the motive of the hero’s ceremonial march. The request for the messenger to return back is, however, preserved.

The text of every poem, apart from usual preliminary verses, consists of the heroine’s monologue, which can be divided into several parts. Let us take for example a poem called Aḷakar kilḷai viṭu tūtu (“A message sent with a parrot to Aḷakar”, that is to Vishnu residing near Maturaḯ). The first part (kaṇṇi 1-66) comprises what can be defined as “a choice of a messenger”, referred to above. At first different remarkable qualities of a parrot are described. Then the girl compares a parrot with other possible messenger and rejects one by one. The reasons are given: a goose (aṉnam) won’t do because aṉnam also means “boiled rice”, on which parrots feed (34); a cuckoo is ciṅṇa vaṭivam which means “an insignia [of Kama]”, but at the same time “of a small body” (34); bees are not suitable—“can they open their mouth after drinking honey?” (35); then “can a pigeon call bitter words sweet?” (that is to say truth) (36); the peacock loved by many is called piṉimukam, which means “a peacock”,
but also “ill”, “pitiable” (37); and in the end—a sort of a conclusion (37): “Is there any other bird that possesses śukarūpam?” (which means “the body of a parrot”, but also “a healthy body”).

There is no doubt that this fragment is absolutely conventional and is composed with the aim to demonstrate the poet’s knowledge of the language and mythology, his wit and his ability to invent śleṣas.

Then there follows a description of Vishnu—Aḻakar (67-142), in which the heroine includes ten attributes of a king (a mountain, a river, a country, a town, a garland, an elephant, a horse, a flag, a drum and a motto). This part reveals the poet’s erudition and is saturated with mythological and puranic reminiscences, epic and poetic allusions, iconographical details.

The next part is a description of a festival in Madurai, during which the god appears lying on his snake (143-166). The heroine confesses that she fell in love with the god and addresses him with a speech (167-184); then she describes the state of her mind and body to the parrot (188-198) and again considers several messengers (199-204), rejecting them in the end. After that she sends the parrot to the abode of Aḻakar. An interesting instruction is given at this moment: “if there are his bhaktas there, join them and sing kirttanas with them; if you see his wives, sit on their palms; if the god asks you from where has you come, say: “I have come to venerate the Lord who lives in Tirumaliruncolaimalai”. In order not to disturb his wives tell him everything in Telugu and allegorically (vakaiyāy) (208). When you enter the temple, choose the right time and say … There follows the text which the parrot should reproduce. It contains a request for the God’s grace and for his garland. The last kaṇṇi (239) runs as follows: “Accept a rare garland from the hands of Alakar who destroys the darkness of mind, and return back”.

Again, what can be noticed at once is that the geographical element is fully absent from the poem. There is no description of a route, an element of the text which seems to constitute the most important part of sandeśa-poems in Sanskrit, Malayalam and manipravalam. At least in one poem, Tamil viṭu tūtu, the poet comes close to the description of the route making the heroine say to the messenger (the Tamil language in this case): “Listen, what route you must follow” (179). But it appears that the route is understood here allegorically, it the sense of a way to serve the Tamil language. There are, for instance, such recommendations: “Do not come to people who on seeing money are ready to sell you”, or “who study but do not understand the sense of books” and so on. It is obvious that the poet sticks here to the tradition of Umapati’s philosophical poem.
mentioned earlier. However, geography enters the poem by the end with a description of Madurai and the temple. Interestingly enough, the poet recalls here old Tamil poems of āṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ tamil genre, which were built on a linear pattern of a bard’s itinerary: country—city—palace—king. But this pattern does not attract medieval poets’ attention. The only point they are interested in is the final point of a journey, the temple and its surroundings. In this respect they are fully dependant on the tradition of bhakti poetry with its so called “sacred geography”, that is a description of places where the God constantly presents himself.

The central place in medieval Tamil messenger-poems is occupied not by a description of a route but of a picture of a messenger. The part of a poem where a messenger is chosen, described and praised becomes the most significant. Accordingly, in the poem Pukaiyilai viṭu tūtu (a tobacco-leaf as a messenger) this part consists of 53 out of 59 kaṇṇis. Tamil language in the poem just presented is praised in 107 kaṇṇis out of 268 and so on.

It seems that the main concern of poets when composing dūta-poems was a demonstration of their poetical skill, erudition and wit. In 18-19 cc. when these poems became popular, such qualities were certainly much in demand at courts of Tamil feudal rulers who were considered as kings and generous patrons of arts and poetry, but whose land-property was not big and usually was connected with local temple. This can explain, I suggest, panegyric and religious contents of poems and also a degeneration of the geographical element in them essential for earlier poetry.

References:

Chakravarti Ch. 1927 Origin and Development of Dutakavya Literature in Sanskrit. Indian Historical Quarterly, V. 3.


Notes

1 A general information about Sanskrit poems is given in [1; 7]. About Tamil poems in [8], Malayalam [6;10]. Around 60 Sanskrit messenger-poems are known at present [7, 123]. The list of Tamil poems given in [8] consists of 85 titles.

2 The abbreviation stands for: Tolkāppiyam, poruḷatikāram iḷampūraṇār uraiyutan. tirunelvēli, ceṇṭai 1956. Other abbreviations used here are the

3 There are five poems of the genre āṟṟuppaḍai in the collection: Poruṇarāṟṟuppaḍai, Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, Cirupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, Malaipatukatām (MPK), Tirumurukāṟṟuppaḍai.

4 Minute descriptions of messengers’ routes led some scholars to the idea to map them. For example, we can see such maps in [5; 11, 1; 13, 62].

5 The poems available for me were: Aḷakar kīḷai viṭu tūtu (“Message sent with a parrot to Alakar”) by Palapattai Sokkanada Pillai, anonymous Tamiḻ viṭu tūtu (“Message sent with Tamil language”), Vaṇṭu viṭu tūtu (“Message sent with a bee”) by Kacchiyappamunivar, Tenṟal viṭu tūtu (“Message sent with Southern wind”) by Palapattai Sokkanada Pillai, Pukaiyilai viṭu tūtu (“Message sent with a tobacco-leaf”) by Siniccarkarai Pulavar, Māṇ viṭu tūtu (“Message sent with an antelope”) by Kulandai Kavirayar, Paṇaviṭutūtu (“Message sent with money”) by Cokkanada Kavirayar, anonymous Manavai tiruvenkāḍamuḍaiyan mēkaviḍu tūtu (“Message sent with a cloud to the Lord of Venkata”).

6 Judging by the list given by A.Nataracan [8], out of 85 poems, 55 are attributed to certain centuries. Out of them there are 26 poems belonging to the 19th cent., 18—to the 20th cent., 14—to the 18th, 4—to the 17th, 2—to the 16th, 1—to the 14th.
New lead coins and other inscriptions from Tissamaharama, Sri Lanka

Falk, Harry

The early phases of coinage in Sri Lanka are devoid of breathtaking examples of workmanship. In the third century BC punch-marked coins were imported and soon after copied locally. Cast copper coins surfaced in Anuradhapura from the 2nd century BC on, according to Sirisoma 1972: 150. Focusing on Tissamaharama in Southern Ceylon, Walburg (1993 and 2001) saw hardly any local coinage, apart from the ubiquitous Lakṣmī plaques, “Indo-Roman imitations” and some stray punch-marked coins. So it came as a surprise when a series of lead coins from the citadel area at Tissamaharama, called Akurugoda, was published in Bopearachchi & Wickremasinhe 1999, showing that some sort of coinage in lead with a common sign inventory was produced in this locality much earlier. This publication incorporated my readings of the coin legends, together with a discussion of their linguistic and paleographic features (pp. 51-60), plus readings and discussion of some seals and sealings (pp. 61-64), duly acknowledged in footnote 17 on page 15. This part of the book was again published as Bopearachchi / Falk / Wickremasinhe 2000 without the possibility of including the many additions and corrections that had accrued in the meantime.

There were three reactions to this catalogue. J. Lingen (2000) added one new kind, acquired in Colombo, and another specimen already published as E12, showing, however, a readable legend. This latter coin was bought in Goa pointing, possibly, to a wider distribution in antiquity.

R. Walburg (2005) did not challenge the readings, but insisted that these sorts of lead coins do not deserve the term “coinage”, because they are not issued by the general authority in sufficient quantity. Given the limited regular excavations at the place and the haphazard nature of other coin finds, we have to say that we have no means of judging the magnitude of these editions. A trader in Kataragama, who claims to have sold all the coins contained in this catalogue, speaks of about one thousand lead coins from Akurugoda having crossed his desk. These lead coins are certainly not very systematic as to their weight (cf. table in Walburg 2005: 371a). Nonetheless, they seem to have served in the exchange of trade goods of some sort, thus showing the main characteristics of coinage: being an intermediary between goods, service
and value. As long as the mediation as such is accepted by their users, any series of metal pieces can be called coinage in their own right. In India, such coinage is usually called “guild coinage”, regarded as being issued by traders in a certain area.

One argument of Walburg against the nature of these coins is extremely irritating. He holds that the text on the coins with the genitive ending in -sa (as e.g. in nagasa, “of Nāga”) “would seem to indicate a dedication” etc., but would “certainly not” be used “in a monetary” context (2005: 370b). This goes against the evidence provided by the entire collection of Indo-Greek legends in Greek and Prakrit (e.g. MENANΔPOY/ menamdrasa), and against all Indo-scythian (AZOY, ayasa) and Indo-Parthian (VNΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ, godavhārṇasa) evidence, up to the first Kuṣāṇa (ERMAIOY, KO϶ANOY, kujula-karasa kuṣanasa). Only Vema Takhtu as Soter megas used nothing but the nominative, followed by his son Vima Kadphises and all other Kuṣāṇas thereafter.

The second and more constructive reaction came from our jubilarian Iravatham Mahadevan. In 2000 he reviewed my readings and proposed a series of improvements, showing that better readings can be found once we are ready to accept Tamil as the basis for some of the names. Not acquainted with Tamil, I can only regret not having sought his advice in time.

There is the double case of the two letters read by me apo, hesitatingly linked (p. 55) to Prakrit appano, Sanskrit ātmanas etc., and explained with pronounced warning as somehow implying authorship of the coins in the genitive. Mahadevan’s approach was different: he realized that a classical Brāhmī po when mirrored vertically looks like Tamil-Brāhmī ṅa, a letter often ending a Tamil name in the nominative. This way he read no. A17 māhacātā apo (read thus from the photograph on pl. 1 or from the front cover) as malacāta-āṇa, “Malla Cātta-āṇa”, presupposing several mistakes by the engraver: ha not mirrored horizontally, but ṅa mirrored vertically. With regard to the last error, Mahadevan refers the reader to an inscription in Tamil Brāhmī from Kilavalavu, where this letter ṅa is mirrored vertically as on our coin. The result looks very convincing; however, checking the full text in Mahadevan 2003: 330 shows that the case is slightly more complicated: ṇa occurs twice in the two lines of the rock inscription. In the first line ū-pā-cā-a is written correctly, the following letters ṇa-to-ṇa-ṭi are all upside down. In the second line la-vo is written correctly, the following two letters ako stand on their heads, the following three letters are again correct. That would mean that the stone mason twice inverted a series of letters starting with ṇa, so that this
inverted \( \text{ṇa} \) is not a variant of a regular \( \text{ṇa} \), but a writing mistake of a rather common kind resulting from the wrong projection of a letter from a hand-copy onto the rock above the head of the mason. For a description of this mistake cf. Falk 1993: 217. This error in writing letters upside-down presupposes an ceiling to be inscribed above the head of the scribe and is unknown, to my knowledge, from all materials which are inscribed while laying below the eye-level of the engraver.

The coin A20 was read by me as \textit{kapatikajaha apo} hesitatingly and as \textit{kapātikāṭala-aṇa}, “Kapati Kaṭalaṇ”, by Mahadevan (2000: 151) and I agree with him that \textit{kapati} is the usual \textit{gapati} under Tamil influence. Furthermore, he must be right with regard to the reading \( \text{ṭā} \), since an identically looking \( \text{ja} \) would not be written in this area of this time, where the letter \( \text{jha} \) is used instead. The \( \text{ha} \), as seen on the line drawing, is wrong and a \( \text{la} \) is much more likely when read from plate 1. The Tamil name cannot be doubted; but I still do not believe in an inverted \( \text{ṇa} \), since it presupposes a vertical inversion, which is unprecedented on these lead coins, on two different issues, concerning just one single letter. Nonetheless, this Tamil solution sounded more convincing than my Prakritic guess.

In 2007, again at Tissamaharama, through the kind offer by J.H. Weisshaar, I had the chance to inspect 8 sorts of lead coins from the collection of Mr. Fonseka, Colombo, again said to come from Tissamaharama. The fabric and the range of designs on the obverse is very similar to those on the earlier lot, as is the kind of script used. There are three groups present:

A) Coins already known from the first batch;
B) Coins slightly different, but akin to another one already published;
C1) Absolutely new types,
C2) New types including a term, which has a bearing on our \textit{apo}-versus-\textit{aṇa} discussion.

The whole collection of coins will be published by R. Walburg and there is no need to present them here in detail, apart from the depiction of a specimen and a discussion of their readings.

**A) Already known:**

No. 1: Three pieces are of the uninscribed type E17, showing an elephant facing a triangle to his left, and a sort of a Śrīvatsa on the reverse,
certainly not accompanied by an “indistinct legend in Brāhmī” (Bopearachchi e.a. 1999: 67).

No. 2: The type with a speared fish on the reverse is old type A10 (Bopearachchi e.a. 1999: 53). The new pieces show that the animal does not have its “mouth open” but is speared. The obverse was read as tisaha from the line drawing, while the new pieces make it clear that the reading is śuraha, “Of Śūra”, a name already found in Paranavitana 1970 no. 705.

No. 3: This type, with rays radiating from the center on the reverse shows a svastika on the obverse marking the beginning and end of the inscription, is old A21, reading utirāṇa¹, i.e. the Tamil name uttira. The only difference in the two pieces is the very weak bend in the ga of the new collection, showing that this sort of coin was cast from several moulds.
B1) Same issuer, but different design:

No. 4: The dancer-type has been issued by the same house as A30. The posture of the figure is clearly different, the dented double rim border on the reverse is the same as are the letters reading nagaha, “of Nāga”, a name well-attested already in the earliest Ceylonese inscriptions, spelled naga or naka (Paranavitana 1970: 112).

Fig. 4 : No.4 type

No. 5: The frog-type resembles A19 very closely. The obverse shows a similar border of triangles; only the tortoise of A19 seems to be replaced by a frog, if the long hind legs can be used to identify the animal. The reverse of A19 shows two signs in the middle, surrounded by letters reading cuḍaśamanakaha. Our piece contains probably the same number of letters, and all would fit the known reading apart from the second, which definitely is not da, but looks like kha. The name may thus start with cukha- or cakha-; for a decision a better specimen must be awaited.

Fig. 5 : No.5 type

C1) New types

No. 6: A new type resembles A7 in that it shows a lion facing to the right on the obverse with an swastika above its body. Similar to no. 5 above, the reverse shows a border of arches. In the center of this border, a sign resembling a vertical with drooping arms is seen surrounded by a series of
letters, reading *la-ca-la-ga*. It is unclear where the text starts and what it means.

**C2) New with *aṭe***

No. 7: The obverse of another new type shows a bird-like figure below an arch, while the reverse contains nothing but three letters. If they are to be seen from outside in regular sequence, as on all other inscribed issues, *roha-te* can be read. The name *rohaka* is known from Paranavitana 1970 no. 580, i.e. a basic *roha* extended by the common *ka*-suffix found also in other pairs as in *śada/hada* and *śadana/hadana*. Alternatively, a very weak bend at the lower end of the *ro* could be used to read *po* instead. *poha*, Skt. *pauṣa*, could be one of the frequent *nakṣatra* names. Whatever has to be read, the question remains: how do we account for the final *-te*?

We are justified in expecting a genitive. As is well known, apart from the standard genitive ending in *-sa* old Ceylonese Prakrit has developed a periphrastic phrase by adding *aṭaya*, a form of Skt. *arthāya*, “for the sake of”, to nouns. This addition survives right into the modern Sinhalese dative. There are several possibilities in old texts:

- *aṭaya* can be added to nouns ending in a genitive, as in *sagahaṭaya*, Skt. *saṅghasyārthāya*, or *natikanaṭaya*, Skt. *jñātikānāṃ arthāya* (both in no. 1197).

- *aṭaya* can be added to the uninflected noun in a compound, as in no. 1118, *cetiya aṭhaya*, equaling a compounded Skt. *caitya-arthāya*.

- *aṭaya* can be shortened to *aṭa* and be added to the uninflected noun. Inscriptional cases come from the first and second century AD, e.g. *dajaṭa*, *dajavinaṭa*, *paṭakaṭa*, Skt. *dvajārthāya*, *dvajanivatarthāya*, *paṭakārthāya*, all in no. 130 (Paranavitana 2001: 225).

It goes without saying that *aṭaya* can legally be contracted to *aṭe* and that this *aṭe* can be combined with or without vowel sandhi to any inflected or uninflected noun.

In all of these cases *aṭaya*, “for the sake of”, expresses the idea of a dative. In addition, very often the genitive takes the function of the dative (cf. Paranavitana 1979: xl), as in the frequent *śagaśa dine*, equal to the very rare *śagaśa dine* (no. 34) and the occasional *śagaśa aṭaya* (no. 936) or
sagahaṭhaya (no. 1197). That is to say, nagaśa or nagaha can be equivalent to nagahaṭe or nagaṭe. The dative seems to define the legends, both genitive and dative as expressing “on behalf of (the issuer)”.

Thus on this coins I see roha/poha-aṭaya, “On behalf of Roha/Pauṣa” behind roha/poha-ṭe.

B2) Same issuer with modified text

No. 8: A similar case is found in our last coin, a direct relative to A17, which shows a rooster on the obverse, and a swastika in the middle of the reverse, surrounded by māhacātā apo in my old view or malacāṭa-aṇa in Mahadevan’s, who presupposed a mirroring mistake concerning ha/la. This new coin shows the same fowl in a different design on the obverse, but the text running around the swastika is changed to mahacaka aṭe, or mahavaka aṭe. The strange vocalization from the first issue is not repeated - or not yet there, depending on the unknown succession of the two issues. Instead of tā, ka must be read; instead of cā, va seems most likely, but ca cannot be excluded. The issue thus shows that a mirroring mistake concerning ha/la is rather unlikely.

![Fig. 6: No. 8 type](image)

This aṭe is added here without vowel sandhi and should be the same as in rohaṭe, so that mahacaka-aṭe can only mean “On behalf of Mahācakra”.

The reading aṭe here was facilitated by the knowledge derived from our no. 7, but also from the way of engraving: the -e-māṭrā is placed slightly apart from upper bend of the ṭa. Had this not been the case, the ṭe would have looked exactly like a po - or an inverted ya, and so it becomes apparent that apo of my old readings could also be suspected to stand for aṭe. A look at the old cases shows that there is no obstacle to this interpretation:

A17, read as māhacāṭā apo should be māhacāṭa aṭe, “On behalf of Mahācchattrā”. The vocalism is strange and, given the usual absence of
ā-mātrās in Prakritic epigraphs, must hark back to Tamil Brāhmī habits. However, the system called TB-I by Mahadevan (2003: 227) would produce a spoken /māḥcātā/, whereas TB-II (2003: 229) would produce /māḥacātā/ or /māḥcātā/. All these possibilities are incorrect in Tamil as well as in Prakrit. The newly found relative, our coin 8, has a Prakritic name in mahacaka, written without a single ā-mātrā, proving that A17 is Prakritic as well, only it was engraved with an imperfect idea of Tamil Brāhmī vocalization in mind.

A20 was printed as kapatikajaha apo, to be corrected to kapatī-kaṭāla-ate, in line with Mahadevan’s reading. Apart from the use of TB-II orthography, Tamil phonetic influence is also there, changing /ga/ to /ka/, as in so many other epigraphical cases. Tamil phonology can erupt at any time, as on the seal D3 (Bopearachchi e.a. 1999: 64), where nakapala-ca is written for nāgapāla-sa, i.e. a Prakritic name, spelled in Tamil fashion, coming with a Prakritic case ending spelled in Tamil fashion as well.

This reading of ate is in line with grammar and paleography as well as with the development of Sinhalese from an inherited -sa-genitive/dative to a periphrastic dative. It absolves us from assuming a vertical inversion of just one letter on several unrelated issues, in combination with an additional initial vowel, which is absent from the two cases where a true Tamil na ends a name according to Tamil grammar, i.e. A20 utiraṇa, “Uttiraṇ” and A37 t<s>apiṭṭaṇa, “Tissa Piṭṭaṇ”, following Mahadevan’s (2000: 153) interpretation.

A nodule from Tissamaharama

The coins of the first lot were estimated to belong to the 2nd/1st century BC mainly on paleographic ground, in combination with a seal in this same script listing titles used by Saddhātissa (D1, Bopearachchi e.a. 1999: 63, ca. 77-59 BC). Paleography can only provide vague answers. The exceptionally thorough excavation inside the citadel of Akurugoda, Tissamaharama, by H.J.Weisshaar and H.Schenk will for the first time allow us reliably to date the first occurrence and the stages of Ceylonese Brāhmī script. So far, no lead coin of the described species has surfaced in any of their trenches; however, in 2007 a nodule was found in a layer dating to the early first century BC. This nodule is made from burned clay, blank on its spherical backside. The upside shows an inscription in the same Brāhmī as on our lead coins, reading, gapati-majimaha /gapati-majhimaha /, Skt. *ṛhapati-madhyamasya, “On behalf of householder Majima”.
The style of writing, the circular distribution of the letters and their shape are absolutely identical to those on the lead coins. In addition, the name of the householder, Majima, is already found on no. A5 of the published lead coins, unaccompanied by any title. As the name of a king, Majima is found in Paranavitana 1970, no. 406, who in addition lists six *parumakas* with this name on p. lxxviii.

![Fig. 7 – Burnt clay nodule](image)

This find dates the coins firmly into BC times, and a date as far back as the early first century BC seems the most likely, ensuring the lead coins predate regular issues of inscribed royal coinage by several centuries.

**Foreign influence**

The nodule and the coins when taken together raise the question of origin: the nodule was produced from a seal, which shows the name of its owner in the genitive, as do seals generally in Sri Lanka (Bopearachchi e.a. 1999 nos. C2, C3, D1, D3) as well as in Central India and Gandhāra of the time. Lead, on the other side, is rarely used for coins in the North. It is used for the guild coinage reading *mugamukha* on one side and showing a frog below balance on the other. Their local origin is not clear, but cannot be very far from Erich, the old Erikacha, north east of Jhansi (Bhandare 2006: 89).

In the South, lead coins were cast by the pre-Sātavāhana dynasties of the Mahāraṭhis, Chuṭus and Mutas, all of them taken over by the Sātavāhanas in the first part of the first century BC (Bopearachchi & Pieper 1998: 131-134; cf. Krishnamurthy 1997: 129). To these can be added the Ānandas of Kharwar, followed by the Kṣatrapa Bhumaka around the beginning of our era, and 70 years later even by Nahapāna. The Sātavāhanas follow their example. So we see copper in the North West and lead restricted initially to the very South and possibly the Erich area.
Parallel to royal issues we find local guild coinage also in Gandhara: the famous *negama*-issues of Taxila state their purpose in their name, showing the same scale on one of their sides as the *mugamukha*-lead coins from Bundelkand. So it seems that the idea of issuing guild coinage can be found at a few places all over South Asia in the centuries BC, and that the habit of using lead is particularly widespread in the South. The Tissamaharama lead coins thus are no isolated phenomenon, but part of a pan-Indian development.

**Tamil influence**

The publication of the first batch of Ruhuna lead coins revealed the existence of clear connections to Tamil communities through the names of Uttiran in A 21, and Tissa Piṭṭaṇ in A37, both clearly ending with alveolar *ga*, one of the four letters added to Aśokan Brāhmī in order that it could be used for Tamil as well (cf. e.g. Falk 1993: 194f.; Mahadevan 2003: 218). These Tamil names are many times fewer in number compared to the names in Ceylonese inscriptional Prakrit. Nonetheless, the examples again show “a substantial presence of Tamil traders settled in the Tissamaharama region for inland and maritime trading”, as Mahadevan (2000: 154) so aptly put it. With regard to the introduction of Tamil Brāhmī, I had voiced doubts regarding the arguments used by Mahadevan 2003 for the chronology of the oldest Tamil Brāhmī (Falk 2004) but feel now that this Ceylonese material forces us to accept his early date.

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*Fig. 8 – Rim of Flat dish with letters and clan signs*
The Tamil influence in Ruhuna of the 2nd century BC is also evident elsewhere. Now, that the excavation has reached levels touching the 2nd century BC, the graffiti on numerous sherds still appear in Prakrit as before. However, one exception is remarkable, and I add it here since it was explained by Mahadevan himself in an exchange of emails in early March 2007.

The rim of a high-quality flat dish carries 5 letter signs and 2 so-called clan signs, ideograms of unknown meaning. Symbol 1 must be compared to symbols no. 40-42 in Paranavitana 1970: xxvi, symbol 2 is used as a separator on the lead coin A20 showing the Tamil name Kaṭala. There are three letters to the left and two to the right of these symbols.

Fig. 9 – Details of letters and clan signs

\[\text{[li/lu]-ra-ti symbol1 symbol2 muri}\]

The letter \(\text{ra}\) on the right side made it obvious that the text must be Tamil. The letter [li/lu] is certainly miswritten, in that a dental \(\text{la}\) comes with two vowel-marks, one for \(-i\) and one for \(-u\).

Approached for help, I. Mahadevan instantly recognized \(\text{muri}\) as Tamil meaning “deed, written bond, receipt” (Tamil Lexicon vol. VI: 3296f.). To [li/lu]rati no instant solution was found, but soon he realized that this word must be read from right to left and that the seeming \(u\)-mātrā replaces the diacritical bend, changing \(\text{la}\) to \(\text{ḷa}\). Starting at the “clan-sign”, \(\text{tirāḷi}\) has to be read “from the Tamil root \(\text{tirāl}\), ‘to assemble, gather’ and the noun \(\text{tirāḷ}‘\text{assembly, gathering’}. The form \(\text{tirāḷi}\) is not attested but is grammatically possible.” His translation thus is “Written agreement of the
assembly”. Other unpublished sherds seem to refer to the same assembly by using paṣada, Skt. pariṣad.

With regard to the inversion of direction it can be added that the ti was also written mirror-wise, in that the lower leg of the ta was added to the left instead of to the right, as usual.

This testimony from the first century BC is another and very strong proof of Tamil presence and juridical influence in Ruhuna.

Returning to our topic of the guild coinage we have now even more reason to date it at least in the early first century BC.

Summary

The early occurrence of lead coins in Ruhuna cannot be brushed aside. It stands parallel to other guild coinage in South Asia, and to other lead issues from Southern India. The new lot produced old and new names. The inscriptions on some new types also help us to read a hitherto enigmatic Brāhmī letter, which had been interpreted as a Tamil Brāhmī letter by the laureatus. His readings of Tamil names on some other issues, however, can be regarded as established and are in line with an interesting Tamil graffito on a sherd from Tissamaharama, read by himself and published here in his own Festschrift.

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Notes

1 What looks like an initial long ū is probably nothing but a standard short u, given two strokes, to distinguish it from the similar looking ru. This mode of distinction is also found on a Bharhut panel reading bhagavato ukraṁti.
Roman Coins associated with Christian Faith
found at Karur and Madurai

Krishnamurthy, R.

In the Roman Empire the cities and towns had patron Gods. Some of the Emperors performed the role of Chief Priests and sometimes they were defied after death\(^1\). The birth and spread of Christianity tested their tolerance limits. Though the Churches of the Christians and their writings were destroyed by them, it continued to grow through periods of persecution and relative calm.\(^2\)

Constantine the Great is recognized as the first Christian emperor and certain elements of his coinage came inextricably to be associated with the triumphant religion. Karur and Madurai in TamilNadu have yielded some Roman coins which we can associate with Christianity. They are illustrated and described in the following pages.

To this day, the most popular coin associated with Christian faith is the 'tribute Penny', a silver denarius of Tiberius (AD 14-37). In those days, there was a decree from Caesar Augustus that the entire world should be taxed (Luke 2:1 ); it is learnt from the Bible that when Christ was asked whether tax should be paid to the Romans or the God, Christ said "show me the tribute money". When they showed the silver denarius of Tiberius to Christ, he seems to have said diplomatically that we should give what is due to the Romans and give to God what is due to God.

This dinarius, paid as tribute tax to the Romans in those days, was referred to as Penny in the King James translation of the Bible (1611). If they had called it a denarius, nobody would have understood what it meant. Tribute Penny still remains as a favourite piece among the coin collectors because of their belief that these silver coins were in circulation when Christ was alive. Several coins of this type were found in the Amaravathi river bed and one such coin is described below.

**Coin No.1**

Metal: silver; Wt: 3.450 gms; Dia: 19 mm.
Obverse: Portrait of Emperor Tiberius facing right.
Reverse: Seated figure of emperor's mother Livia or a personification of pax (peace.)\(^3\)
**Coins with Chi-Rho Symbol**

This sign, illustrated below, is Chi-Rho, a monogram composed of the name of Christ in Greek.\(^4\)

Chi (X) and Rho (P) are the first two letters of the Greek word, Christ (XPICTOC). Early Christians, due to fear of persecution, devised this secret monogram as a means of recognition. It is the oldest known monogram associated with Christian faith. It is also referred to as ‘Christogram’. There are various forms of Chi-Rho.

During Constantine's war against Maxentius at the battle of Milvian Bridge, Constantine was directed in a dream to make the sign of Christ upon the shields of his soldiers and join the battle. Constantine won the battle, embraced Christianity and was baptised on his death bed in A.D.337.\(^5\) It was Constantine who rescinded the ban on Christianity in the Roman Empire. Many coins with Chi-Rho monogram were found and reported from Madurai and Karur.

The earliest copper coin with Chi-Rho symbol belongs to period A.D.335 - 337 and was issued by Emperor Constans.\(^6\)
Coin No.2

Find spot: Vaigai river bed, Madurai.
Metal: copper; Shape: round; Weight: .950 gms; Size: 14 mm.

On the reverse of this coin, we see two soldiers standing facing each other, holding a spear and resting their hand on a shield with a military standard between them. On good specimens the military standard has Chi-Rho symbol at the top. The reverse of the coin has a legend ‘GLORIA EXERCITVS’, which means "the glory of the army".

Coin No.3

Find spot: Amaravathi river bed, Karur.
Metal: copper; Shape: round; Weight: 1.950 gms; Size: 18 mm.

On the reverse of the coin we see the emperor standing on a galley, holding phoenix and labrum. The Chi-Rho symbol in the labrum in this coin is out of the flan but is seen on good specimens. The reverse of the
coin has a legend ‘FEL TEMP REPARATIO’, which means “Restoration of successful times”. This type was issued by Constans (A.D.337-350).\(^9\)

**Coin No.4**

Find spot: Amaravathi river bed, Karur.
Metal: copper; Shape: round; Weight: 1.750 gms; Size: 13 mm.

On the reverse of the coin we see the emperor advancing right, with right hand draping a captive and holding a standard in the left hand. On good specimens, the standard has a labrum with Chi-Rho inscribed on it. Good specimens of similar coins has a legend ‘GLORIA RO MANORUM’ meaning “Glory of the Romans”.

This type was issued by emperors Valentinian I and Valens during the period A.D.364 - 367, and by Valentinian II, Theodosius and Arcadius and other emperors during the period A.D.363 - 375 and also during the period A.D.383 - 387.\(^10\)

Yet another coin with this symbol is seen on a coin recovered from Vaigai river bed at Madurai and the photo is published below.

**Coin No.5**
Metal: copper; Shape: round; Weight: 1.300 gms; Size: 13 mm.

**Coin No.6**

![Coin Photo](image1)

Find spot: Vaigai river bed, Madurai.
Metal: copper; Shape: irregular; Wt: 1.400 grms; Dia: 16 mm

On the reverse of this coin, we see victory seated, writing Chi-Rho symbol, on a shield and resting on small column. This type was issued by Hanorius, Theodosius II and Pulcheria during A.D. 408 – 423. There is a legend 'SALVS REIPVBLICA' on the reverse.

**Coin No.7**

![Coin Photo](image2)

Find spot: Vaigai river bed, Madurai,
Metal: copper; Wt: 1.150 ems; Dia: 13 mm.

On the reverse of this coin we see victory advancing left, with left hand dragging a captive, and a cross on the left field. This type was issued by the emperor Theodosius I, Valentinian II, Arcadius and by Honorius from...
A.D. 383 - 408\textsuperscript{13}. The reverse of the coin has a legend, ‘SALVS REIPVBLICAE’ meaning “Salvation of the State”.

One more coin with this symbol is seen on a piece recovered from Amaravathi river bed at Karur and the photo is published below, as Coin No.8.

**Coin No.8**

Metal: copper; Wt: 1.150gms; Dia: 13 mm.

**Coin No.9**

Find spot: Vaigai river bed, Madurai.  
Metal: copper; Shape: circular; Wt: 1.050 gms, Dia: 12 mm.

On the reverse of the coin we see a cross within a wreath and also a legend ‘CONCORDIA AVGGG’. This type was issued by Theodosius II and Valentinian III during A.D.395 - 408.\textsuperscript{14}

Similar coin with this symbol is seen on a coin recovered from Amaravathi river bed at Karur and the photo is published below.
Fig. 11: Coin with cross symbol recovered from Karur

**Coin No.10**

Find spot: Amaravathi river bed, Karur.
Metal: copper; Wt: 1.020 gms; Dia: 9 mm.

On the reverse of the coin we see the emperor holding a cross on a globe in the right hand and traverse septre in his left. This coin was issued by Emperor Leo (A.D. 457-74).\(^{15}\)

**Coin No.11**

Find spot: Amaravathi river bed, Karur.
Metal: gold; Wt: 4.25 gms; Dia: 20 mm.

Roma seated left, having a shield by the side, holding a cross on a globe in right hand and septre in left. There is a legend ‘VOT XXX MVLT XXXX’, all around. This gold solidus was issued by Theodosius II (A.D. 430 - 439).¹⁶

**Coin No.12**

Find spot: Amaravathi river bed, Karur.
Metal: gold, Wt: 4.20 gms; Dia: 20 mm.

On the reverse of this coin we see Victory standing, facing left, holding a long cross in right hand. There is a legend ‘VICTORIA AVGGGI’ on both the sides of the Victory. This gold solidus was issued by Emperor Anastasius (A.D. 491).¹⁷

The two gold coins described above were issued by the Emperor Theodosius II and Anastasius (A.D.) and has the mint mark ‘CONOB’, which represents Constantinople mint.

**Observations**

Out of the twelve coins described above, Coin No. 1 does not have any Christian symbol. This coin is called ‘Tribute Penny’ and was issued when Christ was alive. All the remaining eleven coins have Christian symbols and ranges from A.D. 335 to A.D. 495. Some late Roman Coins from Madurai and Karur, with a distinct Christian symbol, ‘a Cross with a Wreath’, was reported by me earlier.¹⁸

It would be reasonable to observe that these coins may have reached Karur and Madurai during 4th and 5th Centuries A.D.
Notes


2 Ibid.


4 Ibid., p.41.

5 Ibid., p.42.


7 Guido Bruck, Die Spatromische Kupfarpragung, Austria, 1960, p.XXII.

8 Ibid., p.XXIII.

9 Guido Bruck, Die Spatromische Kupfarpragung, Austria, 1960, p.23.

10 Ibid., p.38.

11 Ibid., p.60.

12 Ibid., p.61.

13 Ibid., p.61.

14 Ibid., p.7.

15 R.A.G Carson, op.cit., p.98; Coin No. 1627.

16 Ibid., Coin No.1601.

17 Ibid., Coin No.1660.

18 R.Krishnamurthy, Late Roman Copper Coins from South India, Karur and Madurai, Garnet Publications, Madras, 1994, pp.76-81.
The Creation of Pallava Grantha Tamil Script

Lockwood, Michael

'Vicitracittaḥ' : is one of the more important titles of the Pallava king, Mahēndravikramavarman, found among the list of his birudas inscribed in his cave-temples at Tiruchi and Pallavaram, and in one of his earliest - at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu. This title, Vicitracittaḥ, indicates that he had a highly curious, inventive, and multi-faceted mind. If he was not the first to introduce rock-cut cave-temples into the Tamil country, he was, nevertheless, the first to launch the movement, there, in a big way. From his major works in the stone medium can be traced historically the continued development of stone temples by the Pallava kings and others who followed them.

Inscriptions on these stone monuments and on the monuments of other South Indian dynasties form an important source of historical information. However, some modern historians have criticized the practice of south Indian kings inscribing long lists of their royal titles on their stone monuments - a practice initiated by King Mahēndra in the seventh century, and taken to unsurpassed heights by the Pallava king, Rājasiṁha, in the eighth century, A.D.

What should save King Mahēndra from being accused of megalomania, in having long lists of his titles displayed on the walls and pillars of his temples, is his sense of humor. Sober historians have missed the humor. For instance, some have discounted the possibility of Mahēndra's title 'Sarṅkīṃṇajāṭiḥ' implying 'mixed birth' - though the inscriptions of the Pallavas, themselves, declare that they were of Brahma-Ksatriya origin! (Of course, the above title may also be referring to the king's invention of mixed types of musical scales. There are surely multiple levels of implied meaning in many of his titles.) Another favorite title of his is 'Mattavilāsaḥ' 'Drunken Sport'!

The full power of King Mahēndra's 'vicitra' - mind has not been, and probably never will be, fully appreciated by us, because the historical records of that period, a thousand three hundred years ago, have largely disappeared. And some of his important extant records (his Māmaṇḍūr inscription, for instance) have been defaced by erosion over time.
However, let me suggest one other area where this Vicitracittaḥ has made an important contribution to the Tamil country. For some years, now, the evidence from epigraphs seems to be pointing to the Pallavas as the developers of a new form of the Tamil script, which was then to be adopted by the next dynasty to rule, the Cholas, and which was thus to become the direct basis of the modern Tamil script.

This is no new claim. The editor of the Archaeological Survey of India's Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1903-1904, observed, way back then, that, in King Mahēndra's Tiruchi cave-temple, there are two (fully preserved) titles of the king inscribed in what he correctly called the "Pallava-Tamil" script, and which he accurately transliterated as: Piṇapiṇaku for  DataAccess and Kuśaṇāṇa for Kuśaṇāṇa.

I would like to narrow the focus and put forward the suggestion that the chief architect of this 'Pallava Grantha' Tamil script was King Vicitracittaḥ himself. The two titles mentioned in the previous paragraph, plus two others (one partially obliterated and the other almost totally so), are among the very earliest examples of Pallava Grantha Tamil!

The second title, Kuśaṇāṇa, conveys the meaning of 'an intellect as sharp as the tip of a blade of kuśa grass'. Please note that the editor of the Report used the roman letter ś with its diacritical mark for the Tamil letter ஸ. T.V. Mahalingam, editor of Inscriptions of the Pallavas, follows a different reading of the second title: Kucagrāṇa. If this biruda were to actually have the 'gr' conjunct - which it doesn't! - one would be compelled to treat this title as being written in the Pallava Grantha Sanskrit script (not in the "Pallava Grantha" Tamil script, since any Tamil script would not have such a conjunct), and one would end up having to read it as 'Kucha-grāṇa' (in a more commonly understood transliteration). This reading would result in a much more embarrassing title than the 'Mixed-caste' of 'Saṁkirṇṇajātiḥ'! One more appearance of Mahēndra's title, 'Kucaṇṇa' - in the Pallava Grantha Tamil script, again, and to be pronounced Kuśaṇāṇa! - is found on one of four pillars from Kanchipuram which are now standing in front of the stone sculpture gallery of the Madras (Chennai) Museum.

Was King Mahēndra purposely playing a visual and verbal trick on literate spectators, ancient and modern, with this title, 'Kucaṇṇa'? Thirteen of the fourteen titles inscribed on that Kanchi pillar are clearly in Grantha Sanskrit characters. The only one which is scriptally ambiguous...
is 'Kucaṇaṇa', which, if one takes it to be written in Grantha Sanskrit characters, is: 'Kuchaṇaṇa' - but which, if one takes it to be written in Grantha Tamil characters, is to be pronounced: 'Kuṣaṇaṇa', with a meaning very different.

If, as I claim, King Mahêndra and/or his royal scribes were the original devisers of the Grantha Tamil script, then certain important implications will flow from such a hypothesis.

First, no running texts using the Pallava Grantha Tamil script will ever be discovered prior to the time of King Mahêndra, who reigned c. 590 to c. 630 A.D.

Second, the great Kuḍumiyāmalai musical inscription of an unnamed royal disciple of Rudrācārya, can now be reasonably attributed to King Mahêndra. Below the musical inscription, there is a colophon in the Pallava Grantha Sanskrit script, and below that, the following note in the Pallava Grantha Tamil script:

Paṭṭirkum ērīkum ivai uriya.

(These [exercises] are suitable for singers as well as for the seven [strings of the Parivādini vīnā].)

K.R. Srinivasan and his brother K.R. Venkataraman believed that the Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tirumayyam region, where all of these musical inscriptions are found, was never under the rule of the Pallava king, Mahêndra. However, we would maintain that the use of the newly designed Pallava Grantha Tamil script of Mahêndra's at Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tirumayyam reveals that he, indeed, is the royal disciple of Rudrācārya and the author of those inscriptions. Furthermore, Venkataraman's reading of the name of a supposed king, 'Guṇasēna', in the Tamil inscriptions at Tirumayyam, as evidence against Mahêndra's authorship, has not been accepted by others. In fact, no such name appears in the Tirumayyam inscriptions.

Sooner or later, someone will call my attention to the Paḷḷaṅköyil copper-plate grant of the 6th century Pallava king, Śrīnḫavarman (grandfather of King Mahêndra) - a grant which has been touted as containing the earliest example of the Pallava Grantha Tamil script. T.N. Subramanian edited this grant in the Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1958-'59, pp. 41-83, plates XII-XV. Subramanian calls this "the earliest..."
grant from the Tamil country and also the earliest Tamil record...." By "earliest Tamil record", he means 'the earliest Grantha Tamil record'. There is only one problem here, and it is a major problem indeed: the Paḷḷaṅkōyil copper-plates which have come down to us appear to be an eighth century copy of the original grant. Though the original grant would have had its Sanskrit language portion written in the Pallava Grantha Sanskrit script of the mid-6th century, its Tamil language portion, originally, must have been written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, if my hypothesis is correct. I go along with those scholars who have held the view that the Paḷḷaṅkōyil grant which has come down to us is, indeed, a copy of the original grant - a copy which would have been authorised by a later Pallava king. Further, I suggest that this copy may actually have been necessitated because the Vaṭṭeḻuttu writing of the original plates was falling into disuse throughout the Pallava territory in the 8th century! Vaṭṭeḻuttu, which was the common script of the Tamil country in the 6th and 7th centuries, having evolved in this region over several centuries from the early Tamil Brāhmī, was thus being superseded by Mahēndra's elegant, more readable script.

Three of King Mahēndra's royal titles engraved in three locations

![Fig. 1: Three Titles of King Mahēndra](image-url)
(Three titles [Kucaṇṇa, Cittirakkārappuli 'Tiger among artists', and Piṇapiṇakku 'Highly quarrelsome'] are engraved in the Grantha Tamil script in Tiruchi and one of these [Kucaṇṇa] is repeated in the Grantha Tamil script on the Kanchi Pillar - and another one of these [Cittirakkārappuli] is engraved in the Grantha Sanskrit script in Pallavaram and on the Kanchi Pillar, with slightly different spellings.)

It should be noted that, in addition to the above three titles found in Mahēndra's Tiruchi cave-temple and the repetition of Kucaṇṇa on the Kanchi Pillar, there are only the brief Tamil colophon of the Kuḍumiyāmalai Inscription and the several short Tamil fragments at Tirumayam (see K.R.S., 1941) which are known extant examples of the Pallava Grantha Tamil script produced by his royal court. There are many other Tamil (language) titles of his which have been inscribed in the Grantha script. Further, there are numerous Telugu (language) titles of his which have also been inscribed in the Grantha script, ordinarily used for Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, this Pallava Grantha Sanskrit script (even before Mahēndra's reign) was the script used for writing the Telugu language and has evolved - while absorbing other dynastic influences over the centuries - into the modern Telugu script.

The only other known extant examples of the Pallava Grantha Tamil script which can be confidently dated to Mahēndra's reign are the inscriptions of his vassal, Skantasēṇa, engraved on the pillars of the major cave-temple excavated in the hill-side next to the hamlet of Vallam, near the town of Chingleput. (Probably contemporaneous are two other short, label inscriptions in Grantha Tamil recently discovered in two minor cave-temples nearby.) I give facsimiles of Skantasēṇa's inscriptions on the next page.

The Pallava Grantha Tamil inscriptions of Skantasēṇa, son of King Mahēndra's subordinate ruler, Rāja Vasantapriya, in a cave-temple at Vallam, near Chingleput.

**Dating the Paḷḷaṅkōyil Plates of King Siṁhavarman**

I have claimed that the Pallava Grantha Tamil script was created during the reign of the Pallava king, Mahēndra (c. 590 - c. 630). The debate over the dating of the Paḷḷaṅkōyil Copper Plates, a royal grant issued in the sixth regnal year of King Siṁhavarman (Mahēndra's grandfather, who ruled around the middle of the sixth century), centers on the question whether these plates are original or are a much later (by more than 200 years), officially authorized copy of the original plates. If the Paḷḷaṅkōyil
plates are the originals, then my claim fails. If they are a much later copy, then they don’t undermine my claim.

Two pages ahead are facsimiles of one side each of two plates which I have selected from the Pallāṅkōyil Grant. And on the pages following are facsimiles of one side each of three plates I have selected from the Vēḻvikuḍi Grant of the Pāṇḍiya king, Parāntakāṉ Ne đuṅcaḍaiyaṉ, a grant which can be firmly dated in the latter half of the 8th century (more than 200 years after King Sīṁhavarman’s reign).

The first plates of both grants have only the Sanskrit language engraved on them in the Grantha Sanskrit script. When comparing the writing of the first plate of each of these two grants, it will be obvious, I believe, that there is a great similarity between them in the form of the letters. Would such a similarity be comprehensible if the writing of the Pallāṅkōyil plate were executed more than 200 years earlier than that of the Vēḻvikuḍi plate?

Fig. 2: Skantasena Inscription at Vallam
The next three plates which I have selected (one from the Paḷḷaṅkōyil Grant and two from the Vēḷvikuḍi Grant) have passages in both the Sanskrit and Tamil languages. As with the first two plates, these three plates have the Sanskrit portions written in the Grantha Sanskrit script. But the Paḷḷaṅkōyil plate (plate 3, side 1) has its Tamil (language) portion written in the Grantha Tamil script, whereas the Vēḷvikuḍi plates (plate 7, side 1, and plate 8, side 2) have their Tamil (language) portions written in the Vaṭṭeluttu script.

Now, please compare the Grantha Tamil script of Paḷḷaṅkōyil plate 3, side 1, with the Grantha Tamil script of Mahēndra's inscriptions (his three titles at Tiruchi and one title on the Kanchi Pillar) and with the Vallam cave-temple inscriptions. Noticing the many marked differences, is it possible, then, to maintain that the Grantha Tamil script of the Paḷḷaṅkōyil plate pre-dates the Grantha Tamil script of the Mahēndra period inscriptions by two generations?

In the concluding section of this paper, I give the facsimiles of nine hero-stone inscriptions which can be definitely dated in King Mahēndra's reign. In fact, these nine inscriptions are datable in the following years of his reign: 2nd, 11th, 14th, 18th, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 38th, and 39th.

The language of all of these nine hero-stone inscriptions is Tamil. And their script is, without exception, Vaṭṭeluttu. Comparing the form of the Vaṭṭeluttu script of these hero-stone inscriptions with the Vaṭṭeluttu script of the Vēḷvikuḍi Grant, one will notice a great difference. One of the outstanding differences is that by the end of the 8th century, some of the Vaṭṭeluttu letters have begun to slant backwards (e.g., the letter 'c'). In contrast, from Mahēndra's day back to Vaṭṭeluttu's birth from Tamil Brāhmī, the initial strokes of such letters were more uniformly vertical to the line of writing.

Some examples of 'saṁkīrṇṇajātiḥ' in the mixture of scripts and orthographic systems

In giving the text of two plates of the Paḷḷaṅkōyil Grant, I have indicated that in lines 1 to 8 and 25 to 26 the language is Sanskrit, but that in lines 27 to 32 the language is Tamil. However, examining the 27th line more closely, we can see that the word 'Siṁhavarmmarku' is written in a mixture of Sanskritic spelling cum Grantha Sanskrit script (Siṁhavarmma-) with a Tamil dative casal ending (-ṟku) written in the Grantha Tamil script!
which, perhaps, I can make clearer by using the modern Tamil script for the original Grantha Tamil script instead of T.N. Subramanian’s transliteration of it:

Similarly, there is also a mixture of scripts and orthographic systems in the Vēḻvikuḍi Grant. On the 8th plate of the grant, side 1, there is a long list of birudas (titles). A majority of these are Sanskrit terms, written in the Grantha Sanskrit script. However, nearly all of these Sanskrit terms (20 of them) end in the Grantha Tamil letter ‘n’. I may be challenged by the rebuttal that this final ‘n’ looks exactly like the Grantha Sanskrit ‘n’. Well, it does, but this letter has two things which tie it to the Grantha Tamil script. One thing is the grammatical context and the other is a distinctive Tamil orthographic device.

First, consider the initial ‘Sanskrit’ biruda (in line 98), ‘Śrīvaran’. This title in proper Sanskrit and written in the Grantha Sanskrit script would transliterate as ‘Śrībharaḥ’. The grammatical context in this case, is the fact that this biruda and the other 19 all end in ‘n’, the common mark of the Tamil masculine gender, nominative case, instead of ending in the visarga(ḥ), the Sanskrit nominative counter-part.

Second, all the final ‘n’s of these twenty Sanskrit birudas are graced with a Tamil mark called a puḷḷi. A puḷḷi usually appears in the form of a simple dot or tiny circle above the letter it governs. However, the puḷḷi sometimes takes the form of a short, wavy downward stroke. This is the form which the puḷḷi takes, here, above the final ‘n’ of every one of these twenty titles in the Vēḻvikuḍi plate.

Thus, I conclude that though most of the Tamil (language) passages in the Vēḻvikuḍi Grant are written in the Vaṭṭeluttu script, the letter ‘n’ discussed in the previous paragraphs deserves to be recognized as belonging to the Grantha Tamil script.

It is interesting to note that throughout all of the Tamil passages in the Paḷḷaṅkōyil plates, the puḷḷi has the form of a short downward stroke. Both of these grants (Paḷḷaṅkōyil and Vēḻvikuḍi) have words or groups of words written in one script inserted into passages written in another script – or they even have single words, the parts of which are written in two different scripts. Since the Pallava Grantha Tamil script has, from the
beginning, borrowed the forms of most of its consonants directly from the forms of those same consonants in the contemporaneous Pallava Grantha Sanskrit script, this similarity in consonantal forms can result in a confusion involving the anusvara and the puḷḷi. The dot which signifies the anusvara (a nasal letter) in Sanskrit and the dot which signifies the puḷḷi in Tamil are very different. Scribes of these documents which have such bi-scriptal (Grantha Sanskrit and Grantha Tamil) passages have, therefore, given the puḷḷi the form of a short, wavy downward stroke in order to distinguish it from the anusvara dot.

However, it should also be noted that, contrary to the above practice, in all of the Vaṭṭeluttu passages of the Vēḻvikuḍi Grant, the puḷḷi’s form is maintained as a dot. The forms of all letters in the Vaṭṭeluttu passages are so different from their counterpart letters in the Grantha Sanskrit passages, that in such bi-scriptal (Grantha Sanskrit and Vaṭṭeluttu) documents, there was no necessity for the scribes to change the form of the puḷḷi from the usual dot in order to distinguish it from the anusvara.
Pallavakōyil Grant: 8th Century Copy of the Original - Issued mid-6th Century in King Siṃhavarman's Reign

Languages: Sanskrit & Tamil / Scripts: Pallava Grantha Sanskrit & Pallava Grantha Tamil
Vēḻvikuḍī Grant (Original): Datable to the Latter Half of the 8th Century
Issued by the Pāṇḍiya King, Parāntakan Neḍuṇcaḍaiyan (765-790)

Languages: Sanskrit & Tamil
Scripts: Grantha for Sanskrit & Vaṭṭeluttu for Tamil

Plate 1, side 2

1 Svasti-śṛtyāṅcīraṁ vaśiśīrāṁ ṣuṣekharaśśiva[ṛ] Ģritārtī prayībandhakāranaṁ [ṣṭ] Tanōtu savvarna kapa-
2 rdha sundaram-kudurppakandarpampadamadraparmddanaṁ [ḥ ] Viśvambhārahāraśrānta sēsaviśrāma kāranaṁ [ṣṭ ] Ā-
3 kalpaṅtambhuvi sīhēyādanvaya Opāṇḍya-bhūbhṛtām [ḥ ] Astambhaya-kṣīti-dharamprāvīrhmāṇāṃ-ambha-
4 ssaṃastam- api bājijadē śvā sas sa [ḥ ] Kumbhōdhavā bhavati yasya muni Opurōdhāṣsa śrīnāḍhī-
5 rijayati pāṇḍya-narēndra-viśisāḥ [ḥ ] Asthāda-pratima-prabhāvamahita Opāṇḍyābhidhānō nīdhē-
6 rvyārādhvāri mahī-pati strībhuvanē līnēpi kalpakṣayāt [ḥ ] Dhūṭārā srṣṭavatā punassa
7 jagatāṁ rakṣīraitthamabhyartθhistastējasvī tanayatvamēṣaḥ śāsinō nāṁnā budhākhṣyō bhavat [ḥ ] 4
Vēlvikudi Grant

Plate 8, side 2

123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131

123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131

Lockwood, Michael

89
The Śendalai Pillar Inscriptions
of King Perumbidugu Muttaraiyaṇaṃ alias Śuvaraṇaṃ Māraṇaṃ

Inscription on the third pillar.
A. – Top section; south face.

1. Śri-gaṇapropavār
   (Śri-Tamarālaya)

2. Śri-Abhimānadhiran

3. Śri-śuraprapavār
   (Śri-Kaṭvarakaḷayā)

4. Śri-Śatrukēṣari
### NINE PALLAVA HERO-STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE REIGN OF KING MAHENENDRA

Selected from those of the following list, located in the Chengam Taluk, N. Arcot District, Tamil Nadu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RN</th>
<th>TYM</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Script</th>
<th>Ser. No.</th>
<th>R.Y.</th>
<th>Reigning King's Titles/Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
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<td></td>
<td>06th V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(C01) 272</td>
<td>06th V</td>
<td>1971/82</td>
<td>21st</td>
<td>(Vasanai) Śōnmati-Kō-Thirumani</td>
<td>Kōjaiyur</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(C02) 273</td>
<td>06th V</td>
<td>1971/86</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>Kō-Vitaliya-Śīṣa gaṇa-parumar</td>
<td>Kōrijyur</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(C03) 274</td>
<td>06th V</td>
<td>1971/87</td>
<td>14th?</td>
<td>(Śīra vīṣṇu-varma)</td>
<td>Kōnaiyur</td>
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<td>(C04) 275</td>
<td>06th V</td>
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<td>Kōnaiyur</td>
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<td>(D87) -</td>
<td>06th V</td>
<td>1972/2</td>
<td>19th</td>
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<td>Puliyaiyur</td>
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<td>1971/92</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Pethai</td>
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<td>1971/30</td>
<td>33rd</td>
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<td>Narasinganallur</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>06th V</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Narasinganallur</td>
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<td>06th V</td>
<td>1971/33</td>
<td>2nd?</td>
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<td>Thoraiyppi</td>
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<td>11th</td>
<td>(Māl)maṇa-parumar</td>
<td>Pēli Purījai</td>
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<td>Kāṭialī</td>
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<td>Thunjamppṭu</td>
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<td>Mōṭhakkāl</td>
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<td>622 V</td>
<td>1971/89</td>
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<td>Mōṭhakkāl (leopard)</td>
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<td>1971/63</td>
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<td>Kōjaiyur</td>
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<td>1971/64</td>
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<td>Kōjaiyur</td>
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<td>(C13) 284</td>
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<td>34th</td>
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<td>Edunthāppūr (dog)</td>
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<td>(C15) 286</td>
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<td>Kāṭi Kāṭtalūl</td>
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<td>(C27) 298</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>(C37) 308</td>
<td>8-9th V</td>
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<td>(Kō-Vitaliya-Pallava-Thanthi)</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>(C38) 309</td>
<td>09th T</td>
<td>1971/56</td>
<td>3nd</td>
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<td>42</td>
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<td>43</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<td>09th T</td>
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RN = editor R. Nāgasāmi's Ceṅgam Naḍukāṟkāḷ and, in the column below, its ordinal numbering of the inscriptions (C), and (D87) = one lone inscription from his Darumapuri Kalveṭṭukāḷ

TVM = editor T.V. Mahalingam's Inscriptions of the Pallavas and its numbering of the inscriptions in the column below.

V = Vaṭṭēḻuttu script; T = Pallava Grantha Tamil script.
Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971/33

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<tr>
<td>Historical Era</td>
<td>6th century</td>
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Summary:

TVM: "Records the death of Kuṇṟakkaṇṇiyār, the servant of the Gaṅga king (araiśar) who was also the chieftain of Rārāṛgūr, when the army of Poṉṉandiyār, the son of the Gaṅga king (araiśar), marched against Perumugai."
TamilNadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971/96

Location:

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<td>Historical Era</td>
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Summary:

TVM: "Records the death of Ēraṇ, the younger son (iḷamagaṇ) of Śākkai-Paṟaiyaṉār, who was the servant under Amkōṭṭaiyār, the nephew (marumakkal) of Perumpottaraiyar, when the army of Vilakkumīṟaiyār marched against the village of Tudari in Kīḷ-Vēṇāḍu."
TamilNadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971/113

Location:

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Summary:

TVM: "Records the death of Kaṭṭaṅkaṇṇār, the son of Koṟavaśir Karuṣāṭṭaṅaṅaṛ, the chieftain of Karuṅkāḷ[p*]pādi, a sub-division of M[ēl*]-Vēṇāḍu, when he (Kaṭṭaṅkaṇṇār) fought with Poṇ-Bāṇaṇaṅ, the son of Vīravāṇṇaraiyar of Nari[p*]palḷi and the servant of Porkāḍaṇṇār."
TamilNadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971 / 77

**Location:**

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Summary:

TVM: "Records the death of Nandiyār (?) of Vēṇāḍu during the rescue of cattle from the hands of the nephew of Īśai Perum-bāṇaraśar of Āndaipādi in M[ēl*]-Vēṇāḍu and the servant of Poṛcendiyār, when the latter tried to capture the cattle."
**TamilNadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971/89**

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<tr>
<td>Historical Era</td>
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<td>7th century</td>
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**Summary:**

TVM: "Records the death of one Viṅṟan-Vaṭugaṉaṉ, a servant of Poṉmōdanār, when he had a fight with a tiger [leopard?] (pulikutti-paṭṭān)."
**TamilNadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971 / 63**

**Location:**

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Summary:

TVM: “Records that, when Kandaviṇṇār, the nephew (marumakkāḷ) of the Bāṇa chieftain, led a fight against Poṉṉarambaṇar, another nephew of the Bāṇa chieftain, the son of Poṅgiyār and the younger son (iḷamagaṇ) of Poṅnitaṇār, the paternal uncle (śirrappanṭar), was killed by a knife (katti).”
TamilNadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971 / 59

Location:

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Summary:

TVM: "Records the death of Karundēvakkatti, the younger son (iḷamagaṅ) of Poṟṟokkaiyār who was the nephew (marumakkal) of a Bāṇa chieftain. Also mentions that a dog named Koṟivaṅ bit two thieves and kept watch."
TamilNadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971 / 50

Location:

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Summary:

TVM: “Records the death of Kākaṇḍi Aṇṇāvaṇ, servant of Poṇṇarambāṇar, [correct reading: obāṇar – ML] in the cattle raid of Kūḍal, while rescuing the cattle from the hands of Kandavinṇaṇār, who was the nephew (marumakkal) of the Bāṇa chieftain, and mentions the setting up of the hero-stone by the īḷamakkal (soldiers?) of Kūḍal.”
### TamilNadu Department of Archaeology (TDA) Serial No.: 1971 / 48

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Summary:

TVM: "Records the death of Nandi, son of Vatthāvaṇ, the younger son (iḷamagaṇ) of Nākkaiyār, when the army of Cakkaravar attacked Pōndai, situated (?) in Śarukkirūndaūr."
Notes

1 This monograph is based on a paper presented, on May 9th, 2004, at the Sixth Harvard Roundtable on the Ethnogenesis of South and Central Asia, held at the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University - and on the earlier article, "Tamil Indrāni: King Mahēndravarman's Creation", submitted in September, 2000, and published in Vol. I of Śrī Puśpāṇjali (Recent Researches in Prehistory, Proto-history, Art, Architecture, Numismatics, Iconography and Epigraphy), being the Dr. C.R. Srinivasan Commemoration Volume, edited by K.V. Ramesh et al. (New Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2004), pp. 159-161.


3 See Iravatham Mahadevan's, Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D. (Chennai: Cre-A: / Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2003), pp. 213-215 ('Emergence of the Tamil Script').


5 These four pillars were originally found lying "in a ruined mandapa near the 1000-pillared maṇḍapa in the third prākāra of the Ekāmrēśvara temple," Kanchipuram (Mahalingam, p. 100).

6 Actually, there was no real ambiguity, here, for the literate person of the seventh century reading Mahēndra's titles. Only a twinge of dhvani. The letter 'c' in the Pallava Grantha Sanskrit alphabet is written differently from the Pallava Grantha Tamil ம. There are two titles in the Kanchi Pillar inscription which begin with c': Citrakārapuli and 'Curmbu'.

Both of these are written in the Grantha Sanskrit script. The difference between the form of the 'c' in these two titles and the ம in 'Kuśaṇāṇa' will be immediately apparent to anyone. The twinge comes from the knowledge that both the letters (Grantha Sanskrit and Grantha Tamil) derive from one and the same Brāhmī source letter. How close these two scripts were in the minds of educated people of Mahēndra's day is brought out in the following passage by T.N.

Scholars have designated this script [what I have called Pallava Grantha Tamil - ML] as the Grantha Tamil. Even in the records of the Pāṇḍya Country and the West Coast where the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script was used for writing the records in the Tamil language and the Grantha script for the Sanskrit portion, Tamil words occurring in the Sanskrit portion were written only in this Tamil script and not in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu. This will be clear from the Larger Šinnamanūr plates of the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṁha ([South-Indian Inscriptions], vol. III). From this it can be surmised that even in those days, the Grantha and the Tamil scripts were considered as one.

I suggest that this very practice as described by T.N. Subramanian provided the Original impetus, in the face of the degeneration of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, for the creation of the full-blown Pallava Grantha Tamil script during King Mahēndra's reign and that this script was used thereafter for writing Tamil by his court and by the courts of all later Pallava rulers. And I further suggest that because these two Grantha scripts (Sanskrit and Tamil) were constantly being used, 'shoulder to shoulder', by the Pallava royal courts during the remaining period of Pallava rule, from the seventh to the end of the ninth century, there would tend to have been a close correspondence between the Grantha Sanskrit script and the Grantha Tamil script in the inscriptions of any given king. By the end of the ninth century, when Pallava rule came to an end, the Grantha Tamil script had virtually displaced Vaṭṭeḻuttu throughout the Tamil country.

7 K.R. Venkataraman, "A Note on the Šittannavāšal and Kuḍumiyāmalai Monuments", Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1956-'57, p. 91. K.R. Srinivasan translates the Tamil as follows: "These (svaras or ragas) pertain to (are common to) eight and seven" (Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State Translated into English, Part 1: Early Pallava & Chola inscriptions [Pudukkottai: Sri Brihadamba State Press, 1941], p. 8).

8 The recent discovery and publication of two of King Mahēndra's coins which have the Tiger, Bow, and Fish symbols on their reverse, by R. Krishnamurthy, have now firmly settled this matter (The Pallava Coins [Chennai, Garnet Publishers, 2004], pp. 155-156). One of the coins is
inscribed with Mahēndra's biruda (royal title), Of श्रीवं (Śrī vampu). The other coin is inscribed with: At श्री (Śrī va...). This evidence is enough to prove that in these commemorative coins, King Mahēndra is celebrating his overlordship of the three kingdoms of the Chōlas, Chēras, and Pāṇḍians.

9 Venkataraman, p. 92; Mahalingam, p. 122.

10 These two facsimiles and their accompanying transliterated texts are from Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1958-'59, plates XII-XIII; texts: pp. 75 & 76.

11 These facsimiles and their texts are from Ten Pāṇḍiya Copper Plate Grants, Madras (The Tamil History Academy, 1999 reprint), plates opposite pp. 19, 26, & 28; texts: pp. 19, 23-28, & 30-31.
Is the Indus script indeed not a writing system? ¹

Parpola, Asko

Is the Indus script a writing system or not? I represent the traditional view that it is, and more accurately, a logo-syllabic writing system of the Sumerian type. This paper is an enlarged version of the criticism that I presented two years earlier in Tokyo, where it was published soon afterwards (Parpola 2005). What I am criticizing is "The collapse of the Indus script thesis: The myth of a literate Harappan Civilization" by Steve Farmer, Richard Sproat and Michael Witzel (2004), where the authors categorically deny that the Indus script is a speech-encoding writing system.

Farmer and his colleagues present ten main points or theses, which according to them prove that the Indus script is not writing:

1. Statistics of Indus sign frequencies & repetitions
2. "Texts" too short to encode messages
3. Too many rare signs, especially "singletons"
4. No sign repetition within any one text
5. "Lost" longer texts (manuscripts) never existed
6. No cursive variant of the script developed, hence no scribes
7. No writing equipment has been found
8. "Script" signs are non-linguistic symbols
9. Writing was known, but it was consciously not adopted
10. This new thesis helps to understand the Indus Civilization better than the writing hypothesis.

I shall take these points up for discussion one by one.

Statistics of Indus sign frequencies & repetitions

Firstly, Farmer and his colleagues claim that comparison of the Indus sign frequencies "can show that the Indus system could not have been a Chinese-style script, since symbol frequencies in the two systems differ too widely, and the total numbers of Indus symbols are too few" (Farmer & al. 2004: 29). They also point out that signs are repeated within a single inscription much more often in Egyptian cartouches than in Indus seals of a similar length.
There is no difficulty to agree with these observations. There is a vast difference between the Chinese script with its theoretically nearly 50,000 signs (and even in practice about 5000 signs) and the Indus script with only about 400 known graphemes.

“But [as Farmer and his colleagues themselves conclude,] studies of general sign frequencies by themselves cannot determine whether the Indus system was a ‘mixed’ linguistic script [that is, a logo-syllabic script of the Sumerian type]... or exclusively a system of nonlinguistic signs” (Farmer & al. 2004: 29).

As this is an important point, my colleague Dr Kimmo Koskenniemi, who is Professor of Computer Linguistics at the University of Helsinki, verified from Dr Richard Sproat by e-mail in April 2005 that they both agree on the following: “Plain statistical tests such as the distribution of sign frequencies and plain reoccurrences can (a) neither prove that the signs represent writing, (b) nor prove that the signs do not represent writing. Falsifying being equally impossible as proving.”

Rebuses were used very much from the earliest examples of the Egyptian writing. Around 3050 BC, the name of King Narmer was written with the hieroglyphs depicting ‘catfish’ (the Egyptian word for 'catfish is n'r) and ‘awl’ (the Egyptian word for 'awl' is mr). (cf. Gardiner 1957: 7). Egyptian rebus-punning ignored vowels altogether, but the consonants had to be identical (cf. Gardiner 1957: 9). Other early logo-syllabic scripts too, allowed moderate liberties, such as difference in vowel and consonant length. The Egyptian words represented by the hieroglyphs could contain three or two consonants or just one (cf. Gardiner 1957: 25). Eventually only the one-consonant signs were selected by the Egyptian-trained Semitic scribes for writing their own language, but they were used copiously also in Egyptian-language texts, and not only for writing foreign proper names. This easily explains the difference in the statistics between Egyptian cartouches and Indus seal inscriptions.

“Texts” too short to encode messages

The second argument of Farmer and his colleagues is that “Indus inscriptions were neither able nor intended to encode detailed ‘messages’, not even in the approximate ways performed by formal mnemonic systems in other nonliterate societies” (Farmer et al. 2004: 42). One of the two reasons adduced in support of this thesis is that the Indus inscriptions are too short.
But although the Indus texts have as their average length five signs, this is quite sufficient to express short noun phrases in a logo-syllabic script of the Sumerian type. We cannot expect complete sentences in seals and other types of objects preserved (cf. Parpola 1994: 87). But even written noun phrases qualify as language-based script — I shall return to this point later.

The Mesopotamian seal inscriptions typically contain: a proper name ± descent ± occupation (cf. e.g. Edzard 1968). In the most elaborate seals of the high officials, this information is couched in an invocation addressed to the King or other dignitary. Here are two examples of Mesopotamian seal inscriptions: “Adda the Scribe”, “O Sharkali-sharri, King of Akkad: Ibni-sharri the Scribe (is) your servant”. These Akkadian seals are contemporary with the heyday of the Indus Civilization, and the latter one in fact attests to contacts with it. The water-buffalo depicted in it was imported to Mesopotamia from the Indus Valley during the rule of Sargon the Great, King of Akkad (2334-2278 BC) and entered Mesopotamian iconography towards the end of his 60 year long rule, to disappear from the iconography and the faunal remains in the beginning of the second millennium BC when the Indus Civilization collapsed (Cf. Boehmer 1975).

Not all Indus texts^2 are so short — for instance the one-line seal inscription M-355 from Mohenjo-daro has 14 signs. But even a single sign of a logo-syllabic script can convey a message. The single-sign seal inscription H-94 from Harappa probably renders the occupational title of the seal owner. Single-sign texts may consist of non-composite signs, but here this single sign is a composite sign consisting of two component signs. Many composite signs (like the one in the text H-94) have ‘man’ as the final component and may denote occupational titles such as ‘police-man’ or ‘milk-man’. Partially identical sequences show a functional correspondence between compound signs and their component signs (cf. Parpola 1994: 80-81 with fig. 5.3). The Egyptian script around 3000 BC was used in a number of inscriptions, most of which were very short, often consisting of just two or three signs. They recorded proper names with a high percentage of rebus signs and thus qualify as writing.

Too many rare signs, especially “singletons”

The third argument of Farmer and his colleagues has been put into words as follows: “Further evidence that clashes with the Indus-script thesis shows up in the large number of unique symbols (or ‘singletons’) and other rare signs that turn up in the inscriptions ... A number of inscriptions
also contain more than one singleton in addition to other rare signs, making it difficult to imagine how those signs could have possibly functioned in a widely disseminated ‘script’” (Farmer & al. 2004: 36).

It is true that around 25% of the about 400 graphemes of the Indus script are attested only once (cf. Mahadevan 1977: 17; Parpola 1994: 78, table 5.1).

But if more texts are excavated, many of these ‘singletons’ will occur more than once; there will also be new rare signs. Many of the Indus ‘singletons’ occur in the midst of more frequently occurring signs, which helps their understanding. All logo-syllabic scripts had rarely occurring signs, some of these scripts quite many. Chinese has very many rare signs, and some of them do occasionally occur even in newspapers.

No "random-looking" sign repetitions within any one text

Although Farmer and his colleagues in passing refer to logosyllabic writing systems of the Sumerian type and their functioning, their argumentation implies that in order to represent a language-based script the Indus signs should largely be phoneticized in the manner of the Egyptian cartouches. However, in early logosyllabic scripts one sign often stands for a complete word. Even a seal with a single sign can express its owner, and there is mostly little reason for sign repetition in short seal texts written in an early logosyllabic script of the Sumerian type. The alleged lack of what they call random-looking type of sign repetition is mentioned as the fourth and most important and critical evidence against the thesis that the Indus script is a writing system: “Most importantly, nowhere in Indus inscriptions do we find convincing evidence of the random-looking types of sign repetition expected in contemporary phonetic or semi-phonetic scripts” (Farmer & al. 2004: 29-30).

Farmer and his colleagues themselves admit that “some Indus signs do repeat in single inscriptions, sometimes including many repetitions in a row” (p. 31). However, they do not accept the evidence of such duplications: “Whatever the origins of these different types of duplications, all that is critical for our purposes is to note again the lack of any suggestions in them of the random-looking repetitions typical even of monumental scripts like Luwian or Egyptian hieroglyphs” (p. 36).

The hieroglyphic signs drawn in black in fig. 1 mark the repetitions in the cartouches of Ptolemy and Cleopatra; they were crucial in the
decipherment of the Egyptian script. But these are the repetitions when both of the two cartouches are taken into consideration. Farmer and his colleagues speak of sign repetitions limited to single cartouches, in which case Ptolemy’s cartouche has only one sign repetition, namely the duplication of the sign E, one after the other in a row, which according to Farmer & al. does not count as a "random-looking" repetition. Within Cleopatra’s cartouche, there is likewise only one sign repetition, namely that of the eagle-shaped sign for A. This latter case would qualify as an example of a “random-looking” sign repetition.

![Fig. 1: Cartouches of Ptolemy and Cleopatra: the Egyptian hieroglyphs and their transliterations (with repetitions shown in bold). (After Parpola 1994: 41, fig. 3.1.)](image)

*But* sign repetition within single Indus inscription DOES occur, also of the “random-looking type” completely missed by Farmer and his colleagues. Such repetition occurs even in the “bar-seals”, which Farmer and his colleagues (2004: 33) consider particularly crucial for the Indus script thesis. The following counter examples by no means exhaust the material.

In the 10-sign text M-682 from Mohenjo-daro, one sign is repeated three times, two other signs are repeated twice, and all in different places, that is, not in a row.

In M-634 from Mohenjo-daro one sign is repeated in three different places. Farmer and his colleagues have noticed this case, but disqualify it because in their opinion the “sun symbol” shows that non-linguistic symbols are involved. Of course this sign can very well depict the solar wheel with rays, as I have myself proposed on the basis of Near Eastern and later Indian parallels (cf. Parpola 1994: 104, 106 fig. 7.5; 110; 116-
117). But, how do Farmer and his colleagues know that this sign has not been used phonetically as a rebus sign: after all, it is precisely this type of “random repetition” that they consider as proof for phonetic usage!

In M-1792 (Marshall 1931: III, pl. 106 no. 93) from Mohenjo-daro one sign (different from that of M-634) is also repeated in three different places.

The seal K-10 from Kalibangan has ten signs. One and the same two-sign sequence is repeated in two different places.

In the 11-sign text M-1169 from Mohenjo-daro, one sign is repeated in two different places.

In the 8-sign "bar-seal" M-357 from Mohenjo-daro, one sign is repeated in two different places.

I agree with Farmer and his colleagues that some of the sign duplications in row imply quantification (cf. Farmer & al. 2004: 31). I shall come back to the probable function of the small bifacial tablets later on. The inscription on one side of them usually has just the U-shaped sign, preceded by one to four vertical strokes for the numbers 1 to 4: UI, UII, UIII, UIIII. In some tablets, such as H-764 from Harappa, the U-shaped sign is repeated three times: UUU, obviously an alternative to UIII, where III = number 3 is a numeral attribute (cf. Parpola 1994: 81). Farmer and his colleagues want to deny the use of number signs as numeral attributes of following signs; according to them they are independent symbols for fixed conceptions: thus seven strokes should denote “THE seven”. However, different numbers clearly alternate before certain signs, among them the U-shaped sign, clearly suggesting attributive use (cf. Parpola 1994: 81-82; 88; 120, fig. 7.21, I).

Farmer and his colleagues (2004: 31) surmise that the duplication of other signs may emphasize their magical or political power. They do not mention that such sign reduplications can reflect emphasizing linguistic reduplications common in Dravidian (and other Indian languages) especially in onomatopoetic words, or as grammatical markers, such as Sumerian nominal plurals (cf. Parpola 1994: 82). There are also cases like the reduplication of the sign “dot-in-a-circle’ that could depict the ‘eye’. Comparing the Dravidian words kaN ‘eye’ and ka:N ‘to see’, I have proposed reading their reduplication as a compound word, namely kaN-ka:Ni attested in Tamil in the meaning ‘overseer’, a meaning that would

"Lost" longer texts (manuscripts) never existed

All literary civilizations produced longer texts but there are none from the Indus Valley — hence the Indus “script” is no writing system: Farmer and his colleagues reject the much repeated early assumption that longer texts may have been written on “birch bark, palm leaves, parchment, wood, or cotton cloth, any of which would have perished in the course of ages” as suggested by Sir John Marshall in 1931 (I, 39). Farmer and his colleagues are ready to believe the “Indus script thesis” only if an Indus text at least 50 signs long is found.

But even though Farmer and his colleagues speak as if our present corpus of texts was everything there ever existed, this is not the case. More than 2100 Indus texts come from Mohenjo-daro alone, and yet less than one tenth of that single city has been excavated. Farmer and his colleagues do not know what has existed and what may be found in the remaining parts of the city, even if it is likely that only imperishable material of the kinds already available continue to be found. The Rongo-Rongo tablets of Easter Island are much longer than 50 signs. But does this make it certain that they represent writing in the strict sense?

Seed evidence shows that cotton has been cultivated in Greater Indus Valley since Chalcolithic times, and cotton cloth is supposed to have been one of the main export item of the Harappans. Yet all the millions of Harappan pieces of cotton cloth have disappeared for climatic reasons, save four cases where a few microscopic fibers have been preserved in association with metal (cf. Possehl 2002: table 3.2, with further references). Alexander’s admiral Nearchus mentions “thickly woven cloth” used for writing letters in the Indus Valley c 325 BC. Sanskrit sources such as the Ya:ñavalkya-Smrti (1,319) also mention cotton cloth, (ka:rpa:sa-)-paTa, as writing material around the beginning of the Christian era. But the earliest preserved examples date from the 13th century AD (cf. Shivaganesha Murthy 1996: 45-46; Salomon 1998: 132).

Emperor Asoka had long inscriptions carved on stone (pillars and rocks) all around his wide realm in 260 to 250 BC. They have survived. But also manuscripts on perishable materials must have existed in Asoka’s times and already since the Achaemenid rule started in the Indus Valley c 520 BC. This is suggested among other things by the mention of lipi ‘script’ in Pa:Nini’s Sanskrit Grammar (3,2,21) which is dated to around 400-350
BC. Sanskrit *lipi* comes from Old Persian *dipi* ‘script’. The earliest surviving manuscripts on birch bark, palm leaves and wooden blocks date from the 2nd century AD and come from the dry climate of Central Asia (cf. Shivaganesha Murthy 1996: 24-36; Salomon 1998: 131). We can conclude that manuscripts on perishable materials have almost certainly existed in South Asia during 600 years from the start of the Persian rule onwards, but they have not been preserved; this period of 600 years with no surviving manuscripts corresponds to the duration of the Indus Civilization.

**No cursive variant of the Indus script developed — hence no scribes**

The sixth argument of Farmer and his colleagues is based on the observation that everywhere scribes writing manuscripts tended to develop a cursive style. From the fact that the Indus script changed very little during its 600 years of existence they conclude that there were no longer texts nor any scribes.

*But* the Egyptian hieroglyphs preserved their monumental pictographic shapes for 3000 years. The Egyptian cursive hieratic style of papyrus manuscripts does not differ so very much from the monumental hieroglyphs. The difference between Maya manuscripts and monumental inscriptions is not all that great, either.

Actually there is quite a lot of graphic variation in the Indus signs (see the sign list in Parpola 1994: 70-78, fig. 5.1), and in my opinion this variation provides also an important key to their pictorial or iconic understanding. On the other hand, the Indus script emerges in the Mature Harappan period already more or less fully standardized, and by this time a lot of shape simplification or creation of a more cursive script had already taken place.

**No writing equipment has been found**

No writing equipment has been found, hence Farmer and his colleagues conclude that there were no scribes nor any manuscripts. Four archaeologists specializing on the Indus Civilization have interpreted some finds as writing equipment, but their suggestions “are no longer accepted by any active researchers” (Farmer et al. 2004: 25).

*But* thin metal rods, such as used in South India to incise palm leaf manuscripts, could have early on corroded away or beyond recognition. From painted Indus texts on Harappan pots (e.g. Sktd-3 from Surkotada
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in CISI 1: p. 392) and bangles (cf. Blk-6 from Balakot in CISI 2: p. 432) we know that Indus people used brushes to write, although such brushes have not survived or have not been recognized — and in North India palm leaf manuscripts have been painted with brushes. For the record, some of the provisional identifications for Harappan writing equipment (Mackay 1938; Dales 1967; Konishi 1987; Lal 2002) were published fairly recently, and two of these scholars are still themselves "active researchers".

The Indus "script" signs are actually non-linguistic symbols

Instead of a language-based writing system, Farmer and his colleagues (2004: 45) see in the Indus signs “a relatively simple system of religious-political signs that could be interpreted in any language”. The non-linguistic symbols of Mesopotamian iconography are said to be a particularly close and relevant parallel, as they may be arranged in regular rows with a definite order like the Indus signs.

But in Mesopotamian seal iconography, the non-linguistic symbols usually occur as isolated signs, for instance near the gods they belong to. Arranged in longer rows and with a definite order they occur only in very limited contexts: mainly on stelae and boundary stones (kudurru) between 1600 and 600 BC. Mesopotamia was a literate civilization, and the symbols on the boundary stones followed the order of divinities in curse formulae written down in cuneiform texts — the symbols represented deities invoked to protect the boundary stone (cf. Black & Green 1992: 15-16; 113-114).

Writing was known to the Indus people from Mesopotamia, but it was consciously not adopted

Finally, Farmer and his colleagues ask themselves: “The critical question remains of why the Harappans never adopted writing, since their trade classes and presumably their ruling elite were undoubtedly aware of it through their centuries of contact with the high-literate Mesopotamians” (Farmer et al. 2004: 44). Their answer is that the Harappans intentionally rejected writing for some such reason as the Celtic priests of Roman times: for the druids were averse to encode their ritual traditions in writing like the Vedic Brahmins of India (ibid.).

But it is not likely that the Harappans would have rejected writing for such a reason because: adopting writing did not oblige them to divulge their secret texts, which could be guarded in an esoteric oral tradition. In
any case literacy must have been fairly restricted. Even in Mesopotamia literary texts were written down only long after the invention of writing. It is true that some complex societies did prosper without writing — the Incan empire for example used instead a complex communication system of knotted strings. But writing does offer advantages not easily discarded.

We can indeed ask a counter question: Why was the Indus script created? In my opinion for economic and administrative reasons, like the Archaic Sumerian script. This is strongly suggested by the fact that the majority of the surviving texts are seal stamps and seal impressions quite clearly used in trade and administration (cf. Parpola 1994: 113-116). But proper judgement requires acquaintance with the evolution of the Indus Civilization. (The following short overview is mainly based on Possehl 2002).

The Indus Civilization came into being as the culmination of a long cultural evolution in the Indo-Iranian borderlands. From the very beginning, this was the eastern frontier of a large cultural area which had Mesopotamia as its core pulsating influence in all directions. In Western Asia, the domestication of animals and plants started by 8000 BC. This revolution in food production reached the mountain valleys of western Pakistan by 7000 BC. From the Neolithic stage, about 7000-4300 BC, some twenty relatively small villages are known, practically all in highland valleys. People raised cattle, sheep and goats. They cultivated wheat and barley, and stored it in granaries. Pottery was handmade, and human and bovine figurines reflect fertility cults. Ornaments reflect small-scale local trade.

During the Chalcolithic phase, about 4300-3200 BC, the village size grew to dozens of hectares. Settlements spread eastwards beyond the Indus up the ancient Sarasvati river in India, apparently with seasonal migrations. Copper tools were made, and pottery became wheel-thrown and beautifully painted. Ceramic similarities with southern Turkmenistan and northern Iran also suggest considerable mobility and trade.

In the Early Harappan period, about 3200-2500 BC, many new sites came into existence, also in the Indus Valley, which was a challenging environment on account of the yearly floods, while the silt made the fields very fertile. Communal granaries disappeared, and large storage jars appeared in house units. Potter’s marks suggest private ownership, and stamp seals bearing geometrical motifs point to development in administration. Irrigation canals were constructed, and advances were made in all crafts. Mastery of air reduction in burning enabled making
high quality luxury ceramics. Similarities in pottery, seals, figurines, ornaments etc. document intensive caravan trade with Central Asia and the Iranian plateau, including Shahr-i Sokhta in Seistan, where some Proto-Elamite accounting tablets have been discovered. There were already towns with walls and a grid pattern of streets, such as Rahman Dheri. Terracotta models of bullock carts attest to improved transport in the Indus Valley, which led to considerable cultural uniformity over a wide area, especially where the Kot Diji style pottery was distributed.

The relatively short Kot Diji phase between 2800 and 2500 BC turned the Early Harappan culture into the Mature Indus Civilization. During this phase the Indus script came into being, as the recent American excavations at Harappa have shown. Unfortunately we still have only few specimens of the early Indus script from this formative phase (see CISI 3: pp. 211-230). At the same time, many other developments took place. For instance, the size of the burned brick, already standardized during the Early Harappan period, was fixed in the ratio 1:2:4 most effective for bonding.

During the Indus Civilization or Mature Harappan phase, from about 2500 to 1900 BC, the more or less fully standardized Indus script was in use at all major sites. Even such a small site as Kanmer in Kutch, Gujarat, measuring only 115 x 105 m, produced during the first season of excavation in 2005-2006 one clay tag with a seal impression and three carefully polished weights of agate (Kharakwal et al. 2006: figs. 11-12).

During the transition from Early to Mature Harappan, weights and measures were standardized, another very important administrative measure suggesting that economic transactions were effectively controlled. Weights of carefully cut and polished stone cubes form a combined binary and decimal system. The ratios are 1/16, 1/8, 1/6, 1/4, 1/2, 1 (= 13 g), 2, 4, 8, 16, ... 800.

By about 2500 BC, the Harappan society had become so effectively organized that it was able to complete enormous projects, like building the city of Mohenjo-daro. The lower city of at least 80 hectares had streets oriented according to the cardinal directions and provided with a network of covered drains. Many of the usually two-storied houses were spacious and had bathrooms and wells. The water-engineering of Mohenjo-daro is unparalleled in the ancient world: the city had some 700 wells constructed with tapering bricks so strong that they have not collapsed in 5000 years. Development of water traffic made it possible to transport heavy loads along the rivers, and to start direct trade with the
Gulf and Mesopotamia. Over thirty Indus seals and other materials of Harappan origin, such as stained carnelian beads, have been found in Western Asia.

That the numerous Indus seals were used to control trade and economy is certified by the preservation of ancient seal impressions on clay tags that were once attached to bales of goods and otherwise to safeguard property. There are impressions of clothing and knotted strings on the reverse of these clay tags, such as the one found at Umma in Mesopotamia (cf. Parpola 1994: fig. 7.16). Almost one hundred such clay tags come from the port town of Lothal on the coast of Gujarat (see CISI 1: pp. 268-289). A warehouse had burned down and therewith baked and preserved these tags. Many of them bear multiple seal impressions, some involving four different seals, as does the clay tag K-89 from another site, Kalibangan. The practice suggests the use of witnesses. Such bureaucratic procedures imply keeping records comparable to the economic tablets of Mesopotamia. Registers and other official documents — the kind of longer texts that I miss — are likely to have been written on palm leaves, cotton cloth or other perishable material that has not survived for climatic reasons.

I spoke earlier of sign duplications that imply quantification. The small bifacial tablets mainly known from Harappa had some economic and ritual function. At the right end of the tablet M-478 from Mohenjo-daro (cf. CISI 1: p. 115 & Parpola 1994: 109 fig. 7.12), we see a worshipper kneeling in front of a tree, undoubtedly sacred, and extending towards the tree what looks like a pot of offerings shown in profile. The accompanying inscription, read from right to left, begins with a U-shaped sign similar to the assumed pot of offerings, preceded by four strokes that represent number four. One side of most tablets from Harappa usually has nothing but this pot-sign, preceded by one to four vertical strokes for the numbers 1 to 4. In some cases, as in the tablet H-247, the pot-sign is held by a kneeling worshipper, as in the scene of the tablet M-478. In Harappa, many identical tablets have been found in one and the same location. They may have been distributed by priests to people who brought a given amount of offerings, either as receipts that dues had been paid to the temple, or as protective amulets in exchange of offerings. In either case, the priests probably kept some kind of log of the transactions. In a South Indian village where I have done field work (Panjal in Kerala), I have witnessed how each house brings one or more vessels full of paddy to the local shrine at festivals, to be managed for common good by temple priests.
Conclusion: Is the Indus script writing or not?

So is the Indus script writing or not? We have seen that all evidence adduced by Farmer and his colleagues is inconclusive: none of it can prove their thesis that the Indus script is not writing but only non-linguistic symbols, "a relatively simple system of religious-political signs that could be interpreted in any language" (Farmer & al. 2004: 45).

The question requires the consideration of some further issues. One of these is the fact that non-linguistic symbol systems ("potter’s marks" and iconographic symbols) existed as early as since 3300 BC not only in northern Indus Valley but also in Baluchistan, Seistan & Kerman on the Iranian Plateau and in southern Turkmenistan, a circumstance not mentioned by Farmer and his colleagues (cf. Vidale 2007).

In contrast to these relatively simple systems of non-linguistic pot-marks, the Indus script has a great number of different signs, around 400, and they have been highly standardized. Moreover, the signs are usually neatly written in lines, as is usual in language-bound scripts. The normal direction of writing is from right to left; this is the direction of the impressions made with seal stamps, which were carved in mirror image. Occasionally the seal-carver ran out of space, and in such cases he cramped the signs at the end of the line to preserve the linear order. For instance in the seal M-66 from Mohenjo-daro, the single sign of the second line is placed immediately below the space which had proved too small. The three last signs thus have the same sequence as the last three signs in the seal M-12 from Mohenjo-daro.

But the most important characteristic of the Indus texts from the point of view of speech-encoding becomes evident if we do not limit the observation of sign repetition to single inscriptions as Farmer and his colleagues do. The fact is that the Indus signs form a very large number of regularly repeated sequences. The above discussed sequence of the three last signs in the seals M-66 and M-12 occurs in Indus inscriptions about 100 times, mostly at the end of the text. The order of these three signs is always the same, and this sequence is recorded from nine different sites, including two outside South Asia, one in Turkmenistan and one in Iraq (see fig. 2). If the Indus signs are just non-linguistic symbols as Farmer and his colleagues maintain, for what reason are they always written in a definite order, and how did the Indus people in so many different places know in which order the symbols had to be written? Did they keep separate lists to check the order? And one should note that there are hundreds of regular sequences that occur several times in the
texts. The text of eleven signs written on top of fig. 2 (attested in several identical tablets from Harappa: H-279 through H-284, see CISI 1: p. 222-223; and H-871 through H-873, see CISI 2: p. 335) can be broken into smaller sequences all of which recur at several sites (see fig. 2). As this small example shows, the texts even otherwise have a regular structure similar to linguistic phrases. The Indus signs do not occur haphazardly but follow strict rules. Some signs are usually limited to the end of the text, and even when such a sign occurs in the middle of an inscription, it usually ends a recurring sequence. Some other signs are limited to the beginning of the text, but may under certain conditions appear also in other positions. And so forth. (See Parpola 1994: 86-101).

Fig. 2: Indus signs occur in strictly ordered sequences that recur at many different sites.
Table compiled by AP for this paper

The unrelated graffiti scratched on pots at the Megalithic site of Sanur in South India (see fig. 3) offer a contrasting example. Three signs occur many times together, but their order varies. It does not matter in which order they are placed. This is what one normally expects from non-linguistic symbols. I do not believe that these Megalithic graffiti represent real writing in the sense of speech-encoding, but are non-linguistic symbols.
The Indus sign sequences are uniform all over the Harappan realm in South Asia, suggesting that a single language was used in writing. By contrast, both native Harappan and non-Harappan sign sequences occur on Indus seals from the Near East, the sequences usually being in harmony with the shape of the seal: square seals are typical of South Asia, round seals are typical of the Gulf and cylinder seals are typical of Mesopotamia. One would expect that the most frequently attested Indus sign would very often occur next to itself, but this is never the case in the Indus Valley. The combination is however attested on a round Gulf-type seal coming from the Near East, now in the British Museum (BM 120228). This seal contains five frequently occurring Indus signs but in unique sequences (cf. Parpola 1994: Fig. 8.6). This suggests that Harappan trade agents who resided in the Gulf and in Mesopotamia became bilingual and adopted local names, but wrote their foreign names in the Indus script for the Harappans to read. The cuneiform texts in fact speak not only of a distant country called Meluhha which most scholars equate with Greater Indus Valley, but also of a village in southern Mesopotamia called Meluhha whose inhabitants had purely Sumerian names.

Farmer and his colleagues claim that the Indus script is a system of non-linguistic symbols that can be understood in any language. They suggest that it belongs to the category which Andrew Robinson (2002: 30) proposes to call “proto-writing”, and to which he assigns “Ice Age cave art, Amerindian pictograms, many modern road signs, mathematical and scientific symbols and musical notation”. The speech-bound scripts or in Robinson’s terms “full writing “ came into being with the phonetization of written symbols by means of the rebus or picture puzzle principle.

Let us consider the rebus principle utilized in logo-syllabic scripts. Most signs were originally pictures denoting the objects or ideas they represented. But abstract concepts such as ‘life’ would be difficult to express pictorially. Therefore the meaning of a pictogram or ideogram was extended from the word for the depicted object to comprise all its homophones. For example, in the Sumerian script the drawing of an arrow meant 'arrow', but in addition 'life' and 'rib', because all three words were pronounced alike in the Sumerian language, namely ti. Homophony must have played a role in folklore long before it was utilized in writing. The pun between the Sumerian words ti 'rib' and ti 'life' figures in the Sumerian paradise myth, in which the rib of the sick and dying water god Enki is healed by the Mistress of Life, Nin-ti. But the Biblical myth of Eve’s creation out of Adam’s rib no more makes sense because the original pun has been lost in translation: ‘rib’ in Hebrew is Sela:c and has
no connection with Eve's Hebrew name *H’awwa*:, which is explained in the Bible to mean “mother of all living”. (Cf. Parpola 1994: 102.) The point is that homophony usually is very language-specific, and rebuses therefore enable language identification and phonetic decipherment.

Fig. 3: Pottery graffiti from the Megalithic site of Sanur in TamilNadu, South India. After Banerjee & Soundara Rajan 1959: 32, fig. 8.

Since the appearance of my criticism in 2005, Farmer and his colleagues have underlined that the rebus principle is occasionally used also in symbol systems not so tightly bound to language\(^3\). As an example they mention the use of rebus puns to express proper names in the otherwise
clearly non-linguistic communication system of heraldry. But by
definition any ancient or modern symbol system which consciously uses
rebuses and which therefore at least partially can be read phonetically
counts as full writing.

Even short noun phrases and incomplete sentences qualify as full writing
if the script uses the rebus principle to phonetize some of its signs. (Cf.
Robinson 1995: 12.) Archaic Sumerian is considered a full writing system,
because it occasionally uses rebus puns, for instance on a tablet, where
the single word gi ‘reimburse’ (expressed by the sign depicting 'reed' = gi
in Sumerian), constitutes the very incomplete phrase in its own
compartment that constitutes a text unit (cf. Robinson 2002: 26). Even in
later times, the Sumerian script had more logograms than syllabic signs,
although with time the number of phonetic signs increased. When the
cuneiform script was adapted for writing the Akkadian language, the
system could be improved upon, and the script became almost fully
phonetic.

The Egyptian script around 3100-3000 BC was used in a number of very
short inscriptions, often consisting of just two signs, which recorded
proper names but with a very high percentage of the signs used as rebuses
(see e.g. Schott 1951). The famous palette of King Narmer with an
inscription already quoted above is a good example. This is definitely
already a writing system, even if the texts are on average shorter than the
Indus texts! Here two rebus signs express the proper name of King
Narmer, whose feats are related in a non-linguistic way in the pictures
taking up the rest of the palette, yet with many formalized conventions.
This is fully parallel to the use of rebus symbols to express proper names
in the non-linguistic communication system of heraldry or coats of arms.

**The new thesis helps to understand the Indus Civilization better than
the writing hypothesis**

As to the very last point raised, and claim made, by Farmer and his
colleagues in their 2004 paper, I honestly cannot understand how the
hypothesis that the Indus signs are non-linguistic symbols helps us to
understand the Indus Civilization much better than the hypothesis that the
Indus script is a logo-syllabic writing system. In a logo-syllabic script the
signs may denote what they depict, or they may be used as rebuses.
Before we can even start pondering their use as rebuses, we must clear up
their iconic meaning. This necessary first step is identical with the efforts
of Farmer and others to understand the Indus symbols as pictograms.
As an example of my own efforts to understand the pictorial shapes of the Indus signs, I would like to mention my interpretation of one particular sign as depicting the palm squirrel (Parpola 1994: 103 with fig. 7.1): the sign clearly represents an animal head downwards, tail raised up and four legs attached to a vertical stroke representing tree trunk. The palm squirrel spends long times in this pose, wherefore it is called in Sanskrit ‘tree-sleeper’. In seal texts, the sign is more likely to have been used as a rebus rather than in its iconic meaning (for my interpretation see Parpola 1994: 229-230). Could the non-linguistic approach of Farmer and his colleagues offer a better explanation for the meaning of this sign?

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CISI = Corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions.


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Notes

1 This paper was written for, and presented at, the workshop on “Scripts, non-scripts and (pseudo-)decipherment” organized by Richard Sproat and Steve Farmer at the Linguistic Society of America’s Linguistics Institute on the 11th of July 2007 at Stanford University (http://serrano.ai.uiuc.edu/2007Workshop/). It was also read as a public
lecture at the Roja Muthiah Research Library, Chennai, on the 16th of February 2008. I thank the organizers of both events for this opportunity to participate in the debate on the nature of the Indus script, and am glad to publish the paper in honour of my old friend Iravatham Mahadevan, a great epigraphist.

2 The Indus texts are cited in this paper with their labels in the CISI (see references).

3 From the abstracts of the Stanford workshop papers (http://serrano.ai.uiuc.edu/2007Workshop/abstracts.html), I got the impression that at least one of the three authors wants to back out from their original thesis and change it into something else. While Farmer repeats the claim that “the so-called Indus script was not a speech-encoding or writing system in the strict linguistic sense, as has been assumed”, Witzel writes as if he and his colleagues had only claimed that the Indus script does not SYSTEMATICALLY encode language in the sense that “Indus signs do not encode FULL phrases or sentences” (my emphasis, AP). Witzel also admits that “Indus symbols... may... contain occasional puns”. Or maybe, when speaking of recent studies which suggest this, he is referring to me, since these have been my very assumptions, namely that the Indus seals hardly contain complete sentences and that they contain puns. In any case, I am happy if Witzel has changed his previously more radical view and now agrees with me. When I mentioned these impressions of mine at the Stanford workshop, Michael Witzel assured me that he was not backing out from the original claim but continues to maintain that the Indus script does not encode language.
In the early fifties, in one of the public schools in England, the pupils were asked to name the author of ‘Hamlet’. Many of the young scholars wrote ‘Laurence Olivier’. Apparently, the teacher was not amused but a theatre critic reporting this in a journal wrote, ‘it is a reflection of the times; this indicates the triumph of the director over the playwright’. No wonder, therefore, the eminent Polish director Jerzy Grotowskie announced his production of ‘Hamlet’ as ‘Hamlet after Shakespeare’, which in other words, means, ‘Grotowskie’s Hamlet inspired by a play of the same name, written by one called William Shakespeare’.

A dramatic text is merely a recipe on paper, or perhaps just one of the ingredients, for the creation of an integrated work of staged art. The aesthetic gravity has shifted from the written text toward the production as a whole. No longer it is ‘drama’ with its overtones of literary art but it is ‘the theatre’ or ‘the stage’ referring to the entire activity. A director as an identifiable artist did not exist before the last quarter of the 19th century either in the West or East. Does anyone know who directed ‘Hamlet’ during the Elizabethan period or the contemporary of Kalidasa who directed ‘Shakuntalam’? Only if there had been a director in those days endowed with the kind of theatre sense we associate with him, as of now, these plays would have been reduced to half their size, with the consent of the playwrights, of course, and the loss would not have been much except some glorious lines of immortal poetry!

Do we not know that our modern playwrights Samuel Beckett, Jean Anouilh, Jean Genet, Eugene Ionesco and a host of others have only written production scripts and their texts do not draw attention to themselves by their style to evoke an imaginative response but instead, their style is so self-effacing that it gives the impression of merely doing the function of performed plays? The accent is not on words and this willingness of the playwrights to regard the dramatic compositions as pretexts for actors’ performances, would be hard to imagine in Sophocles, Shakespeare or Kalidasa...

Peter Brook says:

‘Anouilh conceives his plays as ballets, as patterns of movement, as pretexts for actors’ performances. Unlike so many present-day playwrights who are
descendants of a literary school, and whose plays are animated novels, Anouilh is in the tradition of the commedia dell’arte. His plays are recorded improvisations. Like Chopin, he preconceives the accidental and calls it impromptu. He is a poet, but not a poet of words: he is a poet of words “acted, of scenes-set, of players’- performing”.

Perhaps, modern playwrights assert their right to compose the whole play for the stage by anticipating every last detail of a production and leave little room for the director to edit what they have written.

When I read ‘Waiting for Godot’ for the first time, as a playwright myself, I felt Beckett’s prose was bland and uninspiring. Then I realized that I should not have read it the way I read a novel or a conventional play with literary nuances but read it again as a poetry of words-acted, of scenes-set, of players’-performing. Once I did it, there was a sudden transformation in me and I experienced that I was not reading a play but seeing it. The play reads more like balletic notation than like literature, and this effect is not a result merely of the unusual quantity of instructions for the actors. It is rather a matter of the imaginative priorities, which are established at the start and maintained throughout. The dialogue, that is, derives most of its literary eloquence from the rhythm of stage business; the emotions are expressed in movements and gestures before they are put into words. This is the method, not a man of letters, but of an actor expressing the vision of a director.

I am not saying that the modern director is responsible for the modern playwrights writing production scripts sans literature for the sake of acceptance by the likes of Peter Brook, who has, as he himself once said that he has contempt for ‘the descendents of a literary school’. Of course, modern directors have transfigured purely logical and literary meanings of modern texts by their imaginative, technical skill. They have given new theatrical life and often a contemporary import to the classics, which were in danger of sinking into the category of mere oddities of archival value. They have rescued the stage from the tyranny of star performers, who tore a passion to tatters by their unrestrained virtuosity, which often was the case in the 20th century theatre till the fifties and sixties. They have, in fact, introduced organic unity in productions that eliminated a good deal of tiresome and inartistic vanity of individual performers.

But one cannot overrule the possibility of an over-ambitious director spoiling an excellent play by burdening it and distorting it with production tricks designed to call the audience’s attention to his own cleverness. Some modern directors grow weary of language and they
suggest a gesture can say anything. What has Maurice Bejart has said is worth quoting in this regard. He says: ‘A gesture can say anything—but you must have something to say’. And that is precisely the intention of the playwright, who communicates through language; he has something to say. The director must not forget that he is only an interpreter, an innovative one at that through the visual medium.

Even when the playwright’s intentions are not deliberately ignored by the director, they are likely to get lost on an audience that is distracted by the sheer novelty or ingenuity of the production. In short, innovation is not to overwhelm significance.

The 20th century dream of an integrated, signifying type of production using all the stage’s resources—what some of its promoters call, ‘total theatre’—is by no means entirely new. Most of the minority theatre in Europe around 1900, convinced that the 19th century playwrights, performers, and decorators had lost touch with real people and contemporary predicaments, were fervently naturalistic in outlook and method. Their ideas have since been diluted and commercially processed in the majority theatre and used to justify realistic veneer for romantic evasions and sentimental comedies.

And precisely at this period, they have been violently challenged by the avant-gardists and rear gardists. But that naturalism is still a force cannot be doubted. One has only to think of details in the works of such prominent post-Second World War playwrights as Arthur Miller, Edward Albee, John Osborne, Jean Paul Sartre, and our own post-independence authors like Mohan Rakesh, Dharam Veer Bharati, Vijay Tendulkar and a host of others.

Why, then, did ‘the Naturalistic Theatre’ seem to have become an inadequate label for modern drama, particularly in the second half of the 20th century?

In the later half of the 20th century, the Western stage was greatly influenced by the Oriental theatre.

In India, we had great playwrights in the classical Sanskrit and not in the regional languages of the country in the past. There were visual splendours outlined by music and dance in the regional theatre but there was no literary tradition of play writing in the regional languages of India. In my opinion, ‘Cilappadikaaram’, the earliest epic in Tamil, written around the 5th century A.D, was conceived by the author as a play but
composed as an epic because of the lack of literary credibility for the dramatic forms. This may be the reason why Tamil did not adapt or translate the Sanskrit plays till the 19th century, whereas most of the other Sanskritic works have the Tamil version from time immemorial.’ Cilappadikaram’ mentions various theatrical forms of which most of them are now extant in TamilNadu but which still constitute the intrinsic aspect of Kerala theatre. The vital aspect of this folk theatre does not depend upon its texts but on its visual appeal, the dynamic nature of its performance, its symbolic and abstract Nowhere settings, its cosmological time, its stylized acting methods and its for ever green contemporariness in narration in spite of retelling an old puranic story.

This kind of Oriental theatre appealed to the Western avant-gardists. For them the world had become suddenly absurd and as Alison says in ‘Look back in anger’, ‘something has gone wrong somewhere’. How does one project this on the stage? For this, they found the naturalistic theatre of the West with its obsessive conformity to the literary texts, classical logic and chronological time was totally inadequate.

No longer it is possible for all of us in the world, thanks to globalization in art and commerce, to convince ourselves that there is God in heaven and all is right with the world. The Eastern theatre by its very nature of performance breaks the barrier of illusion and reality between the stage and audience, which we find, has to a large extent influenced the Western playwrights and directors. Whether life is the reality and theatre an illusion or the theatre is the reality and life an illusion may after all be a point of view. We are simply told to stop fooling ourselves about ourselves, about society, about the meaning of life and the universe and about the theatre, which after all is merely make-believe of which you are also a part.

This message emerges very clearly in the work of Brecht, Ionesco, and Beckett, who are usually considered the most modern of playwrights and whose ideas and methods have been filtering around the theatrical world in the later half the 20th century and even now. Brecht in such plays as Galileo, Mother Courage, The Caucasian Chalk Circle and ‘The Good Woman of SeZuan’ is the master of throwing cold water on our ardour to believe in political and moral realities. His bleak wit, elaborate playhouse irony, and frequently inconsistent characterizations are particularly destructive of the bourgeois-liberal idea of the individual. To be fair, I suppose one ought to add that as a Marxist he was aiming at the construction of a new system of values and a new, more just society; but the fact is that his drama appears to destroy the basis for ‘Soviet man; as
Parthasarathy, Indira

though as it does other kinds of idealism. Maybe, he seems to believe in theatrically is that of the apolitical, amoral human animal ‘Mother Courage’, for example.

Ionesco, notably in Rhinoceros, Chairs, and ‘The Lesson’ derides conventional ambitions and personal, family, and social relationships; his usual method is to combine a fantastic farce with a Dada-surreal babbling of the commonplaces of modern conversation. In fact, he would provide an excellent copy for a modern director to work on, there are no texts but only pretexts. There is very little dramatic action in Beckett’s plays, to show that life is a meaningless treadmill.

Occasionally, a modern playwright draws the drastic conclusion to such iconoclasm; Willy Loman in ‘The death of the salesman’ drives his car off the road for good, and the old couple in ‘The Lesson’ jump out of the window. More than not, however, we are let off with a warning to go and fool ourselves no more. Upon on what basis are we to live after we have lost our old certitudes and have found no new ones. Since scientific facts are irrelevant in a value realm of discourse-explicit in several of the modern plays- that we must learn to live stoically on a strictly as-if basis. Examined closely, this basis turns out to be a substitution of ‘aesthetic belief’ for ‘religious faith’, moral conviction and philosophical reason. Not that purely aesthetic values are recommended or preached. But their strictly negative critique of inauthenticity does come down to a suggestion, conscious or unconscious, that to live successfully in the contemporary era we must believe and not believe, which is precisely what we do in experiencing a work of art.

This raises several questions. The Alison of ‘Look back in anger’ seems to have a point. Something has wrong somewhere. But where? Is destructive pessimism, which, when not suicidal, leads to an ambiguous doctrine of wide-awake make-believe, a symptom of something that has gone wrong merely in the modern theatre? Merely among the exiles and alienated eccentrics of the minority theatre? Or else how do you explain that playwrights like Beckett with immense talents comparable to Shakespeare merely draws sketches in pale Irish prose to create a universe not unequal to what the earlier master had already done in unparalleled verse? Has the world suddenly become absurd? Has it been privatized to the point of turning into a farcical dream? Symptoms, which are very similar to today’s can be found in Western drama a long way back. In ‘Tempest’ it is implicated that the world is a stage and life is a dream. Does not even such an apparently separate phenomenon as the shift in emphasis from the text to production, where illusion can proclaim
itself as illusion, fit nearly into the large pattern? The modern plays with texts as pretexts to convey this idea of illusion being illusion and the world a stage, have stepped into the realm of philosophy, whereas they were once in the psychological and naturalistic pedestal. Lionel Abel would call this as metatheatre.

As for the absurdity or non-absurdity of the world, it will always lie partly in the eye of the beholder. There is also the possibility that what is absurd will turn out to be the beholder. There are indeed strains in today’s playhouse pessimism which can set the teeth of a reasonably tough mind on edge. There is a lot of self-pity, a lot of pointless hide-and-seek with appearance and reality, a lot of neo-Romantic appointment with the alleged death of God, a lot of illogical despair over the loss of value systems, which were in fact never capable of surviving serious examination.

I cannot predict what is going to happen in the future. Now that the western theatre has recycled our own folk theatrical methods of production and sold them back to us under various labels, we need asking ourselves about the life expectancy of these bastardized forms. Pushed only a little further, Brechet’s demonstration-style acting, playhouse irony, and ‘loose’ epic form must result in the break-up of drama into mere narration and mere spectacle- at best a puppet show. Ionesco’s attack on conventional language and texts cannot be carried much further without destroying the literary ingredient in drama altogether. Brecht’s anti-heroic tendencies and his insistence on depicting the end of a story- the end of man’s history- can be ‘developed’ only into a rejection of all dramatic action.

I am not painting a gloomy picture but we need to think about balancing the form and content and not at the cost of one for the other.
An Akkadian Translator of the Meluhhan Language: Some Implications for the Indus Writing System

Possehl, Gregory L.

Introduction

Some time ago I published a short paper on an Akkadian gentleman who claimed to be a translator, and/or and interpreter of the Meluhhan language (Figure 1 The Shu-ilishu cylinder seal), Meluhha being the Akkadian name for the Indus Civilization (Possehl 2006; for the location of Meluhha see Possehl 1996). It will be recalled that the founder of the Akkadian dynasty, Sargon the Great (c. 2334-2279 BC), boasted that:

He moored
The ships of Meluhha,
the ships of Magan,
the ships of Dilmun
at the quay of Akkad.
(translated by Gianni Marchesi, 2007 personal communication).

The translators’ name was Shu-ilishu, and his personal cylinder seal was a part of the Collection De Clercq, Catalogue methodique and raisonnee, published in Paris in 1888. The “Collection De Clercq” was gathered together in the 19th century by a wealthy man. It seems to be made up of
objects purchased from dealers, and there is little if any provenience data on the materials there. We do not know where Shu-ilishu’s cylinder came from but today the cylinder is in the Department des Antiquités Orientales at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.

According to W. G. Lambert (1987: 410) the translation of the inscription on the cylinder seal reads: “Su-i-li-su eme-bal Me-luh-haki” or “Shu-ilishu interpreter of Meluhha.” Lambert also notes that “Since the owner bears a typical Old Akkadian name, he was presumably Old Akkadian, and had acquired a command of the language of Meluhha” (Lambert 1987: 410). I. J. Gelb notes that, with one exception, interpreters in the ancient Mesopotamia have Mesopotamian names, indicating to him that the job was of such importance and sensitivity that generally natives were picked for this profession (1968: 103). While this observation makes a great deal of sense, T. Sharlach (2005) has noted that many foreigners in Mesopotamia adopted Sumerian and Akkadian names, a common practice in many other cultural contexts through the ages (see also G. Marchesi 2006: 24, note 100).

I first came across a reference to Shu-ilishu while perusing Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a dead civilization (Oppenheim 1964: 64 and 355). I also consulted with my late colleague Professor Edith Porada about this seal. She confirmed the information in Oppenheim and noted that the seal had obviously been recut, which is not unusual, and that the style was late Akkadian, possibly even Ur III, the succeeding period. So, Shu-ilishu lived sometime at the very end of the third millennium BC (C. 2200-2000 BC), well within the dates of the Indus Civilization.

**The Indus Civilization in Mesopotamia**

There are many objects from the Indus Civilization in Mesopotamia (Possehl 1996) and some from Mesopotamia in the Indus (Possehl 2002). There are also references in cuneiform documents to the apparent presence of Meluhhans there too. In 1977 the Parpola brothers and Robert Brunswig published a paper suggesting the presence of a Meluhhan village near Lagash in Mesopotamia (Parpola, Parpola and Brunswig 1977: 136). (Figure 2 Sites in Mesopotamia). They also draw attention to the presence of people called “son of Meluhha” or just “Meluhha,” but, these need to be qualified since they too could be adopted by the user, just as the British General known as “Chinese Gordon” did.

The village of Meluhhans, and the translator seal, make it reasonable to believe that there were Meluhhans, that is Harappans, living in
Mesopotamia. We also have many Indus objects there. One of these is a seal found at Ur originally published by Sir Leonard Woolley, and then by C. J. Gadd as his seal number 1 (1932: 5) (Figure 3 Gadd Seal Number 1). The seal is a soft grey stone ("steatite") and somewhat worn. Woolley informs us that there is no evidence for its date in the context in which the seal was found. The device below the cuneiform inscription is clearly the Indus short-horned bull, with its head down, as is found on many Indus seals. But, this example does not include the manger often found just below the head. Massimo Vidale (2005) has suggested that the short-horned bull is the symbol of the Indus families engaged in western trade. Gianni Marchesi (2007, personal communication) has translated the inscription as Ka-lu-lim or Ka-lu-si, in either case a personal name, which is neither Sumerian nor Akkadian and could well be Meluhhan.

Fig. 2 : Sites in Mesopotamia

One final observation further strengthens the case that there were people of Meluhha in Mesopotamia. In 1994 I published the scientific testing of two nearly identical terracotta figurines first published by George F. Dales (1960). One of the figurines is from Nippur, the other from
Chanhu-daro (Figure 4, The Nippur and Chanhu-daro figurines). Both of the objects in question are small, hand-made figurines of pot-bellied, naked males, about 12 centimeters tall, although both are broken in such a way that their original heights cannot be determined. The legs were made with the body, but the arms were separate and attached separately, in each case via a length-wise hole connecting each of the shoulders. They were small puppets, which seem to have been to the liking of the Harappans.

**The Nippur Figurine**

One figurine was found at the Holy City of Nippur on the floor of a house in the fifth level of the so-called TB area, a part of the Scribal area (McCown and Haines 1967: 128-29). This has been reliably attributed to the Ur III period there, 2100-2000 BC. There are two other figurines of this general type from Nippur. One comes from the surface, the other is also from an Ur III house in the TB area. Only the first example was available to me for examination and illustration.
Fig. 4: The Nippur and Chanhu-daro figurines

The head of the Nippur figurine is slightly broken but has a small hole in the top, possibly for securing a headdress of some type. The shape of the chin suggests that the artisan intended to portray a bearded person. Other holes are found at the naval and the rectum. This figurine is unpainted, but has a thin buff slip.

As Dales observed:

Hundreds—perhaps thousands—of clay figurines have been excavated from Mesopotamian sites. They are well enough documented so that a reasonably comprehensive classification of them—by type, style and period—has been possible. Figurines of ‘foreign’ origin or inspiration can be recognized with reasonable assurance. The novel type of nude male figurine under consideration here is emphatically not a characteristic Mesopotamian creation. Neither male nudity, male obesity, nor animation are found among Sumero-Akkadian figurines of this date. On the other hand, the practice of combining human and animal features was common throughout Mesopotamian history (Dales 1968: 19, original emphasis)

Dales was well qualified on this point since it was the subject of his doctoral dissertation (Dales 1960).

The Chanhu-daro Figurine

The Chanhu-daro figurine was found by E. J. H. Mackay during the 1934-35 excavations there. It comes from his Harappa II levels on Mound II (Mackay 1943: 166-67, Pl. LIX, 2) and can be attributed to the Mature, Urban Phase (2500-2000 BC).
This figurine is like the Nippur example, although it lacks a head and has no holes, other than those for the arms. It also has a bit of paint at the neck and the head is missing. It is the only figurine of its type from Chanhu-daro, although others have been found at Mohenjo-daro. N. G. Majumdar also found one at Lohumjo-daro when he excavated there in 1930 and there are two likely examples from Lothal as documented in Table 1.

Table 1 Other Figurines of This Type in the Indus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohenjo-daro</td>
<td>Marshall 1931: 549, Pl. CLIII, 38; Figure 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohenjo-daro</td>
<td>Mackay 1937-38: Pl. LXXVII, Nos. 3, 12 and Pl. LXXXI, Nos. 8, 14; Figures 5, 6, 7, 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohumjo-daro</td>
<td>Majumdar 1934: 48-58, Pl. XXII, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lothal</td>
<td>Rao 1985: 483, 485-86, Pl. CCVIa &amp; b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figurines of this kind have not been published from Harappa.

One question remains, however. If the Nippur figurines are part of the material world of the Indus, were they actually imported from this region or were they made locally by people (presumably Harappans of some description) residing in Mesopotamia? To test this proposition these two figurines, and appropriate control samples of pottery, were tested by neutron activation analysis (Possehl 1994). This demonstrated that the pottery clays from the two sites were very well discriminated. When the neutron activation data for the two figurines were plotted on the same scattergram as the clays, it was abundantly clear that the Chanhu-daro and Nippur figurines came from the sites where they were found. The Chanhu-daro figurine was made in the Indus Valley. The Nippur figurine was not an import, but was made in Mesopotamia, possibly even at Nippur itself, further implying the presence of Meluhhans in Mesopotamia.

With Meluhhans present in Mesopotamia, along with the periodic visits of seafaring merchants, there would have been a need for a translator of their language. Thus Shu-ilishu’s claim makes very good sense.

Implications for understanding the Indus script

There are some implications for our understanding the Indus script that seem to be apparent from the presence of the Shu-ilishu cylinder seal. First, Shu-ilishu claims to be the translator/interpreter of Meluhha. The
word “of” admits some ambiguity, since it could mean that Shu-ilishu is from Meluhha, and was one of those afore mentioned foreigners who adopted an Akkadian name. Assyriologist Gianni Marcosi (2007 personal communication) thinks it is more likely that it means that Shu-ilishu was the translator/interpreter who was “in charge of” Meluhha or the one who “dealt with” this foreign land. Since the Indus Civilization covers over one million square kilometers, and emerges from a complex mosaic of Early Harappan peoples, the best assumption is that the Indus Civilization had peoples who spoke a diverse set of languages, possibly not so unlike today’s linguistic diversity within this region. Shu-ilishu’s cylinder seal does not mention a multiplicity of languages, but the claim to be the translator/interpreter of Meluhha may imply that there was a Meluhhan “lingua franca,” or a tongue common to many of the diverse peoples of the Indus Civilization. If this was the case, then the argument that the Indus script is the rendering of a single language into written form could be strengthened. This is not a certainty, but it does admit the possibility.

Second, it is widely known that there are many hurdles to the decipherment of the Indus script: short inscriptions, many unique signs, no agreed upon sign list, etc. What is probably needed to break this script is bilingual text(s), like Jean-Francois Champollion had for Egyptian hieroglyphics. The presence of a translator/interpreter of the Meluhhan language in Akkad suggests that he may have been literate, could read the undeciphered Indus script. This in turn suggests that there may be bilingual tablets in Akkadian and Indus somewhere in Mesopotamia. This is not to say that such documents exist, but the Shu-ilishu seal offers us a glimmer of hope at unraveling this mystery.

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Archeological Investigations at Thandikudi

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Introduction

Kodaikanal, located amidst Upper and Lower Palani hills, has been a popular hill resort from the British times. Pleasant Climate, tranquil and serene ambience of Kodaikanal triggered the settling of British administrators and Christian Missionaries in and around Kodaikanal at the beginning of the 20th century. These settlers were the first to record the archaeological wealth of this region in the pre-Independence era. As far as the antiquity of Kodaikanal region is concerned, the earliest human settlement goes back to pre-Iron Age times. This region was associated with a Sangam Age chieftain Kodaiporunan (Purananuru 205). Peruntalaisattanan, a Sangam poet, narrated that the chieftain had performed velvi, suggesting the brahmanical influence on this region as early as Sangam Age.

The archeological sites of this region is placed on the archeological map through the works of A.V. Rosner S.J., Rev. Heras, S.J., Anglade and Aiyyappan as early as in the early part of the 20th century. S.J. Hosten first reported the Iron Age burial at Parappar falls near Senbaganur. Further, Anglade reported stone circles entombing cist burials in the places like at Palamalai, Perumalmalai, Munjikal, Senbaganur and Mulaiyar ridge in 1928. He reported these cist burials as buried dolmens (Anglade and Newton 1928:12). In 1936, A.V. Rosner S.J., excavated a cist at Tevankarai on the slopes of Perumalmalai. In 1939, Rev. S.J. Heras excavated a cist at Mulaiyar. Quite interestingly all the above-mentioned sites have yielded dolmens in association with cist burials. Father Anglade and Newton have described the dolmens of the Palani Hills in their paper, which was published in Memoir No. 36 of the Archaeological Survey of India (Anglade and Newton 1928:118). Therefore, the credit of bringing Iron Age monuments like dolmens, stone circles and urn burials of Kodaikanal region to the academic world goes to Anglade. He used the traditional route from Palani to reach Kodaikanal. He brought to light the groups of dolmens at Kamanur, Pachchalur, Tittaikudi and on the ridge south of the Mulaiyar. He found dolmens close to Kodaikanal on the slopes of Machchur and Perumal hills in the Vilpatti valley and at Pallangi and Palamalai. Many of these, however, are little more than ruins or heaps of stones. Sometimes the remains found are just enough to show the existence in former times. Anglade carried out excavations at
Perumalmalai, Senbaganur, Tevankarai valley and Mulaiyar ridge. His findings are currently displayed in Senbaganur museum. His path-breaking work brought the attention of the scholars like Aiyyappan to Kodaikanal. Aiyyappan, a renowned anthropologist, in 1940 (Aiyyappan 1940-4 l:373-379) excavated two cists at Vilpatti. It yielded a number of black and red ware potteries, which were displayed in Madras Government Museum. Allchin had made a fair attempt to give a date to these sepulchral monuments by comparing these potteries with other Iron Age potteries. M. Saranya, a research scholar, took an extensive survey and extended the frontiers of research by locating many such monuments, irrespective of the inaccessible terrain (Saranya 2003). Some of the sites that need attention are Kathavumalai, Kottaikal-teri, Idunja-kuli, Perunkanal, Kumarikundu, and Sankarpettu. The special features of Iron Age burials are discussed elaborately by taking previous works into consideration. To understand their distributional pattern, the Iron Age monuments of this region are compared with the monuments of the plains.

Moreover, an attempt is made to record the epigraphical wealth of this region. This helps to understand the continuity of the culture and its transformation. A trade guild inscription datable to 13th century was found in the village Thandikudi. Many scholars including S. Rajvelu, C. Santhalingam and V. Vedachchalam, recorded the epigraphical evidences found at Periyur, Kilavarai, Polur and Manjampatti (Santhalingam 1997:77-79). These inscriptions help to understand the settlement pattern and the emergence of new settlements particularly in medieval times. Further, they provide information about the socio-economic conditions and the close relationship that existed between the kings and the hillock people. The King's direct involvement in settling the disputes that emerged between the contending parties show the importance given by the king to this region. In addition to epigraphical records, a few memorial stones were also identified in the village at Thandikudi.

Data accumulated from previous and current explorations are sporadic in nature. Using this data, it is very difficult to decipher the continuous cultural evolution of this region. The terrain played a greater role in the formation of settlements. For instance, nearly 90% of the archaeological sites of this region fall within the range of 4000-5000 MSL. This altitude provides a congenial environment for the growth of forest products like pepper and cardamom. These commercial food-crops are likely to have attracted the early settlers. Therefore, a conscious attempt is made to understand the cultural wealth of this region from the wealth of information extracted from the two phases of excavation carried out in the years 2004 and 2006.
The Site

Thandikudi (Long.77 degrees 38' 40" E Lat.10 degrees 18' 25" N), one of the major villages on the Palani hills, is situated about 44 km northeast of Vattalakundu in lower Palani hills in Kodaikanal taluk of Dindugal district (Fig. 1). This can be approached either from Ayyampalayam or from Pannaikadu. The former village lies at the foot of the hill about 15 km east of Vattalakundu. The latter lies adjacent to the Vattalakundu - Kodaikanal road, but one has to take a diversion at Uttu. Thandikudi lies at a height of 4400 feet above the mean sea level. It is completely enveloped by two hills:

This village is well connected by the two major traditional land trade routes. One route connects Palani, Chinnamanur, Uttamapalayam and Kambamand the other route connects Madurai, Uttamapalayam and Kambam. Madurai and Palani are well connected with other trade centers of South India. The sites mentioned above have epigraphical records to attest their association with trade guilds. For instance, Uttamapalayam is a Jain centre that yielded Roman coins in the recent times (Santhalingam 1997a:57-59). 13th century inscriptions found at Chinnamanur reveal the trade that took place in this region (SII 23 :430, 431 and 434).
The archaeological material unearthed in this village clearly suggests that
the village has been occupied continuously since the Pre-Iron Age. Anglade
reported the findings of disturbed dolmens on the sides of the
road leading to Manalur (Anglade and Newton 1928:1). In the present
explorations, Cist burials have been identified in two locations, one at
Talaikadu and the other at Bommaikadu. The former site lies behind the
Coffee Board office near Labourer's quarters. The latter site lies one km
away from Thandikudi, on the road leading to Pannaikadu. According to
local folks, there are a number of cist burials scattered over the area
between Talaikadu and Bommaikadu. Due to their remote location, all of
them could not be recorded. These cist burials were unearthed when
leveling the land for coffee plantation. The large cists seen in this site
clearly suggest the existence of a huge burial complex at this location.
Upon extensive search, the habitation mound was identified beneath the
present occupation. A modest attempt was made to excavate the
habitation in the available open area in vain. Nature of the terrain and
continuous cultivation are likely to have destroyed the mound. According
to local folks, one of the disturbed cists yielded many carnelian beads, iron
swords and a few pots. The excavated findings found at Senbaganur by
Anglade in 1954 also suggest this.

A group of dolmens is found on the way to Murugan temple. This can be
approached through Coffee Board from Thandikudi. These dolmens are
locally called as petthu. There are eight complexes at this site found in
disturbed condition on the rocky surface. Among them, two complexes
are found just below the rocky surface and the remaining six complexes
are found on either side of the road leading to Murugan temple. Of these
six complexes, two are located on the right side of the road and the
remaining are located on the left side of the road. There are nearly fifty
dolmens at this site. There is no specific cardinal direction followed in the
construction of the dolmens. The available slope in the built up area
determines their direction. It is observed that the openings are found in
the lower end. This type of construction would have helped in preventing
the rainwater to percolate inside the chamber.

The village witnessed continuous occupation without break from pre-Iron
Age times to the present day. Among the inscriptions, notable one is the
one that describes trade guild. In total, four slabs are identified. The first
one is installed on the northern side of the village on the way to
Perungkanal. The boulder like structure with conical top is installed in the
open ground and is worshiped as a kodakka-mantai. It is exposed about
two feet above the ground level. There is a square box in which certain
engravings are seen. The second one is embedded into the soil in the
Muttalamman Koil Street, near a shop. This inscribed slab needs to be examined further after unearthing from the street concrete. The third one is installed, behind a house, in a street corner leading to Madurai Veeran koil. According to the villagers, this rectangular slab is almost 120 cm in height. Presently, this slab is exposed to a height of 45 cm above the ground level. There are symbols like bow and arrow, sword, sun and moon that clearly points to an inscription issued by a certain trade guild.

**Trade Guild Inscription**

A rectangular slab erected in front of the Pattattu Vinayakar temple has an inscription in Tamil script engraved on both sides. The front side had 16 lines and backside had 17 lines. This epigraphical record was inscribed during the 12th regnal year (1280 AD) of Kulasekhara Pandya (Fig 2). The inscription mentions the present day Thandikudi as Tantrikudj. Tantri (terminalia bellerica) means a variety of tree having a great medicinal value and are grown in abundance in this area even today. Kudi means village. The inscription records a reconciling agreement carried between the urar of Tantrikudi and the urar of Manalur. The cause for the animosity is not mentioned. Manalur is mentioned as malaimandalattu aiyyappolil perurana manalur thereby indicating that the village, lying in Malaimandalam, had been one of the prominent villages of this region in which the trade guild Aiyyapolil resided. A stone smith Vallalapperuman Uyyan of Mayindramangalam engraved this slab. Mayindramangalam may be identified with the village Mangalakombu located about 4 km from Thandikudi on the road leading to Vattalakundu.

**Memorial stones**

Three memorial stones were identified in this village. All of them are installed in and around the Pattattu Vinayagar temple. One has a 3-lined inscription. The inscribed memorial stone is installed to the left of the entrance of the Vinayagar temple (Fig 3). The inscription mentions that the stone was installed in the memory of one Desa-andi, who died at Kombai. The suffix of the village ‘Mangala Kombu’ helps in surmising that Kombai may be Mangala-kombu. The sculptural representation and the palaeography of the script suggest that this would have been installed in 17-18th century AD. The 60 cm high memorial stone has a figure of a hero with an attendant on the top and the inscription at its base. The wide-eyed hero with a sharp nose and long ears, wearing a loin-cloth, is shown standing with a gun in his left hand and a sword in his right hand. A necklace adorns his chest. The attendant, shorter than the hero, is depicted on the right side of the hero with folded hands.
The second memorial is found inside the premises of Pattattu Vinayagar temple. The hero, facing to his right, is holding a bow and arrow in charging posture. A quiver hangs on his right shoulder and he is shown wearing a head gear and anklets. A sword is tugged at his waist. The undergarment is ended with knots on both sides. The third memorial stone is installed opposite to the Pattattu Vinayagar temple near the road. In this, hero is standing erect and is holding a sword in his right hand, the tip of the sword is pointed upwards. His left hand rests on his waist. Other details could not be made out as the stone is defaced. Apart from these stones, two portrait sculptures are identified opposite to the Pattattu Vinayagar temple. Both are in anjali posture with a tuft flowing towards right.
The cemetery occupies an area of more than 40 hectares (100 acres) with major concentration on the right bank of the river Marudanadi. It extends along the right bank, starting from the Forest Bungalow on the west to Bommakadu on the east. The forest bungalow lies opposite to the village near the famous Murugan temple. Bommakadu lies to the left of the road leading to a major village Pannaikadu. The extension of the burial complex beyond this area could not be ascertained due to the terrain nature. This impressive complex, of about 1000 burials, is distributed in the undulated rocky terrain, dissected with numerous channels. Only a
few burials, exposed with better landmarks, could be counted. Other burials, more than five hundred in number, could not be unearthed, as only a part of the cist or capstone was exposed. There could have been more burials, which could have been cleared by cultivators. The intensive coffee and cardamom plantation in this region has destroyed nearly half of the burial complex. About one third of these burials are still in good condition. Most of the burials are cairn-circles. In a few of them, cist is partially exposed due to the removal of the cairn packing by the cultivators of the field. It consists of four types of burial namely pit burial, urn burial, cist burial and dolmen.

Fig. 4: Map showing the location of graves

Each type has sub-types. For instance, the cist burial had simple cist, transepted cist and double cist varieties. Of the four types, in the first phase of excavation (2004), cairn circles enclosing cist burial capped with huge capstone alone were located. In the second phase of excavation (2006), all the four types have been excavated. The limited availability of the fund restricted this excavator to expose only ten burials and it has been numbered as Meg. I to Meg. X (Fig. 4). The graves Meg.1 to Meg.
IV were excavated in 2004 and the remaining graves in 2006. A brief description and salient features of each burial is discussed below.

**Megalith I**

Megalith No.1 (Meg.I) is an undisturbed cairn circle lying in the Coffee Board premises located opposite to the present village. It lies on an elevated field facing the river Marudanadi. The river flows about 500 m north of the site to the east. This is a relatively large stone circle seen in the burial complex. The east facing cist is with a huge capstone placed at the centre of the circle (Fig. 5). The cist with passage on the east is exposed 55 cm above the present ground level. The eastern orthostat has a trapezium shaped porthole at the centre.

![Fig. 5: Megalith I - General view](image)

The massive capstone weighing 4 tons is placed over the cist. After perfectly placing the huge capstone over the cist, undressed boulders of irregular sizes are placed at the ground level around the cist to form a circle. The cist is oriented east-west and is almost square on plan. A rectangular passage has been constructed in front of the chamber.

Careful exposure of the burial site suggests that the funerary rituals are performed inside the cist to a larger extent. All the grave goods seem to
be a single time deposit, placed directly on the floor slab of the cist. In
total, there are 41 pots of different shapes placed in association with four
urns. The urns, resting on the four corners of the chamber, are the main
constituent of grave goods (Fig. 6). All other pots are either placed below
or around these four urns. The placement of various grave goods like
bowls, basins, plates, four legged jars, small pots, ring stands, big sized
pots, lids, swords, daggers, L-shaped object, etc., clearly suggest that they
started placing the grave goods from the west.

Fig. 6: Megalith I - Four urns placed at the corners
One of the notable iron objects recovered from this burial is a sword. This sword is placed on two ring stands and on a black and red ware bowl. The sword is placed in east-west orientation with tip pointing to east. The bowl is found below the hilt portion. Two ring stands of black slipped ware are found at the centre and at the tip. The placement of the sword over a bowl and two ring stands deserves attention. This mid-ribbed sword does not carry wear and tear marks and it seems they specially acquired this sword after the death of the person. The careful placement denotes some significance that associated with the deceased.

**Megalith II**

Megalith No.2 (Meg.II) is located about 200 m east of Meg I in a field called Velammal- Sethu Thottam (Fig. 7). It is a cairn-circle having inner diameter of 3.70 m. Though smaller in dimension than Meg.I, it has some interesting architectural features. At the time of excavation the western half of the circle was completely removed. The capstone and a portion of the passage were exposed. The northwestern part of the capstone is damaged, probably due to vandalism. Further excavations conducted inside the cist revealed that it is disturbed without removing the orthostats. Vandals could have entered the cist through the breakage in the northwestern corner of the capstone. During our excavation, a perfect cist and a passage on the east were exposed upon removal of the capstone. A transept slab, almost at the centre, bifurcated the chamber. The transept slab connecting northern and southern chambers has a round porthole. The northern chamber is further bifurcated by placing a small rectangular slab on its northwest corner. Two portholes are found, one on the transept slab and the other on the eastern orthostat against the southern chamber. The front porthole scooped on the eastern orthostat is broken. The chamber did not yield any appreciable antiquities. A total of 8 carnelian beads, diminutive iron pieces, black and red ware plates and few black slipped potsherds are collected.

A passage has been constructed against this porthole. The base of the porthole and the base of the floor slab of the passage coincide. Crushed black and red ware potsherds along with two black slipped ring stands were found on the floor level.
Megalith III

Megalith No.3 (Meg.III), another cairn-circle, is located about 7.60 m northeast of Meg.II at angle of 40 degrees at the Velammal - Sethu Thottam. At the time of excavation, the western half of the circle was completely missing. The eastern half and the capstone were found to be partially embedded in the section. The capstone is placed perfectly on the cist. Further excavation conducted inside the cist revealed the damage suffered by the cist. The capstone was moved from its position to make space to enter into the chamber. After excavation, the capstone was replaced in the same position. On removal of the soil around the capstone, a wall like structure appeared on the southeast quadrant of the circle. The southwest and northwest quadrant of the circle were totally missing. The remaining circle wall has two courses of stone blocks placed at the ground level. The inner edge of the circle is lined with small blocks,
whereas the outer edge of the circle has boulders and triangular blocks. The gap between the inner and outer edges is filled with small blocks of stones to form a perfect circle. Removal of the capstone revealed a perfect cist and a passage on the east. A round porthole was observed on the eastern orthostat. The porthole is covered with a circular stone on its interior, which has fallen inside the chamber. The chamber did not yield any appreciable antiquities. Three urns covered with lids were found in east-west orientation on the floor slab against the porthole. At the base of these urns, black and red ware bowls, black slipped ring stands, plates, carnelian beads and a U-shaped iron piece were found. Disc shaped etched carnelian beads littered at three points are recovered. Eight carnelian beads were found on the southeast corner and two on the southwest corner. A solitary bead was found, almost at the centre of the chamber.

**Megalith IV**

Megalith No.4 (Meg.IV) is located in the cultivated field locally called Bommakadu. The Iron Age circle under investigation lies about 1.5 km south of Thandikudi and 33.70 m east off the main road leading to Pannaikadu. Marudanadi flows 250 m away from the site. Though the megalith has undergone heavy damage, it is one of the biggest and architecturally one of the best burial complexes so far excavated in this region. The circle stones and capstones were completely missing. After the removal of the earth, a perfect cist and a passage on the east were exposed (Fig 8). The cist is divided lengthwise, into two chambers, northern and southern, by placing a transept slab in the middle. The northern chamber is further sub-divided into two by placing a slab in north-south orientation. The southern chamber may have been divided. However, one could not comment with certainty as the slab was missing. In total there are three chambers at present. The cist has two round portholes. The first porthole is found on the main east-west transept slab connecting the southern and northern chambers. The second porthole is found almost at the centre of the transept slab connecting the northern main chamber and the small chamber. The shape of the main porthole made on the eastern orthostat could not be ascertained because of its damage. The chamber does not yield any appreciable antiquities as it has been completely ravaged. However, a total of 296 etched button shaped carnelian beads (Fig. 9) and 48 quartz beads of different dimensions were collected (Fig. 10). Two rectangular four-holed spacer beads were collected; of which one is carnelian and another is soapstone. In addition to these beads, iron arrowheads and knife, black and red ware bowls, lids, dishes, black slipped ware ring stands and lids and a few bone pieces...
were collected. A few russet coated potsherds were found. A tiny gold piece was also recovered. The amount of beads and other objects collected from the cist clearly indicates its significance.

Fig. 8: Megalith IV - Transepted cist with passage on the east

Fig. 9: Megalith IV - Etched carnelian beads
Megalith V

Megalith No.V (Meg.V) (10 degrees 98'08"N 77 degrees 39'00"E) is located on the elevated flat surface at a distance of 890 m from Thandikudi with bearing of 133 degrees. The famous Murugan temple lies at a distance of 1.07 m with bearing of 109 degrees from Meg.V. The cist is a circle with eight boulders placed on the ground surface, encircling a huge capstone placed perfectly on the cist. After removal of the capstone, a perfect cist with a passage on the east was exposed. On the eastern orthostat, a trapezium shaped porthole was exposed. A bench attached to the western orthostat is found on the southern part of the chamber. Below this bench, 40 carnelian beads, black and red ware and black ware pieces were collected. On the eastern and western end of the bench 19 carnelian beads were collected (Fig. 11). On the northern part of the chamber, 93 carnelian beads, black and red ware, red ware and iron pieces were found below a stone slab.
Ever since the dolmens of Palani Hills have been explored by Anglade and Newton (1928) and by Ayyappan (1940-41), there was hardly any attempt made to excavate the dolmens of Palani hills. The main reason for this lack of interest is attributed to its emptiness in content. Only recently, M. Saranya, Research Scholar of Tamil University, made an earnest attempt to locate all the dolmen sites of Palani Hills (2003). She was able to locate more than 50 dolmen sites in Palani hills. The previous and present surveys suggest that the Palani dolmens are unique in many ways. Unlike the sites in the plain, dolmens of Palani hills are found in groups within an enclosure wall. Further, these dolmens are found within a range of 3000 to 4000 MSL. The present group of dolmens placed within a stone enclosure wall is also disturbed like other dolmens. However, this dolmen, unlike others, was excavated in order to understand the architectural features of these graves. This dolmen, at Thandikudi, is probably the first dolmen that was opened up for research in the Post-Independence era.

This dolmen (Meg. VI) is located (10 degrees 18' 07" N Latitude and 77 degrees 38'28.7" E Longitude) on a rocky surface having elevation of
1385 m MSL. It lies at a distance of 724 m southwest of Thandikudi, near the famous Murugan temple with 205 degrees bearing. The bedrock, where the dolmen is situated, slopes downward from north to south. This dolmen has enclosure walls made of stone blocks roughly rectangular in shape. It was found to be sloping north-south along the longitudinal direction, parallel to the rock bed slope. The enclosure wall is, almost completely, covered with cairn packing. The southern front portion is disturbed by the removal of over-lying cairns. The discontinuous and different numbers of stone courses on the enclosure wall imply the disturbance undergone over the course of time. The top layer of the dolmen is found with an irregular heap of cairns mixed with thin sand deposit and grass topping. By observation of the orthostats projecting above the cairns, one can spot the three longitudinally aligned chambers running north-south. The capstones were broken and removed, except for a chamber in the eastern side, which has two slabs of broken capstone lying haphazardly one over the other.

![Fig. 12 : Megalith VI - Three dolmens facing south](image)

Upon clearance, a rectangular enclosure wall made of rectangular stone blocks of different sizes were noticed. Since the enclosure wall is disturbed, a complete picture of the courses could not be obtained. However, a total of four courses are found on the northern side. The outer face of the wall is placed with perfection. These walls are made up of rough blocks of no fixed size. Some blocks are large and have been
cleverly adjusted without any trace of mortar. No chisel marks were noticed on these blocks. The layers were placed with technical perfection by proper placement of stones of different sizes to avoid vertical cracks on the wall and to provide better interlocking. On removal of the overlying cairns, three dolmens, facing the south and constructed side by side, were exposed (Fig. 12). These dolmens were placed within an enclosure wall in north-south axis with passage on the south. These dolmens are built by leaving a gap of 30-50 cm between the two consecutive dolmens. There are hardly any appreciable antiquities recovered due to extensive vandalism.

**Megalith VII**

Megalith No.VII (Meg.VII) (10 degrees 18'19"N 77 degrees 38'26"E) is one of the earliest graves so far excavated in this region. It is dated to be of the pre-Iron Age, based on the material collected from the grave. It is located on an elevated flat surface at a distance of 463 m from Thandikudi with 233 degrees bearing. The famous Murugan temple lies at a distance of 13.40 m. It is a stone circle, entombing a pit burial. At the time of discovery, this burial was exposed with circular boulders. Fifteen boulders have been placed in a circle with a 5 m diameter. A capstone placed at the centre of the circle is partially exposed. The grave goods were placed in rows one above the other in an east-west axis in a rectangular pit dug into the natural soil. The narrow pit at the base has been filled with fine soil. It serves as a cushion for the grave goods placed over it. A ring stand of red slipped ware is placed on the western most end of the narrow pit. After filling the narrow pit with fine soil, two thin slabs have been placed on both ends of the pit. The slab placed in the eastern end is a square and the one on the western end is rectangle in shape. The first row of grave goods was placed in east-west axis, starting from western most point. All the 26 pots found are placed with mouth facing east. The first bottom layer or row consists of fifteen pots, which include, a urn, red slipped pots (5), a red ware lipped pot, red ware bowls (4), a black and red ware dish-on-stand (or shallow bowl-on-stand), a black and red ware deep bowl, a black on red ware basin and a red ware ring stand. The top layer consists of red slipped pots (4), red ware bowls (2), a black and red ware dish-on-stand (or shallow bowl-on-stand), red ware ring stands (2), a black on red ware pot and a red ware vanali (Fig. 13). One of the important and interesting features to be noted is, all the pots have been placed with mouth facing east. This phenomenon is also noticed in the urn burial (Meg.VIII) exposed near to this burial. Entire grave goods are covered up with fine soil up to the mouth of the pit. To demarcate the pit, small stone pieces are placed on the boundary of the pit. Two small stones,
one on the eastern end and the other on the western end, are placed. Capstone is made of four pieces. These four pieces are placed in east-west orientation, covering the entire pit below it. The eastern and western edge of the capstone touches the circular boulder. Of the four pieces of the capstone, the eastern most rectangular flat slab is bigger in size and covers almost half of the pit. The second capstone is placed on the western end. There is a gap of about 46 cm between the eastern and western capstones. This gap is covered with two more overlapping slabs. There is a 20 cm soil cover between the capstone and the grave goods. Despite the soil cover, the pots have been crushed due to the weight of the capstone. Around this capstone, twelve boulders have been placed at the ground level in circular formation. The capstone is covered with 40 cm soil. On the whole, it is a stone circle on the surface level and a pit burial at the sub-surface level. Whether there was a cairn packing at the time of disposal of the dead could not be ascertained. Therefore, as of today, this may be designated as a pit burial enclosed with a stone circle.

Fig. 13 : Megalith VII - Grave goods placed in the second row

Interesting features of this pit burial are the non-availability of the iron, carnelian beads and the presence of black-on-red ware. This garve is unique in many ways. The pots in a row are placed in a pit similar to those found in neolithic-chalcolithic graves. The grave goods are placed with mouths of all pots facing east. Similar to Meg.VIII, this burial too yielded black painting on red surface on selective pots akin to chalcolithic pots. The non-availability of the iron and the availability of the black-on-red ware suggest its early date. This grave can be safely placed in pre-Iron age.
Megalith VIII

Megalith No.VIII (Meg.VIII) (10 degrees 18'20"N 77 degrees 38'26"E) is located on an elevated flat surface at a distance of 477 m from Thandikudi with bearing of 232 degrees. It is a simple urn burial placed in a pit. A coarse red ware urn is placed at the centre of the pit in a slanting position with mouth facing east. This urn has been closed with a red ware pot that is completely crushed due to the weight of the boulder. Around the urn, on the southern side, row of pots were placed in a systematic manner, all facing east (Fig. 14). This observed in Meg.VII too. On the western end near the base of the urn, a beautiful black on red ware is placed. The pot is applied with a red slip over which black painting is done. Neck portion of the pot is adorned a with diagonal crisscross mat impression. The shoulder portion of the pot is decorated with painted-leaves at regular interval. The leaf design has a conical top and bottom. Such black on red ware pots are also found in chalcolithic period graves of central India and in neolithic-chalcolithic period graves of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Black-on-red ware pots unearthed in this excavation are the first of its kind in Tamil Nadu.

Next to this black-on-red ware pot, a red pot with an out-flared rim, short neck and a globular body was found. Next to this red ware pot, a black
and red ware ring stand holding a black and red ware deep bowl on top has been placed. The leaf design in black colour is found on the exterior surface below the ring. The design is identical to the one noticed on the basin of Meg.VII. Next to this, a red ware basin like pot (vanali) with an aesthetically raised handle on both ends was found on the pit’s eastern corner. Below this basin, two pots were found. The first one is a small bowl of a black slipped ware and the second one is a long necked black slipped ware bowl with prominent carination at the centre. The interesting feature of this pit burial with urn internment is unique in many ways. The urn is placed inside the pit in a, with its mouth facing east and is covered with a lid. The grave goods are placed to the south of the urn in a row. All pots have been arranged in a manner such that their mouths face east. Like Meg.VII, this burial too yielded black painting on red surface on selective pots akin to chalcolithic pots. Curiously, this grave did not yield iron pieces, carnelian beads or human bones. The non-availability of the iron and the availability of the black-on-red ware suggest its early date. It can be safely placed in pre-Iron age.

Megalith IX

Megalith No.IX (Meg.IX) (10 degrees 18’14”N 77 degrees 38’25”E) is located in the cultivated field, locally called Dr.Senthilnathan Estate, at a distance of 582 m from Thandikudi with bearing of 225 degrees. It is a cairn-circle having a huge capstone at the centre, placed on a cist. It was partially exposed at the time of excavation. After removal of the capstone, a perfect cist with a passage on the east was exposed. A trapezium shaped porthole is found on the eastern orthostat. This porthole is closed with another slab from the passage. The chamber did not yield any appreciable antiquities. However, two etched button shaped carnelian beads, two iron coils, a knife and an arrow head were collected on the floor slab at a depth of 180 cm. The double-edged knife was found near the porthole. Besides these findings, black and red ware, black ware and red slipped ware pots were collected. A ring stand of black slipped ware was also collected. All of them were found crushed due to the tight packing. One of the interesting features of this grave is the placement of four quartz pieces at the four corners of the chamber.

Megalith X

Megalith No.X (Meg.X) (10 degrees 18’15”N 77 degrees 38’25”E) is located in the cultivated field belonging to Dr.Senthilnathan. The circle stones and capstones were completely removed with the help of cultivators, at the time of investigation. After removal of the bushes and
the topsoil, double cists were exposed (Fig. 15). This discovery is first of its kind in Tamil Nadu. The northern chamber and the southern chamber have independent passages on the east. The northern chamber yielded appreciable amount of antiquities, mainly consisting of beads of quartz (Fig. 16), carnelian, agate and steatite.

Fig. 15 : Megalith X - Double Cist with passage on the east

Fig. 16 - Megalith X - Quartz beads
Besides the beads, two iron pieces were also recovered. The first one, a knife, was found opposite to the porthole. The second one, an arrowhead was found on the floor. Broken pieces of bowls of black and red ware, ring stands of black slipped ware and pots of red slipped ware were collected at different levels, particularly below the porthole level. Micro beads, carnelian and quartz beads were found at porthole level.

The southern chamber did not yield any appreciable antiquities except for the quartz, carnelian and agate beads. Besides these beads, a sword was collected from the floor slab near the Western orthostat. A bowl of a black slipped ware was also found on the floor slab against the southern orthostat.

**Chronology**

The excavation, carried out in two phases, gave limited insights on the chronology. However, the six graves, opened in the second phase of excavation, yielded tangible evidence to understand the specifics related to chronology. Fortunately, all the six graves were substantially different and each had its own chronological implications, both in form as well as in content.

The ceramics of Thandikudi were of two types. The first type belongs to the pre-Iron Age and the second type belongs to the Iron Age. The potteries of pre-Iron Age deserve special attention, as it has some unique shapes and designs, particularly the black-on-red ware basin, ring stand and pot, lipped pot of red ware (or spouted vessel), black and red ware dish-on-stand and basin (or deep bowl) with raised lugs above the rim (Vanali like object) collected from the pit circle and urn burial. These types of pots were so far not reported from any part of Tamil Nadu, both in excavation as well as in exploration. These special shapes and designs also help indirectly to date some of the graves to pre-Iron Age.

Such pre-Iron Age ceramics have been reported in the graves of Kodaikanal region and were presently housed in Madras Government Museum. These ceramics were collected by Aiyyappan through his excavation in 1940 (Aiyyappan 1940:313-379) and have been studied by Allchin in the year 1957. Later, the fine aspects of these ceramics have been published (Allchin 1974). However, he promptly notes "it is evident that far more excavation and field work will be needed before it becomes possible to establish the full history of the many divergent forms of graves associated with the South Indian Iron Age and loosely called 'Iron Age'". As pointed out by Allchin, the lack of excavation prevented him to
come to a definite conclusion. Irrespective of this drawback, he analysed those pots extensively and dated them to pre-IronAge and early IronAge. He dated the pre-Iron Age pots to c.1300-1000 BC as they were reported from late neolithic levels at Piklihal, Maski, Hallur, T.Narashipur and Sanganakallu. Further he suggests that these grave group shares six of eight traits with pre-iron contexts of south India.

Therefore, the ceramics recovered from the present excavation in Meg. VII and VIII are very crucial to date these graves. The important factor that needs to be observed besides the above mentioned unique types of potteries, is the non-availability of iron objects in the graves of Meg. VII and Meg. VIII. Further, these two graves also yielded limited number of black and red ware pots. The grave (Meg. VII) had only three black and red ware specimens out of 26 specimens. Likewise Meg. VIII also had a solitary black and red ware. These are in total contrast with the specimens collected from the chamber burial. In cists and dolmens (Meg. I, II, III, IV, V, VI, IX and X), the black and red ware, iron and beads of carnelian dominate the repertoire. Importantly, all these graves except Meg.VII and Meg.VIII, did not yield any black-on-red ware. The absence of iron and carnelian beads and presence of black-on-red ware in one group of graves like in pit burial (Meg.VII) and urn burial (Meg. VIII),coupled with the absence of black-on-red ware and the presence of iron and carnelian in another group of graves provide useful insights in understanding the different phases of graves.

The following table compiles the nature of the excavated repertoire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Grave</th>
<th>Nature of Ware</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Meg VII</td>
<td>Black-on-red ware</td>
<td>Basin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Black-on-red ware</td>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Red ware</td>
<td>Urn</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Red ware</td>
<td>Lipped pot (spouted vessel)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Red ware</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Red ware</td>
<td>Ring Stand</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Red ware</td>
<td>Basin like pot (vanali) with a beautiful raised handle on both ends</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Red slipped ware</td>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Black and red ware</td>
<td>Dish-on-stand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the table listed above, Meg. VII yielded black-on-red ware basin (or deep bowl) and pot. Meg. VIII yielded black-on-red ware pot and ring stand. Black painting has been executed on the exterior surface. Such black-on-red ware pots have been reported in chalcolithic period graves of Central India and in neolithic-chalcolithic age graves of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The excavation at Ramapuram in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh reported such varieties, belonging to neolithic-chalcolithic ages. It is to be noted here that among the two graves (Meg. VII and VIII), the pit burial, i.e. Meg VII, seems to be slightly earlier in date than Meg. VIII. The reason for arriving at this conclusion is the placement of grave goods and the type of urn. In Meg. VII, the graves are placed in east-west axis with urn at the western most point. The urn is placed horizontally with mouth facing east. This urn is comparatively smaller in size. Whereas the urn in Meg. VIII is placed in a slanting position with mouth facing east and the grave goods are placed around the urn at the bottom. Based on the above evidence, the two graves (Meg. VII and VIII) of Thandikudi may be safely dated to pre-Iron Age, between 1500 BC-1000 BC. Remaining eight graves could be dated to Iron Age, between 1000 BC - 500 BC.

It is interesting to note that the pre-Iron Age graves are located on the highest point of the burial complex, just opposite to the habitation mound on the other bank. As the burial complex grew over the years, the graves moved progressively away from the habitation. The comparative study made on these graves suggests that people buried their dead nearer to the habitation in an elevated field on the opposite bank of the river Marudanadi and from then they progressively moved along the bank. In total, ten graves have been opened. These graves could be placed in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Grave</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Black and red ware</td>
<td>Deep bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Meg. VII</td>
<td>Black-on-red ware</td>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Black-on-red ware</td>
<td>Ring Stand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Black and red ware</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Black slipped ware</td>
<td>Miniature bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Black slipped ware</td>
<td>Long necked bowl with carination</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Red ware</td>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Red ware</td>
<td>Basin like pot (vanali) with a beautiful raised handle on both ends</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
chronological order based on the content as follows: pit burial (1), urn burial (1), simple cist (4), double cist (1), cist with bench (1), transepted cist (1) and dolmen (1). Nearly seven varieties of graves have been identified among the ten graves opened during the two phases of excavation. More varieties may come up if more graves within the burial complex are opened. Therefore, extensive excavation needs to be made in different locations within the Palani and Kodaikanal hills to firmly place the chronology of the graves.

Summary

The explorations and subsequent excavations carried out in the pepper and cardamom growing ‘lower Palani hills’ reveals continuous occupation from pre-Iron Age to the present day. The occurrence of dolmens, cists and urn burials points to the convergence of the different cultural traits. The pit burial with two rows of grave goods placed in a pit all facing east, east facing urns and graves goods, black-on-red ware, four urns placed directly on the floor of the cist, double cist and beads of quartz and steatite micro beads are some of the unique features encountered for the first time in TamilNadu. Similarity in the architectural features of the graves and grave goods like quartz beads, iron objects and pottery discovered at this site and in the plains show the cultural contact. The carnelian and quartz beads found in large numbers suggest their long inland trade contacts. In exchange of these precious materials, people of this region could have traded spices and forest goods. Inscriptional evidences speak on trades and the trade related disputes that occurred at this site. Data obtained from this excavation provides only a glimpse of the nature of the society that survived in the forest. Further excavations will throw more light on the nature of the site.

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Recent discoveries near Mamallapuram

Mamallapuram popularly called Mahabalipuram is placed in the Indian artistic annals for its magnificent monoliths and rock cut caves with beautiful sculptures both religious and secular that attracts the scholars as well as art historians and the common folk of the world. Some scholars identify this city as Nir peyarru, the famous port referred to in the Perumbanarruppadai, the Sangam age classic. Quite a number of Roman coins and other artifacts collected from here testify its antiquity to the hoary past. Recently the author discovered an interesting inscription at Saluwan Kuppam situated five kms. north of Mamallapuram that mentioned a temple for God Subrahmanya, which paved the way for an explorative research and the discovery of a brick temple through excavation.

Two Pallava monuments namely Atiranachanda cave temple and the Yali Mandapa are located on the eastern side of Saluwan kuppam. Very near to these monuments about 100 meters north, there is a small rock bearing
the inscriptions of Parantaka Chola, Rastrakuta King Krishna III and Kulottunga Chola III. The inscription of Kulottunga III was published but the remaining two inscriptions were unnoticed. The inscription of Kulottunga III mentions about a temple for Subrahmanya in the vicinity of the place and the newly discovered Rastrakuta inscription supports the statement.

Fig. 2: Saluvankuppam Garbhagriha platform and its mould projection - west side

**Rastrakuta inscription**

The Rastrakuta inscription of Krishna III, dated in the 26th regnal year of the king (A.D.965) is found engraved on the eastern side of the boulder in three lines in Tamil. It starts with the usual epithet of the king *Kachchiyum Tanjaiyum konda Kannara deva* and refers to a gift to the temple of Subrahmanya bhattarar in the village Thiruvilichchil in Amur kottam for the day-to-day service in the temple (*tiruvunnaligaippuram*).

On the basis of the above inscriptions the author explored the area in and around the rock and found a mound near by. The mound covered nearly one acre from east to west orientation. Some architectural components made of stone were also noticed on the surface of the mound. These remnants suggested some structure buried under the sand. Information
was given to the Chennai circle of Archaeological Survey of India which conducted an excavation at the site. The mound yielded a ruined stone temple consisting of a garbhagriha, an ardhamandapa and a mahamandapa with many pillars. A portion of the temple adhisthana with jagati made of dressed stones was intact. Fragments of roof made of brick and mortar were noticed in the excavation.

Inscriptions

The fallen pillars on the north west corner of the trench about 6 feet from the surface have Tamil inscriptions on their three faces. The first inscription has a trident mark in the upper square part of the pillar and the text of the inscription begins with an auspicious word svastisri in the second face of the square. It is dated in the 12th regnal year of Nandippottaraiyar, who is in all probability may be identified with Nandivarman III, the Pallava king (A.D. 808).

This inscription records the gift of 10 kalanju of gold to the temple of Tiruvilichchil by certain Kiraippiyiran of Mamallapuram. The gold was entrusted to the sabha and urar of the village Thiruvilichchil. After receiving the amount, the sabha and the urar agreed to conduct the Kartigai festival which occurred in the Tamil month of Kartigai in lieu of the interest from the deposit of gold. It is evident from the inscription that
the practice of conducting Kartigai festival in the Subrahmanya temple is dated back to the 9th century A.D.

The second inscription engraved on another pillar found near the previous one in the same trench belongs to Pallava king Kampavarman, son and successor of Nandivarman III. It is dated in the 17th regnal year of the king (A.D. 813). It refers to the gift of gold and land to the temple of Subrahmanya at Thiruvilichchil by a brahmin lady namely Vasantanar wife of Siyacarman alias Sri Kampa bhattan of Sandalya gotra, a resident of Manaiyir in Manaiyir Kottam.

The gift was accepted by the sabha to maintain a lamp in the temple and to provide food offerings to the deity from the month of Aippasi onwards. The gifted land was located in the kilan ceru. Manaiyir referred to in the inscription is presently located in Thiruvalur district under the name Manavur near Thiruvalangadu. It was a headquarters of a kottam in the Chola days and many officials from this place appear in Chola inscriptions of later period.

![Fig. 4: Pallava Inscription](image)

The third inscription also belongs to Kampavarman is dated in his 18th regnal year (A.D.887). It refers to the gift of 10 kalanju of gold by a lady Nangaipperuman, another wife of Siyacarman. The gold was entrusted to
the sabha for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of Subrahmanya bhattarar. The sabha accepted to supply 60 nali of oil per year as interest.

An incomplete inscription dated in the 13th regnal year (A.D. 882) of Nripatungavarman was found engraved on another pillar. Below this inscription, another inscription dated in the 7th regnal year of some king whose name is not mentioned was found. This inscription opens with the auspicious word svastisri, records the gift of lands known as kilan ceru and Sattaman kollai by Peruncatti Arrulaga Narayana Sarman. The gift was made for conducting talaippali festival at the temple and also for the maintenance of a trumpet-player. Kaniyar Korra Sarmach Chatankaviyar also donated a piece of land known as pallac ceru for conducting the same festival in the temple.

A damaged inscription of Rastrakuta king Krishna III dated in his 21st regnal year records the gift of 180 nali of oil per year. This was given in the Tamil months of Aippasi, Kartigai and Masi as 60 nali of oil per month. The temple referred to in this inscription is mentioned as Sri koyil at Thiruvilichchil.

Besides these, a number of fragmentary inscriptions were also found. They are all testimony for the existence of the Subrahmanya temple here till the middle of the 14th century A.D.

Text of the Rastrakuta inscription (on the boulder)

1. Svasti sri kacciyum tanjaiyum konda sri kannara devarkku yantu
2. Amurkkottattu Thiruvilichchil urudaiya devar subrahmanya bhattararkku uvat ti...
3. ruvunnaliagaippuramai... kudi..yom i devarku

Text of the pillar inscriptions

First Inscription

1. Svasti sri Nandi
2. ppottaraiya
3. yarkku pan
4. nirantava
5. thu Sri mamalla
6. purattu kirai
7. p piriyan
8. tiru iliccil
Airāvati

9. sa..bhiāsira
10. srikkū patin
11. kalanju po
12. n kututta
13. n atan poli
14. yuttu ko
15. n
16. tu
17. kaarti
18. gai
19. y kaar
20. tti
21. gai naa
22. nru
23. viza
24. c ce
25. ythu
26. ttu
27. vamaa
28. no
29. m sabhai
30. yom
31. ivvurum
32. kiraippiri
33. yanukkot
34. tik kututto
35. m

Second Inscription

1. svasti Sri [kampa va]
2. rmmarku yandu patinela
3. vatu Manaiyir kottattu ma
4. naiyir candalya [gotra kila]
5. varkalil Siyacarmanna
6. na Sri kampa bhattan bhrama
7. ni Vasantanar tiru
8. viliccil Sri sub
9. rahmanya bhattararku
10. Nontavilakkukku kutu
11. tta pon patina
12. ru kalanju ippon
13. il kalanjin vaa
14. yaru nali ennai
15. palicaiyaga attan
16. ...torum mu.....
17. aippasi ce...
18. tat tonnuru
19. Nali ennai e
20. rivippomano
21. m sabhaiyom I
22. ntha piraattiyar tiruva
23. mirtukkuk kututta
24. kilan ceruvi[l]
25. vanta bhogam [a]
26. tandum torum
27. Iruttu kutu
28. ppomanom
29. sabhaiyom

Third Inscription

1. Svasti sri
2. Kampa varmmarku
3. yandu patin-
4. ettavatu manai [yir]
5. kottattu manai [yi
6. ......] ntan kilavarkalil r..
7. ....la Siyacarman brhamani
8. ...
9. ..nangaip peruman
10. tiruvilaccil subra
11. hmany bataraarkku nandavila
12. kkukku kututta pon pattu i
13. ponnalum vanta arupatina
14. zi ennaiyum atta
15. ntu torum tiruvilakku
16. muttamayi eriya.... vai
17. ppomanom sabhaiyom

Fourth Inscription

1. Svasti sri ya
2. ntu Nripatun
3. karkup patin mu
4. nravatu [tanku]
Fifth Inscription

1. Svasti sri yan
2. telavatu peruncati Arrulaka narayana
3. sarman talaippali
4. vilavukku kututta to
5. ttan kilan ceruvum catan
6. man kollaiyil kalamu
7. tuvaarkkum pattiyum
8. kuttuttark kaniyar Korra sarmac catankaviya
9. rum virruk konda pal
10. lac ceruvum ittiru vi
11. lavukke kututtar

Sixth Inscription

1. Svasti sri Kannara devarku ya
2. ntu 21 avatu Amur kottat
3. tu Tiruvilliccil ludaiya....
4. mahadevar tiruvunnaligai ka..
5. ramatiy ivvur ma catu....vi
6. ka lam pankaliruk katal vo
7. l ennalik kalal tonnu-
8. rru katiyum andu torum
9. iru tingalum magappata accippa
10. alantu kutuppomagavum
11. y engal kata [va] p ponnal
12. nali kennai patinalikkal
13. k kil naliyal maci yarupati
14. n naliyum aga ......
15. th naliyum aippasi yarupati
16. naliyum aga nurruenpa-
17. thiy nali ennaiyum Sri ko
18. yil lukke kondu cen-
19. [ru] kutuppomanom ......
20. teyyatoru tiruva........ippa
21. ...taiy... vali.......co-
22. nnom itturuvilccil mahadev
23. ......yomum ippariciu...
24. ................
25. ....tta peratomallamal...
26. ....ttiyangalum tiruve...
27. ....patum tandappatyvilom..
Further excavation in this place revealed a brick structure below the level of the stone temple. The size of the brick is very similar to that of Kaveripumpattinam, Arikkamedu, Amaravati, Uraiyur, Mangulam and other pre-Pallava period sites of TamilNadu. Quite a number of roof tiles of that period were also recovered from the site. These findings helped to identify the brick structure as the earlier form of the Subrahmanya temple. In all probabilities the brick temple might have been destroyed due to frequent sea activities and during the time of the Pallavas a stone temple might have been constructed above the ruined temple with some modifications and annexations. The plan of the garbhagriha and the ardhamandapa were changed and enlarged during the time of Pallavas.

The rectangular corridor around the main shrine was probably renovated around 9th century A.D. The outer wall of the brick structure is plastered with mortar which was the usual custom of the pre-Pallava period as noticed in the brick structures of Arikkamedu and Kaveripumpattinam where as the inner wall is left plain. Four courses of dressed metamorphic
stones are laid down as foundation stones and above them 22 courses of bricks were arranged in a systematic manner. The garbhagriha with a brick floor having no entrance on any side is square in shape and looks like a store room.

![Fig. 6: Pre-Pallava and Pallava phase structures](image)

The size of the brick found at this site is similar to those found at Uraiyur, Korkai and Banavasi. The size of the bricks found at various pre-Pallava sites are tabulated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Site Name</th>
<th>Size in cms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Arikkamedu</td>
<td>34X24X7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kaveripumpattinam</td>
<td>60X40X8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Uraiyur</td>
<td>43X23X8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kanchipuram</td>
<td>28X19X6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Karur</td>
<td>47X32X9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Korkai</td>
<td>45X29X7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mangulam(two sizes)</td>
<td>32X16X6 : 24X18X5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Chengamedu</td>
<td>30X18X7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Banavasi (Karnataka)</td>
<td>43X22X7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Nagarjunakonda (Andhra)</td>
<td>50X28X7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Mamallapuram</td>
<td>40X20X6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Raised platform made of bricks seen around the garbagriha is surrounded by a projected molded plinth on three sides. The floor level of the
ardhamandapa is also raised and paved with bricks. When the old brick temple was renovated, the Pallava architects used the old brick structure as upapitha for the stone temple and filled the garbhagriha with sand and bricks. In order to enlarge the ardhamandapa, they built a separate wall on the northern side. The main entrance of the temple is seen on the north western side of the corridor. The main shrine facing north is an unusual feature of Dravidian Architecture. It was not possible to decide whether this temple had an entrance on the northern side too, due to the damaged condition of the northern side corridor.

![Temple and its Pillars](image)

**Fig. 7**: Temple and its Pillars

The brick temple had three entrances. One was on the northern side and the other two entrances were on either side of the ardhamandapa. When it was renovated the two side entrances were closed. It is interesting to note here that the garbhagriha, made of brick has no entrance. It has no image and water outlet inside and looks like a closed cellar.

Sangam literature amply attests the worship of Subrahmanya in the name of Murugan, Velan, Sey, Neduvel, etc. Tolkappiyam, the celebrated work of the Sangam period narrates that Seyon (Murugan) is the Lord of the Kurinji region i.e., the mountain region\(^4\). But Cir Alaivay i.e., Tiruchchendur, a coastal village is mentioned as the seat of Sendil i.e. Murugan in Purananuru and Agananuru\(^5\). Tirumurugarruppadai, one of the ten anthologies (Pattuppattu) also mentions Cir Alaivay as one of the six abodes (Padai vidu) of Lord Murugan\(^6\). From these references it may be understood that the temples of Lord Murugan were also located in the coastal area of TamilNadu during the pre-Pallava period\(^7\).
Fig. 8: Course of Brick Structure

Fig. 9: Pallava period Adhishthana Portion
Based on these references and the inscriptions discovered during excavation the brick structure may be identified as a pre-Pallava construction made for Lord Murugan. The Pallava architects renovated the ruined brick work in stone form with expansions. This structure that was under worship until the 14th century fell prey to ravages of time and became a mound in due course.

A terracotta plaque of female dancers joining hands was also recovered from the site. The size of the plaque is 23X17X4 cms. The mode of dance and the five participants identifies it as the depiction of kuravai kuttu, a kind of dance performed by the Tamils for Lord Murugan during festive occasions. It recalls the stanza, 'tondakac ciruparaik kuravai ayara' referred to in the Tirumurugarruppadai. A lamp with a cock figure was also discovered at the site.

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Notes

1 Perumpanarruppadai, 320-350.

2 SII IV, 381.
3 Rajavelu, S., Tirumoorthi, G., Tamilnattut tolliyal Agalaivugal, Panpattu veliyittagam, 1998. Information received from Dr.V.Vedachalam for Mangulam's brick size.

4 Tolkappiyam, porul Nurpa-5.


6 Tirumurugarruppadai, 78-125.

7 It may be remembered here that the excavations at Nagarjunakonda revealed the existence of a brick temple for Kartikeya i.e., Lord Murugan. Two images of Kartikeya holding a cock in his hand were also recovered from the site. Soundararajan K.V. (Ed.), Nagarjunakonda, New Delhi, 2006, p.39.

Chandēsa in art and literature

Santhalingam, C.

It is a custom among the devotees of Lord Siva, to record their attendance in the temple, before a particular deity - by clapping their hands. Many do not know the reason for such a clap. Some even believe that the deity is deaf and therefore a heavy clap with the hand may actually make their attendance audible to the deity.

The actual significance of this act is different. The deity is in fact one of the eight standard Parivāra Devatas of Lord Siva and he is considered as the steward of the celestial household. His name is Chandēsa or Chandeswara. All transactions of a Saivite temple – financial or otherwise – are supposed to be done in the name of this guardian deity only. When devotees visit the temple, they expected to show their empty hands to Chandēsa – before stepping out. This is to prove that they are not taking anything away from the temple. This seems to have resulted in the above mentioned practice and gradually the actual significance of the act was lost.

Who is this deity by name Chandēsa and how did he attain such a significant position in Siva temples? The answer to this lies in an interesting episode in Periya Puranam, a religious literature ascribed to 12th Century AD.

Chandēsa legend

Vichārasharmā was an intelligent brahmin boy who lived along with his family in Seynalur near Kumbakonam on the banks of Manniyar in Cholanadu. He was a staunch Saivite devotee and a good human being who showed love and kindness to all living beings.

One day he came to know that a cowherd is severely beating the cows of his village. Unable to tolerate this cruelty, Vichārasharmā condemned the cowherd, relieved him of his duties and engaged himself in taking care of the cows. That day onwards, the cows turned healthy and showered enormous quantities of milk. The boy collected excess milk in mud pots and used them to worship the Linga he had made using the Manni river sand.
This worship became a regular practice in course of time. Upon complaint from the old cowherd that all milk is being used for Siva worship, Vichārasharmā’s father Yagnadattā got angry with his son. He went to the river bank and witnessed his son’s worship. Unable to tolerate his act, Yagnadattā kicked the Sand Linga in extreme anger. Vichārasharmā immediately turned against his father and cut off his leg with a battle axe.

Lord Siva was moved by this acute sense of devotion and appeared before the boy & his father. He showered his blessings and made Vichārasharmā the steward of his households i.e. Siva temples all over the land. From this point onwards, Vichārasharmā came to be known as Chandēsa.

**Chandēsa – the celestial attendant**

In course of time, Chandēsa came to be recognized as one among the 63 Navayanamars (famed devotees of Lord Siva). We have epigraphical references calling him by the name *Adhidasa Chandēsa Deva*. The term *Adhidasa* can be interpreted as the first attendant or the earliest attendant.

We have numerous inscriptive references from the middle ages, in which the land transactions of Siva temples were conducted in the name of Chandēsa. The relevant prices were also referred to as Chandēsa Peruvilai.

Chandēsa is also the only Nayanmar who eventually became one of the eight esteemed Parivaara Devatas (sub deities) of Saivite temples. The sub shrine dedicated to him is usually found along the north eastern corner of the Sanctum Sanctorum in all Siva temples. Usually, these sub-shrines are simple structures, consisting of a small vimana with or without a mukha mandapa – facing south.

An elaborate shrine of Chandēsa is available in the Rājarajēswaram complex at Thanjavur. Constructed above a raised platform, this sub-temple – with a Sanctorum and a front Mandapa - is proportionate in size to that of the main Srivimana. It is an original Chola structure, whose period can be attributed to that of the main temple.

Saivagamic canons inform us that Chandēsa temples may be constructed either as independent temples (Swatantra alaya) or as a sub-shrine (Parivara alaya) to the main temple complex. However, no independent temple for Chandēsa has been reported so far.
Chandēsa Iconography

Chandēsa is usually seen in Vīrasana posture, sitting on top of a padma Pītha (lotus shaped pedestal). Several Saivite agamas like Amsumadbedagama, Uththira Kamika agama, Purvakarana agama, Silparatna etc. provide slightly varying definitions about the forms and colours of Chandēsa.

When he is represented with four hands, the upper two will be holding battle-axe(Parasu) and noose (Pasa) while the lower two hands will be in anjali pose or abhaya-varada mudras. Alternatively, if the figure is represented with just two hands, the right one will be holding battle axe and the left would rest on the thigh. He is usually adorned with less ornamentation and wears a Yajnopavita over his chest.

The Saivagamic scriptures define various forms of Chandēsa and also accord independent status to him - as equal to that of Lord Siva. But such an independent status was not recognized in TamilNadu. He was always considered as the first attendant, a foremost devotee and a housekeeper of Siva temples. Thus, we see him only as a parivāra devata in almost all temples. His consort’s name is mentioned as Darmanithi, but her iconographic representation has not been reported so far in TamilNadu.

Chandēsa Anugrahamurthy

The Lord who blessed Chandēsa i.e. Chandēsa Anugrahamurthy seems to have become a favourite icon to be represented in Siva temples. Earliest evidence of such a portrayal is found in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram. This temple dates back to early 8th century A.D and is attributed to Narasimhavarman-II alias Rajasimha.

The Cholas, magnificent temple builders of the South, seem to have celebrated this theme with greater pomp and enthusiasm. The best and the most elaborate Chandēsa Anugrahamurthy representation is available at Gangaikonda Choleesvara temple built by Rajendra Chola I during 11th Century A.D. This figure is an excellent example for the magnificent yet subtle beauty expressed by Chola artisans. Herein, Lord Siva is portrayed with his consort Uma in an elevated platform, placing a garland on Chandēsa’s head as a mark of his grace. Chandēsa, in all humility and happiness is shown kneeling down in front of the Lord, folding his hands in anjali mudra and receiving the garland. Uma is witnessing the whole scene with a mild smile.
Chandēsa in Paintings

Avudaiyar koil, located in Pudukkottai District, TamilNadu houses a famous temple of Lord Siva. The temple is well known for its architecture and sculptures of the Nayak period. A series of painted panels, along with Tamil legends are found on the ceiling of the front mandapa of this temple. Datable to to 18th Century AD, these panels portray various events from the life of Chandēsa. The paintings provide us an opportunity to do a comparative study on the development of Chandēsa legend.

A brief description of his life, as portrayed in the panels, is provided below:

The first panel shows a cowherd taking some cows to graze the grass. Cows shown are of different colours like white, brown, yellow, tan black, etc. The cowherd is shown with a well designed dress with a stick in his hand. Below the panel, the legend in Tamil informs us that the cowherd is taking the cows belonging to the Brahmins of Seynalur, to graze.

The second panel shows a cow grazing in a paddy field and the cowherd beating the cow. Chandēsa’s interference with him and the subsequent happenings are portrayed in the series. The panel ends with Chandēsa throwing his axe and cutting his father’s legs, on the banks of Manni river.

The third panel portrays the climax in which Lord Siva appears on his divine bull Nandhi as Rishabaruda, blessing Chandēsa and his father.

When we compare this painting with the older version available in Periyapuranam, few significant differences stand out.

1. Chandēsa’s father's name is mentioned as Yagnadattan 4 in Periyapuranam but this name is not mentioned in the painting legend.
2. Chandēsa's original name is mentioned as Vichārasharmā in the the literature5, while this detail is also missing in the paintings
3. According to Periyapuranam, the cow turns rude and tries to knock down the cowherd and hence he resorts to beating. However, in the painting, the cow is shown grazing the paddy fields because of which the cowheard beats the same.

A study of the legend and development of Chandēsa worship offers us a glimpse of how a simple devotee concept evolves over time, to that of sub-deity.
Notes

1 SII VII 406, 439 & SII VI 434.


3 Ibid., Vol.II Part II PP. 463 - 469.

4 Periyapuranam, 1215.

5 Ibid, 1217.
Finger rings from Karur – Some reflections

Shanmugam, P.

Finger ring is a personal ornament worn by an individual. People of all ages and irrespective of their gender wear it on their fingers. Some are very fond of wearing finger rings and on occasion sport with rings in all their fingers. There seems to be no economic barrier in wearing finger rings as both the rich and poor adorn themselves with different kinds of rings. Among the social groups, the economically higher and socially powerful individuals used to wear costly and highly ornate varieties compared to the poor who choose to adorn with crude types of finger rings. The size and shapes are varied and according to the taste of an individual one can choose his own. Rings were mostly made of gold and sometimes in other lesser materials like silver and copper. Rings are patterned with some designs and in some the designs and figures are executed with precious stones like gems, diamonds, pearls and corals. Some finger rings are inscribed with the name of an individual, suggesting ownership. Though, finger ring was initially considered as a simple and personal ornament, over a period of time it became a symbol for many social, economic and even administrative functions. In some regions, wearing a finger ring was considered as indicative of one’s social status. When the state structure developed in some political regions, a finger ring with official markings was recognized as a symbol of administrative power.

In India, there is no precise evidence to suggest the antiquity of the custom of wearing finger rings. However, some of the legends in early Indian literature suggest the popularity of this custom among the common folk. In the famous story of Sakuntala, the finger ring was handed over to her as a symbol of marriage with king Dushyantha and later became an important evidence for identifying her husband. The story provides a clear idea that the custom of wearing finger rings and its acceptance among the people. There is another reference from *Mudrarākshasa*, about the utility of a finger ring by a Minister of high rank. The work clearly demonstrates that finger ring of a Minister could be used as an important instrument of identity and also received respect and recognition among all the officials of the government.

We have no idea about the antiquity of the custom of wearing finger rings among the people in the Tamil country. However the custom could be
traced to the early historical period. In some of the megalithic burials in TamilNadu, the dead were buried with their finger rings. In Kodumanal, in one of the burials (Megalith-VII) were found two finger rings of gold. They are of solid spiral rings weighing about 2 gm. having a diameter of 1.6 cm and a thickness of 1 mm. From the small size we can infer that these rings belonged to a child. Since they were found inside a burial, we may also suggest that with the dead their personal ornaments were also placed. Finger rings were discovered at other sites also.

There are a few references in the Sangam works about wearing of finger rings. *Kalittogai*, refers to a finger ring (*mōthiram*) decorated with a male shark (*surā*) worn by a small child 1. The post Sangam work, *Silappadikāram* refers to finger rings worn by Madhavi. She has decorated her fingers with several rings of which one was called *manī mōthiram*, a ring probably set with precious stones. Another ring was described as *vālaip pakuvāy vaṅkkuru mōthiram*. The descriptive phrase has been rendered by the commentator as *muḍakku mōthiram*2. The above two phrases are not easy to explain and looking at the context, we may suggest that the finger ring was an extremely ornamented one. Some of the old proverbs in Tamil language also speak about this custom. In one such proverb it is claimed, that receiving a hit or a blow by a person wearing a finger ring is appreciable than from a person without a ring in his finger (*kuṭṭup paṭṭālum mōthirak kaiyāl kuṭṭuppata vēndum*). The proverb clearly suggest the social and economic status of a person wearing a finger ring.

In the last two decades numerous finger rings were discovered in the Amaravathi river-bed at Karur (Karur District, TamilNadu). The river-bed was sifted by gold seekers and a by product was the discovery of finger rings, coins and other artifacts. The first recorded discovery from Karur was made in November 1987, when, R.Nagaswamy, (then the Director of Archaeology, Government of TamilNadu), reported the discovery of a Chera coin with the legend, Kolliippuraith. Though, we have no records available about the digging activities in the Amaravathi river-bed prior to 1987, we may easily suggest that the gold diggers were working at the site and objects found by them were exchanged to interested parties unnoticed by the authorities for a long time. Though the diggers indiscriminately collected antiquities from river-bed without considering stratigraphy and cultural periods, some new and significant materials were brought to the notice of researchers. Most of the finger rings obtained was sold to the local jewellers and they in turn sold to antique dealers and others interested in purchasing these objects. We have no inventory available about the number of objects collected and sold in the
local as well as international market. In this paper I shall study some of
the finger rings collected from Karur and reported in various publications.

Among the finger rings reported from Karur one variety of rings has a
legend engraved in the positive. They could be considered as personal
rings probably not used in commercial transactions. Since the legends are
inscribed in the positive they could not be considered as seals. They are
mostly made of gold and some are in silver. The Tamil Brahmi legends
are short with a few letters and incised in one or two lines. On
palaeographical consideration they are assigned to the early historical
period, and dated mostly to the 1 century B.C. In some rings with the
legend additional symbols like fish and taurin are found.

One of the rings from Karur (1997) has a 5 letter Tamil Brahmi legend
with a taurin symbol engraved at the end of the writing. The legend has
been read as ariamāṇ and assigned to 100 B.C. R. Krishnamurthy who
reported the discovery of the ring considered that the letter ri could be
engraver’s mistake for ti and restored the legend to Atiyamāṇ. On
the basis of the restored reading he has inclined to attribute the ring to
Atiyamāṇ, a Sangam age chieftain. The Atiyamāṇ chiefs ruled the
Tagaḍūr region (Dharmapuri area) of the Tamil country during the
Sangam period. Iravatham Mahadevan would like to derive the name
Ariamaṇ from the Vedic Aryaman, one of the Adityas. He has also
pointed out that one of the mythical ancestors of Chola dynasty was
Aryaman.

Though the legend has been read correctly as ariamāṇ (ari amāṇ), there is
no need to restore the legend to Adiyamāṇ (R. Krishnamurthy) or
Aryaman (Iravatham Mahadevan). In both the instances, the letter ya was
substituted to explain the personal name. R. Krishnamurthy has rightly
quoted the meaning given in the Tamil Lexicon as the spirit of the dead
and questioned the issue of a ring with such a legend by a dead chief. His
approach to the name is unconvincing. Here, the word shall be understood
as a simple name of an individual, having some meaning but it need not
always qualify a person’s achievement or character. Personal names with
exalted or derogatory meanings were applied to persons and we cannot
always justify the meaning and quality of persons with those names.
Instead they shall be looked and understood as simple personal names
having some meaning. Therefore, in explaining the above name both of
them have misled by applying the meaning of the word to the person
concerned. The legend, ari amāṇ on the finger ring clearly suggests that it
was the name of a person, who could be the owner of the ring.
Further it has to be considered that the ring was a product of careful execution of a planned design. Since the letters appear in the positive there is no need for the cutter to confuse with other letters and engrave a wrong letter by mistake. Moreover, if this ring were related to any royalty or a chief of Sangam age, the engraver would be careful in executing king’s name and would have avoided mistakes. Therefore, there is nothing wrong in accepting the name _ari amāṇ _ in the present form and interpreting it as a personal name of an individual who could be a wealthy person to possess a gold ring with his name inscribed on it. The meaning given in the _Tamil Lexicon_ is for the word, _ariyamāṇ _ (also _arimāṇ _ and not for _ari amāṇ _). The first part of the name _ari _ has numerous meanings and any one could be acceptable including lion. The second part _amāṇ _, not found in the _Tamil Lexicon_, but considering the context it could be rendered as a comparable person. Therefore, the word could be understood as composed of _ari _ and _amāṇ _, meaning similar to a lion.

In one finger ring reported by Ajay Mitra Shastri (2001), the name of a person appears as _brahmasahasa_ in bold on the oval face of the finger ring. He takes the legend as a personal name influenced by Sanskrit and assigns to the 2nd century B.C. Below the legend is a figure of an animal and according to him it could be an incomplete figure of a lion or a tiger, the head and legs were partly depicted. While explaining the name, _Brahmasahasa_, he modified to _Brahmasahasya_ and suggested that it would denote one tolerant of Brahma or Brahman. Iravatham Mahadevan has offered a different view. According to him the legend is in Pali and could be dated to the 1 century B.C. The inscription has been read by him as _Brahma Sahasa_ and expressed that the name probably refers to some sacrifice and identified the animal depicted below the legend as a headless goat or sheep, which has already been sacrificed.

Both, Ajay Mitra Sastri and Iravahtam Mahadevan mistook the legend as well as the animal. In the case of the legend, it is clearly and boldly engraved and there cannot be any mistake in the reading of legend. It could be unambiguously read as _Brahmasahasa_ and could be identified as a name of individual, the possessor of the ring. We can tentatively place the ring any where between the 2nd and 1st century B.C. on condition of palaeography. In the identification of the animal figure lying below the legend both the scholars have erred, though Ajay Mitra Sastri has expressed that it could be a lion or tiger. As suggested by Iravatham Mahadevan the animal figure need not be considered as sacrificed animal. On the other hand, the animal could be identified as a tiger and compared with similar tiger figures found on the coins of the Sangam Cholas, especially the one depicted on the reverse of the coin illustrated by R.
Krishnamurthy in his *Sangam Age Tamil Coins*, p. 112, no.176, Plate-15. One more coin illustrated by A. Seetharaman in his book, also has a similar tiger emblem on the reverse. The figure of tiger, cut in the outline was the royal emblem of the Cholas of the Sangam period and could be assigned to an early period. Since the ring has the emblem of the tiger one is tempted to suggest that *Brahmasahasa* could be an official of the Sangam Chola dynasty and it could be his official seal. However, we may need further supporting proof to substantiate this statement.

Among the rings reported from Karur (2003) one oval shaped ring has a figure of combat scene with a three letter legend. R. Krishnamurthy, has studied the ring with the help of a photograph provided by a trader from Karur. The whole field of the ring is occupied by two figures. The male figure is with a short knife in his right hand and probably hitting the lion standing on its hind legs. His left hand is bent and pushing away the attacking animal. On the left side of these figures is a legend in the positive, which could be read easily as *tiyan*. The ring has been dated to 1 B.C. and *Tiyan* could be the name of the individual and probably the owner of the ring. R. Krishnamurthy, while drawing similarities of lion slayer type sculptures from the civilizations of the Middle East also compared the name *Tiyan* with similar communities from Kerala and Sri Lanka. Iravatham Mahadevan related the combat scene to the story of Bharata and considered that *Tiyan*, the owner of the ring could belong to the Bharatha (*Paratar*) clan. He draws interesting comparison to similar names found in the coins of Sri Lanka and a seal impression from Kadattur.

There are a few rings with the legend, which are discovered from Karur and are dated to the 1st century B.C. One of the rings is of silver and on the face of it has a two line Tamil Brahmi inscription engraved in the positive. The ring has a weight of 1.2 grams and A. Seetharaman, who reported the discovery of the ring in 1994, suggested that it is very small and fit to be worn by a child. The legend has been read by him as *vēḷī cāmpaṇ* and opined that the owner of the ring could be one *cāmpaṇ*, who belonged to the Velir clan. Though Iravatham Mahadevan deciphered the inscription as *velī cāmpaṇ*, he would like to consider the personal name as *velī cāmpaṇ*. Both the explanations are not convincing and need to be corrected.

In explaining the above legend it shall be understood that it contains three parts, namely, *vel*, ī, and *cāmpaṇ*. There is no difficulty in accepting the last word *cāmpaṇ* as a personal name of the individual, and in this case it shall be a small child. The first part, *vel* and the second part ī could form
into one word, veḷī and mean a white (person) and be rendered as the personal name of Campan’s father Velīyān, appearing in one of the Arittapatti inscriptions\textsuperscript{12} could be a variant of veḷī.

One gold ring (1994) is with the name tiyaṅ ōtalaṉ\textsuperscript{13}, another (1999) is with the name mitiraṅ\textsuperscript{14}. These two rings bear distinctly names of its owners, namely tiyaṅ ōtalaṉ and mitiraṅ. Mitiraṅ is very clear since it represents single name. In the case of tiyaṅ ōtalaṉ, we have some difficulty in accepting ōtalaṉ as a personal name, since no comparable name is available. However tiyaṅ could be a personal name and it appears in a few other finger rings also. Therefore it shall be considered as a composite name in which the first part (tiyaṅ) shall be the name of the father and the second one (ōtalaṉ) the name of the individual (son). One of the finger rings (1994) has six Tamil Brahmi letters incised on the face of the ring. The inscription has been read as \textit{pēr avatāna}\textsuperscript{15}. In another one (2001) the legend has been deciphered as \textit{antikaṉ}\textsuperscript{16}. The name \textit{pēr avatāna} has been considered as a title and \textit{antikaṉ} as a personal name. The legend in another one (1994) has been read as \textit{titan}\textsuperscript{17}. A symbol of fish is found with the legend All the above rings were dated to the 1 century A.D.

The second variety of rings is with a legend cut in the negative and could be used as a personal seal by traders and other persons. Of these ring seals one seal discovered and reported in 1993 by K.V.Raman is significant. It is a gold ring with two lines of writing with the bottom line having a taurin and fish symbols. The ring is circular and on the face of it an inscription has been cut in the negative so that it could be used as a seal. The ring could be dated to the 1 century B.C. According to K.V. Raman\textsuperscript{18}, the bilingual inscription in Tamil Brahmi and Prakrit could be read as sātāṅ sātevēgi. He believes that the first name sātāṅ is in Tamil and the second name sātevēgi in Prakrit. He has explained that the ring belonged to one Sātaṅ, who was a Sārthavāhi, a leading merchant and the seal was used to authenticate the transactions in his official capacity. Since the seal contained no symbol of royalty and no name comparable to the known royal families in South India and more particularly, Tamil country, we can understand that it was not a seal of any known ancient kingdom. Iravatham Mahadevan\textsuperscript{19}, also considers that the inscription is bilingual, and he reads the legend with some modifications as follows: sātāṅ sāti vēgi sa and explains that it represents the personal name of an individual. He further adds that the last name vēgi could refer to the Vengi country in Andhra Pradesh and suggests that sātī in the second name could represent the feminine form of sātaṅ or the name of a person based on the asterism svātī.
The legend in reverse form found on the ring could be read clearly as sātan sātivēgi. The rendering of the legend as Sātaṇ Śātivēgisa, by Iravatham Mahadevan needs to be corrected, since he has considered the taurin symbol found at the bottom of the ring as sa, which is not correct. The legend could represent the names of two individuals: Sātaṇ and Sātivēgi. The first name could be understood as a male name and considering the i ending of the second name it could refer to a name of a female. Therefore we may suggest that the ring seal belonged to one Sātivēgi, a female whose father (?) was Sātaṇ. That the vēgi could be derivation from the Vengi country is not convincing. There is no doubt that the seal was a product of the Tamil region, considering the use of the special Tamil Brahmi character (ṉ). Sātaṇ was a name accepted among merchants and traders of the Tamil country during the Sangam period. Since it was a finger ring seal bearing the name of a female, probably owned by a female, we may believe that women were also actively engaged in trading activities.

Another gold ring most probably used as a seal was found at Karur (1994) by Seetharaman. The face of the ring is elongated and is engraved with an inscription in Tamil Brahmi characters. The legend is cut in the negative within a linear oval outline and therefore the ring could be identified as a seal. The Tamil Brahmi inscription could be read as ūpā añ and represent the name of an individual. On the basis of the palaeography it could be dated to 1 century B.C. However, Iravatham Mahadevan explained that the name could be understood as a title meaning a spiritual teacher (upā(c)añ) \(^{21}\). Instead of restoring to upācañ and explaining the word as a teacher, the legend shall be accepted as ūpā añ, a personal name of an individual, most probably a trader.

Another gold ring with a small legend was reported by Sankaran Raman in 2002. According to him the face of the ring is of oval in shape and within a rayed circle, the Tamil Brahmi legend influenced by Prakrit, appears in the negative. He has read the one line inscription as bhavatasa, but later corrected to bhavatatasa. Disagreeing with his earlier reading, Ajay Mitra Shastri corrected to bhavatatasa and explained that the ring belonged to one Bhavatata. Shastri, without consulting the original has made a mistake and reported that the letters were in the positive, but in reality, the legend was deeply engraved in the negative. He also believed that the inscription is not in Tamil-Prakrit style but in pure and simple Prakrit. The seal could belong to one Bhavatatta, whose identity is not known. On palaeographical consideration the seal could be dated to the 1st century B.C. Since the finger ring exhibits the negative form, it could
be considered as a seal and as it was made of gold probably some influential merchant was the user.

A third variety of rings found at Karur is without any legend, but has some figures carved on them. One gold ring, with excellently carved figures was discovered sometime in 1991. It has been identified as a signet ring and the image has been described as amorous couple. R. Nagasamy has described the artistic and sculptural excellence of the images in his work. There is no doubt that the carved figures are one of the most beautiful productions of art, probably made in the ancient Tamil country. In 1992 A. Seetharaman reported the discovery of two finger rings (?) of copper from Karur. The face of the ring is semi oval and the figure seems to have been cut into the surface. The figure looks like a kneeling human figure carrying on his head an image of nandipada. The second ring is with a semi oval shape and weighs 2.8 gm. and the image of srivatsa is cut on its face. According to Seetharaman, the above two finger rings were seals used by some social groups. He has dated these rings to the Sangam period. It is very clear that images found on these rings could not be related to any dynasty in the Tamil country. The nandipada and srivatsa are the symbols used by Saivites and Vaishanavites respectively. Therefore, the above rings could be considered as religious symbols of the respective religious sects. Since the symbols were cut into the surface it has been wrongly attributed to a seal. Perhaps the cut in surface was filled with some precious stones and gems, which in course of time might have fallen. Therefore, in all probability the above objects need not be considered as finger rings but could be attributed as religious ornaments used to adorn the respective deities. Since there is no clear evidence available for dating these objects the suggested date shall be considered as purely conjectural.

An aspect of concern to the ancient historians of the finger rings discovered in the Amaravathi river-bed at Karur is that they were collected in unstratified deposits. The gold seekers had indiscriminately collected all objects of their interest, purely on commercial consideration. These objects were not collected from any ancient habitation, but were collected from the middle of the river-bed. Therefore, correlating these objects to any habitation levels is simply impossible. Since, we could not establish any meaningful stratigraphy or levels, these objects were dated arbitrarily. Those objects having letters were dated on the basis of palaeography, and most of the objects discussed above were assigned to the early historic period ranging from 2 B.C. to 2 A.D.
It is also a perplexing problem to us, to explain how these valuable objects find their way into the river-bed. All these objects could not have been washed away from an ancient habitation, since other related materials like pottery were not discovered along with these materials. One reason suggested for the occurrence of these valuable objects could be that they were dropped by the individuals unexpectedly when they undertook a boat journey in the Amaravathi river. Another suggestion could be that these objects were dropped from the corpses when they were left in the river by the relatives.

Fig. 1: Finger rings from Karur

In general the study of finger rings could throw some interesting light on a social custom of decorating oneself with some personal ornaments. The finger rings described above show some limited varieties, though a detailed study of all the available materials would bring some more interesting designs and varieties. These rings have some names with other
symbols and they could not be explained satisfactorily. Sometimes these symbols could be represented as a family or clan symbol, but in this regard, we may need some more supporting evidence. Though, fish and tiger are represented on these rings, attribution to the Pandya and Chola dynasties need to wait for further evidence. The names found on these rings could make an interesting study by itself. They suggest the adoption of non Tamil names during the early historic period in the Tamil country. The rings were made with simple design and without much elaboration. A metallographic study of these rings would provide some valuable information regarding the various metals used by the ancient Tamil population.

Notes

1 Kalittogai, verse, 84, ll. 21-23.

2 Silappadikāram, Kadalādukāthai, ll. 95-6.


8 A. Seetharaman, Tamilagat tolliyal cāndrukal, vol. 1, 1994, Thanjavur, p.16.


12 Iravatham Mahadevan, op.cit., p.325, 7.B.


19 Iravatham Mahadevan and Sankaran Raman, op.cit., pp. 181-183; Iravatham Mahadevan, op.cit., p. 66.

20 A.Seetharaman, op.cit., 1, p.7.

21 Iravatham Mahadevan, op.cit., pp. 130.


24 A.Seetharaman, op.cit., p.10.


26 A.Seetharaman, Tamilagat tolliyal cāndrukal, vol. 2, p.11.
Pottery Inscriptions of TamilNadu – A Comparative View

Subbarayalu, Y.

Thiru Iravatham Mahadevan is well known and appreciated by one and all for his contribution to the field of Tamil-Brahmi Epigraphy mainly concerned with the decipherment and interpretation of the cave or rock inscriptions of TamilNadu. He had been also taking keen interest in the study of pottery inscriptions from the initial stage. I am very much beholden to him for the several insights that were inspired by his pioneer studies. That may be well understood from the frequent citations in this paper. In fact he very much wanted to have a second volume on pottery inscriptions following the one on rock inscriptions. I believe this study may fulfill his desire to some extent.

Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery from TamilNadu were first noticed in Arikamedu in 1940s and subsequently they were discovered in several other sites in TamilNadu. Among some twenty and odd early historic sites, which normally yield Brahmi sherds, only five sites subjected to large-scale excavations have thrown up a good quantity of pottery containing Tamil-Brahmi script. They are Kodumanal (250), Alagankulam (73), Arikamedu (66), Uraiyyur (20), and Karur (15), which together yielded the bulk of the potsherd inscriptions, namely 424 out of a total of 469 inscriptions that come from some fifteen TamilNadu sites. Korkai, Maligaimedu, Teriruveli, and Mangudi yielded less than ten sherds each. Four sherds come from two Red Sea port towns of Egypt, namely Quseir al-Qadim and Berenike and some from Sri Lanka. Excavations carried out at Madurai and Korkai were on a small scale, hence the small number of sherds from them, eight and two respectively. Those at Kanchipuram and Kaverippattinam were on a large scale, even then there were found only a few sherds with inscriptions. This is a bit intriguing. The other sites have yielded each a handful of sherds. Only some 270 sherds that could be either personally checked by me or for which good illustrations for study are available in standard publications have been listed in the appended catalogue arranged according to their sites.

The pottery carrying Brahmi writing generally comprises black-and-red ware and red polished ware, in almost all the TamilNadu sites whereas in the coastal sites, particularly at Arikamedu and Alagankulam, the rouletted ware, which Vimala Bigly classifies as fine ware, also contain inscriptions. The inscribed vessels may mostly be classified as the tableware, as the bulk of them form dishes and bowls, used for eating and serving. Some are also medium-sized vessels, like storage pots. Interestingly, all the pottery kept as offerings in the burials do not have Brahmi inscriptions, whereas they have non-Brahmi graffiti in all the
excavated sites. The letters are usually found on the neck portion of the vessels on the outer surface, and only in a few cases they are found on the interior surface of the vessel and rarely on the topside in the case of lids used for covering other vessels. That is, the writings are meant to be visible and read in the standing position of the inscribed vessels. All the pottery inscriptions were made after the vessels were fired and taken out of the kilns. Obviously, they were made while their owners were using the vessels.

**Palaeography And Orthography**

There is no uniformity in the making of the individual letters. That may imply that each inscription is from a different hand. In some sherds the letters are inscribed lightly, in others they are deep and very legible. In a few cases, corrections seem to have been made by the scribe. Generally, the letters are small, the average dimensions being 5 mm in breadth and 15 to 20 mm in height. However, on a few, particularly big-sized vessels, the letters are very big. In palaeography there is a general resemblance between the Brahmi letters on pottery and those of the rock (or cave) inscriptions (Appendix 2). In the very first study of the pottery inscriptions of Arikamedu, the epigraphists of Archaeological Survey of India drew attention to this fact, even though they had some problems in fixing the date of the pottery inscriptions (Wheeler, et.al., 1946, p. 109).

There is one striking difference as far as the use of non-Tamil graphemes. Whereas the rock inscriptions use only two non-Tamil letters (s, dh), the pottery inscriptions use as many as eleven such letters (kh, g, jh, d, d, dh, b, bh, ȳ, s, h). But those letters, excepting the dental sibilant s, are only sparingly used and that too in Prakrit-related names. As for the vowels, the seven vowels a, ā, i, u, ū, e, o are found in the initial position. But ā is very rarely met with. So far there is no occurrence of ō within TamilNadu. The only rare instance is from a recent find (no.270 in the Catalogue) in Quseir al-Qadim in Egypt. In medial position, a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō, and ai occur. If there is some ambiguity to distinguish the long forms from the shorter forms of the vowels, the shorter form has been preferred in the Catalogue: For example, Mulaṅ instead of Mūlaṅ.

Among consonants, all the eighteen letters used in Tamil find a place. Some of these letters are found only rarely. The letter ñ is found only once, that too in a doubtful case. The basic form of the consonants is not distinguished from the vocalic form by any diacritical mark, like dot. There is one case of dental n, where the basic form seems to be indicated by a dot (no. 39 in Kodumanal). It is not certain whether the dot here is
deliberately put or it is an extraneous scratch\textsuperscript{4}. There is no attempt to differentiate between a and ā medials. Only from the context, the actual phonetic value could be recognized. The medial sign for ki and kī have some peculiar forms; the upward strokes in these cases are attached to the horizontal stroke of k in the middle, instead of attaching it to a separate horizontal one attached to the top.

Of the four signs peculiar to Tamil Brahmi, namely, \textit{l}, \textit{l}, \textit{r}, \textit{y}, the retroflex \textit{r} occurs in two forms, one looking like \textit{tu}, the other being the usual form, i.e., with a downward stroke attached to the right side of the duct at the bottom. In Kodumanal and Uraiyur the former form only is met with. The alveolar \textit{y} occurs frequently at the end of the words, obviously in the basic form. Its medial form with a is found in a few cases, where it is clearly denoted by a right horizontal stroke attached to the top downward bend of the letter (nos.170, 243, 246). The letter \textit{l} has three forms, one (no.226) at Arikamedu being more developed than the others. The few instances of aspirates and soft forms of the plosives relate to words of Prakrit origin only. Of the sibilants, the dental one (\textit{s}) occurs frequently both in Prakrit and Tamilized Prakrit names, while the palatal one (\textit{ś}) occurs only in Prakrit words.

The palaeography of the letters does not show much evolution in most of the excavated sites, except in Arikamedu and Alagankulam. Of course, there are only four sites, namely Alagankulam, Arikamedu, Kodumanal, and Uraiyur, which yield a good number of sherds at different levels to understand the changes, if any. In Kodumanal, which has yielded the largest number of inscribed sherds to date, the variations in the forms of the letters on different sherds may be attributed to different scribes rather than to time difference, as different forms recur often. This point may be understood from the letters k, t, m, n, and s (Appendix 2). On the other hand, at Arikamedu and Alagankulam we can recognize two evolutionary phases; while in the earlier phase these two sites resemble Kodumanal and Uraiyur, in the latter phase they show somewhat developed characters. In fact, in most of the other sites too, only the characters of the earlier phase are met with. These characters are more or less similar to those found in the rock inscriptions, which Mahadevan (2003: pp. 93-95) has classified as of early Tamil-Brahmi phase. The characters of the second phase in Arikamedu and Alagankulam resemble those of Mahadevan’s late Tamil-Brahmi phase. Nonetheless, the sherds belonging to the second phase are a few only.

In orthography too, the pottery inscriptions resemble the rock inscriptions. Unlike the north Indian Brahmi of Asokan times, the Tamil-Brahmi of
both the rock and pottery inscriptions do not have ligature or conjunct (samyuktākshara) forms. In this regard, the Tamil-Brahmi is similar to Sri Lankan (or Simhala) Brahmi, which avoids altogether any ligature forms. Nevertheless, there is some remarkable difference between the languages in the two areas. In Sri Lanka, the language is a Prakrit (classified as Middle Indo-Aryan), which has features similar to those of other contemporary Prakrits, literary as well as inscriptional. At the same time, while the other Prakrits have a few consonant clusters necessitating ligature characters to write them, the Sri Lankan Prakrit avoids altogether conjunct consonants (Paranavitana, 1970, p. xxxiv); naturally, the Sri Lankan Brahmi has no necessity of ligatures found in Asokan Brahmi. Moreover in this Prakrit even in the word final position either the anusvāra or the basic consonant is not used. But the Tamil language of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, both on rock and pottery, has consonant clusters, by way of plosives preceded by homorganic nasals, and also in gemination of consonants, though in a limited way; even then, Tamil-Brahmi did not possess ligature characters. But the major problem for Tamil writers was how to indicate pure consonant at the end of the words, as in Tamil there are many words, both nouns and verbs, which end in pure consonants, which cannot be indicated even with conjunct consonants.

In Asokan Brahmi, the basic symbol for consonant, without any additional stroke or diacritical mark, represented the implicit consonant with a. That is, the basic form is always with the medial a and other medials were indicated by additional marks. Therefore the Asokan Brahmi, which is quite at home when it is used to write Prakrit languages, could be used for Tamil only with some modification. Mahadevan (1971) explained this modification through what he called Tamil-Brahmi orthographical systems. The most significant point that he made, following the suggestion earlier made by T.N. Subramaniyan (1957), is that in the first stage of adaptation the Brahmi principle of the “inherent” –a was given up and the consonantal symbol was regarded as basic or mute. (Mahadevan 2003, p.227).

Mahadevan classified Tamil-Brahmi (TB) into three orthographical stages on the basis of the method of differentiating the implicit consonant from explicit or pure consonant. In TB-I both the long and short medial a (e.g., ka and kā) were indicated by a top stroke attached to the basic form, while the basic form itself stood for the pure consonant (k). In TB-II the basic form with the top stroke stood for the long medial only, while just the basic form without any stroke stood for either the short medial or the pure consonant. In TB-III the pure consonant was indicated by a dot.
added to the basic form either at the top or by the right side. Mahadevan conceived these three orthographical systems as three successive chronological stages. However, he was aware of the parallel occurrence of both TB-I and TB-II systems in some contemporary inscriptions. The Brahmi sherds from excavations, particularly those from Kodumanal, also showed that they were a mixture of both TB-I and TB-II stages (Subbarayalu, 1988). Mahadevan (2003: pp. 231-34) has lately changed his thesis regarding TB-I and TB-II as two chronological stages by a review of his own texts; he treats them now as two parallel systems. According to him there are only five out of sixty-six pottery inscriptions in Arikamedu, four out of twenty in Uraiyur, and seven out of a hundred and seventy in Kodumanal that can be classified in TB-I style (Mahadevan 2003: p. 235). Actually, if we look at these inscriptions closely, we find in one and the same record the occurrence of both TB-I and TB-II features, as may be seen from the table that follows.

There are only rare exceptions where only TB-I rule will apply. Of course, in several cases it is difficult to decide this due to fragmentary nature of the inscriptions. If TB-I and TB-II rules are found used so indiscriminately, it is difficult to consider them as two different but parallel systems. As the TB-I/TB-II classification has lost its scientific basis, it is better to give it up entirely or to treat them as of one stage. The majority of both the rock inscriptions and pottery inscriptions can be satisfactorily read using just the TB-II system, provided the language is taken as Tamil. Even in TB-I, the correct form can be decided only on an understanding of the language, i.e., Tamil. This has been pointed out by Mahadevan himself (2003, p.227).

<table>
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<th>To be read as</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sāṭantaï anatavāṇa</td>
<td>sāṭantaï antavāṇa</td>
<td>TB-I/TB-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>atāṇa asaṭ[ṇa]</td>
<td>ataṇ asaṭ[ṇa]</td>
<td>TB-I/TB-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>anatāvāṇa ataṇa</td>
<td>antavaṇ ataṇ</td>
<td>TB-I/TB-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>[kū]la-anataiy cămapāṇa akala</td>
<td>[kū]la-antaiy caman ṣ akal</td>
<td>TB-I/TB-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>sanatāṭaṇa #</td>
<td>santatāṇ #</td>
<td>TB-I/TB-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>kāṇaṇaṭaṇa ataṇa</td>
<td>kaṇṇaṇ ataṇ</td>
<td>TB-I/TB-II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be pointed out here, and it needs emphasis, that in all the three stages of Mahadevan’s classification, the letters for the word-final consonant and the homorganic nasals are consistently written without any
additional horizontal stroke. In this regard there is no difference between TB-I and TB-II. Even in the case of TB-II, differentiating basic consonant from the short “a” medial form requires knowledge of the language. We find a similar situation in the case of Tamil inscriptions from ninth century onwards, when the earlier use of dot to indicate pure consonant is discontinued. The dot had its advent in about the first century CE and was more or less consistently followed in inscriptions from about the third century through the ninth century. That is, we have a curious situation here where TB-II precedes as well as succeeds TB-III. The inevitable conclusion would be to treat both TB-II and TB-III systems as of one and the same stage. Consequently, the ambiguity in the differentiation of long and short “a” medials, which is attributed to TB-I stage, has to be explained as due to the initial difficulties encountered while adapting the Asokan Brahmi, originally devised for writing Prakrit language, to write Tamil, a non-Prakrit language. In the Catalogue, the best possible readings are given invoking only the practice of post-9th century Tamil epigraphy. In ambiguous cases, particularly in the names of Prakrit origin, the letters with “a” medial sign are taken as long medials only, even though there is in some cases a possibility of taking the letters as short medials.

Date

The excavations at Arikamedu, Uraiyyur, Kodumanal, and Alagankulam provide data for stratigraphical dating. For Arikamedu, Wheeler first proposed the dates mainly falling in the first and second centuries CE on the basis of the imported pottery from the Mediterranean, namely amphorae jars and Arretine ware. Hence, all the Brahmi pottery found at Arikamedu had to be assigned to these two centuries. But according to the Epigraphists of the Archaeological Survey of India who examined the inscriptions, the script used in them appeared to be older by two centuries and belong to the first or second century BCE when compared with the script of other Brahmi inscriptions, particularly those found in the north. The Chief Epigraphist, N.P. Chakravarti, therefore, had to resort to an ingenious explanation to explain away the apparent discrepancy between the suggested date and the palaeography (Wheeler, et.al., 1946, p.109). He explained the discrepancy due to the slow development of the ancient Drāviḍī script, to which Arikamedu Brahmi was related. This Drāviḍī script, which, according to Buhler (1962), is said to have separated from the main stock of Brahmi by the fifth century BCE, retained archaic features for long, due to its limited use when compared with north Indian Brahmi. This argument is no longer necessary in view of the revised dating of the Arikamedu by Vimala Begley.
Begley (2004), after reviewing all the evidence from both Wheeler’s and Casal’s excavations, has asserted that Arikamedu was occupied for a much longer period of time than the first two centuries CE. According to her revised chronology, which also takes into account the data from her own latest excavations, Arikamedu had a pre-Mediterranean trade phase, what was called by the French archaeologist Casal as “Megalithic” period. This pre-Mediterranean phase is dated by Begley from early second century BCE or a little earlier. Secondly, she dates the advent of rouletted pottery from early first century BCE, pre-dating even the import of amphora jars in Arikamedu. Even though the stratigraphy of the site is very much disturbed due to large-scale brick quarrying in later centuries, some sherds could be dated securely by stratigraphy or by a technical classification of the sherds themselves. Thus, no. 233 is given a date between 250 and 150 BCE, nos. 229 to 25-50 CE based on stratigraphy, nos. 236, 238, and 239 to a date between 50 BCE and 25 CE based on the technical classification of the pottery (Begley 1996, pp. 299-315). These dates tally more or less with the dates given by Mahadevan on palaeographical basis. Mahadevan, who actually examined the inscribed pottery of Begley’s excavations and contributed a chapter on them to the volume on the excavations, dated three inscriptions palaeographically to second-first centuries BCE, five others to first century CE, one in the second century CE and four in the third century CE. No. 232 can be definitely dated in the first century CE due its palaeographical resemblance to Kushana-period writing (Ibid). No. 215 from Wheeler’s excavation is a similar Kushana-period writing to be dated in the first century CE (Dani 1986, pp. 83-84).

For Alagankulam, either the report (Sridhar 2005) or the few articles published by the excavators (Nagaswamy 1991; Kasinathan 1997) do not give a clear picture of the stratigraphy and the contextual position of the different sherds. In any case, it is said that the site was continuously under occupation from fourth/third centuries BCE to fifth century CE. The earliest date is determined on the basis of the occurrence of NBP ware. Vimala Begley, who studied carefully the rouletted pottery and other material from Alagankulam, concludes that Arikamedu and Alagankulam overlap partially; that they may even have been mostly contemporary (Begley 2004, pp. 521-524). Like Arikamedu, Alagankulam also was having active contacts with the Roman world. The graffito of a Roman ship was found scratched on a rouletted pot belonging to period III (Sridhar 2005, pp. 69-70). Lionell Casson identified this ship as a three-masted ship, the largest type of Greco-Roman merchantman afloat, which must have been used on the long and demanding route between Greco-
Roman Egypt and India during the first three centuries CE. This evidence would rather support Begley’s opinion regarding the date of the site. The palaeography of Alagankulam sherds also shows similar features as that of Arikamedu. While most of the sherds have archaic characters, a few have later characters.

Uraiyyur, excavated by the Archaeology Department of Madras University, had two cultural periods. Period I comprising Iron Age Black-and-Red ware has yielded all the twenty pottery sherds in this site. Shanmugam (1988) comparing Uraiyyur letters with the Arikamedu ones thinks that the Uraiyyur inscribed pottery may be dated to the first century BCE. However, this site did not have any independent dating mechanism, except the fact that the inscribed pottery preceded the occurrence of the rouletted ware.

Kodumanal, an Iron Age burial-cum-habitation site, has the most copious corpus of pottery writings excavated so far in TamilNadu. The habitation part of the ancient site at Kodumanal yielded a number of graffiti-bearing potsherds from the earliest layer to almost the end of the site. A half of the graffiti that could be recognized consists of various picture signs and the other half consists of clearly recognizable Brahmi letters. The Brahmi sherds are found right from the beginning of the habitation and they are found throughout period I and even in Period II. Nevertheless, the Period II people are found to have dug deep pits into the earlier (period II) deposit and therefore the inscribed sherds in Period II layers are likely to belong to Period I. The stratigraphy of the site is helpful in the relative dating of the antiquities and pottery as it is based on a series of clearly recognizable floor levels. The few radio-carbon dates available both for the habitation and the burials are not so useful for absolute dating as they are not consistent with each other. An important clue to date the site comes from gemstone industry of the site which was flourishing in Period I and became unimportant thereafter. Linking this fact to the occurrence of several hoards of Roman coins in the gem-stone zone of Coimbatore-Erode Districts and also taking into consideration the approximate duration of the floor levels, the following sequence of dates is obtained:

- **Period IA** (layers 7-8; 140-190 cm) --- 200 BCE--100 BCE.
- **Period IB** (layers 4-6; 60-140 cm) --- 100 BCE--50 CE.
- **Period II** (layers 1-3; 0-60 cm) --- 50 CE--150 CE.

Taken together, the archaeological evidence from Arikamedu, Uraiyyur, Alagankulam, and Kodumanal would suggest that the earliest date for the Tamil-Brahmi pottery would be the beginning of the second century BCE or at the most the second half of the third century BCE and the latest date
would be in the third century CE. The bulk of that pottery belonged to the first century BCE and the first century CE in Arikamedu and perhaps in Alagankulam too. In Kodumanal and Uraiyyur the dates may range between the second and first centuries BCE.

The above dating can be verified by a comparative palaeographical study with the Sri Lankan Brahmi inscriptions found in several hundreds in rock shelters dedicated to the Buddhist fraternity. On the basis of some political links to the reign of the Mauryan emperor Asoka and on the basis of well-settled genealogy and relative chronology of the early Sri Lankan rulers, a few earliest inscriptions, which relate to the successors of a junior contemporary of Asoka, are dated in the last decade of the third century BCE and several other inscriptions could be dated with an accuracy of a decade or two in the second and first centuries BCE (Paranavitana, 1970: p. xvii; Karunaratne 1984: pp. 2-4). A comparison of the palaeography of pottery inscriptions and that of the Sri Lankan inscriptions would show that a broad correspondence exists between them. Moreover there are two letters, namely ma, and ṭa, whose forms are identical in pottery inscriptions on the one hand and in Sri Lankan inscriptions on the other hand (Karunaratne 1984: pp. 32-33) in the second and first centuries BCE. Finally, a Tamil-Brahmi inscription, reading karpumāṇ (no. 267 of the Catalogue), found inscribed on an amphora potsherd obtained at Berenike, a Red-Sea port in Egypt, is dated by the excavators of the site to 60-70 CE on the basis of stratigraphy (Mahadevan 2003: p. 49). This piece of evidence also reinforces Begley’s dating of Arikamedu sherds and consequently the general chronology of the pottery inscriptions as suggested above.

The Purpose

The pottery inscriptions are very short and therefore the contents of those inscriptions are limited in nature. The usefulness of the inscriptions becomes more limited due to their fragmentary nature, as most of them are obtained from broken potsherds. However, it is possible to recognize a word either from its beginning or from its ending part by a careful observation. One frequent clue in these inscriptions to recognize the end of a word is the occurrence of the alveolar ṇ, which is a familiar termination for male names in Tamil. The catalogue shows that most of the inscriptions are one-word (or one-segment) inscriptions. Among the two hundred and seventy records listed in the Catalogue, a hundred and ninety-two have each one word, sixty-four have two words, eight have three, five have four, and one has the maximum of six words. All but a few inscriptions give only names of persons with one segment or two.
The few exceptional inscriptions, which are given below, provide, in addition to proper names of persons, nouns relating to pots and a few other lexical items.

<table>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four inscriptions have the term *ākal* at the concluding part. *Ākal* denoted a shallow and wide-mouthed earthen bowl or plate. One gives the name *taṭā*, which denoted a pot or vessel. Actually, the concerned vessel, bearing this inscription, was a bowl or basin. The term *pati* occurring in no. 227 is a Prakrit word, and it is considered as a variant of *pātri* in Sanskrit and *pātti* in Pali language, meaning a shallow vessel (Wheeler, et.al., 1946, p. 114). The shape of the sherd having this term is in conformity with this meaning (Ibid). The term *pati* (and also rarely the variant *patri*) occurs in similar context on several vessels, mostly dishes, excavated at Salihundam, a Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh (Subrahmanyam, 1964, pp. 83-90).

The above-mentioned five inscriptions may give us a clue to their actual purpose. Inscription no. 66 means “the pot (ākal) of Kula-antaiy Campañ”, no. 114 means “the pot of Vāruṇi”, no. 222 means “the pot of Muti Kuyiraṇ”, and no. 234 “the pot of …”. Even though there is no explicit genitive case particle in all these four cases, it can be inferred in the context. In 227, which is a Prakrit inscription, there is the genitive case particle *ya* and the meaning of “the pot (pati) of Yaṟavalabhuta” is clear. This fact is further supported by several other Prakrit-related names, which have the genitive case markers (*śa, sa, ha*), indicating ownership. For example, *dataśa* (No. 200), meaning “of Data”; *yakhamitrsa* (no. 227), “of Yakhamitra”; *camutaha* (no. 210), “of Camuta”. Here the object “pot” is understood. The Tamil inscriptions are obviously similar in purport. That is, in all these five inscriptions, the purport is to indicate the owner of the pot.

Except the terms noticed above, all the others are names of persons only. That is clear from the occurrence of the alveolar *ŋ* at the end of many of
the words whose full forms are available. Names of males in the Tamil area (including Kerala) usually ended with this letter. The number of $n$-ending names may constitute a third of all the available names, if we take into account the fragmentary words too. Some of these names occur more than once. Other than the $n$-ending names, there are some ten names with antai component. The full forms with this component are Antantai, Sātantai, Cuḷantai, and Kula-antaiy (Catalogue: nos. 166, 6, 27, 66). Others are broken and incomplete.

There are several names of north Indian origin (Appendix 2), which are in Prakrit proper. A few are in hybrid form too. The Prakrit names can be recognized by the occurrence of non-Tamil graphemes (aspirants, soft letters, and sibilants) and the genitive case endings like $śa$, $sa$, $ha$, $ya$. In no. 170, whose latter half only is available, the genitive case marker $sa$ is added to the name “..tay”, which with “ay” ending must definitely be a Tamil name like $Ataṉ$ or a Tamilized Prakrit name like $Visakaṉ$. In nos.173 and 174, the first segment, which normally stands for father’s name, ends in $n$, whereas the second segment, standing for ego’s name is in Prakrit. Then there are names such as Asataṉ, Visakaṉ, Kuviṟaṉ, Uttiraṉ, and a few others, which show further process of adaptation of Prakrit names into the Tamil society. There are only a few names of women in the pottery inscriptions.

For a correct understanding of the pottery inscriptions, a comparative study may be useful. For this, the different cultural contexts of the pottery inscriptions as well as the inscribed names in the different localities may be taken up for comparison. Pottery inscriptions written in Brahmi, Kharoshthi, or Greek script have been discovered in several archaeological excavations in various parts of India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (Ray 1987). While a majority of the archaeological sites has yielded only a few sherds, a few sites like Peshawar, Kasrawad, and Salihundam have yielded plenty of them and some scholars have studied in detail those inscriptions (Chhabra 1950, Diskalkar 1949, Subrahmanyam 1964). Ray (1987) who has made a preliminary survey of these finds suggests that the inscribed pottery has something to do with the worship of the Buddha’s bowl and perhaps with some Buddhist ritual. It is a fact that a majority of the inscribed vessels comprises shallow bowls or plates, to suggest this “bowl worship”. Nevertheless, the fact is that the Buddhist sites which yielded the inscribed pottery are a few only. This is noticed by Ray herself. Most other sites are not associated with Buddhism. Even in the few clearly Buddhist sites, there is no clear evidence in the inscriptions to suggest the worship of bowl. On the other hand, according to Buddhist tradition, begging bowl is an important
possession of monks too. In Salihundam, in Andhra Pradesh, which yielded large number of inscribed sherds in Prakrit language, there is some evidence to think that some bowls were gifted to monks. Most inscriptions in this site, however, are similar to the Prakrit inscriptions in TamilNadu sites, that is personal names with genitive case suffix, indicating the possession aspect. In Kasrawad, a Buddhist site in Madhya Pradesh, a few kilometers to the south of the Narmada river, datable to the second century BCE, yielded large number of names with Prakrit inscriptions with genitive and dative case endings, some with the place name of the persons concerned (Diskalkar 1949). Therefore, the idea of personal possession of the vessel is quite evident in the inscriptions of this Buddhist site too. The proper conclusion that emerges from the above facts would be that the eating vessel, bowl or plate, was considered as an important possession throughout India during the period under study.

It was indicated above that the names in the pottery inscriptions are both in Tamil and Prakrit. Nearly one-fifth (50 out of 270) of the names on the pottery can be definitely recognized as Prakrit names, either in the original form or in Tamilized form on the basis of the use of as many as eleven non-Tamil characters indicated above and of the genitive suffixes like śa, sa, ha, and ya. There are some other names of Prakrit origin, which have been fully Tamilized avoiding non-Tamil letters, like Kuvira Kuvira or Kubera. Some names cannot be decided either way. For instance, whether Cātaṉ and Kaṇaṇ (Kaṇnaṇ) are originally Tamil/Dravidian names adapted into Prakrit or vice versa is difficult to ascertain. Interestingly we have both Cātaṉ and Sātaṉ. In the case of Cāmuta (Camuta), it is clearly a Tamilized form of the Prakrit name Samuda. Samuda meaning sea is a popular name in Sri Lankan inscriptions. Names based on star names, like Asaṭaṇ (from Āshāda), Asalay(a) (from Āślēsha), Mulay (from Mūla), Visakaṇ and Visākī (from Visākha or Viśākha), Ticay or Tiyaṇ (from Tishya) also may be treated as Prakrit names. If we put together both the pure Prakrit forms and Tamilized forms, they would make nearly fifty per cent of all the names found on the pottery.

The rock inscriptions have a few pure Prakrit forms and only two non-Tamil graphemes, s and dh. But there are a number of Tamilized Prakrit names. Mahadevan (2003: p. 104), after making an analysis of the stems of all the words found in these inscriptions, states that nearly 30 per cent of the stems can be assigned to Prakrit language for the period from second century BCE to first century CE. For arriving at this figure, he has taken into account all the lexical items, including place names, verbs and grammatical particles. It should be noted that all place names and verbs
in the rock inscriptions are in Tamil. If we consider only the proper names of persons, excluding verbs, places, and other related lexical items, the proportion of Tamilized Prakrit names comes to nearly fifty per cent in rock inscriptions too.

The pottery inscriptions certainly have some common features with the rock ones. Some names are common to both. The names Cāttāṇ, Kaṇāṇ, Atāṇ, Kuviṭāṇ, Antai, and Visākaṇ (or Viyakaṇ) are found in both groups though not in the same proportion. The term vēḷ which in Sangam literature is used to denote a chief, the names Korraṇ, Korri, Tīcan or Tīyaṇ, and a few others are found in both once or twice. The adjectival prefix “netu”, meaning elder or senior occurs twice in pottery inscriptions (Catalogue: nos. 110, 260), whereas it occurs more often in the rock ones. Some names like Araṭṭaṇ(a), Aritaṇ, Kāsiṇaṇ (variants Kasapaṇ, Kāyapaṇ) are peculiar to the rock inscriptions. Though there is equal proportion of Prakrit and Tamil names in both groups, there is more Tamilization in the rock group, even though both of them are almost contemporary. The latter feature may be due to the differences in the social sections represented in either group. In the rock group, there is more participation by the ruling class, though other sections like merchants and a few artisans are also found. The other possible difference would be in the writers of the respective inscriptions. While there is no possibility for the existence of a professional writer or inscriber to write the short pottery inscriptions, we must look for some professional hand in the making of rock inscriptions, both in drafting and engraving, as the writings are comparatively longer with some grammatical structure, and as mostly the elite sections are involved in the making of the gift documents. Naturally there would be some conscious attempt to use some standard language soon.

The names in the pottery inscriptions are comparable to the names found in Sri Lankan rock (cave) inscriptions of the second century BCE to second century CE as far as the Prakrit features are concerned. All those names are in Prakrit. Even some persons who are referred to as Tamils (dameḍa) had only Prakrit names, like Viṣaka, Tiṣa, Kubira (Paranavitana 1970: p. lxxxix-xc). A few asterism-based names in the pottery corpus seem to be closer to Sri Lankan names. Thus the name Asālay(a) (no. 56), traced to the star Āślēsha, has parallels in Sri Lanka, like Āśaliya, Āśelaya (Paranavitana 1970, p. 103). The name Asaṭṭaṇ (no.38) is same as Aṣada (from Āshāḍha). The latter name is met with in Kasrawad (Diskalkar 1949) and other north Indian sites too. The name Tiṣa is very popular in Sri Lanka, while it occurs only rarely in TamilNadu. Visaka (and the female counterpart Visākī) is found in both. In fact, in Sri Lanka too, there is a Tamil merchant with this name (Paranavitana 1970, p. xc). The name
Puṇḍakāy (no. 246) seems to be related to Puṇa (Ibid., p. 115). Apart from these names, the occurrence of the genitive suffix “śa” in as many as five names and of the genitive suffix “ha” in two of the pottery inscriptions is another significant piece of correspondence between the two areas. These two genitive suffixes are peculiar to Sri Lankan Prakrit (Paranavitana 1970, p. xl). The use of the alveolar sibilant “ś” instead of the dental sibilant “s” normally found in other Prakrits is a special feature of Sri Lankan Prakrit. Mahadevan (1996A), besides referring to the above features, also suggested that the non-doubling of consonants in TamilNadu Prakrit names may be due to the influence of Sri Lankan Prakrit. This non-gemination feature cannot be attributed to the Sri Lankan language alone, as it is also noticed in some north Indian Prakrits, for instance, in the case of the pottery inscriptions of Kasrawad in Madhya Pradesh14. Nevertheless, there are other sufficient grounds to agree with Mahadevan that there had been active communication between Sri Lanka and TamilNadu during the last three centuries BCE.

The Identity Of The Persons

The most crucial question to be answered with regard to the pottery inscriptions is who are the people represented in the names. The names are found concentrated in a handful of sites, while in other places they are rare. The other related fact is the occurrence of Prakrit names in those sites. The occurrence of a large number of Prakrit names, in their original form or in the adapted form, certainly vouches for a considerable presence of immigrant Prakrit-speaking people in the particular sites. Some of these people hailed from Sri Lanka and the majority of them should have come from the northern parts of India, which is implied by the wide use of the dental sibilant (s), which is avoided in the Sri Lankan Prakrit in its earliest stage. The purpose of the travel of these people over such long distances should be either for pilgrimage or for trade. The sites like Kodumanal, Arikamedu, and Alagankulam are not religious centres and they are not situated nearer to the known Jain centres of the day, namely the rock-shelters concentrated in Madurai area. Therefore, the other purpose, trade and exchange, is the only possibility here, which is well supported by the archaeological evidence. Kodumanal situated within a rich gemstone area and on a trade route that connected the west coast ports with the east coast ports, and running through the important towns Karur and Uraiyyur (present Tiruchirappalli), was an important centre for gemstone industry, using rock-crystal, beryl, and to some extent carnelian (Rajan 2004). It was a centre for iron production too. Naturally, it was an ideal centre for exchange and formed part of the peninsular exchange network. Arikamedu was an important east coast
port having active trade contacts with the Roman world during the period under study (Wheeler, et.al. 1946; Begley, et.al. 1996). Alagankulam was another important port on the east coast, contemporary to Arikamedu. Both were also centers for the manufacture of the rouletted ware, which figured in a wide exchange network, both inland and overseas (Begley 2004). Uraiyyur, Karur, Madurai, and Kanchipuram could have been natural centres of exchange as they were important political centres. Due to limited excavations and due to some other peculiar reasons, some of these sites do not have a good number of pottery inscriptions as the above three sites.

There are some clues in the names themselves to suggest that the persons, both with Prakrit and Tamil names, were merchants. The name Kuviṟaṉ and its Prakrit variant Kubira is to be traced to Kubēra, who is considered as one of the eight guardian deities of the earth and also the god of riches. It is the later aspect which is emphasized here. In medieval times, the members of Aiyyāvoḷe merchant guild called themselves as the vaiṣrāvaṇa (another name of Kubēra) caste15. Kubera is the name of a Yaksha too. However, here it is rather as a god of riches he is venerated and his name is taken by the merchant community. The name need not suggest the prevalence of Yaksha cult, as suggested by Mahadevan (1996B: pp. 295-96).

The other clue is the term antai found as part of some names. Mahadevan (2003: pp. 106, 599-600) has made a convincing argument that this could be a term of honour rather than a kinship term. At the same time, there is good circumstantial evidence to suggest that it was a term of honour used for the merchants, may be for leading merchants. A passage in the folk ballad Nīḷī Yaṭcakāṇam (quoted in Ibid, p. 599-600), there is a string of names ending in antai and interestingly all the persons having those names were merchants. We have in addition some inscriptive evidence earlier to this ballad which corroborates this fact. Thus, an inscription of 1207 from Tiruppasur16 in Chengalpattu District refers to a big gathering of merchants from several towns in northern TamilNadu. Several merchants in this gathering had names with the antai component: Veṭṭantai, Cāttantai, Kumārantai, Kaṇṇantai, etc. These names, even though they belong to a later period, may be considered as carrying on the earlier naming practice of the merchants.

The names Cātaṉ (later Cāṭṭaṉ) and Ataṉ may also be favourite names of the merchant community. One of the derivations suggested for Cātaṉ and its variant Sāṭaṉ is from the Prakrit term sārttavāha, used for caravan trader (Tamil Lexicon, qv). If this derivation is accepted, it may support
the merchant connection. But if this is a Prakrit-related name, it is not met with elsewhere, either in Sri Lanka or in northern India. Moreover, personal names are rarely derived from such professional denominations. The origin of the name Atay, which occurs more frequently in both pottery and rock inscriptions, is also difficult to judge. The name Ātaṅ (with the long vowel “ā”), which is found among the names of some Chera kings, may be different from Atay (with the short “a”). In the rock inscriptions this name is taken by a few persons who are specifically mentioned as merchant or artisan, for example, oil merchant (Mahadevan 2003, p. 419), goldsmith (Ibid, p. 369). It may also be noted that there are several Atay-s having also the Antai component. This combination may indirectly support that Atay is related to merchant community. Lastly there is at Kodumanal the unique occurrence of the term nikama which is obviously a variant of the Prakrit term Nigama or Negama, standing for trade guild (and also for commercial settlement).

Prakrit-speaking merchants, rather than the Jain monks, must have been instrumental in the beginning in introducing the Brahmi script into the Tamil country. This happened soon after the Brahmi script in its full form was available in the Magadha region during the Mauryan rule, early in the third century BCE. It is not that the trade circuits that connected Tamilakam with the northern lands came into existence only during this juncture. There is some good archaeological evidence to suggest that the trade contacts had already been there at least from the early phase of the Iron Age (Megalithic Age), that is from the early centuries of the first millennium BCE. However, only from the time of the Mauryan Empire, particularly during the time of Asoka, the contacts became more intense and frequent. The exploitation and control of mineral resources in peninsular India are said to have been important factors that were at the basis of the Mauryan expansion in the South. Naturally, trade would have got great fillip under this political development. This would explain the large presence of the traders from the north in late Iron Age or early historical centres of craft production like Kodumanal. The spread of the knowledge of writing through the traders is an important consequence of this development. Incidentally, the four Tamil-Brahmi pottery inscriptions (nos. 267-270) found in two Egyptian port-sites, Quesir al-Qadim and Berenike, also support the role of merchants, in this case the Tamil merchants (cāṭaṅ, kanaṅ, korpuṅaṅ, and paṅaṅ ori), in carrying their writing to distant lands.

As the Tamil merchants first took the writing knowledge from the Prakrit-speaking merchants from northern India, the Tamil language found in the pottery inscriptions, which represents the first stage of the written Tamil,
is naturally influenced by Prakrit as far as the orthography is concerned. More or less this Prakrit impact is the same as that found in the rock inscriptions, which has been thoroughly discussed by Mahadevan (2003, pp. 225-51). The features such as the occasional inconsistency in differentiating the short and long medial “a”, the non-occurrence of separate symbols to differentiate e from ē and o from ō, and the limited use of gemination, besides the large proportion of pure Prakrit names themselves, may be attributed to the Prakrit-speaking merchants among the local community. At the same time, the difference between the Tamil language of the pottery inscriptions and that of the rock inscriptions, even though they are contemporary, is due to the involvement of literate Jain monks in the latter, while in the former it is the merchants’ lingua franca.

The Jain monks may have accompanied the trading groups. Unlike in Sri Lanka, there is very little evidence to infer the presence of the Buddhist monks in this company. The non-mention of the term sangha in the rock inscriptions is a clinching evidence for excluding the Buddhists from the rock inscriptions. It may be noted in this context that in Sri Lankan Brahmi inscriptions, which are specially devoted to the Buddhist religious community, the sangha is prominently mentioned. In any case, unlike the rock inscriptions, the pottery inscriptions do not reveal any evidence of the two religious groups in the concerned localities. That may suggest that in the early stage, i.e., during the third to first centuries BCE, the Jain monks were limited in number and took their abodes near some important political and cultural centres. Particularly they are found in a good concentration near about Madurai, the capital of the Pandyan rulers. The concentration of the Tamil poets of the Sangam anthologies in and around Madurai may be due to the early settling of the Jain monks in this area, as the spread of formal literacy should be attributed to the Jain monks rather than to the merchants.

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Vasanti, S.

Wheeler, R.E.M. et al.
### Appendix I - Catalogue of Pottery Inscriptions

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Subbarayalu, Y.

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<td>205</td>
<td>AGM-49</td>
<td>tāniya[gũ]cānāmana (?)</td>
<td>தாணியகு[சு]னாமனா (?)</td>
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<td>cattan āvī-īn kōtiracṣātāriyav #</td>
<td>சக்கைய அவியின் கொதிரச்சா அறையாய என்று #</td>
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<td>AKB-26</td>
<td>yale cātan (?)</td>
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<td>AKB-31</td>
<td>[i]_ ma āttir[a]y (?)</td>
<td>[இ]_ மா ஆத்திர[ய] (?)</td>
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<td>[ka]nakaṇ tiṇa</td>
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<td>243*</td>
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<td>mulāṇaṇaṃ pera-anantaṇaṇu maṇe</td>
<td>(புலாணாண-பெரா-அண்டாணாணும் மணே)</td>
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<td>கதாணா அ _ _</td>
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<td>க அ _ _</td>
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<td>URY-11</td>
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<td>URY-12</td>
<td>araica (?)</td>
<td>அராயிட் (?)</td>
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<td>URY-18</td>
<td>mpāṇ</td>
<td>மபாண</td>
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<td>URY-19</td>
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<td>_அடன்</td>
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<td><em>yitiy ayamaraṇay ayai pā</em> _</td>
<td><em>யிதியயாமாரணயயாயைபா</em> _</td>
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<td>MALIGAI MEDU</td>
<td>vaṅ tala_ _ _ _?</td>
<td>வாங்தல அ அ அ அப் _ _ _ _ ?</td>
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<td>MAN GUDI</td>
<td>kuṟummāṇkaḷa ataṇ yiyāṇai [pe_] _</td>
<td>குறும்மான்கள ஆதாண்யியாணை [பெ] _ _</td>
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<td>269</td>
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<td>kaṇaṇ</td>
<td>கணன்</td>
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<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>paṇai ori</td>
<td>பணை ஓரி</td>
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</table>
Notes to the Table

Sherd No (in Column 1)

Sherd No. in the first column refers to the number of the particular inscribed sherd assigned to it by the Excavators in the site records and subsequent publications. For example KDL-1 means inscribed sherd no.1 at Kodumanal excavated by the Epigraphy and Archaeology Department of Tamil University.

Site Abbreviations (in Column 2)

KDL = Kodumanal
AGM = Alagangulam
AKW = Arikamedu (Wheeler’s Excavations)
AKB = Arikamedu (Begley’s Excavations)
URY = Uraiyyur
VLM = Vallam
KRR = Karur
TIV = Teriruveli
MGM = Maligaimedu
MGD = Mangudi

Text

As regards the text of the inscription given in the third and fourth columns, a doubtful reading is indicated by a question mark within round brackets. An underscore in the text shows the existence of a letter but illegible to read. In a few cases there may be more than one letter. The item symbol (#) denotes a non-Brahmi graffito, mostly at the end of a word.

Explanatory notes on the text of records with asterisk-mark

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mahdevan (2003: pp. 189-90) reads this ...toḷut[t]ai, and interprets as “slave maid”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>As the pot is broken, the letters/words following “ataṉ asatṉ” are not ascertainable. About five letters might have been inscribed in the gap.</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>Mahadevan (2003: p. 150) suggested this reading. No. 124 ([ya]sālai) may be a similar name.</td>
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<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Whether to read the first letter as short or long is not clear as the surface is much worn out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>The writing is found on the rough interior surface and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
seems to be made at a later date. It looks like a broken wheel made of used pottery.

| 167 | Whether the small letter looking like ṭa between “ḍa” and “sa” forms part of the original word is not clear. Could it be a correction by substituting “ta” for “ḍa”?
| 185 | As the sherd is very fragmentary, the context of the graffito is not clear.
| 187 | Natana Kasinathan (1997) has taken this as “patumāṟukōtai” and Mahadevan (2003: p. 60) reads it as “patumarkōtai”. The medial sign “u” to “ṛu” is very clear. And the last sign read as “tai” is actually a graffito, not the letter “tai”.
| 193 | This reading is by Mahadevan (1996b), who suggests that it could be the same as the Simhala term “raḥa” standing for “rāja”.
| 197 | Earlier read by Mahadevan 2004 as one of the Simhala-Brahmi inscriptions.
| 214 | In Wheeler it is read as “ṇ piya makar” taking “makar” for son. “Makar” for son would be a strange expression.
| 215 | In Wheeler 1946, it is read as “Yakhamitasa”. Mahadevan (1973) has corrected it as “Yakhamitraśa”. A. H. Dani (1986) read it as “Yakhamitrasya”. However, the last letter is clearly “sa”, written a bit ornamentally.
| 219 | In Wheeler 1946, it is read as “cāṭṭaṇ āvī-in kotī ičan āṭitiāpaya”. Mahadevan (2003) reads it as “cāṭṭaṇ āvī-iṇ kōṭiraçaṇ āṭiraiyaṇ”. As the sherd is much worn out some extraneous marks are found overlapping with the inscribed letters, making the reading ambiguous.
| 223 | In Wheeler 1946 it is read as “n kaikōlar”. There is no “ō” marker to the letter read as “kō”. And the last letter looks like “ca” in the illustration.
| 225 | In Wheeler 1946 it is read as “buttā”. Mahadevan (1986) correctly recognized the last letter as “śa” and read the word as “butasaśa”.
| 226 | In Wheeler 1946 it is doubtfully read as “...ntēva vaittatai kotti rā alu”. Mahadevan (1973) has suggested the present reading.
| 227 | The reading in Wheeler 1946 is “yadu(?)-valabhutaya pati”. Mahadevan (2003: p. 190) takes
the doubtful letter “di” as “lu”.

233 Mahadevan 1996b reads this as “ttaŋ iyāta...”. The faintly visible first letter has no resemblance to the second letter which is definitely “ta”. It may be read as “la”.

243 Mahalingam (1968) and Shanmugam (1988) read the second segment as “pētu” taking “mulan pētu” as a place name. But in the context only a personal name is appropriate. For taking “μu” as “ra” see no. 120.

256 Mahadevan (2003: p. 61) thinks that the last word could be pā[tu] meaning “vessel”.

267 Mahadevan (2003: p. 61) reads this as “kora pūmāŋ” and corrects it as “kora pūmāŋ”.

Sources used for the Catalogue

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<th>Site</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>Kodumanal, Erode Dt. (Tamil University excavations)</td>
<td>Subbarayalu 1996 (mimeo)</td>
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<td>171-182</td>
<td>Kodumanal (State Archaeology Department excavations)</td>
<td>Rajagopal 2004 and some illustrations from Sridhar 2006.</td>
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<td>228-241</td>
<td>Arikamedu (Begley’s excavations)</td>
<td>Begley, et.al., 1996.</td>
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<td>266</td>
<td>Mangudi, Tirunelveli Dt.</td>
<td>Shetty, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>Berenike and Quseir al-</td>
<td>Solomon 1991,</td>
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Appendix II – Paleography Chart of Pottery Inscriptions
<table>
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<th>( a ) (a)</th>
<th>( \lambda ) (( \beta ))</th>
<th>( \alpha ) (( \gamma ))</th>
<th>( \alpha ) (( \delta ))</th>
<th>( \alpha ) (( \epsilon ))</th>
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Subbarayalu, Y. 243
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## Appendix III - Prakrit Names

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Notes


2 This is an extended version of the pottery catalogue referred to in Mahadevan 2003. The original serial numbers given to Kodumanal sherds are retained in this version too.

3 However, in Kodumanal a burial yielded a potsherd with inscription. This on closer examination was found to be a broken vessel that had long been in use in the house of the person buried there. Normally, all the burial pottery was only fresh, unused pottery, made for the occasion of funeral ceremonies.

4 Mahadevan (1996B, p. 313) refers to dot in a third century inscription from Arikamedu.

5 Sri Lankan Prakrit may not be the only Prakrit to avoid ligature characters. Diskalkar (1949) has pointed out that in Kasrawad (about second century BCE) the pottery inscriptions written in a Prakrit do not show any ligature forms.
If the TB-I/TB-II classification loses its chronological basis, then Mahadevan’s dates given to the rock inscriptions, at least to some, on the basis of this classification would need some revision. For instance, the Jambai inscription of Atiyan Nedumān Añci, which is assigned by Mahadevan (2003, p.399) to first century CE should be more appropriately put in about 200 BCE or even earlier. However, his overall dating does not suffer as it is supported by other pieces of evidence.

Rajan (2004) has argued for a date in the fourth century BCE for the beginning of Kodumanal site and consequently for the beginning of Tamil-Brahmi script, on the basis of stratigraphy and the relative position of TB-I/TB-II sherds. He also finds support for this from some evidence from Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka, which is said to prove the existence of the Brahmi writing before the Mauryan contacts. Mahadevan’s TB-I/ TB-II classification has been shown above as unreliable for relative dating as they occur simultaneously. The Sri Lankan evidence is only partially and selectively published. A few illustrations published by the excavators (Coningham, et. al. 1996 and Allchin, et.al., 1995, p.177) show that the Anuradhapura Brahmi writings which they consider to be pre-Mauryan are not different from Asokan script, if not post-Mauryan.

The term akal is met with in Sangam poems in two senses: One, as an eating plate (Perumbanatruppadai, line 377) and two, lamp lit using ghee. (Nedunalvadai, lines 101-03).

Another similar instance is found in a rock inscription (Mahadevan 2003: no. 24, p. 351), which gives the word utayana-sa, “of Utayan”.

The major sites are Kara Tepe in Central Asia, Peshawar in Afganistan, Ujjain, Mathura, Nagda, Noa, Rairh, Raighat, Bhokardan, Maheswar, Kasrawad, Nasik, Prakash, Ter, Kumrahar, Chandraketugarh, Salihundam, and Amaravati in India, mainly in the northern parts and Deccan.

Sri Lankan sites also have yielded similar evidence (Coningham, et. al. 1996).

Mahadevan (1986) first noticed this genitive case marker in a potsherd inscription of Arikamedu and in a later article (1996A) he refers to three more instances from TamilNadu, besides two from Bengal coast.

There is, however, one doubtful word read as iva-kuṟṟam (Mahadevan 2003: p. 403) and translated as elephant hill taking iva as a variant of the
Prakrit iha. This word, however, can more appropriately be read as iv-kunram meaning “this hill”. If so, this is not a loan word from Prakrit.

14 As a corollary, the Brahmi writing in this site does not also have any conjunct consonants, according to the observation of Diskalkar (1949).

15 This equation is found in an inscription datable to circa 1150 CE at Budumuttawa in Sri Lanka (Avanam, 9, p. 39). Another inscription of about the 13th century from Avur in Tiruvannamalai District refers to the merchants as belonging to the vai(s)rāvana jati or caste (South Indian Inscriptions, XII, no. 231).

16 Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy for 1930, No. 120.
Rāyā Asoko from Kanaganahalli: Some thoughts

Thapar, Romila

A small piece of information has surfaced from the recent excavation by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) of the stūpa at Kanaganahalli. This raises some interesting questions concerning the perception which people at that time had of their recent past and the articulation of this perception, as well as its relationship to other perceptions from approximately contemporary times. My attempt here is to suggest the direction in which some enquiries can be made.

The site of Kanaganahalli lies on the left bank of the river Bhima five miles from the previously excavated site of Sannati in the Gulbarga District of Karnataka. Sannati was a large urban settlement with a fortified citadel dated to the early historical period. It has three stūpa mounds in its vicinity. The stone slab for the pīṭha, pedestal, for an image in the Candralamba temple in its neighbourhood was found to have partial texts of the Major Rock Edicts XII and XIV and the Separate Edicts I and II of Aśoka inscribed in Aśokan brāhmī. The slab was damaged by the cutting out of a section in the middle to hold the tenon at the base of the image. Sannati was therefore an important site in the Mauryan period. This is also indicated by the presence of Northern Black Polished Ware and some punch-marked coins from the Mauryan levels at the site.

As a Buddhist centre the geographical links of Kanaganahalli would have been with the stūpas of central India and the Deccan, with the many Buddhist sites along the east coast, and westwards with the cave monasteries of the Western Ghats. Buddhist sites are located seriatim down the east coast with a striking cluster in the Krishna delta around Amaravati and further upstream. The Bhima valley was also a route going towards the Western Ghats with their multiple passes down to the coast and the location of Buddhist sites at virtually each one. Andhra would have had extensive contacts through maritime trade both across the Arabian Sea and along the east coast. The location of Kanaganahalli would probably have been along the route from the north going south perhaps the much-mentioned daksinapatha. This would have continued to the Raichur Doab and the Krishna valley with its cluster of Aśokan edicts suggesting an area known to Mauryan administration. Votive inscriptions from the Sannati stūpa indicate the presence of what seem to be two
Yavana women and one identified as Sinhala. Roman and *Sātavāhana* coins point to the importance of this area in post-Mauryan times as well.

The excavation at Kanaganahalli has exposed a *stūpa*, some pillars and some low relief panels, judging by the information given on the website of the ASI and reports in *Indian Archaeology - A Review*. These lie scattered and have yet to be reconstructed. There was a railing pattern on the drum and above it a series of panels in low relief, some of which carry label inscriptions. The panels generally illustrate narratives from the Buddhist tradition. As is to be expected some represent events from the biography of the Buddha: such as, his conception and birth, his renunciation and departure from home, his enlightenment, the first teaching at Sarnath, processions bringing royalty to visit him, and the *mahāparinirvāṇa*. Others illustrate narratives from the Buddhist tradition such as that of *Mandhātā* - an ancestral figure of the Śākyas, the gift of the Jetavana, the distribution of the Buddha’s relics and the veneration of the wheel of law. Those that have captions / labels refer either to the narrative or mention the donor and sometimes the purpose of the gift. There are also pictorial representations of some of the *Jātakas*.

The site seems to follow the pattern of other *stūpa* sites in central India and the Deccan and is of approximately the same range of dates, the second century BCE to the fourth century CE. There could have been two phases, the earlier one being in the second-first century BCE and the later in the early centuries of the CE. The web-site compares it to Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati. The inscriptions appear to be largely of the *Sātavāhana* period, with a few referring to various *Sātavāhana* rulers. *Sātavāhana* lead coins have been recovered from the site, mainly from the time of Sri Sātakarni.

Among the panels there are two that refer to *rāyā asoko* and depict what presumably is a representation of a king called *Aśoka*. The depiction and the title given to the king raise some questions. I shall consider only two aspects: the designation used for referring to a significant ruler of the recent past; and the depiction of a certain category of women attendants whose professional function we have perhaps not fully understood. The first question relates to the labels on the panel and the second to what is depicted in the panels.

The first panel (Fig. 1), carries a label on the upper lintel of the frame. This has been read as: *rāyā / rānyā, Aśoka / asoko*. The language is Prakrit and the script *brāhmī*. The paleography is post-Aśokan given the tail that curves at the downward stroke of the *ra, a, ka* and is reminiscent
of Sātavāhana period inscriptions from western India, especially those at Junnar and Nasik.\(^8\) The second panel (fig. 3), narrates a different event but carries a label that reads rāyā asoko.

The first panel has been much publicized and is of course of considerable interest if in fact it is not a depiction of a local ruler and is intended as a representation of Aśoka Maurya. Given the many conventional illustrations on the panels this may have drawn less attention but for the label intended presumably to identify the main figure. An unimportant local ruler is unlikely to have been singled out for a label. The other such labeled representations, although few, are nevertheless of established rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The association of Aśoka with this area is evident from the presence of his edicts, although it remains puzzling as to why the Separate Edicts should have been inscribed at this location. The other locations for these edicts are Dhauli and Jaugada in Kalinga and the context would seem to have been the aftermath of the Kalinga campaign.

The first panel (Fig.1), below the label (Fig. 2) shows a standing male and female couple flanked by three attendants. They appear to be a royal couple since they stand beneath an umbrella held by one attendant and with chauris, fly-whisks, held by another two, one on each side to the rear. The framing pillar to the right of the group has the usual motifs: a lion capital, an inverted bell-like form often seen on such pillars starting with those of Aśoka Maurya, open lotuses and a base. The lower frame of the panel has the frequently depicted row of hamsas.

The male/raja, is depicted in conventional fashion. He wears an elaborately folded turban (Śīrabhuṣana), large ear ornaments, arm-bands and bracelets, a necklace from near which there hangs what seems to be a slim roll of cloth, a sash around the hips with one end hanging down held together by a hip-belt and a diaphanous lower garment. At first glance the slim roll could be mistaken for a yajñopavīta but it is thicker than the normal and similar in thickness to the top of the waistband. Nor does it go across the shoulder as a yajñopavīta does. The second panel depicting Aśoka does not show him with such a slim roll of cloth. In terms of caste status the Mauryas were regarded as śūdras or at any rate low from the brahmanical perspective and as a Kṣatriya clan in Buddhist texts. They are unlikely to be associated with wearing a yajñopavīta.

The woman, (or is she the queen ?), has ornaments in her hair, earrings, a necklace, arm-bands and bracelets, a hip-belt (mekhalā) and anklets. The women attendants have fewer ornaments. The adornments seem to
indicate that the women were part of the court elite. The transparency of a lower garment could be puzzling. Is it the luxury of a transparent fine weave that signals being a member of the elite? Those performing other functions in the other panels, such as the grooms of the horses, are more fully clothed.

Fig.1: Kanaganahalli : Panel showing a king accompanied by women
Fig. 2: Kanaganahalli – Label Inscription of Fig 01 reading rāyā asoko

Fig. 3: Kanaganahalli - Panel showing two male figures and a Bodhi-tree
The identifying labels in both panels are stark in their simplicity. In his edicts Aśoka does refer to himself as rāñño, lajinā /rajina, raño but this is generally together with his full titles of devānampiya piyadasi rājā ... as at Girnar⁹. In the Maski edict he refers to himself as devanampiya aśoka ..., the only occasion when he uses his personal name¹⁰. Rudradāman in his inscription of 150 CE refers to mauryasya rājñah candraguptasya .... aśokasya mauryasa. This is a different manner of identifying him - by name and by dynasty - than in the Kanaganahalli label inscription which could have been close in time¹¹. Rudradāman's reference involves both a historical pointer to an earlier ruler and a political statement. Among the Bharhut inscriptions, reference is made to members of a royal family as the rājan Dhanabhūti and the raño Gāgī during the reign of the Suṅgas¹². The mention of suganām rāje would suggest that the patrons of the inscriptions were intermediary rulers. Other inscriptions from Bharhut make mention of rājan(o) adhirājaka, rājāno, and rājā¹³.

The simple title of rājā is reminiscent of Aśoka describing himself in one of his edicts, as lājā (rājā) māgadhe. It occurs only once and in the Bhabhra edict which is addressed to the Sangha, and in which he reiterates his faith in the teachings of the Buddha and mentions those teachings that he thinks are particularly important¹⁴. This might suggest that the title rāyā asoko was used in a Buddhist context.

Possibly the intention here is also to indicate that even a great king, one who would otherwise have been given the status of a cakravartin, when he goes to worship the Buddha goes as a pilgrim, an upāsaka, lay follower, and the label of rājā is virtually a professional description. This can be compared for instance, with what is thought to be the depiction of a cakravartin at Amaravati which is more like what one might have expected from a representation of Aśoka. The figure has the trappings of majesty, stands full frontally with his hands in aṅjali mudra. He has women attendants as well as a male standing beside him, all dressed in the style of the court¹⁵.
This visual image of Asoka differs from some of the Buddhist textual descriptions where the context is the court or the palace as it also does from the mandate for kingly governance in Kautilya’s *Arthaśāstra*\(^\text{16}\) In Buddhist texts such as the *Aśokāvadana* and the *Mahāvamsa*, the association of majesty and grandeur with Aśoka is apparent. This is not merely a difference between textual and visual representations, for at other sites such as Sanchi, royal figures - some thought to be depictions of Prasenajit, Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Aśoka, are shown going in a procession to see the Buddha or to worship at a stūpa or to the Bodhi-Tree, generally mounted on a horse or an elephant and often accompanied by courtiers and the army. The presence of the army seems unnecessary unless it is meant to convey royal protection of the site. With such panels one would have to argue the reverse that the emphasis is on the majesty of the king who despite this majesty is nevertheless a worshipper at Buddhist shrines. The depiction of Aśoka as accompanied by only a few attendants as at Kanaganahalli is not unknown but generally uncommon for a royal pilgrim.

It does however bring to mind a similar but not identical panel from Sanchi where a king is being supported by female attendants and the suggested identification by Marshall is that of Aśoka.

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**Fig. 5:** Sanchi: Aśoka visiting the Bodhi-Tree?
Here he has an attendant on each side reinforced by another two on each side. One holds the umbrella, and the other holds the water-jar. On the edge of the frame on both sides there is a seated attendant. John Marshall states that this was Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi tree and that he was so emotionally moved that he had to be supported by two of his queens. At Bharhut there is a depiction of what has been interpreted as Aśoka visiting the Bodhi-Tree this time flanked by a man and a woman.

Aśoka mentions in his edicts that he visited the Bodhi Tree - *ayāya sambodhiṃ* - ten years after he had been reigning. Another relief from Sanchi interpreted as his visit to the Bodhi-Tree shows him with an elaborate entourage.

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![Fig.6: Sanchi: Aśoka visiting the Bodhi-Tree?](image)

The same is the case with what is believed to be a representation of his visit to the *Rāmāgrama stūpa* where he arrives in a chariot with possibly his queen following him on an elephant. These images emphasize his splendour and are similar in style to other royal processions. Given the form of the elite culture of the times, and nature of its Buddhist input, the Kanaganahalli panel almost suggests a local chief rather than a *cakravartin*. As a political and administrative designation the term *rāyā* would generally suggest a chief rather than a king. Yet we know that Aśoka did use this term for himself even if in a particular context and variations of the term were used at Buddhist sites referring to local kings.

Even at Kanaganahalli kings are given the title of *rāyā* as are the *Sātavāhana* kings mentioned in the inscriptions and none of whom were noticeably patrons of Buddhism as was Aśoka. It is interesting that historians today would distinguish between the Mauryas and the *Sātavāhanas* where the latter are the lesser rulers in comparison with the imperial power of the Mauryas. Such a distinction seems not to have been made or else was made through a different designation. A single mention of *rāyā cakavati satarājano* may be to the mythical universal monarch.
Mandhātā. Kings that were known to have ruled currently or not so long ago are all treated at par in terms of the titles they are given.

The second panel (Fig. 3), seems also to be connected to the Bodhi-Tree. The top of the panel has a row of haṃsas. Below that is a Bodhi-Tree, before which there is an unoccupied throne marking the presence of the Buddha, also indicated by foot-prints in the front. A male figure stands on each side facing the throne. One has his hands in the *anjali mudra* and the other is offering flowers. Behind them are female attendants. The identifying label is on the bottom lintel on the side of the figure holding flowers. One attendant holds a bowl in her left hand and the other holds flowers. There is no umbrella signifying royalty. The figure on the left has no necklace or armband, perhaps suggesting lesser status, whereas the figure on the right is better adorned. Neither of the figures has facial features identical with the Aśoka of the first panel and clearly these are not portraits. The scene does not immediately suggest a specific text.

If the interpretations of these panels as currently accepted are correct then it would seem that Aśoka’s visit to the Bodhi-Tree was depicted in two distinctly different ways: one showed him with just a few attendants and all barely clad whereas the other provided him with a background of regal splendour. Was the first style intended to focus on his personal commitment to Buddhism and the second added to this the fact that he was the royal protector of the Sangha?

Aśoka mentions going to the Bodhi-tree but does not state whether his queen accompanied him. At the time of this visit his chief Queen would have been *Asandhimittā* who was a pious lady and would probably have wished to join him. John Marshall identifies the queen in the Sanchi panel as *Tīṣyarakṣitā* quoting the reference from the *Divyāvadāna* of the joint visit when Aśoka fainted through sorrow and had to be helped by *Tīṣyarakṣitā* and another woman. However, this is contradicted by the *Mahāvamsa* which states that *Tīṣyarakṣitā* became queen in the last years of his reign; and being jealous of Aśoka’s devotion to Buddhism tried to destroy the Bodhi-Tree. In a short inscription Aśoka orders that the donations of his second Queen, *Kāruvākī*, the mother of *Tīvara*, be recorded. Could she have been the one who accompanied him to the Bodhi-Tree?

In some other panels there are representations of Sātavāhana kings such as *Simuka, Sri Sātakarni, and Pulumāvi*. Mention is made of Gautamiputra and *Yajñaśri* in some votive inscriptions. These Sātavāhana kings may or may not have been royal patrons of Buddhism themselves,
but an attempt was being made to try and appropriate them. They are all
given the title of rāyā which is understandable since that is the title that
they take in their own inscriptions. Unlike the panel depicting Aśoka
who ruled two to three centuries prior to the relief and no contemporary
representations of him are known, the panels of Sātavāhana kings may
have an element of portraiture since they were contemporary and similar
portrayals are known from the Naneghat Caves. Nevertheless, there is a
lack of interest in portraiture which is somewhat surprising given that
these were areas where Roman and Kṣaharata coins were circulating with
their strong imprint of royal portraits.

Another interesting aspect of the Kanaganahalli panel is that of the
identity of the women who surround Aśoka. The one on his left may be
the queen since she stands partially under the umbrella, but the others are
clearly attendants. The women carry a variety of ornaments but are all in
such transparent attire that they seem not to be clothed. Their gender is
noticeably emphasized. In the more elaborate reliefs at Sanchi,
accompanying women are generally dressed in courtly clothes. The
question therefore is whether the woman in the Kanaganahalli panel
represented the queen or was she yet another gaṇikā in attendance on the
king. She is playing with her ear ornament as yakṣī /gaṇikās are
sometimes shown to be doing in other sculpture and is perhaps holding an
object like a chauri similar to the one held by the attendant on the king's
right side.

Gaṇikās were women of considerable accomplishment specially selected
to attend on the king and be present at the court. As such they had status
and some closeness to power. Greek accounts mention that women were
in attendance on the king and took care of the king’s person. Such
women it is said are purchased from their fathers. Kautilya refers to the
superintendent of the gaṇikās, the gaṇikādhyakṣa, as an official of some
consequence. He was to select and appoint the gaṇikās assessing them
for beauty and accomplishments and they were recruited from the
families of existing gaṇikās and received a salary from the state. The
gaṇikās held the chattrā, the royal umbrella, the chauri, fly-whisk, the
water-vessel, the seat, as well as the palanquin and the chariot. They
owned property in their own right, sometimes quite substantial, which
interestingly could only be inherited by the mother of the gaṇikā
presumably as the head of the gaṇikā household. There were strictures on
how she could spend her earnings but in the Buddhist context at least, she
could make donations to the Sangha. Kautilya does not allow her to
approach a man unless ordered to do so by the king. The son of a gaṇikā
had to work as the minstrel of the king and came under the category of
kuśilavaḥ. In some texts individual gaṇikās are on occasion associated with a particular city, such as Ambapālī or Addhakāśi.

The contexts to the functions of the gaṇikā were royal courts and wealthy households in urban centres. The requirement was wealth. In some of the panels depicting royal processions, gaṇikās are also present, recognizable by the items they hold as listed in the *Arthashastra*. Theirs was a necessary presence on royal occasions. It would seem that rich families also had the equivalent of gaṇikās in attendance. There is a depiction of such a scene from Sannati on one of the fragments of a pillar and the inscription below it records the gift of the pillar by a person who appears to have been a gahapati, householder.

The *Milinda-pañho* has a story about Aśoka and the gaṇikā Bindumatī in which the status of the gaṇikā emerges as rather special. On enquiring if anyone can perform an act of truth, and thereby make the Ganges flow backwards, he is assured that this would be impossible. But the gaṇikā Bindumatī decided to perform an act of truth and the Ganges began to flow backwards. Aśoka wanted to know by whose authority she had done so and she replied that it was the power of truth and that in her case, although she lived a despicable life, she treated everyone who wanted her services as equal and did not discriminate between the kṣatriya and the dāsa. The acknowledgement of the claim is what gives her supernatural powers. The gaṇikās would seem to have been a special category of women professionals who observed their own social code. Even though it contradicted the conventional code they were not ostracized but were conceded a certain social status.

The identity of the female figure in the Kanaganahalli panel may be uncertain but the male figure represents the king. This was not a portrait or a full-length likeness as no contemporary portraits are known from Mauryan art or mentioned in the texts. The sculpture that comes to mind as a depiction of a specific king is the now headless statue of Kaniṣka. It may not have been a portrait but the majesty of the king is evident in the size and the stance. The contrast is striking. Kaniṣka however was not an avowed Buddhist and the occasion was doubtless entirely different, requiring another style of representation. Since portraits or full-length likenesses were not common, the attempt was to represent the king Aśoka in a formulaic and conventional manner. This may also have required the need for giving a caption to the panel.
Notes

1 I would like to thank the Archaeological Survey of India and particularly Mr. K.P. Poonacha and Mr. R.S. Fonia for providing the photographs included in this paper, and especially those from the Kanaganahalli excavations, and for the discussions that I had with Mr. Poonacha who excavated the site. I would also like to thank Professor Michael Meister for discussions on the Kanaganahalli panels.


4 Nagaraja Rao, op.cit.


6 Michael Meister, "Palaces, Kings and Sages: World Rulers and World Renouncers in Early Buddhism", (forthcoming).

7 Indian Archaeology - A Review, 1996-97, p. 55.

8 Plates in Epigraphia Indica, VIII, pp. 60-105; J. Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraji, Inscriptions from Cave Temples of Western India, Delhi 1976 (rep.), Plates 42-53.


10 Ibid., p. 145.

11 Epigraphia Indica, VIII, p. 42 ff.

13 Ibid., A 130, A 3, B 39, B 56.


16 Arthaśāstra, I.20.


18 Buhler, op. cit. Pl. 33.

19 Bloch, Les Inscriptions d'Asoka. p. 112.


21 Mahāvamsa, 5.85, 20.2.

22 J.Marshall, Sanchi, Vol. III, Pl. 18 b. 2; Divyāvadāna, 397-98; Mahāvamsa, 15. 173-76.

23 Bloch, op. cit., p. 159.


25 DC.Sircar (Ed.), Select Inscriptions ... Calcutta 1965, p. 190, Epigraphia Indica, VIII, p. 94.


27 D.Srinivasan, "The Mauryan Ganiṅkā from Didarganj (Pataliputra)," East and West, 2005, 55, 1-4, pp. 345-63; Jataka, IV. 249; V. 134.

28 Strabo, Geography, XV. 1. 55.

29 Arthaśāstra, 2.27.1 ff.

30 Vinaya I.231; Vinaya II. 227.
31 Nagaraja Rao, op.cit., Plate 62.

32 Quoted in D. Srinivasan. op. cit.; Milinda-panho, 4.1 .47 or 121 ff.
The Pandya rule at the beginning of ancient Lankan history

Veluppillai, Alvappillai

How does one write the history of a country?

If one ethnic religious community in a country has a record of its past, it should be utilized as an important source. How the other community or communities which live in the same country view that record is also important to assess critically the historical value of that past record. Archaeological explorations and epigraphy are much more important than past written chronicles, composed in the form of poems, referring to events which happened many centuries earlier. Foreign notices also provide an important source, which could help in reconstructing a balanced view of the history of the country. It is also important to study the history and developments in the region, the geographical location of the country, its position on trade routes, etc. Does Sri Lanka have a history in that sense? I am amused when some Sinhala chauvinists say that liberals and progressives advocating the restructuring of the history of multiethnic and multicultural Lanka are wrong because they don’t know the history of Lanka. According to the understanding of the author of this article (referred to as ‘this author’ subsequently), it is the Sinhala chauvinists who have been misled by their ancient chronicle, a biased and distorted account of the history of this island.

The availability of the Mahavamsa, a Pali chronicle ascribed to the authorship of Mahanama, a Buddhist monk, has been a blessing as well as a curse. It has preserved some useful information, which are important not only for Sri Lanka but also for South Asia. But it has bred a mindset which promotes chauvinism among the Sinhala Buddhists of Sri Lanka and which stands in the way of reaching any amicable and just solution to the national question in Sri Lanka. There is still no balanced and well-researched history of ancient Lanka, partly because Sinhala Buddhist scholars find it difficult to get over the Mahavamsa mindset, partly because findings from ancient South Indian sources have not been correlated and integrated, and partly because archaeology and epigraphy of ancient Lanka have not been given primacy as sources but have been interpreted in the light of the Mahavamsa, a chronicle written with a very narrow vision in about the fifth century ACE, encompassing the story of about one thousand years.
Professor S. Paranavitana, an erstwhile Archaeological Commissioner, was a dominating figure in archaeology, epigraphy, and ancient history of Lanka for more than fifty years during the last century. As he was writing and publishing over such a long period, he was seen to be influenced by modern ideas occasionally. But such instances were very few and exceptional. For him, the Mahavamsa was almost like a bible for the Christians. Instead of giving primacy to archaeology and epigraphy, and supplementing his findings with material from the Mahavamsa, he was trying his best to interpret archaeology and epigraphy in the light of the Mahavamsa. The Mahavamsa has been trying to minimize the South Indian component of the Lankan culture, adopting an anti-Tamil attitude and trying to maximize the North Indian component of Lankan culture. On his retirement as Archaeological Commissioner, he was appointed as Professor of Archaeology in the University of Ceylon (the only university in Sri Lanka at that time) for a short period. Archaeology was not available as an academic discipline in that university up to that time. The University of Ceylon had a project for publishing an authoritative history of the country and Prof. Paranavitana functioned as its Chief Editor.

He was adopting the Mahavamsa as his guide, especially for the early period of Lankan history. He himself admitted that he had rejected some portions of a Tamil contributor to the volume on the ancient period of Lankan history, because those portions didn’t fit into what he considered Lankan history. Even after the publication of the relevant volume of Lankan history, artifacts from archeological explorations and ancient Brahmi inscriptions presented difficult problems for him, which he could not explain from his reading of the Mahavamsa. A number of archaeological sites, which are associated with megalithic culture of Dravidian South India, have been located in explorations in different parts of Sri Lanka. Finding no clue from the Mahavamsa, he refused to give those findings their due importance. He could not accept the historical truth that ancient South India and Lanka had shared the same culture; instead he explained them away as over-flows from South India.

Ancient inscriptions of Lanka had been written in Prakrit language and Brahmi script. Even though Brahmi script had been used throughout South Asia from Asokan times, it had regional variations. South Indian Brahmi had a special sign for ‘m’ which scholars call Dravidian ‘m’ because it is found in that predominantly Dravidian region only. This letter was very common in early Lankan Brahmi even though Paranavitana just glossed over its significance. In addition, South Indian Brahmi needed special characters to write some special letters of Dravidian, especially Tamil. Early Brahmi inscriptions of Lanka have all
the symbols of south Indian Brahmi, as for example the symbol for long ‘i’ and the symbols for alveolar ‘n’, ‘r’ and lateral ‘l’ and fricative ‘l’.

North Indian Brahmi has only a long ‘i’, as Indo-Aryan does not need a short ‘i’. As Tamil needs both a short ‘i’ and a long ‘i’, Tamil Brahmi began to use the North Indian symbol as its short ‘i’ and a modified form as long ‘i’. The Tamil Brahmi sign for long ‘i’ is very conspicuous in early Lankan Brahmi. Paranavitana, believing the Mahavamsa version of the story, was very ingenuous in trying to argue that the early Brahmi script of Lanka was following the north Indian version of Brahmi.

Even though some Sinhala language and archaeology scholars like Prof. P.E.E. Fernando, a Professor of Sinhala language from University of Ceylon/ Peradeniya and Dr. W.S. Karunaratna, one time colleague and successor to Paranavitana as Archaeological Commissioner have pointed out the closeness between south Indian Brahmi and early Lankan Brahmi, Paranavitana refused to accept the obvious to the end of his life. Paranavitana remained so influential that Dr. W.S. Karunaratna, who was one of the successors of Paranavitana as Archaeological Commissioner, could publish his Cambridge University doctoral thesis on the study of Lankan Brahmi inscriptions as a publication of the Archaeology Department only after Paranavitana’s death. This author has presented a research paper entitled, ’Commonness in early Paleography of TamilNadu and early Sri Lanka’, which was later published in Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth International Association of Tamil Research, 1981.

The early Brahmi inscriptions of Lanka are in Prakrit language like other contemporary inscriptions of South Asia, excluding ancient Tamilakam but they have so many words, which are not found in Prakrit or Sanskrit in other parts of South Asia. A considerable number of them appear to be Tamil terms and they could be easily explained as Tamil terms, drawing comparable material from ancient Tamil Sangam literature as well as ancient Tamil Brahmi inscriptions. Paranavitana was very ingenuous in trying to derive all these words from some Sanskrit or Prakrit forms. On the point of language, no Sinhala scholar has pointed out the Tamil influence in ancient Brahmi inscriptions partly because they are not competent in classical Tamil and partly because they cannot look beyond the Mahavamsha. This author has published a research paper in two parts, entitled ‘Tamil influence in ancient Sri Lanka, with special reference to early Brahmi inscriptions’ in Journal of Tamil Studies, 1979 and 1980. Dr. S.K. Sitrampalam, Professor of History and Archaeology of Jaffna
University, has also important publications pointing to ancient Lanka forming a part of ancient South Indian cultural region in so many ways.

In 2003, Iravatham Mahadevan has published ‘Early Tamil Epigraphy’, which has been included in the prestigious Harvard Oriental Series, where he points out the occurrence of all the special letters of early Tamil Brahmi among early Lankan Brahmi inscriptions. This author has been waiting for twenty-five years to explain how Tamil influence could have been so strong in ancient Lankan history. But till now, it was not possible to explain how so much Tamil influence could be seen in Lankan Brahmi inscriptions because the Mahavamsa and other related chronicles relate the ancient history of the island in such a way that it is not possible to envisage how Tamil influence could have been so strong. Even though this author was skeptical about the claims of the Mahavamsa, he himself could not point out that the Mahavamsa contained distortions and misrepresentations.

The author started looking carefully into the Mahavamsa to see whether there could have been misrepresentations and distortions. The Mahavamsa could have been using a code which should be broken if one wants to be sure of facts. Modern critical scholars have already pointed out that there were certain shortcomings in the narration of the Mahavamsa as most probably there were no written records before the introduction of Buddhism in Tissa’s reign and the story before that period might be recollecting vague memories. Let us begin with Vijaya, who starts the Sinhala royal lineage. According to the Mahavamsa, he wanted to marry into a royal family and sent pearls and gems to the Pandya king to ask for a princess for himself and women for his followers. The Pandya king obliged. Paranavitana and his followers find this statement of the Mahavamsa very uncomfortable. They have taken pains to argue that even though the people of the Pandya kingdom might have been Tamil, the Pandya dynasty could have been a north Indian ksatriya dynasty, as they don’t want to accept that even from the beginning of the historical period, Tamils could have been an important element in Lankan population.

The Mahavamsa also says that Vijaya continued to send pearls and gems to the Pandya king. This seems to be a euphemism for Vijaya being a vassal of the Pandya king. The reason given in the Mahavamsa for Vijaya opting for a Pandya marriage alliance also appears to be inappropriate. Vijaya seems to have been influenced by a feeling of insecurity. Vijaya established his kingdom in the backyard of south India, which was Dravidian speaking. The three kingdoms closest to Lanka- Kerala, Chola
and Pandya - were Tamil speaking. Vijaya also wanted to be an ally of the Pandya because then only exploitation of pearl fishery resources in the Gulf of Mannar could be smooth.

According to the Mahavamsa, Vijaya and his Pandya queen had no issue. Their successor was Pandu- Vasudeva. Was he a Pandya? That was most likely, as either her brother or her nephew must have been the next in line. Mahavamsa seems to have spun a story to hide this fact. According to the Mahavamsa, Vijaya sent a message to his brother king in Bengal/Kalinga to come and take over the kingship of Lanka after him and the latter sent one of his sons. Mahavamsa claims that Pandu Vasudeva was Vijaya’s nephew. This appears very unlikely. Did Vijaya keep contact with his family, which exiled him and his followers as good riddance? Could Vijaya’s brother send his young son to live among evil people so far away? Why did Vijaya not marry into a family in Bengal/Kalinga and instead chose a Pandya princess? As Vijaya had a large number of siblings, he could have married even a sister, following on the example set up by his father. Who really succeeded Vijaya must have been Vijaya’s queen’s nephew, who was a Pandya.

There is no mention in the Mahavamsa of Pandu Vasudeva sending annual presents to the Pandyas as he himself was a Pandya. This Pandu/Pandya connection was very bothersome to the author of the Mahavamsa, as the grandson of this king was also calling himself a Pandu-k-Abhaya, again pointing to their Pandya lineage. The Mahavamsa had to create another folder and another story to hide this Pandu/Pandya connection. He created another Pandu and connected him to the Buddha’s Sakya lineage so that Buddhist connection to the Sinhala royal family also gets strengthened among incredulous Sinhala Buddhists. There was a Sakya Pandu who was pushed out of his tribal area by the Kosala king to the Gangetic valley where he set up his rule. His daughter was so much sought after by other kings that he exiled her in a boat, as he was not willing to accept any one of them as a suitor for his daughter. When his daughter accidentally landed in Lanka, her brothers welcomed her. The Mahavamsa does not say why and how her brothers came to Lanka. Was Lanka Buddhist at that time? As the Buddha’s three visits to the island should be dismissed as fiction, Sakya Pandu’s story appears to be another fiction, invented just to explain away this inconvenient Pandu/Pandya connection. If there is any truth in this story, all the Sinhala Buddhist kings might have been claiming that they were Pandus. Dutthagamini, who is referred to as the greatest hero of the Sinhala Buddhists, might have proudly declared himself a Pandu.
The Mahavamsa itself has inadvertently mentioned a fact, which helps to place Pandu-k-Abhaya as a Tamil king. It was this king who was associated with building up Anuradhapura as an urban area. According to the Mahavamsa, he was the first king to build an irrigation work, which was named in the Mahavamsa as a kulama, a Tamil word. This strengthens this author’s argument that the Pandus were indeed Pandyas. The Mahavamsa also mentions that Pandu-k-Abhaya patronized a Jain monk and provided a lodging for him. In ancient Tamilakam, it was only in the Pandya kingdom that the Jains seems to have received patronage. It is still not clear how ancient Tamil Brahmi script came into being; but all ancient stone inscriptions in the ancient Pandya kingdom deal with donation of cave lodgings to Jain monks. This is also proof that the Pandu kings mentioned in the Mahavamsa refer to connection with the Pandya kingdom. It is also interesting to note here that according to the Mahavamsa, a great grandson of Sakya Pandu, patronized Jainism but not Buddhism. Probably Sakya Pandu’s descendents in Lanka have not heard of the Buddha or of the Buddhist monks!

It is in this light that we have to look at references to Eelam in ancient Tamil Brahmi inscriptions and Sangam literature. According to a Tamil Brahmi inscription, a man from Eelam is said to have established a cave dwelling for Jain monks, on a hill adjoining Mathurai. This indicates that provision of lodging for Jain monks in Anuradhapura by Pandu-k-Abhaya was functional and Jains were moving about between Lanka and the Pandya kingdom as the rulers were closely connected. In the Sangam Eight Anthologies, there was a Tamil poet with the name Puthan Thevanar, connected with Eelam and then with Eelam and Mathurai. He must have come from Eelam to Mathurai and then became a permanent resident there. Pattinappalai, also a Sangam text, mentions the import of food from Eelam at the port city of Kavirippumpattinam. Unfortunately the name of the food item is not specified. All these indicate that the Mahavamsa gives only a partisan and incomplete account with a considerable amount of distortion and misrepresentation.

According to the Mahavamsa, there were only two Pandu kings. But it appears highly improbable. There must have been many Pandu kings but facts were probably not available when the Mahavamsa was composed. Pandu-k-Abhaya is said to have become king when he was thirty-seven years old and ruled for seventy years. According to the Mahavamsa, Devanampiya Tissa’s father was king Mutasiva. Mutasiva is said to have ruled for sixty years. The Mahavamsa could have been correct to say that Mutasiva took his name from his mother’s lineage, as his father’s lineage was Pandu. The Mahavamsa claims that Pandu-k-Abhaya and Mutasiva,
father and son, ruled for one hundred and thirty years. According to the Mahavamsa, Pandu-k-Abhaya married Suvannapali, Mutasiva’s mother when he was quite young. That means Mutasiva must have been born before his father’s reign started. Then we have to take it that both father and son lived for more than one hundred years each. One has to be very incredulous to believe in such fiction. Considering the normal human span, there should have been at least three Pandu/Pandya rulers in addition between this father and son.

Mutasiva and Tissa giving up the Pandu prefix seem to denote the Sinhalas trying to assert their independence from the Pandu/Pandya domination. They had a chance of forming an alliance with a north Indian kingdom. About the time of Mutasiva, the Mauryan Empire, the most extensive Indian empire before the British Indian Empire, was becoming very powerful in India. During Asoka’s reign, the Mauryan Empire, having its capital city of Pataliputra in Bihar, extended to the northern borders of ancient Tamil land. Mutasiva must have felt confident about disowning Pandu/Pandya connection and asserting his independence, with the help of another Indian ally. Tissa, his son, according to the Mahavamsa, sent valuable presents to Asoka, his friend. Asoka, in turn, is said to have accepted them, sent back some presents and asked Tissa to undergo another coronation and to accept his religion of Buddhism, taking also Asoka’s title of Devanampiya. This description seems to be an euphemism for Tissa sending tribute to Asoka and Asoka accepting Tissa as a vassal. Tissa underwent his second coronation with the new title and soon became a Buddhist also.

It is important to note here that Tissa did not take up the Pandu prefix. If it had any connection to Sakya Pandu of the Buddha’s tribe, as claimed by the Mahavamsa, Tissa and his Sinhala Buddhist successors must have been eager to assume it. The Mauryan Buddhist Empire could not give Lanka long-term security. The Mauryan Buddhist dynasty was overthrown and Sunga Hindu dynasty came to power. This empire disintegrated. It was during this period that Tamils came to power in Lanka twice. From the way Mahavamsa describes them, one can say that they were Tamil adventurers. The Mahavamsa itself admits that the Buddhists did not suffer at the hands of those early Tamil rulers. It became difficult for the Sinhalas to dislodge Elara, who was extremely just and benign, even according to the Mahavamsa. When one peruses the long list of Sinhala kings, there was none who could equal Elara as a virtuous king. Dutthagamani from Ruhuna had to mobilize Buddhism behind him to fight against the non-Buddhist Tamil Elara whose rule was
found to be acceptable to people of north Lanka for nearly half a century (44 years).

The Sinhala element in Lanka seems to have felt a sense of insecurity from the very beginning. They claimed to be of north Indian origin but they were a despised lot in north India at least at the beginning. When they landed in Lanka, they seemed to have exploited the indigenous population, by living with the indigenous women and killing off the others who might oppose them. They came face to face with the Pandyas who were sharing the extremely profitable pearl fishery in the Gulf of Mannar. They seemed to secure themselves by making marriage alliances with South Indian women. In order to gain respectability with the Pandyas, they turned treacherous to the indigenous women who were living with them and drove them and their children out to the jungle. It is amazing how the Sinhalas could claim to be bhumiputras (sons of the soil) when they appear to have committed genocide of the earlier inhabitants of the island. According to archaeological evidence, human beings were living in the island for thousands of years. If the Sinhalas claim that they were the descendants of the indigenous people, they should accept that the Mahavamsa is a fiction. In fairness to the Mahavamsa, it should be mentioned that it admits that Vijaya gave up his evil ways, after his marriage to the Pandya princess. Tamil culture must have exerted its influence.

Sri Lanka seems to have had different names in ancient times. No documents—neither Lankan inscriptions nor Indian inscriptions nor foreign notices—mention the names of Lanka and Sihala/Sinhala before the beginning of the Common Era. Asoka, claimed to be so close to Lanka by later Lankan chronicles, has never mentioned the name Lanka, even when he had referred to the island. When he was mentioning his border states in the south, he was mentioning in his Prakrit inscription, the Tamil states and Tambapanni. Tambapanni is the equivalent to Tamraparni in Sanskrit. Tamraparni is the name of a river in southern Pandya kingdom, which flows into the sea in the Gulf of Mannar. The Pandyas had a second capital at Korkai, at the mouth of the Tamraparni River. Very close to Korkai, a megalithic cultural site, associated with Dravidian culture at Adiccanallur has yielded megalithic cultural artifacts. On the opposite coast of the latter-day Lanka, archaeologists have come across Pomparippu, located between Puttalam and Mannar, which also have yielded megalithic cultural artifacts. Lanka must have had a settlement from Tambapanni region of TamilNadu. Tambapanni must have been the name of this Lankan settlement at one time. Later the whole island must have been referred to as Tambapanni. The Mahavamsa
mentions that Vijaya and his followers came to Tambapanni but it does not give much importance to this name probably because it wanted to belittle the Pandya influence over ancient Lanka. In this connection it is important to note that Greek notices gave this island the name of Tabrobane, a variant form of Tambapanni. All these facts point to strong Pandya influence in Lanka for many generations at the beginning of Lankan history.

It is often said that history repeats itself. In the eighteenth century, The Sinhala kings in Kandy maintained their independence but the Dutch controlled the maritime areas of the island and imposed restrictions on foreign trade of the Kandyan kingdom. The Sinhala kings established marriage alliances with Nayakkar dynasty then ruling in Mathurai, the capital of the earlier Pandyas. The Sinhala royal line had no legitimate successor in 1739. The last four kings in the Mahavamsa from 1739 to 1815 were Nayakkar princes who were referred to as Vaduka Tamils in Sinhala records. They claimed descent from Telugus (Telugu is another Dravidian language) but spoke Tamil language when they were ruling southern TamilNadu from Mathurai. Some Sinhala chiefs wanted to dislodge the Nayakkar and become kings themselves but they could neither agree among themselves nor get sufficient popular support. The British who established their domination over the maritime provinces of the island by 1798 exploited the ambition of the Sinhala chiefs to make them traitors to their king. Wikrema Rajasinghe alias Kannusamy, the last Lankan/Tamil king, was made a prisoner and exiled to Vellore fort in India. The treacherous Sinhala chiefs gained nothing. The whole of the island of Lanka became a British colony for 133 years.

Those who fail to learn from lessons of the past in history may end up repeating their mistakes again and again.

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Methodology

The inspiration for this research approach comes from earlier research efforts, most notably Mahadevan (1977) and later Parpola (1994). The goal of this research is to define patterns of sign distributions that can be compared to morphological and syntactic rules in candidate languages. The identification of THE Indus language is the next best step in the eventual decipherment of the Indus script. The results of my dissertation research points to a root language that uses infixing and prefixing, as well as agglutination. I will leave it to the Proto Linguists to argue the fine points of these results. It has been proposed (I think correctly) that THE Indus language was really several languages (Witzel 1999). The problem arises in assessing the relatedness of these languages and in accounting for changes over time.

The main obstacle to decipherment is the limited nature of the corpus of Indus texts. Further, each researcher has their own sign list (including me). The results of structural analysis depend heavily on the sign list and these two circumstances lead to distinctly different results. What follows is a brief overview of the results of my structural analysis (Wells 2006). My methodology follows Mahadevan (1970, 1977, 1981, 1982 and 1986).

The Data

The analyses in this paper are based on a database compiled in 2004-05, mainly using site reposts and the CISI. Richard Meadow allowed me access to the unpublished HARP material, which added greatly to the corpus of texts and to the sign list. The database describes 3831 texts with 17,420 signs (mean length = 4.55 signs). Of these inscriptions 2359 are complete (61.6%), containing 11,615 signs (mean length = 4.9 signs). It is these complete inscriptions that form the heart of the following analysis. It is important to realize the restrictions that the corpus places on analysis. We are likely looking at only a fraction of all Indus writing. We know this from a single example found by MacKay (1938) in DK.G section at Mohenjo-daro. The tag (sealing) picked up the relief of a text in thick ink or paint. From this case we know “perishable texts” exist in the form of painting on wooden dowels. What we do not know is what other types of
perishable texts existed and how they might have differed from the known texts.

Mohenjo-daro, DK.G, Bl. 23, Hs. I, Rm. 5
Depth -3.6’, DK12145, M-0426,
Size 1.34” x 0.96”

Fig.1
Classification

Several strategies can be employed in the classification of Indus texts. The most obvious is by site and artifact type. There are signs and texts whose distributions are restricted in this manner (Wells 2006), and at some point in the analysis of the texts these attributes must be considered. In this paper, texts will be classified by their content. Those who work with the Indus inscriptions are well aware of the patterns in sign distributions. Patterns in the texts that seem to repeat sign sequences in a specific order. The purpose of this paper is to identify and classify texts based on these patterns. The results of structural analysis demonstrate the existence of groups of texts that share basic characteristics in their content and organization. The idea to classify texts based on their content was first suggested to me by Dr. S. Bonta (pers. comm. 2004).

This classification results in a typology that categorizes texts into one of five groups (Table 1). Each of these groups of texts is described in general terms in the following discussion.

Table 1 A system of classifying Indus texts (Wells 2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N=2335</th>
<th>Patterned</th>
<th>Short Patterned</th>
<th>Long Patterned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Patterned</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>LP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>3 to 5</td>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>463</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of N</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>19.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Common</td>
<td>Mohenjo-daro</td>
<td>SEAL:S</td>
<td>SEAL:R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harappa</td>
<td>TAB:I &amp; B</td>
<td>SEAL:R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportionally Important</td>
<td>Mohenjo-daro</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harappa</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>SEAL:S &amp; R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N=2335</th>
<th>Segments</th>
<th>Single Segments</th>
<th>Multiple Segments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>MS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>2 to 5</td>
<td>5 or more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of N</td>
<td>20.81</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most</td>
<td>TAB:B &amp; C</td>
<td>SEAL:R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>TAB:1 &amp; SEAL:S</td>
<td>SEAL:R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportionally Important</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SEAL:R &amp; S</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N=2335</th>
<th>Complex</th>
<th>Short Complex</th>
<th>Long Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>2 to 5</td>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of N</td>
<td>10.75</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Common</td>
<td>SEAL:S</td>
<td>TAB:C</td>
<td>SEAL:R &amp; TAB:B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportionally Important</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Special Cases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N=2335</th>
<th>Unclassified</th>
<th>Too Short</th>
<th>Incomplete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>TS</td>
<td>omitted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>1496</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of N</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Common</td>
<td>TAB:B</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>SEAL:R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportionally Important</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N=2335</th>
<th>Sign 700</th>
<th>Sign 700+Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>VN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=</td>
<td>333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of N</td>
<td>91.73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Common</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>TAB:1&amp;B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The artifacts

The distribution of the categories is not uniform among sites or artifact types. The pattern is one in which TAB:I and TAB:B artifacts from Harappa are dominated by short patterned texts (~55% in both cases) and by VN texts, with few other types in significant proportions. The exception being single segment texts on TAB:I artifacts from Harappa. TAB:B and TAB:C artifacts from Mohenjo-daro have significantly higher proportions of single segment texts, and the short and long patterned texts are more evenly distributed. Seal texts from both sites are more consistent in their proportions of text types.

The distribution of texts

Setting aside the artifact types the following can be said about the distributions of the various types of texts: The comparison of segment texts (both single and multiple) shows that they have about the same proportions at both Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. This is not true for patterned texts. Short patterned texts are far more common at Harappa (47% vs. 32% at Mohenjo-daro). Conversely, long patterned texts are far more common at Mohenjo-daro (28% vs. Harappa at 13%). Another anomaly is the distribution of long complex texts, with 5.5% at Mohenjo-daro and 1.78% Harappa. The rest of the text types have similar distributions between sites.

Patterned Texts

Short (2–5 signs) and long (6+ signs) patterned texts are common (Short Patterned = 829 and Long Patterned = 463) and together comprise more than half of the complete texts in the database. Before beginning the
discussion of patterned texts it is necessary to clarify the identification of Initial Sign Clusters.

**Initial Sign Clusters**

Many of the longer Indus texts begin with recognizable clusters of signs. There are pairs of signs that occur frequently at the beginning of Indus texts. These pairings are not random, in that there is a strong preference for certain signs to locate exclusively with others (Table 2).

There are many examples in Indus texts of other signs collocating with |, /, and \() two of these signs (| and \) can be demonstrated to have other functions in certain contexts. The functions and values of these three signs are not known, but they clearly mark a syntactic boundary in texts where they are functioning as Initial Cluster Terminal Markers.

Table 2: Frequency of pairings of signs in two sign initial clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Signs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 143 | 113 | 117 | 45 | 56 | 25 | 499 |

For a more complete treatment of this material see Wells 2009. It is sufficient here to know that there are sign clusters with distinctly initial occurrences. This is one characteristic of Patterned texts.

**Fixed sign orders and repeated sign clusters**

Defining sign clusters and their order:

i) Long Indus texts (6 or more signs) are often composed of sets of sign clusters that occur in a fixed order as follows: Initial Cluster; Initial Cluster Terminal Marker; Signs 741, 742 and 745; Ovals; Fish and Numbers; Bonded Clusters; Terminal Markers; and Post Terminals.
For example, M-0369:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Id.</th>
<th>Post Terminals</th>
<th>Terminal Marker</th>
<th>Bonded Cluster</th>
<th>Fish &amp; Numbers</th>
<th>Ovals</th>
<th>740s</th>
<th>ICTM</th>
<th>Initial Cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M-0369</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEAL:R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although all texts do not contain all of these elements, the order of elements is fairly consistent:

- M-0369: Seal:R
- M-0068: Seal:S
- L-087: SEAL:R
- H-044: SEAL:S
- M-0365: SEAL:R

Segment texts

There are several recognizable patterns of sign use in the Indus texts. Patterned texts, for example, consist of a well-defined sequence of sign clusters repeated in a more or less fixed order. Single Segment texts consist of only one of these clusters. Multiple Segment texts consist of two or more sign clusters. They are normally found in the same position as in Patterned texts. There is a grading between Segmented and Patterned texts.

Figure 1 (bottom) lists nine Single Segment (SS) seal texts, the top of this table lists a mixture of Multiple Segment (MS) texts (i.e. M-0371 and H-158) and Long Patterned (LP) texts (i.e. M-869 and H-008). The vertical arrangement of Figure 1 (Top) is meant to demonstrate the normal order of text segments. Likewise, the bottom of this figure has the single segment texts arranged in their apparent intended order. Single Segment seal texts can be used to recreate long and short patterned texts, as in the following example:

M-0792, SEAL:S can be recreated using other seals:

CH 1293, Ksr-2 and M-0825.
One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that short texts encode only part of a complete message, and that in use, short texts of this type would be combined to create longer messages. This would allow a certain amount of flexibility in cases where a defined set of segments could be used in various combinations to construct the appropriate message for the sealing task at hand. There are, however, no surviving examples of this technique being used to create TAGs. But as there are few surviving TAGs this cannot be construed as an absolute refutation of the possibility.

**Complex texts**

There are some texts attested in which the organizational scheme in less easy to define by sight. They consist of sign sequences of various lengths,
but although they use the same sign inventories as other inscriptions, the signs are arranged in a completely unique sequences when compared to segmented and patterned texts.

Short complex texts (3–5 signs) occur on 251 artifacts. Although these types of texts can be found on all artifact types they do not form a substantial group on a single artifact type. They are slightly more common at Mohenjo-daro than Harappa. The following texts are typical of this type:

![Short complex texts example]

Long complex texts (6+ signs) occur 111 times in the database. They are most common on TAB:C artifacts which are found exclusively at Mohenjo-daro. They are relatively rare at Harappa and not found at all on TAB:I artifacts from that site. The following texts are typical of this type:

![Long complex texts example]

Complex texts are important to the study of Indus inscriptions because of the possibility that they are syllabic spellings. Future research will tell.
Comparing text types

An important result of the research comparing text types is Initial, Medial, and Terminal counts. These counts result from the sign list database and are calculated from complete texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graph</th>
<th>Sign No.</th>
<th>Freq</th>
<th>Init</th>
<th>Med</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Comp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>920</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>820</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>420</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>595</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>400</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3: Comparison of long complex (LC) and long patterned (LP) texts with sign location.

M-0356, DM255, SD, Stupa, NW, -8.0, LC

H-020, 3170, Mound F, N9/5, Stratum II, -5.0, I
On the right is a long patterned text analyzed for its IMT data. Higher frequencies are highlighted for effect by bolding. As expected the initial signs score highest in the Init column and the terminal signs in the Term column (Fig.3). What is interesting is that the Complex texts like the one on the left also maintain that same pattern, without it being as obvious visually. In apparent chaos there is order.

Sign 700 + numeral

Of the 565 examples of sign 700, 363 are from complete texts, and 333 of these (92%) consist of sign 700 and an associated numeral. In some cases these sign pairs are imbedded in longer texts (n = 34). In most cases these sign pairs are the only signs in the texts with associated texts on the reverse (obverse?). While most of the + Number texts occur on TAB:B and TAB:I artifacts from Harappa, is a small number (n = 5) of the + Number texts are on ceramic artifacts. The significance of this
connection is discussed in detail elsewhere (Wells 1999:34-5 and Wells 2006). There are not enough examples ceramics with this class of text for a detailed study, but it is possible that the Indus volumetric system is involved. It is clear from Figure 4 that sign 700 collocates preferentially with specific numerals (signs 33 and 34). Signs 31 and 32 are not used in + Number texts as much as would be expected from their overall frequencies. These variations point to fact that signs 31–34 do not have the same values in VN text as they do in other types of texts. + Number texts are often found on artifacts with two or more inscriptions on their various sides. These occurrences are part of a special set of artifacts with multiple texts and are discussed in the following section.

![Fig. 4: Comparison of numeral sign frequencies and the percentage of 700 + Number texts using numeral signs](image)

VN signs can occur in longer texts too (i.e. H-811, H-774 and H94-2273). One sign sequence that is repeated on TAB:B artifacts from Harappa is . This sequence occurs 20 times in the ICIT database with minor variations and here the repetitiveness is due to the fact that these examples are mold-made bas relief tablets. In all cases + Number sequences are in the terminal position of these texts.

**The rest of the texts**

There are several additional types of texts, but they remain a subject for future discussion. Major examples include too short to classify and artifact damaged (Table 1).
Conclusion

Based on the discussion above I would argue that many of the Indus texts contain evidence for both the existence and form of Indus syntactic. The fact that numerals locate most often right adjacent to their associated signs tells us something about the root language. The strong association of certain signs with numerals suggests that the associated signs are nouns. If so it seems likely, base on the location of numerals, that the Indus language is Verb initial (i.e. VSO or VOS). If this analysis is correct then fish signs are nouns, as are the phytomorphic (plantlike) signs.

The ICTMs (II, I, and L) are most likely verbal affixes. Therefore, a root language with three markers (or four if the Ø case is the omission of an affix) for verbs is preferred. Further, the terminal clusters (nouns) take postfixes with limited distributions, which should be linked to the ways in which Indus nouns are classified (Wells 2006 and 2009).

Segment texts are most commonly 1 or 2 elements of syntax. The fixed order of sign clusters in the vast majority of texts, and the fixed order of signs in most texts, suggests an underlying structure that can only be syntactic in nature.

The next step is the identification of a sign as being specific objects with specific values. These identifications require an explanation of how these readings work in terms of sign contexts and syntax. There is far more to this analysis than published here (Wells 2006 and 2009).

It is my opinion that research into the Indus script needs to use all available data and to consult closely with colleagues from diverse backgrounds. Only through inter-discipline and international cooperation among scholars can progress be made.

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Witzel, Michael

Section II
மாண்டுற்றுகள் விளக்கப்படும் காலக்கணத்துக்கு அதிகம் அடர்சித்தவியாக தனியான கருத்தில் வரும் குறுக்கை நீர்த்துறை, 'அரியச்செய்வா்' தன்மையுடன் பொடில் நிறைந்த நீர்த்துறை குறுக்கை இந்த நீர்த்துறை அவர்களை வந்து கொள்ள வேண்டியது. மாண்டுற்றுகள் கலந்த கூற்றின் குறுக்கை, கிராமம் அளவுகள் திருத்துக்கோள் நீர்த்துறையிற்கு வழிய்கோள் குறுக்கையானது. மாண்டுற்றுகள் கலந்த கூற்றின் குறுக்கை, கிராமம் அளப்புகள் திருத்துக்கோள் நீர்த்துறையிற்கு வழிய்கோள் குறுக்கையானது. கிராமம் அளப்புகள் திருத்துக்கோள் நீர்த்துறையிற்கு வழிய்கோள் குறுக்கையானது. கிராமம் அளப்புகள் திருத்துக்கோள் நீர்த்துறையிற்கு வழிய்கோள் குறுக்கையானது. கிராமம் அளப்புகள் திருத்துக்கோள் நீர்த்துறையிற்கு வழிய்கோள் குறுக்கையானது. கிராமம் அளப்புகள் திருத்துக்கோள் நீர்த்துறையிற்கு வழிய்கோள் குறுக்கையானது.
Airāvati
மாணவர் கலப்பில் முதல் கால் பந்துவத்தில் புனேமீலிலே. இங்கு பணி மறுத்தும் ஏற்பட்டுள்ளது. உள்ளது குறிப்பிட்டு நேரடியான சீரமைப்பு ஆக்சியில் மாணவர் இருந்து கிருஷ்ணா முற்பாலாக காட்டி வந்து கொள்ளப்படுகிறது.
Airāvati
முன்னோட்டங்கள் வரையறுக்கப்பட்டன. இப்பட்டியல் உள்ளதுபோன்று, சுருக்கந்து சுற்றுக்கள் காட்டுபவர் மறைந்து கொள்ளத் தகுதிகள்.

காத்தியம் மற்றும் காஸ்தியம்

உலகெள்ளியல் வரம்புகளுக்கு அடிப்படையாக வருவதற்கு போன்று, காத்தியம் மற்றும் காஸ்தியம் வருவதற்குச் செயல்படுபவன். காத்தியம் வருவதற்குச் செயல்படுபவன், நேர்முறையில் அல்லது மீண்டுமையான வருவதற்குச் செயல்படுபவன். காத்தியம் மற்றும் காஸ்தியம் வருவதற்குச் செயல்படுபவன், நேர்முறையில் அல்லது மீண்டுமையான வருவதற்குச் செயல்படுபவன். காத்தியம் மற்றும் காஸ்தியம் வருவதற்குச் செயல்படுபவன், நேர்முறையில் அல்லது மீண்டுமை�

முன்னோட்டங்கள் வரையறுக்கப்பட்டன. இப்பட்டியல் உள்ளதுபோன்று, சுருக்கந்து சுற்றுக்கள் காட்டுபவர் மறைந்து கொள்ளத் தகுதிகள்.
ские, अग्नि तथा वायु. तेन्द्रियांकन तथा तंत्रियांकन निद्रा तथा निद्रातृतीय तंत्रियांकन है। यह संस्कृत साहित्य में उपलब्ध है।

निद्रातृतीय शास्त्र में कहा जाता है कि निद्रातृतीय साहित्य में निद्रा तथा निद्रातृतीय है। इस साहित्य में निद्रा तथा निद्रातृतीय है। इस साहित्य में निद्रा तथा निद्रातृतीय है। इस साहित्य में निद्रा तथा निद्रातृतीय है। इस साहित्य में निद्रा तथा निद्रातृतीय है।

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Airāvati
கருதிகையம் அல்லாஹ்ந் கருதிகையானாலே. செங்கு பரணாக்கத்தா
செங்கு திக மூர்த்திய முனிவர்கள் என்று திருமொழியுந்தே. அல்லாஹ் விருக்கியின் கருதிகையில் பரணாக்கம் கருதிகையான கருதிகை பற்றிய கேள்விகள், ஒரு பாரம்பரிய கருதிகையான கருதிகையானாலே. என்று செங்கு முனிவர்கள் என்று திருமொழியுந்தே. அல்லாஹ் எடுத்து முனிவர்கள் என்று திருமொழியுந்தே. என்று செங்கு முனிவர்கள் என்று திருமொழியுந்தே. அல்லாஹ் எடுத்து முனிவர்கள் என்று திருமொழியுந்தே. என்று செங்கு முனிவர்கள் என்று திருமொழியுந்தே.
நூறு பாகம் முடிவுக்கும் பட்டியல் குறிப்பிட்டியும் அடையும் குறிப்பிட்டியும் இழைக்கவை அனைத்து குறிப்பிட்டியும் ஒன்றுக்கொண்டு இழைக்கவை அளிக்கும் குறிப்பிட்டியும் ஒன்றுக்கொண்டு இழைக்கவை அளிக்கும் குறிப்பிட்டியும் ஒன்றுக்கொண்டு இழைக்கவை அளிக்கும் குறிப்பிட்டியும் ஒன்றுக்கொண்டு இழைக்கவை. 

அந்த பாகம் குறிப்பிட்டியும் அனைத்து குறிப்பிட்டியும் ஒன்றுக்கொண்டு இழைக்கவை அளிக்கும் குறிப்பிட்டியும் ஒன்றுக்கொண்டு இழைக்கவை அளிக்கும் குறிப்பிட்டியும் ஒன்றுக்கொண்டு இழைக்கவை அளிக்கும் குறிப்பிட்டியும் ஒன்றுக்கொண்டு இழைக்கவை
கல்காதா இளவிலிருந்து இயக்கம் படையமாக கருதப்பட்டு அகிலத்திய தொடர்புவிளையாட்டிகள். கல்காதா நிறுத்தத் தொடர்விளையாட்டியான குடைவு நீர்த்தொடர்விளையாட்டியான நீர்த்தொடர்விளையாட்டியை உண்டாக்கும் விளையாட்டியைப் படையமாக கருதப்பட்டு அகிலத்திய தொடர்புவிளையாட்டியை உண்டாக்குகிறது. இவ்விளையாட்டியைப் படையமாக கருதப்பட்டு அகிலத்திய தொடர்பு விளையாட்டியை உண்டாக்குகிறது. இவ்விளையாட்டியைப் படையமாக கருதப்பட்டு அகிலத்திய தொடர்பு விளையாட்டியை உண்டாக்குகிறது.

நருவா இளவிலிருந்து இயக்கம் படையமாக கருதப்பட்டு அகிலத்திய தொடர்புவிளையாட்டிகள். வணிகத் தொடர்விளையாட்டியான வணிகத் தொடர்விளையாட்டியை உண்டாக்கும் விளையாட்டியை உண்டாக்குகிறது. இவ்விளையாட்டியைப் படையமாக கருதப்பட்டு அகிலத்திய தொடர்பு விளையாட்டியை உண்டாக்குகிறது. இவ்விளையாட்டியைப் படையமாக கருதப்பட்டு அகிலத்திய தொடர்பு விளையாட்டியை உண்டாக்குகிறது.
ஆராவதி புத்தகாலத்தில் பரிசுக்கும் இரண்டாம் குற்றக அறிக்கைகளை மாற்றிய பட்டியல்பேர் மூன்று பத்தாண்டுகளுக்குக் குற்றகாலத்தில், இரவியம் உறுதிக்கும் நிறையில் முன்னணி விளங்க்கிறது. உறுதிகளுக்குச் செலுத்திய நிறையில் விளங்கியது. புத்தரா பெருமான் பண்டைய காலங்களில் உணர்ச்சியான இரவியம் உறுதிகளில் விளங்கியது. புத்தரா பெருமான் பண்டைய காலங்களில் செலுத்திய நிறையில் விளங்கியது. மேலும் செலுத்திய நிறையில் விளங்கியது. புத்தரா பெருமான் பண்டைய காலங்களில் செலுத்திய நிறையில் விளங்கியது. புத்தரா பெருமான் பண்டைய காலங்களில் செலுத்திய நிறையில் விளங்கியது.
நூறு விழாக்களின் தேவர் மன்னர் விழாவின் அவர்களுடன், முதல் பட்டயர் நூறு விழாக்களின் கூற்று பிறந்தும்விளைந்து விழாக்களின் நூறு விழாக்களின் மையமல்லூர் கோயம்புத்தூர் அருகில் உள்ள கோயம்புத்தூர் கல்லூரியில் முளையும் திண்மங்கள் உள்ளன. ஈக்கான் மல்லூர் விழாக்களின் மையமல்லூர் கோயம்புத்தூர் அருகில் உள்ள கேலரி கோயம்புத்தூர் கோட்டை ஆனது கோயம்புத்தூர் கோட்டையை முளையும் திண்மங்கள் உள்ளன. ஈக்கான் மல்லூர் விழாக்களின் மையமல்லூர் கோயம்புத்தூர் அருகில் உள்ள கேலரி கோயம்புத்தூர் கோட்டை ஆனது கோயம்புத்தூர் கோட்டையை முளையும் திண்மங்கள் உள்ளன. ஈக்கான் மல்லூர் விழாக்களின் மையமல்லூர் கோயம்புத்தூர் அருகில் உள்ள கேலரி கோயம்புத்தூர் கோட்டை ஆனது கோயம்புத்தூர் கோட்டையை முளையும் திண்மங்கள் உள்ளன. ஈக்கான் மல்லூர் விழாக்களின் மையமல்லூர் கோயம்புத்தூர் கோட்டையை முளையும் திண்மங்கள் உள்ளன.
Airāvati
மாமிலுடைய நாயக்கிய மட்டப்பல்லூர் கிராமத்தில் அமைந்துள்ள காவல் கோயில் சிற்றுருவமான விளக்கத்தொடர் வேலைகளின் போது காணப்படுகின்றது. இந்தக் கோயில் மட்டப்பல்லூர் காவல் கோயில்களில் ஒன்றாகும். உயரமான கல்லாரம் மற்றும் விளக்கம் வேறுபட்ட விளக்கத்தொடர் வேலைகளினைக் காணலாம்.
சமநூல், கி.சம், கிகர்
கிருட்டுவு குனர் கிருட்டுவு குடிக்கால்
The manca bhadra upapitha has lion and elephant figures inserted as a separately worked out pieces of stone. The Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture South India, Lower Dravidadesa, Ed. Michael w. Meister, American Institute of Indian Studies, 1983, p. 32.
3 Ïœ. Ïœ. Ïœìëëëëëìë, 'It's stūpi was worked out but has been left attached to the rock matrix' "קנִינָו אֶלְֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֶֆ
"திருமால் செய்யலினுள் முதல் செயல் அர்ப்பிக்கப் பிறகு பௌத்திக்கு எந்த குற்றுகளையும் மறுமுகமானது பெற்றது. ஐரோப்பியரின் செய்யல் சந்திப்பு வழியேவில்லை. அதன் காரணம் செயின்றுதல் தொடர்ந்து வருகையைக் கொண்டு வருகைத்தொடர் குறுந்து செய்யலிலும் செய்யலிலும் நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடிச் சூழல் தொடர்ந்து வருகையைக் கொண்டு வருகைத்தொடர் குறுந்து செய்யலிலும் செய்யலிலும் நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடிச் சூழல்

'திருமால் செய்யல் நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடிச் சூழல்' என்று குற்றுகளையும் மறுமுகத்தையும் முதல் செயல் அர்ப்பிக்கப் பிறகு பௌத்திக்கு எந்த குற்றுகளையும் மறுமுகமானது பெற்றது.

"1934 ஆம் ஆண்டில் வருவது தொடரும் வலையில் நேரடி செய்யலிலும் செய்யலிலும் நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடிச் சூழல்

அதிலும் தொடரும் வலையில் நேரடி செய்யலிலும் செய்யலிலும் நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடிச் சூழல்

(செயல்தினமுள்ளது, 'திருமால் செய்யல் அர்ப்பிக்கப் பிறகு பௌத்திக்கு எந்த குற்றுகளையும் மறுமுகமானது பெற்றது' - குறிப்பி முன்னாட்டிளையும் முருகன், ஆண்டு (1997, பா 44))

இத்தகைய வலைவில், செயின்றுதல் தொடரும் வலையில் நேரடி செய்யலிலும் செய்யலிலும் நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடிச் சூழல்

அதைவை செய்யலிலும் செய்யலிலும் நேரடிச் சூழல் தொடரும் வலையில் நேரடி செய்யலிலும் செய்யலிலும் நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடிச் சூழல்

"திருமால் செய்யலிலும் செய்யலிலும் நேரடி செய்தெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்துவது நேரடிச் சூழல்

குற்றுகளையும் மறுமுகத்தையும் முதல் செயல் அர்ப்பிக்கப் பிறகு பௌத்திக்கு எந்த குற்றுகளையும் மறுமுகமானது பெற்றது.

'அர்த்தக் குறிப்பிட்டை' அர்த்தமாகக் கூறும் செய்திக் குறிப்பிட்டை வம்சம் மற்றும் பொழிவுகளுக்கும் மீண்டும் கூறும் படைப்படுத்தலாக நீர்த்தொடராகத் தீர்க்கப்பட்டது.

அர்த்தக் குறிப்பிட்டை வம்சத்திற்கு தேசிய கல்விவலப்பாடு செயலான வேலைக்குள் வசம்பதிக்கு ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது. அவ்விழாவில் வம்சத்திற்குக் கூறுக்கும் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு வேளாண்டம் மற்றும் செயல்பாட்டுக்கு வேளாண்டம் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது. கூறு வகைக்கும் வேண்டும் போது மீண்டும் கூறுக்கும் வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது.

அர்த்தக் குறிப்பிட்டை – வம்சத்திற்கு

அர்த்தவேறுபாடுக்கு உள்ளிட்டு வரும் வாய்ந்த கல்விவலவுருக்கள் வம்சத்திற்கு வேளாண்டம் மற்றும் செயல்பாட்டுக்கு வேளாண்டம் கூறுக்கும் வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது. அவ்விழாயில் வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது.

"அர்த்தவேறுபாடுக்கு வேளாண்டம் மற்றும் செயல்பாட்டுக்கு வேளாண்டம் வம்சத்திற்கு வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது. அர்த்தக் குறிப்பிட்டை வம்சத்திற்கு வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது. அர்த்தவேறுபாடுக்கு வேளாண்டம் மற்றும் செயல்பாட்டுக்கு வேளாண்டம் வம்சத்திற்கு வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது. அர்த்தக் குறிப்பிட்டை வம்சத்திற்கு வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது."

அர்த்தவேறுபாடுக்கு வேளாண்டம் மற்றும் செயல்பாட்டுக்கு வேளாண்டம் வம்சத்திற்கு வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது. அர்த்தக் குறிப்பிட்டை வம்சத்திற்கு வேண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவையும் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது.
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நிலையான அகாலதினர்களைக் கிளைக்குரியவர் வருவாள், அறியாளர் விளையாடிய நூற்றாண்டுகளின் காலத்தில் நீட்டியாகிய. இவர் தமிழ் புலிகளின் நோக்கையை தெளிவாய்த்துவித்து பல்வேறு வகையான நூற்றாண்டுகளை இளங்கையாய் வருவாள்.

முதல் துவயல் இந்தம் முகம் 'பொம்மையால் நூற்றாண்டுகளை பற்றிய', 'எத்தானும் முகம்', 'செய்தியான பரம்கோயில்' போன்று பல்வேறு வகையான நூற்றாண்டுகளை விளக்கியுள்ளது.

'நூற்றாண்டு காலத்தில் விழா', 'பக்கவாசம் பலதொன்று கோவில்களை' என்று ஒரு அவர் சொல்ல வேண்டும் வரும் காலத்தில் அறிமுகமாட்டினார் 'வருமாறில்' பலகையான முகம் வருவாள் விளக்கியுள்ளது.

'நூற்றாண்டுக் கிளைவாரா' என்று குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கூறு கருத்தில் நீட்டியாகிய தெளிவு இளங்கையாய் வருவாள் குறிப்பிட்டது.

திருமணத்தை கூறு, 'நூற்றாண்டு நூற்றாண்டு நூற்றாண்டுகளை', 'சத்தவ பொழுது' என்று நூற்றாண்டின் உட்கால பலகைகள் விளக்கியுள்ளது.

திருமணத்தை, தமிழ் பலகைகள் காண்டு நூற்றாண்டின் உட்கால புது வல்லுனர் கிளைவாராவை சொல்லும்போது, தெளிவு வாய்ந்தது. தெளிவு வாய்விட்டு, தேவவாரத்தட்டை சொல்லும்போது, தேவவாரத்தட்டை செய்து வாய்ந்தது.

திருமணத்தை, தெளிவு வாய்ந்தது. 'நூற்றாண்டு காலத்தில் விழா' என்று சொல்லும்போது, தெளிவு வாய்ந்தது.

திருமணத்தை, தெளிவு வாய்ந்தது.

திருமணத்தை, தெளிவு வாய்ந்தது. இவ்வாக காலத்தில் விளக்கியுள்ளது.

'நூற்றாண்டு கிளைவாரா' (4-முறையால்-1990), 'நூற்றாண்டு கிளைவாரா' (17-முறையால்-1990), 'நூற்றாண்டு கிளைவாரா' (8-முறையால்-1990).
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அழகுளோம் பலவை கருவங்கள் செய்யால்

அழகுளோம், சிறு மூலிகை சிறு கருவங்களை வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும்.

நூற்றுற்று செவ்வற்று வென்று வண்ணங்களை கருவங்களாக வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும். வண்ணங்கள் கருவங்களுக்காக வண்ணங்களாக வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும். வண்ணங்கள் கருவங்களுக்காக வண்ணங்களாக வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும்.

"செவ்வற்று வென்று வண்ணங்களை கருவங்களாக வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும். வண்ணங்கள் கருவங்களுக்காக வண்ணங்களாக வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும். வண்ணங்கள் கருவங்களுக்காக வண்ணங்களாக வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும்.

திறந்து கூடும் கருவங்களுக்காக வண்ணங்களாக வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும். வண்ணங்கள் கருவங்களுக்காக வண்ணங்களாக வண்ணங்களாக வெளியீடு செய்ய வேண்டும்.


(இந்தச்.காலூரியகருக்கு, பொன்மலை மோழியை அறிவாற்றி
முடியாது, கடுமையில்)

'நூற்றோடு காலம் (தெய்வக்) பொழுது' எனும் பாராமோஸ்
காலூரியகருக்கு வேறுபாடு 'தெய்வம்' எனும் பாராமோஸ்
காலூரியகருக்கு எனும் பாராமோஸ்

(ப்ளெசு: 'தெய்வம்', காலூரியகருக்கு வேறுபாடு 'தெய்வம்' எனும்
1989 வரை)
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"3-பூமி-1990 தொன்று நூற்றூர் செருக்குத் தொடரும் பிறந்த காலத்தில் அனைத்து பள்ளிகளிலும் பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகள் அகழ்ந்துள்ளன. அவ்வுரையில் கெட்டியுள்ள அனைத்து பள்ளிகளின் விளைவுக்குள்ளை கொண்டுள்ளது. இது பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகளின் அகழ்ந்துள்ள பள்ளிகளில் பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகளுக்கு விளைவுக்குள்ளை கொண்டுள்ளது.

3-பூமி-1990 தொன்று நூற்றூர் செருக்குத் தொடரும் பிறந்த காலத்தில் அனைத்து பள்ளிகளிலும் பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகள் அகழ்ந்துள்ளன. அவ்வுரையில் கெட்டியுள்ள அனைத்து பள்ளிகளின் விளைவுக்குள்ளை கொண்டுள்ளது. இது பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகளின் அகழ்ந்துள்ள பள்ளிகளில் பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகளுக்கு விளைவுக்குள்ளை கொண்டுள்ளது.

"3-பூமி-1990 தொன்று நூற்றூர் செருக்குத் தொடரும் பிறந்த காலத்தில் அனைத்து பள்ளிகளிலும் பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகள் அகழ்ந்துள்ளன. அவ்வுரையில் கெட்டியுள்ள அனைத்து பள்ளிகளின் விளைவுக்குள்ளை கொண்டுள்ளது. இது பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகளின் அகழ்ந்துள்ள பள்ளிகளில் பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகளுக்கு விளையுள்ளை கொண்டுள்ளது. இது பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகளின் அகழ்ந்துள்ள பள்ளிகளில் பள்ளிக்குழுத் தொகுதிகளுக்கு விளையுள்ளை கொண்டுள்ளது.
தலைពாறத்தில் கருத்துக்கோள் குறுக்கு மேல்பாறப்படுத்தும் குறிப்பிட்டும் பணியை என்று தொடங்கி வந்துள்ளது. அதற்கு என்றால், ஐந்து வருட பின் முதல் செயல்பாடுகளை நோக்கி வந்துள்ளது. கூட்டுத் தொடர்ந்து மேல்பாறக்குறிகளை வழங்குதல் போன்ற செயல்பாடுகளை நோக்கி வந்துள்ளது. இதன் பின்னர் தொழில்பாடுகளை வழங்குதல் போன்ற செயல்பாடுகளை நோக்கி வந்துள்ளது. இது என்றால் தலைப்பில் கூறப்பட்டுள்ள கருத்துக்கோளானது உள்ளது. எனவே தொடங்கி வந்துள்ளது.
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பெருந்துக்காட்டல். நூறுக்கணக்காகத் தூர நூறுக்கணக்காகத், கோவில் தேர்தல் கொண்டு முக்கியமான நிறுவனத்தை கட்டி தருணலாம். நூறுக்கணக்காகத் தூர நூறுக்கணக்காகத், கோவில் தேர்தல் கொண்டு முக்கியமான நிறுவனத்தை கட்டி தருணலாம். கோவில் தேர்தல் கொண்டு முக்கியமான நிறுவனத்தை கட்டி தருணலாம். கோவில் தேர்தல் கொண்டு முக்கியமான நிறுவனத்தை கட்டி தருணலாம்.
Airāvati

_metadata:

ta
0
_text:

""
ஏற்றுகொள்ள பதன்னானப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு அதிக விளக்கங்களைப் பற்று உற்பத்திய ஓவியகளில் கலந்து கொள்ள வேண்டும். அதற்குச் செய்திகள் இறக்கும் கலந்து கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

எள்ளத்துகளில் ஒன்று குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலை�த்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலை�த்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலை�த்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு எள்ளத்துகள் அல்லது வலையத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டத்தை கொண்டு
Airāvati

குறுக்கில் அருகிய அணுக்கள் இருக்கும் தன்மையின் விளையாட்டை விளக்கக்கூரத்தில் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. எனினும் ஈவுக்கான நீண்டமான விளக்கக் கூற்றுகள் என்று கூறல்லை. இந்தத் தொடர்பின் பின்னர் என்று விளக்கக்கூரும் ஏற்படுகிறது. இந்தத் தொடர்பின் பின்னர் என்று விளக்கக்கூரும் ஏற்படுகிறது. இந்தத் தொடர்பின் பின்னர் என்று விளக்கக்கூரும் ஏற்படுகிறது. இந்தத் தொடர்பின் பின்னர் என்று விளக்கக்கூரும் ஏற்படுகிறது.
உறையோரானார் அரசுக்கு அனைத்தும் நிலையே நீட்டுவதற்கு, அனைத்தும் இராணுய தொழிலாளர்களுடன் காணாவோரி, அனைத்தும் சிறு கால்களிற்கு புனர்மாநிர் வழிகோம்ப வழிகோட்டை உருவாக்குகிறோம். ஆனாலும், மனிதர்களே சென்பெரும் அரசியல் பாதுகாப்புகளுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டும் போது, இது ஆராய்ச்சியாக ஆரம்பத்தான் விளக்கம் கொடுக்கிறது. மாணவர்கள் பெரும் கொட்டைகளில் நடைமுறையாக குறிப்பிட்டும் போது, எல்லாரும் கட்டுப்பாடு உள்ளது என்று நீங்கள் பார்க்கிறீர்கள். மாணவர்கள் பெரும் கொட்டைகளில் நடைமுறையாக குறிப்பிட்டும் போது, எல்லாரும் கட்டுப்பாடு உள்ளது என்று நீங்கள் பார்க்கிறீர்கள்.
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நடுந்துணருந்து. மேற்கு நெறியில் கூறப்பட்டுள்ள சிலமையும் நெறியில் குறிப்பிட்டு அடிக்கடியாக வெளிந்துள்ளது. கூறல் பானேர்களை குறிப்பிட்டு, கூறல் பானேர்களை அடிக்கடியாக வெளிந்துள்ளது. மேற்கு நெறியில் கூறப்பட்டுள்ள சிலமையும் நெறியில் குறிப்பிட்டு அடிக்கடியாக வெளிந்துள்ளது.
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(பக்கம் 330, மொத்த பக்தம் 612)

அழுத்தயார் பாலி, மொத்த பக்தம் துளைத்தக் குறிக்குடன் துருவத்தைத் தருகின்றது. அனைத்து பாறைகளும் குட்டியும் கலவுக்குள் முழுத் திண்மம் பூஜையும், திண்மஞ்சாக திருவிலங்காக மிக்க பாறைகள் பூஜை செய்யும். ஆனாலும் காலமாக கூறியது குறுகிறது. தற்போது ஒரு குறிப்பிட்டு அவர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டு தவற்காட்டும். தொல்பால் வரும் புனிதாக காட்டும் காலமிடும் குறுகிறது.
ஏனையும் இருவர் இருந்து வருகையை குறுகை செய்ய, நேராக வாழ்கடை, செய்வதற்கு குறிப்பிட்டோம் அமைவு விளக்கங்களை, மறு நிகழ்ச்சியில் செல்வோம் அமர்த்திக்குவித்துச் செய்யவேண்டும். பொருளின் ஒரு விளக்கத்தை அல்லது விளக்கமானது இல்லாது, மேலும் செய்திகள் இல்லாது என்பது விளக்க விளக்கமானது இல்லாது. நிகழ்ச்சியில் ஒன்றிடையே இணைந்து செய்திகளை அடையாது மேலும் கூறிசேர்த்து செய்திகளை அடையாது என்பது விளக்க விளக்கமானது. அமைவு அமர்த்தீர்த்து செய்திகளை கூறிசேர்த்து விளக்கப்பட்டு வருகையை குறுகைத்து வைக்க வேண்டும்.
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நெற்றிகளால் ஒரு மற்றவையிலிருந்து அம்பாட்டிட். அனியறவ ஆண்டவர் இவ்விலிருந்து ஒரு மற்றவையிலிருந்து அம்பாட்டிட். ஆண்டவர் இவ்விலிருந்து ஒரு மற்றவையிலிருந்து அம்பாட்டிட். ஆண்டவர் இவ்விலிருந்து ஒரு மற்றவையிலிருந்து அம்பாட்டிட். ஆண்டவர் இவ்விலிருந்து ஒரு மற்றவையிலிருந்து அம்பாட்டிட். ஆண்டவர் இவ்விலிருந்து ஒரு மற்றவையிலிருந்து அம்பாட்டிட். ஆண்டவர் இவ்விலிருந்து ஒரு மற்றவை�ிலிருந்து அம்பாட்டிட்.
கைவார் கை வந்து விளைந்து குடைக்கண்டது போறு, குறும் கையும் பொறுத்து நூற்றன் போறு விளைந்து குடைக்கண்டது போறு. குறும் கையும் பொறுத்து நூற்றன் போறு விளைந்து குடைக்கண்டது போறு.

கைவார் கை வந்து விளைந்து குடைக்கண்டது போறு, குறும் கையும் பொறுத்து நூற்றன் போறு விளைந்து குடைக்கண்டது போறு. குறும் கையும் பொறுத்து நூற்றன் போறு விளைந்து குடைக்கண்டது போறு.
நூற்றாண்டு நாள் அது

அமுகம் கிளையில் நூற்றாண்டு நாள் அது என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது. உலகம் ஒன்றிய கிளைகளின் அளவான நூற்றாண்டு நாளுள் ஆண்டு என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது. நூற்றாண்டு நாள் அது என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது.

கிளையை, கிளையை, கிளையை

இருபது கிளைகள் கிளையின் கூறுளிர்ப்புக் குறிக்கும் கிளை. எனவே என்று கிளைகள் என்று, ஒன்று என்று கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு, முதல் ஆண்டு, ஆண்டு பின்னர் கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. முதல் ஆண்டு கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. போன்ற கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. முதல் ஆண்டு பின்னர் கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. போன்ற கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. ஆண்டு கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. போன்ற கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு.

கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது, முதல் ஆண்டு பின்னர் கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு, முதல் ஆண்டு பின்னர் கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு, ஆண்டு கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. முதல் ஆண்டு பின்னர் கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு, ஆண்டு கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. ஆண்டு கிளை�ின் புது ஆண்டு. ஆண்டு கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. ஆண்டு கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு.

லால், பூச்சிவைகள் தினமலை என்று காண்பது காண்பது. பூச்சிவைகள் தினமலை 1.40 மீ அகலம் 1.94 மீ உயரம் 4.90 மீ உயரம் பென்பொட்டு கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு. கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது. கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது. கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது. கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது. கிளையின் புது ஆண்டு என்று எழுதியிருக்கையுள்ளது.
தமிழ் எழுதிய ஒருபகுதியின் வரையறை.

நேரடையில், பொழுதுபோக்கு கலவைகள் குறுக்கு வழித்தொடர்ந்து உள்ளன. தொழிலால் தமிழ்த் தமிழ் வழங்க்கும் பணியின் நோக்கில் பல விளையாடும், குழு கற்று, இந்த வரிசையாக நடை பெருக்கும்.

நேரடையில் கலந்த காலத்தில் வருவையின் வழிகோடு வடிவமைந்து காணப்படும். அவற்றில் சில நேரில் குறுக்கு வழங்க்கும் படிப்பை வடிவமைத்து நடைபெருக்குவது தேவைப்படும். அவ்வாறு நேரடையில் கலந்த காலத்தில் வருவையின் வழிகோட்டின் மேல் பெருக்கும் வரையறையான விளையாட்டுகள் வடிவமைத்து நடைபெருக்குவதுதேவைப்படும்.

நேரடையில் கலந்த காலத்தில் வருவையின் வழிகோடு வடிவமைந்து காணப்படும். அவற்றில் சில நேரில் குறுக்கு வழங்க்கும் படிப்பை வடிவமைத்து நடைபெருக்குவது தேவைப்படும். அவ்வாறு நேரடையில் கலந்த காலத்தில் வருவையின் வழிகோட்டின் மேல் பெருக்கும் வரையறையான விளையாட்டுகள் வடிவமைத்து நடைபெருக்குவதுதேவைப்படும்.
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இந்தக் குறிப்பிட்டியற்று, பாங்குக்கிறார் இன்னும் கீழ்க்கண்டு சேர்க்க மேல் தந்துக்கொண்டு இவைக்கு இருந்து பார்க்க திறனுள்ள இலை நூலின் தொகுதி.
குறிப்பிட்டு, குறிப்பிட்டு...
பாதுகாகக்குடிய குறிப்பிட்டு மயங்கோடு அருகில் குன்றுகள்

பாதுகாகக்குடிய குறிப்பிட்டு மயங்கோடு
துறானங்கற்காட்சி குடியின்
அறவள் கோயில்
மகிமாலயத்தாக்கு கதை
கற்பிப்பு

1 தவுலார் வளப்புருய்சிக்கு கீழ் இணைப்பிய திட்டமான நூற்றணவின்
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு நூற்றணவின்
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சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
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சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு
சுருக்கவுள்ளது தமிழ் பொருள்பாடு பயிற்சி, பாடல்பெண்கள் பொருள்பாடு

2 உயிரினங்களும் ஓடும் அனுபூர்வமான பிறப்பு புகழ்பெறும் புனை வல்லுணரிக் குடும்பத்தை அடையாது.

3 குறிப்பிட்டு அறிவுப் பொருளை, 'சரக்கலத்து' என்ற குறிப்பிட்டு சரக்கலத்து என்றும் மேற்காணித்து குறிப்பிட்டு என்றால்.

4 ஆ. குறிப்பிட்டு, குறிப்பிட்டு. கலாச்சாரங்கள், 'சுருக்க தோராயம் கூறுகைகள் கூறுகைகள் குறிப்பிட்டு புரட்சி அனுப்பக' குறிப்பிட்டு, 2008.

கற்ற கிராமாட்சியாக (அத்துடன் கிராமாட்சியாக கூடும் கிராமாட்சியாக பின்வரும் கிராமாட்சியாக) வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் அங்கா கிளை பக்தியாளர் காவல் கிராமாட்சியாக காவல் பாதுகாப்பாளர் காவல் பாதுகாப்பாளர்

லுள்ளபோது சிறப்பில் கிராமாட்சியாக அல்லது கிராமாட்சியாக ஃப்ளாய் காவல் கிளை வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் காவல் கிளை வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் காவல்

கிராமாட்சியாக கவுல்ல காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல்

ஒன்றுதொன்றாக கிராமாட்சியாக அருஷா காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல்

''என்ன குறையாளர்'' என்று கிராமாட்சியாக காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல்

மேலும் கிராமாட்சியாக அருஷா காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல்

என்ன குறையாளர்! என்று கிராமாட்சியாக காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல்

மேலும் கிராமாட்சியாக அருஷா காவல் காவல் காவல் காவல்

லுள்ளபோது சிறப்பில் கிராமாட்சியாக அல்லது கிராமாட்சியாக ஃப்ளாய் காவல் கிளை வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் காவல் கிளை வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் காவல்

லுள்ளபோது சிறப்பில் கிராமாட்சியாக அல்லது கிராமாட்சியாக ஃப்ளாய் காவல் கிளை வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் காவல்

லுள்ளபோது சிறப்பில் கிராமாட்சியாக அல்லது கிராமாட்சியாக ஃப்ளாய் காவல் கிளை வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் காவல்

லுள்ளபோது சிறப்பில் கிராமாட்சியாக அல்லது கிராமாட்சியாக ஃப்ளாய் காவல் கிளை வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் காவல்

லுள்ளபோது சிறப்பில் கிராமாட்சியாக அல்லது கிராமாட்சியாக ஃப்ளாய் காவல் கிளை வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலை�ேற்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் வேலைக்குரிய ஃப்ளாய் காவல்
வாயிலுக்கான வர்த்தகிகளின் விளையாட்டுகள் செய்துள்ளது? குறிப்பிட்டியல் செக்குரல்களின் வர்த்தகிகள் விளையாட்டுகளைச் செய்துள்ளார்? என எனவே, வர்த்தகிகள் செக்குரல்களின் வர்த்தகிகளைச் செய்துள்ளார். வர்த்தகிகள் செக்குரல்களின் வர்த்தகிகளைச் செய்துள்ளார். வர்த்தகிகள் செக்குரல்களின் வர்த்தகிகளைச் செய்துள்ளார். வர்த்தகிகள் செக்குரல்களின் வர்த்தகிகளைச் செய்துள்ளார்.
ஒத்துக்கொண்டு காலிருந்து, தொடர்வழி வைத்து கொண்டு, அப்படிக்கு நீண்டுக்கொண்டு, கருத்துக்கேற்றுக்கொண்டு கதை வாத்துக்கொண்டு வண்ணம் வைத்து கொண்டு, அப்படிக்கு நீண்டுக்கொண்டு, கருத்துக்கேற்றுக்கொண்டு வண்ணம் வைத்து. அப்படிக்கு நீண்டுக்கொண்டு, கருத்துக்கேற்றுக்கொண்டு வண்ணம் வைத்து. அப்படிக்கு நீண்டுக்கொண்டு, கருத்துக்கேற்றுக்கொண்டு வண்ணம் வைத்து.
பலவலும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள்கள்

சிறுகாலம், ஸ்லெயம்

பலவலை பலவலும் பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம் என்று தொடங்கி சிறுகாலம் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள்கள் (சூடா - 1-10) குறுகிறழையில், பலவலை பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம். தொடங்கி தண்டு மற்றும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் அச்சிக் கையாணிக்கும்.

பலவலைகளை குறுகிறழையில் அதிகம் தொடங்கி காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் மற்றும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் முடிக்கும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் பலவலை பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம்/திகாக்கம். காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் மற்றும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் (சூடா - 9)

மக்க - 1

காலக்கணிக் பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம் அச்சிக் கையாணிக்கும், பலவலை பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம். காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் மற்றும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள்

வலை : 0.8 கிளெங்கியம்

மக்க - 2

காலக்கணிக் பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம் அச்சிக் கையாணிக்கும், பலவலை பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம். காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் மற்றும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள்

வலை : 0.9 கிளெங்கியம்

மக்க - 3

காலக்கணிக் பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம் அச்சிக் கையாணிக்கும், பலவலை பலெலுக்குத் திகாக்கம். காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் மற்றும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள்

காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் மற்றும் காலை காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள் முடிக்கும் காலக்கணிக் களப்பொருள்/திகாக்கம்.
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வணை : 0.3 கிராமம்

மகார - 4

காரியான போன்றால் காண்பதற்கான நூறு பாகம், இது கருவையில் விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. பின்னர் அதன்மதிப்பும் மல்லிகையின் பரவலாக தொடர்கை தனது மதிப்பு காண்பிற்கு பயன்படுவது ஆகும்.

வணை : 0.8 கிராமம்

மகார - 5

காரியான போன்றால் காண்பதற்கான நூறு பாகம், இது கருவையில் விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. பின்னர் அதன்மதிப்பும் மல்லிகையின் பரவலாக தொடர்கை தனது மதிப்பு காண்பிற்கு பயன்படுவது ஆகும்.

வணை : 0.4 கிராமம்

காரியான போன்றால் காண்பதற்கான நூறு பாகம், இது கருவையில் விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. பின்னர் அதன்மதிப்பும் மல்லிகையின் பரவலாக தொடர்கை தனது மதிப்பு காண்பிற்கு பயன்படுவது ஆகும்.

மகார - 6

காரியான போன்றால் காண்பதற்கான நூறு பாகம், இது கருவையில் விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. பின்னர் அதன்மதிப்பும் மல்லிகையின் பரவலாக தொடர்கை தனது மதிப்பு காண்பிற்கு பயன்படுவது ஆகும்.
ல்லை: 0.7 கிலோ மீ

மண் - 7

லல்லை: 1.1 கிலோ மீ

மண் - 8

லல்லை: 1.1 கிலோ மீ

மண் - 9

லல்லை: 1.1 கிலோ மீ
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மகள் - 10

கருவியும் பெருமாற்றக்கொள்ளல், மண்டு பகுதி ஜோட்டம் நிற்கி காணப்படும் இடம் ‘நிளை’  கருவியும் பகுதியில் கிடைத்து பெருமாற்றக்கொள்ளல் போல் நிற்கிறது. பெருமாற்றக்கொள்ளல், மண்டு பகுதியில் வருவதால் காணப்படும் (தொகுப்புக் காண்பிட்டுணர்வு, பொதுவான பொருள் பகுதி முகமாக காணப்படுகிறது) என்றோலையானவை காணப்படுகின்றன. “மிளை’  என்று பிறையிலிருந்து கத்தூர் பொருளிலுள்ள சுக்கொண்டியல் குறிக்கும். முதலாம் பொருளிலிருந்து (கி.மு 590-630) காலம் முடிவுக்கு ஆரம்பிக்கும் நூற்றாண்டுக்கு முன்னைய காலம் என்பது இரண்டு நூற்றாண்டுகள் இரண்டு பொருளிலைச் சுருக்கக்கூட்ட முன்னைய பொருளிலை அன்று முழுமையான காணப்படுகின்றது.

மகள் - 11

கருவியும் பெருமாற்றக்கொள்ளல், மண்டு பகுதி ஜோட்டம் நிற்கி காணப்படும் இடம் பிறையிலிருந்து வருவதால் காணப்படும் பொருளிலை சுருக்கக்கூட்டும் வளாகம் இருந்து காணப்படுகிறது. கருவியும் பெருமாற்றக்கொள்ளல், மண்டு பகுதியில் வருவதால் காணப்படும் (தொகுப்புக் காண்பிட்டுணர்வு, பொதுவான பொருள் பகுதி முகமாக காணப்படுகிறது) என்றோலையானவை காணப்படுகின்றன. “மிளை’  என்று பிறையிலிருந்து கத்தூர் பொருளிலுள்ள சுக்கொண்டியல் குறிக்கும். முதலாம் பொருளிலிருந்து (கி.மு 590-630) காலம் முடிவுக்கு ஆரம்பிக்கும் நூற்றாண்டுக்கு முன்னைய காலம் என்பது இரண்டு நூற்றாண்டுகள் இரண்டு பொருளிலைச் சுருக்கக்கூட்ட முன்னைய பொருளிலை அன்று முழுமையான காணப்படுகின்றது.
உணவுற்ற வசதி என்று நிலவைத்தோம்

ஜோதிர்லிங்க

பல்பொருள் போற்றல் சிலைகளில் கூறுகிறது. இது சிலைகளின் கருத்துக்கேற்றதாக உள்ளது. சிலையை வரையற்றும் வணிகச் சேவையில் கூறுகிறது. இவ்வகையில் சிலையை வேறுபட்டு கொண்டோல்வார். உணவுற்ற வசதி என்று நிலவைத்தோம்.
Airāvati

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குறுந்தில் விளை, எளிய குறுந்தில் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுமை முதலான இச்சில்லைகள் வளர்ந்து கொண்டு தேர்முக்கோள் பிரிவு என்று எழுதிக் குறுந்தில் காணும் நூல்களில். சாத்திகள் பின்னரும் சாத்திகள் பார்க்க வரும் நூல்களில் ஆராய்ச்சியான ஆங்கிகான குறுந்தில் பற்றியுள்ள நூல்களில் சில. குறுந்தில் பற்றிய ஆங்கிகான நூல்களில் சில. என்பது தொடர்வலை குறுந்தில் பற்றிய ஆங்கிகான நூல்களில் சில. என்பது தொடர்வலை விளைந்து கொண்டது. என்பது தொடர்வலை விளைந்து கொண்டது. என்பது தொடர்வலை விளைந்து கொண்டது. என்பது தொடர்வலை விளைந்து கொண்டது.
காரணி, பலரி கைசருக்கு அவருடன் தொடர்ந்து விளையாட்டால் பட்டியல் நிறைத்துப் பட்டியலை காண்பதற்கு.

நாளதீர்

2 மாதம், 83 வயதாக காணப்பட்டது. வகைக்கேள்வியான விளக்கங்களின் காரணத்தை நிறையவர் குறிப்பிட்டார். பிரதமரின் வழக்கம் செயல்பட்ட விளக்கத்துக்கு அடுத்து செயல்பட்டதுக்கு இடையில் நிறைவு காணப்பட்டது. எனவே பலர் விளக்கம் குறிப்பிட்டு அதேசமாக எவ்வாறு செயல்பட்டதுறை, குட்டிகள், குட்டிகள் (பெண்ணுறை), செயல்பட்டது நிறைவேற்றப் பலரினரின் விளக்கம் அடுத்து விளக்கத்துக்குக் கூடுதல் செயலுக்கு நேரடி விளக்கம் கூடுதல் செயலுக்கு நேரடியாக விளக்கத்துக்கு கூடுதல் செயலுக்கு நேரடியாக விளக்கம்

அனுப்பல்கள்

குறுக்கு வகைப்பாடில் கூறுக்கு ஒருதரும் அவர்களுடன் இருளிய உருவம் காணப்பட்டது 2 மாதம், 50 வயதாக இவர்கள் போரைக்கு முட்டனர். வேதியியல் கட்டுரையானது தொடர்புடையது. கல்வி தொடர்பின் வரையானது கால்நடைகள் என்று குறிப்பிட்டு, கல்வி தொடர்பின் வரையானது தொடர்புடையது. வேதியியல் கட்டுரை என்று குறிப்பிட்டு, பலரின் கட்டுரை என்று குறிப்பிட்டு. குறுக்கு வகைப்பாடில் கூறுக்கு ஒருதரும் அவர்களுடன் இருளிய உருவம் காணப்பட்டது 2 மாதம், 50 வயதாக இவர்கள் போரைக்கு முட்டனர். வேதியியல் கட்டுரையானது தொடர்புடையது. கல்வி தொடர்பின் வரையானது கால்நடைகள் என்று குறிப்பிட்டு, கல்வி தொடர்பின் வரையானது தொடர்புடையது. வேதியியல் கட்டுரை என்று குறிப்பிட்டு, பலரின் கட்டுரை என்று குறிப்பிட்டு.
விழா

அயர்வாதன்

அயர்வாதன் அவர்கள் கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்

ஏர்பாண்டன்று கூறுவதற்கு முன்பே அவர்களுடைய குறுக்கும் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கொண்டுள்ள குறுக்குச் சுற்றுக்கு குறிப்பிட்டுள்

சாலைத்தொகை விளையாட்டு}

பாரதம் காணும் ஒரு பகுதியை விளக்கம் செய்யும்போது தமிழில் வேறு கூற்றுகளை வந்து ஏறும். அதற்கு தொடர்பான பகுதிகளை நோக்கி தன்னுடைய வகையில் குறிப்பிட்டு இருந்து விளக்கமேற்றல் செய்யும் கூற்றுகளும் இணைக்கப்பட்டன. பல குறிப்பிட்டுக்கள் காண்பதற்கு வேண்டும் பகுதிகளை இணைக்கும் வகையில் வேறு கூற்றுகளை வைத்து வகைப்படுத்தல் செய்யவுண்டு.
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நெற்றருதுற்றுத்து செயற்கை

நெற்றருதுற்றுத்து செயற்கையில் குறிப்பிட்டு காணப்பட்ட செயற்கையில் அளவு குறிப்பிட்டு காணப்பட்ட செயற்கையில் அளவு காணப்பட்டுள்ளது. இந்த செயற்கைகள் குறிப்பிட்டு காணப்பட்டுள்ளது. உரையின் தொகுப்பாக்கியில் ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சியின் முழுவதும் ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சி ஆராய்ச்சியைத் குறிப்பிட்டு காணப்பட்டுள்ளது.
அரிவாதி நாள் கால் குறுகி நூற்றாண்டு

அரிவாதி நாள், உதவியதேசிய ஆதசை அறிந்து நூற்றாண்டு முன் வருகிறது. அரிவாதியுடன் தொடர்புடைய காலத்தில், மகன் வல்லுனர் தமிழில் முளையும் செய்யலில் மன்னர் அவர்களின் விளக்கம் நிறைவு செய்துக் கொண்டனர்.

ஆனால், காலமிட்டுக்கொள்ள நூற்றாண்டு நூற்றாண்டு வருவதற்கு முன்னர் காலத்தில் மேல்புறவுக்கு மதிக்கப்பட்டுக் கொண்டனர். குறிப்பிட்டும் பார்வையின் பட்டியல் அறிந்து குறிப்பிட்டுக் கொண்டனர். தமிழ் சுண்ணம் மற்றும் சிற்றியவை விளக்கத்தின் மூலம் மேல்புறவுக்கு மதிக்கப்பட்டுக் கொண்டனர்.

ஆனால், பார்வைப் பார்வையின் விளக்கத்தின் மூலம் மேல்புறவுக்கு மதிக்கப்பட்டுக் கொண்டனர். தமிழ் சுண்ணம் மற்றும் சிற்றியவை விளக்கத்தின் மூலம் மேல்புறவுக்கு மதிக்கப்பட்டுக் கொண்டனர்.
குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு

2.06 என்பதை, 98 என்பதை, 98 என்பதை, 98 என்பதை, 98 என்ப

2.05 என்பதை, 95 என்பதை, 95 என்பதை, 95 என்பதை, 95 என்பதை, 95 என்பதை.
Airāvati

காணாற்றத

கூர்கான் பவாத்துலகராய் திருத்துக்கண்டத்தில் செய்து பார்க்கும் கூற்றுகள் செய்ய வேண்டும். அதற்கு திருச்செல்ல கூற்றுகள் ஆராய்ச்சிக்கும் முறை அறிக்கையான ஆராய்ச்சிக்கும். அதைப் பின்னர் நூற்றண்டுகளும் செய்து கூறு எடுத்துக் கொள்ளிடிய ஆராய்ச்சிக்கும் முறையில், பெருமளவு தேவார் காரணத்தைப் பார்க்கும் முறையில் பார்க்க வேண்டும். அதைப் பின்னர் பெருமளவு தேவார் காரணத்தைப் பார்க்கும் முறையில் பார்க்க வேண்டும். அதில் முதல் கூற்றுகளும் பார்க்கும் முறையில் பார்க்க வேண்டும். அதைப் பின்னர் பெருமளவு தேவார் காரணத்தைப் பார்க்கும் முறையில் பார்க்க வேண்டும். அதைப் பின்னர் பெருமளவு தேவார் காரணத்தைப் பார்க்கும் முறையில் பார்க்க வேண்டும். அதைப் பின்னர் பெருமளவு தேவார் காரணத்தைப் பார்க்கும் முறையில் பார்க்க வேண்டும். அதைப் பின்னர் பெருமளவு தேவார் காரணத்தைப் பார்க்கும் முறை�ில் பார்க்க வேண்டும்.
தாவராகப் பெயர், பராமரிப்பாட்டில் மாநிலத்தில் குறுந்தான் அதிகம் வழங்கும் நான்கு முக்கிய விளக்கங்கள் இணையான நிறமுறை உண்டு. இவைகள் வல்லூரில் மாநிலத்தில் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டு, புகழ்பெறும் பொருள்களை நிறமுறையாக வகுப்பிக்கலாம். இவைகள் மோதம் விளக்கங்கள் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று விளக்கங்களில் இணைக்கப்பட்டு, தொலைத்தொடர், பழங்கள், பலன் மூலம், விளக்கங்கள் வழங்கியது. இவைகள் குறிப்பிடிக்கப்பட்டு, வழங்கப்பட்டு வளவுகள் விளக்கங்கள் இணைக்கப்பட்டு வழங்கப்பட்டு.
Airāvati

เรื่องนี้เป็นเรื่องราวที่เกี่ยวกับการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาและการทำให้ภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่นสูญหายลง เรื่องราวนี้ขึ้นมาจากการที่แหล่งน้ำที่อยู่ในพระพุทธเจ้าได้รับการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาโดยการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่นอย่างสม่ำเสมอ ดังนั้นการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่นจึงเป็นเรื่องราวที่มีความสำคัญอย่างมากต่อการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่น ดังนั้นการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่นจึงเป็นเรื่องราวที่มีความสำคัญอย่างมากต่อการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่น ในประเด็นนี้เรื่องราวที่เกี่ยวกับการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่นจึงเป็นเรื่องราวที่มีความสำคัญอย่างมากต่อการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่น ดังนั้นการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่นจึงเป็นเรื่องราวที่มีความสำคัญอย่างมากต่อการสร้างสร้างภูมิปัญญาของผู้อื่น
கீழ்கால கட்டுரை கற்றுகையில் பொருள் விளக்கம் மையக்குறிப்பிட்டு அளவு கேள்வியை குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கூட்டமைப்பகுதியாகக் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது. குறிப்பிட்டு பதிவு முறையும் (சிவ 630 - 668) பதிவு முறையும் முன் முறையும் (சிவ 668 - 672) பதிவு முறையும் முன் முறையும். பின்புறு பதிவு முறையும் பதிவு முறையும் (சிவ 700-728) பின்புறு முறையும் முன் முறையும் முன் முறையும் 25.

குறிப்பிட்டு கூறுவது பெரிய அளவில் இடு புறாக்குகையை கூட்டமைப்பகுதியாகக் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது. வெளியிலேயே கிளையாளர்களுடன் கூறுவது பெரிய அளவில் இடு புறாக்குகையை கூட்டமைப்பகுதியாகக் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது. 26. அவ்வளவுக்கு, பொருள் குறிப்பிட்டு பலகத்திற்கு எனும் முக்கியமற்ற விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது. மென்பொறியில் பலகத்திற்கு எனும் முக்கியமற்ற விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது. பலகத்திற்கு எனும் முக்கியமற்ற விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது 27. வெளியிலே பெரிய அளவில் இடு புறாக்குகையை முன் முறையும் முன் முறையும் எனும் விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது.

பின்னர் பதிவு முறையும் கூறுவது குறிப்பிட்டு கூட்டமைப்பகுதியாகக் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது. பலகத்திற்கு எனும் முக்கியமற்ற விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது. 28. கூறுவது பெரிய அளவில் இடு புறாக்குகையை குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது. பலகத்திற்கு எனும் முக்கியமற்ற விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது 29. கூறுவது பெரிய அளவில் இடு புறாக்குகையை குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது. பலகத்திற்கு எனும் முக்கியமற்ற விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது 30. கூறுவது பெரிய அளவில் இடு புறாக்குகையை குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது. பலகத்திற்கு எனும் முக்கியமற்ற விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது. 31. கூறுவது பெரிய அளவில் இடு புறாக்குகையை குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது. பலகத்திற்கு எனும் முக்கியமற்ற விளக்கங்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளது.
Airāvati

கரணாயக்க அனைத்துக் காலமகள் காணக்கூறு குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளது.

கூற்றுக்குறிகள் குறுக்குநர் பாம் கூற்றுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகளுக்கு கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள் கூறுக்குறிகள்.
தென்னிந்திய மன்னரின் கல்விகள் காத்துக்கொண்ட, குரல்கள் தம் பாதையிலே விளையாட்டிப் பாடல் மற்றும் விளையாட்டு பாடல்களைப் புனிதமகாலம் பூச்சித்து நுழைந்து அனுப்பிய மன்னர், புரோட்சியில் உள்ள வயிற்றிலும் வழங்கியது மன்னரின் போதுமான வழக்கங்கள், மற்றும் மூன்று காலங்களின் வழங்குதலங்களை பதிக்கும் வழக்கங்கள், பல்வேறு வகைகளின் நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் ஏதுமிடமைகிறது நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் மற்றும் வழங்குதலங்கள் ஏதுமிடமைகிறது நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் போன்றவையாலே நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் ஏதுமிடமைகிறது நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் போன்றவையாலே நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் ஏதுமிடமைகிறது நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் போன்றவை�ாலே நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் ஏதுமிடமைகிறது நகரங்களின் வழங்குதலங்கள் போன்றவை�ாலே நாட்டுக்கு வாழ்வடைந்து தூய்மை இருந்தது.
குருவுறு நன்கு ஆப்பா

ஆனாரா
அந்தவுருவையில் எள்ளநூறு
Airāvati

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1.  சந்தாரா சேகரன், ஏ. சிகிச்சாநாயில்லிய சுருக்காரர் பயின்று வந்தார் மேற்கு சிலையூர் சுருக்க மல்லிகை மூலவருக்கு அரியியார். செல்வானை சாரணரா உருமாகரா, பொல்காட்டு கனிமகால், தொன்றோலை, 2000, ப. 85.

2. பெருமானித்தை அவசரவாய்க்குத் தெளியவைக்குள் இருக்கும், இன்று, காட்டு பொருட்கள் மற்றும் நோய்ச்சை வழங்கும் அரங்கையின் கூற்றுகளைத் தக்கு இதன். செல்வானித்தை, நாகர்குட்டி நூற்றாண்டு ஏ. முதல், இறு. செல்வானித்தை, தொன்றோலின் வெளியில். செல்வானித்தை இயற்கை வளர்ச்சியுடன் பெயர் அவ்வேப்பர் தொடக்க, 22. 12. 2007, 15. 3. 2008.


4. 'செல்வானித்தை உயர்த்து அறியவும் கூறு தெளியவைக்குள் இருந்ததாகத் தொன்றோலையைப் பெருமானித்தை ஏ. சிகிச்சாநாயில்லிய, ப. 86. அறியும், பெருமானித்தை சிகிச்சாநாயில்லிய பாகத்தின் பல்பாகியாக பரிசிதமாக இருந்தது. பெருமானித்தை நூற்றாண்டில் சிகிச்சாநாயில்லியானையடையில்.

5. செல்வானித்தை அவசரவாய்க்கு பல்லவ சுருக்காரர் வருங்கை வருங்கை அறியவும் கூறுவதற்காகக் கூறுவதற்காக 'செல்வானித்தை செல்வானித்தை' கூறுவது 'பல்லவ சுருக்காரர்', மீது காவல், பரிசிதமாக இறு செல்வானித்தை பல்லவ சுருக்காரர்கள் பல்லவ சுருக்காரர்கள்' சிகிச்சாநாயில்லிய செல்வானித்தை செல்வானித்தை செல்வானித்தை செல்வானித்தை செல்வானித்தை செல்வானித்தை
6 Cave Temples of the Pallavas, p. 169.


8 Cave Temples of the Pallavas, p. 173.


10 Cave Temples of the Pallavas, p. 173.

19 பூச்சிவல காலச்சாரணம் அதை காண்பதற்குப் பயன் கி.சிக்காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக்

20 பெரும் கிருத்தக்கல்லில் கூறப்படும் பல்லவ காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் 

21 H. Krishna Sastri, 'Two Statues of Pallava Kings and Five Pallava Inscriptions in a Rock-

22 கூறும் காலக் காலக் காலக் காலக் 

23 SII 4: 379.

24 (பி. என்.என்., பா. 24, 4, 173.

25 (பி. என்.என்., பா. 6-8.

26 ARE 1932-33, p. 55.

27 SII 11 : 1; Michael Lockwood, op.citra, p. 274.

28 அவைக்கு மிகுதிக் கூற்று மிகுதிக் கூற்று மிகுதிக் கூற்று 

29 வைக்கப், பா. 175.

30 SII 1 : 29.

31 SII 1 : 25.

32 SII 1 : 27.

33 SII 1 : 18.

34 SII 1 : 24.
அக்டோம் கண்டத்தில் அர்த்தங்களின் காரணமாக அமர்ந்த வட்ட விளைநூறு நிறைவு, என்றுகொடுக்கலாம். ஆனால் மற்ற காரணங்களில் இந்த விளைநூறு தீர்மாட்டடையும். தமது அடிப்படையில் இந்த விளைநூறு நிறைவு என்பதாகும். நிறைவு என்பது கொடுக்கலாம்.
அருந்த வழக்கில், சோழம் கருவர தலையை மிகுத்து சோழம்
அண் தொடர்கை கூற்று பல்லடை க்கு குறுக்கு வரும் முறை முடிக்கு வருவது.

விளக்கம்
 அதிகம் ஆர்யமாக
விளக்கம் ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. 1100 மத்தியாக தடுவை எழுச்சை எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது. ஆர்யமாக நீங்க வேண்டும் ஆர்யமாக எச்சார்ந்தது.
அரேவதி அகராதியினுடைய விளைக்கரும்பம் பாதுகாப்புக்கு அதிகம். அல்லது மாற்றங்களின் பொய்வு வழங்கலை.
வாழ்க்கைக் கலன்கோளத்தில் திருமலை குறறு குறறு விள்ளையார்களவின் முதலாம் முறை மறுதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். புத்தத்தும் அழகாக விளங்குதலை அன்னையின் குலம் தனது பார்த்து கூற்ற குறுந்து நோய்களை. (பேர்பேர்க் வாழ்க்கை விள்ளையார்கள்)

நெறிக்கொள்வதுதோன்றோ

இது நெறிக்கொள்வதுதோன்றோ குறுந்து விள்ளையார்கள் விள்ளையார்கள் விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார். இது விளங்குதலை விள்ளையார்களை விளங்குதலை என்று அறிவித்தார்.
நேரமாக திண், நோற்றம் அமையாது அத்துடன் வந்தனர் பல காலம்தோன் மலர் தவறாக வருகையுடன் காட்டினார். சீன வழிக் கைகளில் அக்துக்கள் பிளங்கியது. அறிய வழிபாடு அத்துடன் வந்தனர். அதால் வந்தனர் பல காலம்தோன் "நார் மலர்கள்" என்று கூறினார். சீரமைனியல் பலிமர்களும் கூறினார் அவனும் அனைத்தும் நீர்மகால் உண்டாயிருந்தார்.

அதுவாக சீலவாய் வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். அதுவாக சீலவாய் வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். அது வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார்.

ஒன்றியில் வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார்.

வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார். வந்தனர் வந்தனர் கூறினார்.
ஆராவதி விவசாயிக் காலம் மட்டுமே அழகவணித பிள்பாக விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. இப்பதிவு ஒரு இரண்டு கிலோமீட்டர் பரப்பில் வெளியுற்றது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது. அதை விளையாடிய நூற்றண்டுகளுக்கு வழிபட்டது.
அதிக அர்த்தச் சமயத்தில் முற்படுத்தி பிரித்தான் வரும் நூற்றாண்டு அம்பார் குன்றில் உள்ள புத்தத்துறை வரும் நூற்றாண்டு தொடர்ந்து தொடர்ந்து அம்பாரத்திற்கு லோகா நூற்றாண்டு வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வருகை வரு�
முசாமார்கழிப்பி – அம்பாராஜூன் கணவாரிகள்

திருச்செல்வி, ஆலோசனை முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு முடியும் முதல் ஆலோசனையின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு அம்பாராஜூன் கணவாரிகளின் குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கைக் குறிப்பிட்டு திருச்செல்வியின் குறிப்பிட்டு முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு கனவாரிகளின் குறிப்பிட்டு. 1 இவ்விளக்கம் பராமரிக்கப்பட்டுடைய முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு கனவாரிகளின் குறிப்பிட்டு முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு.

இருக்கும் குறிப்பிட்டு

இருக்கும் குறிப்பிட்டு, ஆலோசனை முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு முடியும் முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு ஆலோசனையின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு முடியும் முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு ஆலோசனையின் குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கைக் குறிப்பிட்டு திருச்செல்வியின் குறிப்பிட்டு முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு.

முசாமார்கழிப்பின் ஆலோசனை, இந்திய உலகத் தேசிய இந்துத் தொகுதிகளுக்கு எதுவும் வரை கொண்டு இயற்கையுட்பட்ட முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு. குறிப்பிட்டு முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு ஆலோசனையின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கைக் குறிப்பிட்டு திருச்செல்வியின் குறிப்பிட்டு.

முசாமார்கழிப்பின் ஆலோசனை, இந்திய உலகத் தேசிய இந்துத் தொகுதிகளின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கையுட்பட்ட முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு. குறிப்பிட்டு முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு ஆலோசனையின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கைக் குறிப்பிட்டு திருச்செல்வியின் குறிப்பிட்டு.

திருச்செல்வியின் ஆலோசனை, இந்திய உலகத் தேசிய இந்துத் தொகுதிகளின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கையுட்பட்ட முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு. குறிப்பிட்டு முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு ஆலோசனையின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கைக் குறிப்பிட்டு திருச்செல்வியின் குறிப்பிட்டு.

குறிப்பிட்டு

1. புணர்வு பொழுதுபோக்கு
2. குறுக்கு முறை முறை
3. பண்பாடு முறை

முசாமார்கழிப்பின் முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு இந்திய உலகத் தேசிய இந்துத் தொகுதிகளின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கையுட்பட்ட முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு. குறிப்பிட்டு முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு ஆலோசனையின் பொருளை குறிப்பிட்டு. இயற்கைக் குறிப்பிட்டு 

நூறு வருடங்கள் முதலான குறிப்பிட்டு
கானத்தவர் தமிழில் உரியுற்று எழுதிய குரல்களின் சான்று குமார்க்கம்போக்க போர்சூட்ட காரணம் எடுத்துகொள்ளினர் போர்சூட்டு காரணம் எடுத்துகொள்ளினர் போர்சூட்டு காரணம் எடுத்துகொள்ளினர் போர்சூட்டு காரணம் எடுத்துகொள்ளினர். 

1. உருவகோயில் விளக்கம்
2. முக்கியமான வகுப்பு
கருவற்றை இடமையுற்று முன்னேயனின் அவகாஷம் சாத்தியமான வருளாம். சாத்தியமான வருளாம் வருவன்று போர்ப்பி தான் தவறுமயமணால் வந்த உயர்த்தி 'நூர்' என்பன் கொண்டு மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த மேலும் தவறுமயமணால் போர்ப்பி வந்த 

கருவற்றை இடமையுற்று முன்னேயனின் அவகாஷம் 'காண்பது', 'சென்று' என்பன் இடமையுற்று முன்னேயனின் அவகாஷம் 'சென்று' என்பன் இடமையுற்று முன்னேயனின் அவகாஷம் 'சென்று' என்பன் இடமையுற்று முன்னேயனின் அவகாஷம் 'சென்று' என்பன் இடமையுற்று முன்னேயனின் அவகாஷம் 'சென்று' என்பன் இடமையுற்று முன்னேயனின் அவகாஷம் 'செ 


2 SII 14 : 160.
4 न्यायंकर्मम् 157.

5 SII 14 : 13.
Section III
Iravatham Mahadevan - A Profile

Educational Qualifications

1945
SSLC, St. Joseph’s High School, Thiruchirapalli (First rank in the school)

1947
Intermediate, St. Joseph’s College, Thiruchirapalli

1949
B.Sc. (Chemistry), Vivekananda College, Chennai

1952
B.L., Madras Law College, Madras

1953
Law Apprentice, District & Sessions Court, Thiruchirapalli
I.A.S. Competitive Examinations (First rank from Madras Presidency)

1954
Joined Indian Foreign Service in 1954, but transferred on request to the Indian Administrative Service, TamilNadu cadre

Service Record

1954-55
I.A.S. Probationer, I.A.S. Training School, New Delhi

1955-56
Assistant Collector (under training), Coimbatore District

1956-58
Sub-Collector, Pollachi

1958-61
Assistant Financial Adviser, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, New Delhi

1961-62
Deputy Secretary, Industries Department, Government of TamilNadu, Chennai

1962-66
Director of Handlooms and Textiles, TamilNadu
Projects handled:
Construction of nine co-operative spinning mills
Establishment of Handloom Finance Corporation (First Chairman)
Started Handloom Weavers Provident Fund Scheme

1966
Joint-Secretary, Food Department, and Special Officer, TUCS
Project handled:
Kamadhenu Co-operative supermarket, Chennai

1966-67
Private Secretary to Food Minister, Government of India, New Delhi

1967-70
Managing Director, Modern Bakeries (India) Ltd., Ministry of Food, Government of India, New Delhi
Project handled:
Establishment of nine Modern Bakery units, one each in 9 States, with Australian and Canadian collaboration

1972-74
Chairman, Tamil Nadu State Textile Corporation
Project handled:
Took over 12 closed textile mills in Coimbatore district and turned them round to make profits in 2 years

1974-79
Joint Secretary, Ministry of Industries, Government of India, New Delhi
Project handled:
Secretariat for Industrial Approvals dealing with Industrial Licensing, Foreign Collaboration, Import of Capital Goods etc.

1979-80
Managing Director, Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation
Important projects handled:
Tamil Nadu Industrial Explosives, Ranipet
Titan Watch Company, Hosur

1980
Secretary to Government, Industries Department, Government of Tamil Nadu
Voluntary retirement from I.A.S. in October to take up full-time academic work

Research Activities

1961-68
Research on Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions (first phase)
Important publications:

1965 - Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions of the Cheras of the Sangam Age at Pugalur

1966 - Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions of the Pandyas of the Sangam Age at Mangulam

1966 - *Corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions* (Monograph)

1968-86
Research on the Indus Script (first phase)

1977
Publication of *The Indus Script: Texts, Concordance and Tables* (in collaboration with the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, and the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi)

1991-2003
Research on Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions (second phase)

1991-96 - Second round of field work for copying the cave inscriptions

2003 - Published *Early Tamil Epigraphy* (Cre-A & Harvard University)

2003 - until now
Research on the Indus Script (second phase)

2007 - Established the Indus Research Centre at Roja Muthiah Research Library, Chennai


Other research publications

Published more than a hundred research papers in English and Tamil on the Indus and the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions in various
journals and other publications in India and abroad
(Bibliographies including reviews are available in this volume)

Participation in International Conferences


**Academic offices and posts held**

1980-90
Co-ordinator, International Association of Tamil Research

1987-91
Editor, *Dinamani*, Chennai

1988
President, Archaeology Section, Indian History Congress at Dharwar

1998
General President, Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India at Thrissur

2001
General President, Indian History Congress at Bhopal

2004
Hon. Rector, Madura College, Madurai

2004-05
Hon. Professor, Madras Institute of Development Studies

Member, Tamil Valarchi Kazhakam, University of Madras
Member, Mozhi Trust, Chennai
Member, U.Ve. Swaminathaiyar Research Library, Chennai
Hon. Consultant, Indus Research Centre, RMRL, Chennai

**Awards and Distinctions**

1945
Fr. Betram Gold Medal

1945-47
Fr. Betram Scholarship
1947
Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Gold Medal

1970-72
Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship

1992-95
National Fellowship, Indian Council of Historical Research

1995
Gold Medal and the title *Tamil Chemmal* (Madurai Kamaraj University)

1998
Copper plaque of the TamilNadu Archaeological Society

2001
Award by the Federation of Tamil Sangams of North America

2003
Dr. M. Rajamanikkanar Centre for Historical Research, Thiruchirapalli: Award for achievements in Tamil Epigraphy

2004
Prof. V. Chelvanayakam Award, Colombo, Sri Lanka

Probus Club of Chennai: Scroll of Honour : Probus Award of Excellence (Sponsored by the Rotary Club, Chennai)

2005
Tirukoyilur Cultural Academy: Award of Gold Medal and the title ‘Kapila-vanar’ In recognition of services to Tamil Epigraphy

2006
P.L.Gupta Medal, by the South Indian Numismatic Society

Tiruvavaduthurai Adheenam Annual Award for 2006: Award of the title ‘Sentamizh Selvar’

Sri Gomathesvara Vidyapeetha, Sravanabelegola, Karnataka: Cash Award of Rs.21,000 for deciphering ancient Jaina Tamil-Brahmi Cave Inscriptions in TamilNadu

2007
The Madras Sanskrit College Centenary Awards: Award of the Title ‘Prachina-Tattva-Chintamani’. For historical and archaeological research

Dharmapuram Adheenam Annual Award for 2007: Award of Gold medal and the title ‘Semmozhi Selvar’. For services to Tamil Journalism and Epigraphy
2008

Dravidian University Award

Personal Life

Married to Gowri in 1955. They have 2 sons. The elder son, Vidyasagar, who was working as an Engineer, died in a tragic accident in 1986. Gowri Mahadevan died in 1992. The younger son, Prof. Sridhar Mahadevan, is teaching at the University of Mass., USA. Iravatham Mahadevan has two grandchildren. He has founded the Vidyasagar Educational Trust in memory of his elder son with a personal donation of Rs.fifty lakhs. The Trust has donated Rs.40 lakhs to Sankara Nethralaya, Chennai, to establish the Vidyasagar Institute of Bio-Medical Technology and Science, affiliated to BITS, Pilani, for M.S. and Phd., degrees. The Trust is also awarding annual scholarships to poor students studying in polytechnics and industrial training institutes in TamilNadu. Iravatham Mahadevan lives at Chennai.

Address

No.B1, Narumukai Apts., Brindavan Nagar Extn., Adambakkam, Chennai 600 088.
Tel : 044 2253 3230.
Email ID : iravatham@vsnl.net
As a young IAS Officer beginning his exploration of the cave inscriptions of TamilNadu (1963)

Tracing Tamil-Brahmi cave inscriptions: First Field Expedition (Alagarmalai 1965)
Chera inscription of the Sangam Age at Pugalur deciphered on 1st February 1965

Pandya inscription of the Sangam Age at Mangulam deciphered on 3rd November 1965
First public announcement of the decipherment of the Pandya and Chera inscriptions of the Sangam Age at the First World Tamil Conference at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (April 1966).

Launch of the book The Indus Script: Texts, Concordance and Tables at the National Museum, New Delhi. Mr. Karan Singh, Member of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Trust, receiving the first copy from Mr. Chunder, Minister for Education, Govt. of India (July 1977)
Tracing Tamil-Brahmi cave inscriptions: Second Field Expedition (Tiruvadavur 1992)

Function organized by the TamilNadu Archaeological Society for the launch of the book Early Tamil Epigraphy. Mr. Ashok Vardhan Shetty IAS, Commissioner for Archaeology, Government of TamilNadu, receiving the first copy from Prof. V.C. Kulandaiswamy, the noted educationist. (Chennai. April, 2003)
Late Gowri Mahadevan, wife of Iravatham Mahadevan, gifting all her gold ornaments to the National Defence Fund, received by Lal Bahadur Shastri, then Prime Minister, at Chennai (1965)

Iravatham Mahadevan, flanked by his two grandchildren, donating Rs. forty lakhs to the Sankara Nethralaya, Chennai, for the establishment of the Vidyasagar Institute of Biomedical Technology and Science, in memory of his late elder son, Vidyasagar (October 2006)
A recent photograph of Iravatham Mahadevan (1998)
Bibliography of Papers on Brāhmī, Tamil-Brāhmī and Tamil Studies

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1959


1965


1968

1970
Tamil- Brāhmī Inscriptions (Lectures at the Seminar on Archaeology, Madurai University, 1970.) Madras: TamilNadu State Department of Archaeology.


1979 Tamiḻ eḻuttukkaḻ : nēṟrum iṅṟum nāḷaiyum. Kaṇaiyāzhī, May : pp. 5 - 8, 41 - 44.


1990

1992


1994


From orality to literacy: The case of the Tamil Society. (Paper presented at the Seminar on Literacy and Communications, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1994.) *Studies in History* 11 (2): 173-188.


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Kēralatṭil caṅka kāla Cērar kalveṭṭukaḷ. Dinamani. February 09.

Puḷḷi tanta pīḷḷaiyār. (Pīḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi inscription) Dinamani. 5 September. Chennai. (also in www.varalaaru.com.)

Toṇṭaimaṇṭalattu kōḷi-k-kaṟkaḷ (revised reading). Āvaṇam 9: 142.

Tamilaka kukai kalveṭṭukaḷil Camaṇam. Varalāru 8: 136-141. (also in www.varalaaru.com)


1999


2000


2001


2003

*Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* Harvard Oriental Series 62, Harvard University, USA. (Indian edition, Cre-A, Chennai.)


2004

Ālakaṇkuḷam pāṇai ōṭṭil Ciṅkaḷa- pirāmi eluttukkāḷ. Āvaṇam 15. 141 -142.

Ālakaṇkuḷam pāṇai ōṭṭil eṇ ilakkaṅkaḷ. Āvaṇam 15 : 143.

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2006


2007


2008

Rare Early Old Tamil words and grammatical usages in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. In *Streams of Language : Dialects in Tamil*. M. Kannan (Ed.). French Institute of Pondicherry. pp. 91-98.


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Records and Revelations.
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R.E. Asher
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Times Higher Education Supplement, London.

Rajan Gurukkal
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S. Ganesan
Review.
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தமிழ் மறியாக்கியால்

திரு. கரொச்லேக்கர்
மார்ப்பித்து நீதிப் பதிப்பு, மலர்நல்குறிக்கு முன்னரும்.

தி. புர்ப்புகை
தமிழ் திருக்கள் எழுதிய அரிய கல்லூரியை நீந்.
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எ. கோவில் கர்த்தர்
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முக்கியாக தமிழ் கல்லூரியை நீந்.

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முன் பாபிரு.

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*தமிழ் திருக்கள்* (சினம் கல்லூரியை), என்றும்: 3, 53–54, 2004
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Champakalakshmi, R.

A review of Early Tamil Epigraphy. From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D. by Iravatham Mahadevan; Cre-A:, Chennai (email: crea@vsnl.com), and the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, USA, 2003. Reproduced with courtesy, from Frontline Volume 20 - Issue 13, June 21 - July 04, 2003.

IT is rarely that one comes across a study that marks, in the usual manner of description, "a milestone" in the history of a discipline like epigraphy. In the last century, the 1960s saw a new awakening in the field of south Indian epigraphy and palaeography - owing to the efforts of one man, Iravatham Mahadevan, an administrator-turned scholar. He created history by reviving interest in the earliest surviving and "enigmatic" cave inscriptions of TamilNadu in the Brahmi script, which had defied all earlier attempts at successful decipherment and reading. His first publication, Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions (1966/68), triggered a series of institutional and individual explorations. The TamilNadu State Department of Archaeology, the Department of the Chief Epigraphist, Government of India, and individual scholars vied with one another to make new discoveries of cave and rock inscriptions in Brahmi.

More than the romance of discovery, these explorations proved to the scholarly world how rigorous the discipline of epigraphy had become and how important an interdisciplinary method was for such studies to be meaningful. That epigraphy could no longer be treated as an appendage to archaeological studies, but was a major discipline in itself was firmly established. South India's rich epigraphic sources form nearly 70 percent of the total number of inscriptions in India, and the "Tamil-Brahmi" inscriptions represent their beginnings in TamilNadu in a language (Tamil) other than Prakrit.

The recently published book on Early Tamil Epigraphy (From the earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.), the result of more than forty years of dedication and penance, is truly Mahadevan's magnum opus. His earlier study of the Indus script is no less significant. It is the most scientific and sober analysis of an undeciphered script in a language that remains unknown. Further, the Indus script has been the focus of an unresolved controversy, to which not only genuine scholarly interest but also politically motivated hijacking has contributed. However, it is Tamil-Brahmi that has been Mahadevan's lifelong, magnificent obsession.
The names of two pioneers of epigraphic studies are indelibly imprinted in our minds: James Princep (1850s), who deciphered the Asokan and post-Asokan Brahmi used for the Prakrit language, and A.C. Burnell (1874), who attempted the earliest work on South Indian palaeography. The contributions of Indian epigraphists like D.C. Sircar, H. Krishna Sastri, T. N. Subrahmanian and K.G. Krishnan have made epigraphy the most important among the sources relevant for the study of the pre-modern periods of Indian history. The deciphering of the Grantha, Vattelutu, Nagari and Tamil scripts of the south Indian inscriptions dating from the 7th century A.D. and their evolutionary stages, based on their resemblance to the modern forms of the scripts, seemed relatively easier and more successful than that of the early Brahmi inscriptions.

The early Brahmi inscriptions posed a greater challenge on account of their archaic characters and orthographic conventions, which were different from the original Brahmi used for Prakrit. The challenge seemed insuperable even to the most competent among the pioneering epigraphists. The major breakthrough in the decipherment of the cave inscriptions of Tamil Nadu came with K.V. Subrahmanya Iyer (1924). He was the first to recognise that these are inscribed in Brahmi, but with certain peculiarities and new forms of letters, due to its adaptation for the Tamil language which has sounds (phonetic values) not known to the...
Prakrit (Indo-Aryan) language and northern Brahmi script. Yet, this lead was not seriously followed and was soon forgotten. Even Subrahmanya Aiyer did not pursue his line of enquiry to its logical conclusion.

Other scholars like V. Venkayya and H. Krishna Sastri were constrained by the assumption that all Brahmi inscriptions were invariably in Prakrit or Pali, as Brahmi was used predominantly for Prakrit in all other regions of India from the Mauryan (Asokan) period. Their readings failed to convey any meaning. By reviving Subrahmanya Aiyer's early decipherment and reading and at the same time more systematically studying these inscriptions in all their aspects, including palaeography, orthography and grammar, and seeking corroboration from the early Sangam classics and the *Tolkappiyam*, the basic work on Tamil grammar, Mahadevan has virtually re-deciphered these inscriptions and shown them to be inscribed in Tamil. Hence the name "Tamil-Brahmi," one variety of the Brahmi script.

Fig. 2: Square seal (silver) from Karur, with symbols like the Srivatsa and legend "Kuravan". 1st century B.C.

The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are mostly short, donative inscriptions. They are found in inaccessible rock-caverns with stone beds for ascetics, mainly of the Jaina faith and occasionally Buddhist. The inscriptions number 89 in all, so far discovered and read, apart from the 21 Early Vatteluttu inscriptions studied by Mahadevan in order to show the transformation of the Tamil-Brahmi into the Vatteluttu and also the
inscriptional usage of Prakrit and Sanskrit words and the emergence of the Tamil script. The distribution of these inscriptions reveals a clear pattern: they occur on trade routes connecting the west (Kerala) coast with the east (Tamil) coast and the upper parts of south India with TamilNadu. The distribution also coincides with the distribution of coin finds (indigenous punch-marked and dynastic and foreign, that is, Roman) and pottery with Brahmi inscriptions in urban/craft centres, while potsherds with inscriptions occur even in rural areas.

Mahadevan persuasively relates the significance of this pattern (Maps I, I-A and II) with the intensive trade activities of the period (the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D.). He points out, for the first time, that the relatively large number of potsherds with Brahmi inscriptions even in rural areas, signet rings, seals and other objects inscribed with Brahmi characters, indicate a transition from orality to literacy in this part of the country, where Tamil was both the spoken and "official" language. Prakrit was never given the hegemonic status that it had attained in all other parts of India, where Prakrit/Pali was the language of the elite and administration.

This certainly is a significant finding as the Tamil literary works (the Sangam classics) represent the earliest and only large corpus known in a Dravidian language, a language that was spoken in the Tamil region, which then included the territory that is now Kerala. What is of even greater importance is the fact that the Brahmi script was brought to the Tamil region by the Jainas and Buddhists in the post-Asokan period. It may be added that the Jainas and Buddhists also fostered the Tamil language and authored some of the most remarkable literary works, above all the two epics - Silappatikaram and Manimekalai. Even Tolkappiyam and many of the 18 didactic works, including the Tirukkural, are often assigned to Jaina authorship.

Early Tamil Epigraphy, which is organised in three parts and thematic sections (chapters) with charts and tables, inter-linked by cross references, is highly readable, delightfully so, because it addresses the lay and specialist reader with equal ease. For it takes up serious issues such as palaeography (the evolution of script), orthography (the system of spelling), grammar and linguistic analysis of the inscriptions (in Part Two) with the competence of a specialist in each field, without deviating from the simplicity of expression that only a master of the subject can adopt.
In Part One, the author takes us on a fascinating journey through the hazardous fieldwork of pioneers, the copying, deciphering and reading of inscriptions. The inscriptions are found in inaccessible hills (rocky outcrops) and out-of-the-way sites, to which the author made two major field trips, equally difficult, but immensely interesting and rewarding. Every inscription was rechecked, re-deciphered and read both with the help of estampages supplied by the Government Departments of Epigraphy and fresh copying and fresh photographs, following a new method of tracing each letter on the rough and often undressed rock surface. In the process of making his fieldwork productive, Mahadevan collected around it a number of younger and enthusiastic epigraphists, who are now actively engaged in pursuing research in this field. The author generously acknowledges their contribution in his book.

Parts Two and Three, the key sections of the book, make this work unique for the following reasons.

First, *Early Tamil Epigraphy* is the most comprehensive source for the study of the Tamil-Brahmi and Early Vatteluttu inscriptions, including inscriptions on pottery, seals, rings and other objects. Second, the occurrence of the largest number of inscriptions on pottery in the Tamil region not only in well-known urban sites but also in rural areas indicates that Tamil society was in the process of transition from orality to literacy. Third, this is the first work to take up the study of the orthography in addition to the palaeography of the inscriptions. This has made it possible to recognise that these inscriptions are inscribed in the Tamil language (Old Tamil). These are the earliest known lithic records in Dravidian, as rare lexical items and grammatical morphemes not found even in the earliest layer of Old Tamil occur in these records. On the other hand, no Brahmi inscriptions in Telugu or Kannada have been found so far, since Prakrit is the language of the early "Southern-Brahmi" inscriptions in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

Fourth, present day Kerala with its Tamil-Brahmi and Early Vatteluttu records was part of a larger Dravidian-speaking south in the early historical period. It became a separate region and culture zone from the early medieval period (A.D. 600-1300). This fact is corroborated by the Sangam classics as well as by later Malayalam literature and inscriptions. Fifth, the Tamil language with its alphabet of 26 main letters attained fixity by the 6th century A.D. and resisted any new characters for the non-Tamil words introduced into the language. The origin of the Vatteluttu (cursive script of the 5th-6th centuries A.D.) can now be traced to the Tamil-Brahmi. Sixth, although the Southern-Brahmi and the Tamil-Brahmi are derived from the Asokan Brahmi, they evolved independently
of each other, despite the close cultural and commercial contacts between upper and lower south India in the early period. There is a significant influence of Jain Ardhamagadhi - and not of Asokan Prakrit - in the language of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Seventh, there is clear evidence of mutual influence between the Tamil-Brahmi and the Simhala-Brahmi, although the latter is used for Simhala-Prakrit, a Middle-Indo-Aryan language, and the former for Tamil, a Dravidian language. Simhala-Brahmi and Tamil-Brahmi show certain orthographic similarities and peculiarities. It is interesting that recent Sri Lankan archaeological and epigraphical studies have also recognised this interaction and influence. Simhala-Brahmi, we are told, is "unique among the Prakrit based variants of Brahmi, for a substratum of Tamil influence seems to have been present and due to the processes of assimilation and epenthesis, which were more thorough going in this language than in Indian Prakrits, the two scripts, one for a Middle-Indo-Aryan (Simhala-Brahmi) and the other for a Dravidian language (Tamil-Brahmi), were able to avoid ligatures, a prominent feature in all other regional scripts."

Eighth, Brahmi cannot be derived from the graffiti (symbols), as the latter occurs in the inscriptions side by side with the Brahmi characters in rock inscriptions and pottery (from Kodumanal). Also important is Mahadevan’s observation that the resemblance of the cave symbols with the Indus script may show that they are likely to share similar significance, but not necessarily the same phonetic value. Ninth, of great importance is the recognition that the Tolkappiyam, admittedly the earliest work on Tamil grammar, cannot be dated earlier than the 2nd century A.D., as its rules regarding the phonetic needs of Tamil and the signs (medial vowel notations etc.) used for specific sounds not known to the Indo-Aryan appear in the later stages that is, in Late-Tamil-Brahmi. Tenth, the revised chronology presented by the author provides a century-wise dating of the inscriptions and broadly classifies them into two: Early-Brahmi - 2nd
century B.C. to 1st century A.D., and Late-`Brahmi - 2nd century A.D. to 4th century A.D., followed by the Early Vatteluttu - 5th to 6th centuries A.D. Eleventh and most important, Early Tamil Epigraphy disproves the claim by Tamil enthusiasts that there existed an earlier independent script for Tamil, which was forgotten, and that Brahmi came into use later.

To show how the author has arrived at these conclusions, one has necessarily to dwell upon the technical aspects of the study in some detail. The Brahmi script was adapted and modified to suit the Tamil phonetic system. Palaeographic changes were made to suit the Tamil language, with the omission of letters for sounds not present in the Tamil language and by additions to represent sounds in Tamil that are not available in Brahmi. All but four of the 26 letters are derived from Brahmi and have the same phonemic values. Even these four - i.e., l, r, n - are adapted from the letters with the nearest phonetic values in (Asokan-) Brahmi, i.e., d, l, r, n. Letters were also modified with a special diacritic mark, viz., the pulli (dot). These are reflected in the development of the Tamil-Brahmi in three stages (TB I, II and III): Stage I when the inherent a (short-medial vowel) was absent in the consonants and the strokes (vowel notations) were used for both the short and long medial a, and hence the need for the reading of consonants with reference to context and position; Stage II when the stroke for medial a marked only the long a; and Stage III when the use of diacritics like the pulli was introduced for basic consonants and for avoiding ligatures for consonant clusters (as in Simhala-Brahmi). The pulli was used also for distinguishing the short e and o from the long vowels, for the shortened -i and -u (kurriyalikaram and kurriyalukaram) and for the unique sound in Tamil called aytam, all of which are unknown to the Indo-Aryan (Prakrit and Sanskrit).

It is the recognition of the absence of the inherent vowel a (short) in the early phases, e.g. ma, ka, na with strokes or medial vowel notations, which are actually to be read as ma, ka, n (the inverted J symbol for the nominal suffix `an' characteristic of Tamil), and the addition of the pulli as a diacritic, that provided the key to the whole re-decipherment. Herein lies the basic contribution of Mahadevan to the study of the script and alphabet. That these findings are corroborated by the phonetic rules of the Tolkappiyam is significant.

Carefully drawn up charts and a graphemic inventory of the Tamil-Brahmi script illustrate these palaeographic and orthographic changes from the Early Tamil-Brahmi to the Late Tamil-Brahmi and the evolution of the script and its transformation into the cursive Vatteluttu. The Tamil script is basically syllabic and examples of this are provided from Tamil-
Brahmi such as segmentation in consonant followed by vowel, vowel followed by vowel, and so on. Complex issues such as the linguistic, grammatical and phonetic differences and the way they were resolved in early Tamil epigraphy are handled with expertise acquired in various disciplines such as linguistics, grammar and lexicography of both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families of languages.

While Mahadevan's major finding is that the language of the inscriptions is Old Tamil, his analysis brings out other significant features such as the nature and number of Indo-Aryan loan words - mainly Prakrit loan words - derived from standard epigraphic Prakrit. They are all nouns - names, religious and cultural terms. Some are derived from Jain Ardhamagadhi and interestingly also from Simhala-Prakrit. Sanskrit loan words appear only in the Vatteluttu inscriptions, and increase in the early medieval inscriptions, that is, from the 7th century A.D. Hence the absence of voicing of consonants in Tamil acquires a special significance in the light of the author's discussion of the way in which Prakrit loan words were written with voiceless consonants in Tamil-Brahmi, and later the method by which the problem of the voicing of consonants was solved when the Grantha script was evolved and adopted for the voicing of consonants, aspirates, sibilants and other phonetic needs of Sanskrit in the increasing Sanskrit loan words in the early medieval (A.D. 600-1300) inscriptions of the Pallava, Pandya and Chola periods.

Hence the conclusion that the Tamil alphabet and script attained fixity by the 6th century A.D., resisting the introduction of new letters for non-Tamil sounds, and that the classical age of Tamil began under the Cholas. The graphic presentation with charts and tables on the script and language, their evolution and relative position, influence and interaction among the varieties of Brahmi, such as the Northern-Brahmi, Southern-Brahmi, the
Bhattiprolu script, Simhala-Brahmi and Tamil-Brahmi, as also the later Vatteluttu and Grantha, make these sections easy to follow and interesting even to the lay reader. The relative position of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam is also graphically presented in Table 5.5. The Bhattiprolu script, "an isolated epigraphic curio," is legitimately characterised as the Rosetta Stone in the decipherment of Tamil-Brahmi.

All this is of considerable value for the historian. The author consciously draws from and follows closely the historical contexts as well as continuity and change in the subcontinent and Sri Lanka from the Mauryan period to early medieval times, the 6th century A.D. marking the point at which the Tamil letters attained fixity.

The grammar of the inscriptions forms an important section covering all aspects such as the phonemic inventory, dependent sounds (Carpeluttu), vowels, consonants and their distribution, consonant vowels (Uyirmei eluttu) and so on. Sections on morphophonemics, morphology and syntax deal respectively (a) with the process of joining morphemes in a word or words in a sentence, (b) with the forms of words, the syllabic structure of stems, parts of speech, and so on, and (c) the various ways in which the inscriptions make up the sentences with or without verbs as found in the inscriptions.

Mahadevan offers a complete reading and interpretation of all the known inscriptions in Early and Late-Tamil-Brahmi and Early Vatteluttu with illustrations in the form of tracings, estampages and some computer-enhanced prints of direct photographs, carefully listed with fine reproductions, thus preserving these early inscriptions for posterity. There is an exhaustive commentary on the inscriptions, with citations from early Tamil literature and lexicographic works (Nighantus), which aims at situating the Early Tamil inscriptions in the mainstream of Indian epigraphy and which will undoubtedly be a major guide to the study of the Tamil-Brahmi and Vatteluttu. An insessional glossary, index to names of places and persons, etymology, grammatical morphemes and so on, together with a useful bibliography make the book a tour de force in scholarship.

By way of historical background to his study, Mahadevan provides a survey of the polity, society and religion in Part One. It may be conceded that since Early Tamil Epigraphy is a work on epigraphy, processes of social, economic, political and religious changes are not major concerns for the author. Yet his overview is too cursory and somewhat inadequate, as it is based mainly on the Tamil-Brahmi and Vatteluttu inscriptions.
There is little doubt that the Sangam Chera-Pandya rulers appear for the first time in Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and that the identity of the Satiyaputas of the Asokan edicts is now established beyond doubt as the Atiyamans of Tagadur (Jambai inscription). Nonetheless, the author's understanding of the nature of the major Tamil polities (Chera-Chola-Pandya) as well-organised kingdoms with a centralised administration, government functionaries like the atikan (adhikari - official) and kanaka (accountant) and territorial units like the natu and ur points to his conventional approach.

There is no attempt to look at the new perspective on early societies that suggests that state institutions were less evolved and administration hardly centralised. The natu was a generic term for any settled region, for example, Chola-natu or Pandya - natu, and a peasant micro-region. It became a revenue unit only later, during the period of the Pallavas and Cholas. Similarly a certain all-pervasive political control is implied in the references to the Kalabhras as the invading and subversive force in Tamil society after the 3rd century A.D., for which it is hard to find epigraphic and archaeological evidence. The so-called Kalabhras interregnum (a dark period in conventional history) in fact marked a period of great flux with no clear political configurations. The derivation of the term Kaviti from the Prakrit Gahapati and its interpretation as a title conferred on merchants and officials, as also the interpretation of Kon as a title conferred on Kaviti, need closer scrutiny. Despite the fact that the author has carefully refrained from any discussion on social structure and relations, the inference that the suffix Ilanko refers to a Vaisya is strange and needs to be substantiated, for even in the inscriptions the term Ilanko refers to a prince.

The predominant references to Jaina ascetics in these inscriptions and the close interactions between Karnataka and Tamil Jaines are duly emphasised. While most of these caverns with stone beds in the interior sites were executed for the Jaines by rulers, merchants and craftsmen, the significant presence of Buddhism in the coastal sites cannot be ignored. The Andhra and Tamil coasts were linked through trade and traders of the Buddhist persuasion and also with Sri Lanka, which had close contact with Amaravati and its art traditions.

The decline of the Jaines (and Buddhists) is rightly attributed to a religious conflict and to the revival of the Brahmanical religions, Saivism and Vaisnavism, revitalised by the Bhakti movement. The theory of "revivalism" however, poses serious problems in the understanding of the religious changes, especially the emergence of organised and
institutionalised forces in Brahmanical/Puranic religion and the decline of the "heterodox" Sramanic faiths of Buddhism and Jainism. In the course of the conflict, the Jainas were persecuted, which Mahadevan believes was "uncharacteristic of [the] Indian polity."

Yet there is impressive evidence of patronage, persecution and marginalisation occurring in periods of major socio-religious and economic change. These processes have to be situated in the larger context of the decline of trade and the beginnings of a land-grant system in early medieval India, with predominant agrarian institutions like the Brahmadeya and the temple emerging and Puranic religion providing the major world-view and ideology of the ruling families. Thus the temple appears as an institution in its incipient form even in the Pulankuricci Vatteluttu inscription (circa A.D. 500), although it assumes a multi-faceted institutional role only in the early medieval period, that is, the 7th to the 13th centuries A.D.

Approaches to history may differ. Interpretation and analysis of historical processes may vary and justifiably so. However, the discipline of history will greatly be in debt to Mahadevan for his first authentic study of Tamil-Brahmi. *Early Tamil Epigraphy* will prove to be a major source of enduring value not only for Tamil-Brahmi and Early Vatteluttu inscriptions, but also for Indian epigraphy as a whole.

Iravatham Mahadevan, an administrator-turned scholar noted for his profound scholarship in multiple aspects of the science of ancient scripts in general and Harappan writing in particular, belongs to the galaxy of the leading epigraphists of the world and ranks foremost among the scholars in Brahmī script. The study under review, Early Tamil Epigraphy is his magnum opus, the fallout of four decades long dedication and sustained engagement with a set of hitherto obscure inscriptions in what he finally identified as Tamil-Brahmi characters and Old Tamil language. It is a landmark in the history of epigraphy, in terms of concepts, design, and thoroughness.

The book has three parts: Early Tamil Inscriptions, Studies in Early Tamil Epigraphy and the Corpus of Early Tamil Inscriptions. Part I is a general introduction to the subject matter of the book divided into four chapters describing discovery and decipherment of cave inscriptions and their language and contents. Part II consists of specialized studies divided into three chapters respectively on the palaeography, orthography and grammar of the inscriptions. Part III forms the core of the book comprising the corpus of early inscriptions in Tamil Brahmi and early Vatteluttu scripts belonging to the period from ca. second century BC to AD sixth century. The texts of the inscriptions are presented with transliteration, translation, illustration of tracings made directly from the stone, estampages and a few direct photographs and explanatory notes. There are three maps showing sites of early Tamil inscriptions, detail showing concentration, and sites of pottery inscriptions; eight palaeographic charts; fifty-one figures (including photographs); thirty tracings of inscriptions; and twenty-seven estampages, in the volume.

The author discusses in Part I the discoveries of inscriptions since 1882 in detail, consisting of a spate between 1906 and 1918, a revival of interest during 1961 – 1980, and fresh additions of 1981 – 2000. It is a very carefully done appraisal of salutary contributions by early epigraphists like Hultzsch, Venkayya, Krishna Sastri, Subrahmanya Aiyer and others.
down to the contemporary scholars and the vicissitudes of development involving delay, neglect, loss, oversight, mixing up, confusion and so on. It helps us proudly recognize the author's awe-inspiring success attained in the field by way of copying the known inscriptions through a new technique of tracing, analysing their texts, intensively searching for the unknown, discovering the new, and deciphering and interpreting them.

There is an annexure to the section on discovery, dealing with the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on pottery and other objects, the geographical extent of which covered the sites outside Tamil country as at Salihundam (Andhra Pradesh), Jaffna (Sri Lanka) and the ancient ports on the Red Sea coast of Egypt. The pottery inscriptions help the author rebut the earlier presumption that the Tamil-Brahmi writing was used by the heterodox monks from outside and was not locally known. This also helps him assert about the secular character and widespread literacy of ancient Tamil society. The following section comprises a brilliant appraisal of advances made in the study of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. It comes to a close with a note on the most recent discovery and the rather quick decipherment and publication of the results, inspiring the readership with the progress of understanding the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions from the early phase of bewilderment to the later days of easy access. The next section is a brief sketch of the scholastic context of the study of the script, its orthography, language, phonological structure, grammatical elements, and linguistic features, wherein the author's insightful corrections and additions commendably update the Tamil-Brahmi epigraphy.

The study of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions was in a stalemate for four decades between 1924 and 1964 since it was impossible to advance further with the unclear photographs and estampages and go beyond the point where epigraphists of high calibre like Krishna Sastri and Subrahmanya Aiyer left the matter. It was at this juncture that Mahadevan carried forward the study by devising a new technique of tracing the inscriptions accurately. He copied the inscriptions to a translucent tracing paper after carefully squeezing it into the grooves of the script and by running a pencil along for delineating the outline of the letters. This technique that he deployed with utmost care took him a long way breaking the stand-off and solving the conundrum that the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions had been posing.

Both the script and language had been issues of contention among epigraphists until Mahadevan convincingly identified the script as Tamil-Brahmi and the language, Old Tamil. He argues that the script is to be called Tamil-Brahmi, as it is an adaptation of Brahmi for writing in Tamil.
Unlike all other regional variants of Brahmi, he observes that the Tamil Brahmi, is uniquely adapted for non-Indo-Aryan, Dravidian language. According to him this fact and the consequential palaeographic and orthographic modifications effected in the script entitle it to the status of a separate script. He points out that the terms damili and dravidi found in some of the Jaina and Buddhist canonical texts vouch for the recognition of the script’s distinct position in ancient times. Having taken traces of some 47 inscriptions and encouraged by the remarkable success in the attempts at decipherment during the mid sixties (Corpus 1966), Mahadevan became deeply involved in the study of the orthographic systems governing the Tamil-Brahmi, and their interrelation with those of the Brahmi and Bhattiprolu scripts. He was first to notice the presence of the pulli in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Sustained researches across the subsequent decades on the orthographic conventions enabled him to prove that the notations of medial vowels in Tamil-Brahmi differed from those of the Brahmi. He took note of all orthographic peculiarities in the Tamil-Brahmi, which the earlier investigators often took for ‘scribal errors’. In the early nineties Mahadevan perfected his tracing technique and mastery of decipherment finally to publish the results in their most updated and scientific form (chapter 6) in the masterpiece under review. The book embodies a lot of original and previously unpublished findings.

The pioneering scholars, especially Subrahmanya Aiyer identified the language employed in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions as Tamil with an admixture of Prakrit. But how much Tamil and how much Prakrit became vexed questions since Subrahmanya Aiyer had just a dozen Tamil words to add on to the five words that Krishna Sastri had recognized earlier. Mahalingam made an independent study albeit without any new conclusions. Mahadevan’s study in the light of recent researches has rendered the earlier views based on unsatisfactory readings, obsolete. His argument is that starting from accurately copied texts and applying the orthographic rules that can be empirically formulated for reading the texts it can be demonstrated that the language of the cave inscriptions, despite the presence of the Prakrit loan words, is Old Tamil. It is materially the same language that is employed in later inscriptions or even literary texts with the same basic phonological, morphological and syntactical Features. Mahadevan’s study pointed out for the first time that the proportion of non-Tamil sounds is relatively much less that what one would expect from the Indo-Aryan element present in the Tamil-Brahmi cave inscriptions as most of the loan words are adapted to the Tamil phonetic pattern.
In the next chapter the author presents brief gleanings of the state, religion and society from Tamil-Brahmi stone and pottery inscriptions and legends on coins, seals, rings, etc. The author relates the reflections of historical life in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions to a period of great political, religious and social changes. He visualizes the political context of the times as that of the smaller territories held by local chieftains of long-established lineages and small but well-organized kingdoms ruled by the Cera, Cola and Pantiya dynasties that emerged out of earlier chieftaincies. The social context according to him was that of the creation of a sort of religious ferment in the wake of the entry of the Buddhist and Jaina faiths in the Tamil country and acquisition of a sizeable following. He assumes the Tamil-Brahmi script, the simple and easy to learn, to have had roots and spread fast all over the Tamil country creating a literate society set out to produce before long literary works of the highest quality. According to him the period had also witnessed the onset of significant changes in the Tamil language under the influence of Prakrit, the language of the Buddhist and Jaina faiths. The economic context was marked by the flourishing trade with Rome in the West, gem-rich Sri Lanka in the south and the powerful kingdoms in the Deccan and further to the north.

Part II, the Corpus and Commentary of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, is accompanied by commentary that supplements brief notes with additional information on the language and contents of the inscriptions. Here he cites literary and inscriptive parallels to illustrate the inscriptive usage of words in the corpus. A set of word lists comprising inscriptive glossary and indices to personal and place names, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan etyma and grammatical morphemes occurring in the inscriptions, make the section extremely useful for researchers. It is there the two maps showing the distribution of sites with early Tamil inscriptions and sites with pottery inscriptions, are given.

The most significant result of Mahadevan's study is that it enables us to access the ancient and early historic cave inscriptions of TamilNadu and Kerala, which have hitherto been obscure and inaccessible. The study makes us realize that the inscriptive text that used to be apparently incomprehensible, is in simple and intelligible Tamil with only a small of loan words from Prakrit. Further it tells us that the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are not too different in language and contents from the latter inscriptions in the Vattelutu and Tamil scripts. Familiarizing the researchers with orthographic rules governing the script and providing them with reliable texts the study facilitates now a complete understanding of the inscriptions. Commenting on the discovery and
decipherment of historical Tamil Brahmi inscriptions attributed to the early Cera and Pantiya dynasties and to Atiyaman of Takatur, the study seeks to show the general contemporaneity of the cave inscriptions to the Cankam Age in TamilNadu. As the author says, we need hardly rely solely on the cave inscriptions for this conclusion, because it has been amply confirmed by the more recent discoveries of early Cera and Pantiya coins with the names of the kings inscribed in the Tamil Brahmi script. Further, the study with the new evidence emerging out of decipherment of the cave inscriptions, establishes conclusively the association of Jainism with the caves on the one side and highlights on the other that the absence of vestiges of the Buddhist or Ajivika occupation of the caves is not accidental. The study establishes undoubtedly the chronology of the influx of Brahmi script and Jainism to the Tamil south.

Mahadevan’s copying of the inscriptions is incredibly meticulous, decipherment amazingly successful and decoding of words into meanings, enviably accurate. Needless to say that it is utterly hard to contest his scholarly views and positions thereof. Nevertheless, one may not agree as a whole to his characterization of the inscriptions' historical referential, which is largely borrowed from the generation of scholars whose epigraphic wisdom he sought to reject. Traditional historians have attributed dynastic and kingly status to the early Ceras, Pantiyas, and Colas and called their period, Cankam Age. Mahadevan uses the expression 'Cankam Age', a misnomer that Kailasapathy exposed decades ago, and 'the monarchy or the state system of the early Pantiya, Cera and Cola lineages', an anachronism that recent studies ably pointed out. Theoretically the state is not an institution of universal or ubiquitous nature to be located in any historically existing society, for it is found only in a differentiated economy or stratified society. Also there is some problem about his characterization of the social context of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions as that of the creation of a sort of religious ferment in the wake of the entry of the Buddhist and Jaina faiths in the Tamil country and acquisition of a sizeable following. Of course the period must have witnessed the emergence of a large number of upasakas of the new faiths. But strictly speaking, the assumption of a large following of the Buddhist and Jaina religions makes little sense since they represented orders of monks rather than people's faiths.

Similarly, the author’s assumption that the Brahmi script had taken deep social roots all over the Tamil countryside well before the turn of the Christian Era creating a literate society anticipating the production of high quality literature, may not be acceptable to scholars in the history of
literacy and communication. Imagining the state of literacy in a historical society can hardly be value-neutral today; for literacy is a value sign for us and we take it for granted that higher literacy rates signify greater social development. It is, therefore, necessary to define at the outset what literacy means in the context of a historical society, because the modern assumption of the term have little relevance to the past. The inscriptions on potsherds as such do not indicate the prevalence of literacy among the common people, because the implicit assumption that potters belonged to the lower rung in contemporary society is not borne out by the literary source that contain details. In fact, contemporary social structure was largely a non-stratified entity. There could be literate potters in the points of large-scale manufacture and exchange, but that seldom helps us generalize about the literacy of the potters as a whole. Further, it is reasonable to think that inscribed pots belonged to merchants or monks, for they are suggestive of individualization of artefacts, a practice quite unlikely among the craftsmen folk of collective existence. In the absence of direct evidence in the sources as to who really learned the art of writing, it is important to approach the question by probing into the relevance of writing to people's functional spheres. Writing was symbolic to most of the people who had functional accessibility to it. Inscriptions must have made sense to may not in terms of letters but as a cluster of visible signs of various qualities such as dedication, religious merit, honour, status, power and authority depending upon what their concern was. The skill of writing for oneself was in all probability confined to a small minority like monks and merchants. At the same time the social accessibility of its symbolic use was certainly much wider.

These limitations are pertaining only to what is incidental to the core of the study and they do no affect its status as the most authentic up-to-date source book, par excellence on Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Publishing a scientifically organized and classified compilation of the data on the mysterious Harappan Script, Mahadevan had already become world renowned for the perfection achieved in the production of an epigraphic source book for researchers. The present volume, Early Tamil Epigraphy is far more superior to that kind of a source book, for it embodies an exhaustive and systematic study of every aspect of the Tamil-Brahmi script, with the most accurately deciphered inscriptional texts, blessed to remain long unchallenged in the domain of epigraphy. At the same time it is not a study solely meant for experts. It is an eminently readable book attracting both the specialists and the general readership, thanks to its beautiful narrative structure enshrining the excitement of expedition, adventure, and discovery as well as intellectual curiosity about the cognitive sequences of successful decipherment besides clarity of thought.
and expression. Through his exhaustive study of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions that form quantitatively the smallest but temporally the most archaic and intellectually the most challenging segment of the huge corpus of epigraphs in South India, Iravatham Mahadevan puts the region prominently in the world map of ancient scripts. The study demonstrates how deep the discipline, epigraphy is and how rigorous its methodology. With Mahadevan's book in hand we can now say that epigraphy is no longer just a sub-discipline of history nor just an ancillary of archaeology today, but a major interdisciplinary domain where interfaces of a few disciplines like linguistics coverage.
This is a unique moment in the life of a legendary scholar, Iravatham Mahadevan, as he completes 50 years in the field of Indological research. His first article appeared in 1958, when he was a passionate young man of 28 years, in ‘The Hindu’, titled ‘Coin collecting in Coimbatore district’. His passion for new things and quest for truth has only grown since then. As I walk into the house of this seventy-eight years ‘young’ man, I see this quote on his desk that best describes him:

Mei varuttam pārār pasi nōkkār kaṇ tuṅcār
Evvevar tūmaiyum mērgkolār – sevvi
Arumaiyum pārār avamatippum kolār
Karumamē kaṇṇāyi nār.

Any attempt to glorify this man would remain futile as he has been there all the time and seen them all – more than any one would hope to. His two magnificent books - one on the Indus Script and the other on Early Tamil Epigraphy, would stand to speak his deeds forever. Here is a look back at his life and times – not as an attempt to list the peaks he has scaled, but as a historical record – that could continue to inspire several generations of the future.

Let us start this interview by listening to you on your family background.

I belong to a smartha Tamil brahmin family of Thanjavur district. We come from a famous village called Varahur, which is associated with Narayana Theertha. I trace back my roots to Venkata Rayar, who was Narayana Theertha’s contemporary in the mid-eighteenth century. He was probably a minor functionary in the Maratha court at Thanjavur. I surmise this because of the title ‘Rayar’ suffixed to his name and also because the tax-free lands held by our family were known as ‘achandar’ (from aachandraarkam: 'till the sun and the moon'). I therefore belong to the 'Rayar Koottam' of Varahur.
But the name 'Iravatham' keeps recurring in every second or third generation of our family tree. Anai (Iravatham) Bhagavathar of Varahur, who was the Court Vidvan of the Maratha ruler at Thanjavur, in about the end of the 18th century AD is one of my direct ancestors. I guess we were originally from the village called Nemam, a little upstream of the Kaveri River. The presiding deity of the temple at Nemam is called Iravatheeswarar. From the repeated occurrence of the name Iravatham in our family, it appears that my ancestors were originally from Nemam.

On firmer grounds, in the 18th century, we were at Varahur. The twin villages of Varahur and Kandamangalam had been gifted to Brahmins in the 17th century by Govinda Dikshitar, the illustrious minister of the Nayak kings of Thanjavur. When the single-street agrahaaram of Varahur became too small to hold the increase in population, some families migrated to Kandamangalam. That is where the last seven generations of our family have lived. The first person in our family to have undergone modern school education and taken up a job was Vaidyanatha Iyer, my father's father. He was a Railway employee and was killed in a train accident when my father was still at school.

My father, Iravatham, did his schooling at Tirukattupalli High School and went on to study medicine in the Stanley Medical School at Madras. After completing his LMP degree, he practiced in Burma for almost a decade. During that time, I was conceived in Burma on the banks of the river Airavati. When my father came back to India, he decided to settle down at Tiruchirapalli, which is the nearest town to our native village with good schools.

Tell us about your younger days.

My recollection of my younger days starts only from Tiruchirapalli. I spent all my summer holidays, which were at least two to three months long, at my paternal grand-uncle’s house at Kandamangalam. Our neighbour in the village was my father’s maternal uncle, Thyagaraja Iyer. His son, Mahadevan, whom I revere as my guru, was a great Sanskrit scholar. During the summer vacation, he used to teach us young boys. It was from him that I learnt Bhaja Govindam, Ramodantam, the second chapter of the Bhagavad Gita, Vishnu Sahasranamam and many more slokas. In our group of half-a-dozen boys, I became his favorite as I could quickly grasp and flawlessly reproduce whatever he taught. He even taught me how to compose slokas in Sanskrit. By the time I was twelve, I could write simple Anushtup verses in Sanskrit. I am still interested in Sanskrit studies, though in my later years I have devoted much more time
to Tamil, especially the Sangam Works. I think that my love for languages, especially Tamil and Sanskrit, is at the root of my later work on Tamil Epigraphy and on the Indus script.

**But how did you end up joining a degree in chemistry?**

My father wanted me to become a doctor. However, my marks in the Intermediate examinations were not good enough to get me a seat in the Medical College. In those days, one could study for the B.Sc. degree and then go on do a degree in medicine (M.B.B.S). So I joined the Vivekananda College at Madras in 1947 to pursue a degree in Chemistry, though my interest lay in the study of languages.

**Chemistry and Law are totally unrelated subjects. Why did you shift from chemistry to law?**

As I expected, I did not do too well in the B.Sc. examinations. In those days, if one did not get admission into any other college, one can just walk into the Law College! So, I joined the Law College at Madras. There I was fortunate enough to come under the influence of Venkata Subramania Aiyar, who taught us Hindu Law and Constitutional Law. His reinterpretation of the Hindu Dharmasastras helped me to realize the importance of tolerance and respect for all religions in our pluralistic society. His teaching greatly influenced my outlook as a civil servant in later life.

**Did you join law with the intention of joining the Civil Service?**

No. I joined the Law College with the intention of practicing law. Having won several prizes in elocution during my school and college days, I was confident of my oratorical skills, and in those days the profession of law wasn’t crowded. I had completed my degree in law and did an apprenticeship for a year under a senior advocate at the District Court in Tiruchirapalli. From what I observed at the Bar, I realized that it would take me many years to establish myself as a lawyer. I wanted to become financially independent as early as possible. It was then that I decided to try my luck with the Civil Service Examinations held in 1953.

**How old were you when you appeared for the Civil Service exam?**

I was 23 years old. I secured a high rank, standing first in the list of candidates from TamilNadu selected for the Indian Administrative Service in 1954. The first few rank-holders of that year were called up for
a personal interview with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to fill up the four vacancies in the Foreign Service. I was selected and was undergoing my training in Delhi. But within three months, I had a change of mind. I wrote to the Home Ministry expressing my wish to shift to the Indian Administrative Service, as I wanted to participate more directly in the development of the country. The ministry refused to consider my request, which made me take an extraordinary step. I appealed directly to Prime Minister Nehru and, following his intervention, I was transferred to the Indian Administrative Service and allotted to the Tamil Nadu cadre.

**Tell us about your initial days as an I.A.S officer.**

I started my career as Assistant Collector under training in Coimbatore District and was then posted as the Sub-Collector at Pollachi. Those were my happiest days. I got married when I was at Coimbatore. I toured the villages extensively and became involved in rural development activities like construction of wells and roads, housing colonies for Harijans etc. It was at this time too that my latent interest in languages led me to study ancient temple inscriptions and collect coins. This early phase came to an end in 1958 with my promotion and transfer to New Delhi as Assistant Financial Adviser, Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

**Were you able to continue your research while at New Delhi?**

Yes. When I was in the Commerce Ministry, I had a high-sounding designation, good salary and about half-an-hour of work a day! I had to find some way to utilize my spare time. Next to my office was the President’s Palace. The front portion of the Palace housed the National Museum at that time. C.Sivaramamurti, one of our great epigraphists, was then working as the curator there. I spent as much time as possible with him and learned the elements of Indian Epigraphy from him. I consider Sivaramamurti as my guru in Indian epigraphy.

When I came back to Chennai in 1961, I met K.A.Nilakanta SastrI, the distinguished historian, and requested him to suggest a topic for my research. In response he said, “There are several caves in Tamil Nadu with inscriptions in the Brahmi script. K.V.Subramaniya Aiyer says they are in Tamil. It is an unsolved problem. Can you give it a shot?” And that started me on my life-long study of the cave inscriptions of Tamil Nadu.
How did you solve the problem posed by Nilakanta Sastri?

At that time, I was in Chennai as the Deputy Secretary in the Industries Department and I couldn’t visit the caves personally. Nilakanta Sastri arranged for ink impressions of the inscriptions from the Government Epigraphist then at Ooty. I spent six months studying them, without making any progress. But then came another turn in my life, in the form of my appointment as the Director of Handlooms and Textiles. This position, which I held for five years (1962-66), allowed me to officially visit any village in TamilNadu. I used the opportunity and planned my official work in such a manner that I would finish my work on Fridays and Saturdays and then spend the Sundays in the nearest caves to copy the inscriptions.

I first came to limelight in 1965, when I published the Chera inscriptions of the Sangam Age at Pugalur. The publication took the entire scholarly world by surprise, as at that time no inscriptions of the Sangam Age were known. My decipherment of these inscriptions and also of the early Pandya inscriptions of the Sangam Age at Mangulam attracted international attention and brought me an invitation to present a paper on them at the First International Conference of Tamil Studies held at Kuala Lumpur in 1966.

A few months later, R.Nagaswamy, who had just taken over as the Director of the TamilNadu State Department of Archaeology, arranged a seminar on inscriptions at Madras. I presented my paper in the presence of stalwarts like Nilakanta Sastri, K.K.Pillai, Rajamanickanar and others. My paper, ‘Corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions’, published in the proceedings of the conference, was well received by scholars and I was encouraged to continue the work.

One can imagine what a tremendous break-through that was. But, how did you crack this problem?

It was K.V.Subrahmanya Aiyer who first discovered that the cave inscriptions of TamilNadu are in Tamil though written in a variant of the Brahmi script. He was able to identify the special characters for the sounds in Tamil. I consider K.V.Subramaniya Aiyer as my guru, although I’ve met him only once, when he was well past ninety. I developed his model further by describing the connection between the Tamil-Brahmi and the Bhattiprolu scripts and the stages by which Tamil-Brahmi eventually turned into the Vatteluttu script. I have summarized the entire work in my recent book ‘Early Tamil Epigraphy’ (2003).
Your other major interest is the Indus Script. How did you get initiated into this field?

My first brush with Indus script was in 1943 when I was still at school. I used to participate in the elocution competitions regularly. That year, we were told to speak on any new topic. I approached my Geography teacher for guidance and he told me about a new book on the ‘Indus Valley Civilisation’, written by M. Rajamanickam. I took notes from the book and won that year’s elocution prize. I never realized then that I would spend half my life on the Indus Script.

In 1966, I was again transferred to Delhi, which brought to an end the first phase of my research on the Brahmi script. Cut-off from my fieldwork in Tamil Nadu, I started to look out for another project to work on. One day, I went to the Central Secretariat Library and ended up grabbing a copy of Hunter’s book on the Indus script. Hunter, an Englishman in the Indian Educational Service, published the first concordance of the Indus script as part of his doctoral thesis at the Oxford University. It is from Hunter’s excellent hand-drawn concordance that I learned the elements of the Indus script.

How did you proceed with your Indus research?

My contacts in the National Museum and the Archaeological Survey of India gave me access to the original Indus seals and inscriptions. In 1970, the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Trust, presided over by Indira Gandhi, offered me a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship for two years to work on the decipherment of the Indus script.

When I took a break from my official work and accepted the Nehru Fellowship, I had to return to Madras. Shuttling frequently between Madras and Delhi, I compiled a photographic card index of the Indus inscriptions for further research.

That must have been taxing. Did you find any support for your research?

N. Mahalingam, a well-known industrialist and philanthropist, suggested to me to use a computer to analyse the Indus script. I had never seen a computer before. In fact, even calculators were rare those days. He then took me to V. C. Kulandaiswamy, then the Director of Technical Education, Tamil Nadu, who allowed me to work on the computer, (an
IBM-1620), at the Fundamental Engineering Research Establishment, Guindy. Even a basic model of today’s mobile phone is much more powerful than the computers of those days! There were no monitor screens. We had to feed in the data through punched cards and get the output also as punched cards and interpret the results. It was very slow and tedious work.

**Without fonts for the Indus script and monitor interface how did you complete your concordance?**

I had all the data on the card index. I learned to code the background data as well as the inscriptions using only numbers. The numerical version was then processed on the computer to produce the first tentative draft of a concordance. I presented a paper on the results at a conference at Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR), Bombay. R.Narasimhan, the head of the computer department at TIFR, who had listened to my talk, invited me to work at the TIFR and offered me free computer time. The TIFR had then the best computer facilities in India. Mythily Rangarao, an expert in computer programming was assigned the task of helping me to prepare an improved concordance. I began shuttling between Madras and Bombay, racing against time; but the fellowship period came to an end in 1972 and I was transferred again to Delhi in 1974, before I could complete my work.

**I understand that you prepared the concordance with great difficulty. But printing it as a book must have been a more difficult problem. Isn’t it?**

You are right! No fonts were available for printing in the Indus script. When the work was ready for publication, the formidable problem of finding out a suitable method of printing the voluminous concordance had to be tackled. At first we tried printing with the help of an X-Y drum plotter, but the results were not satisfactory. My work came to virtual standstill till 1975. In the meanwhile, TIFR had acquired more powerful computers and was able to develop a software package for computer-aided photo typesetting, which could use hand-drawn pictorial signs as fonts for printing. All the time I was shuttling between Delhi and Bombay, snatching whatever leave I could take from my official work. Finally, however, I applied for 6 months of study leave on half-pay in 1976 and moved into TIFR till the printing of the book was completed. The Archaeological Survey of India published my book the ‘The Indus Script: Texts, Concordance and Tables’ in 1977. The work is now recognized as a standard source for research on the Indus script.
Apart from being a historical researcher, you have also served as an editor for a popular daily. How did that happen?

I got fed up with government service and decided to opt for voluntary retirement available to IAS officers reaching the age of fifty. But before I could engage myself in wholetime research, I had to find gainful employment for some more years till my sons completed their education and started earning. I worked as the Executive Director of the Indian Express Group of publications in South India during 1980-82 and then resigned the job to take up research activities. However, tragedy struck when my elder son Vidyasagar aged 29, married and with two young children, lost his life in an accident in 1986. I was forced to seek employment again to support and educate my grandchildren. So I accepted Ramnath Goenka’s invitation to join Dinamani as its Editor.

Tell us about your Dinamani days.

I had never been in the newspaper publishing industry. I didn’t know what a newspaper office looked like, nor did I know the kind of Tamil that was required for a newspaper. Absolutely to my surprise, I did well. I introduced ‘Tamil Mani’ and ‘Ariviyal Sudar’ supplements, which became popular with the readers. I introduced the reformed Tamil script to print the newspaper. I also encouraged a new style of writing avoiding words from Sanskrit and English to the extent possible. More importance was given to the editorial page, which also regularly carried articles on serious topics. I enjoyed absolute editorial freedom. Just to cite one instance, The Indian Express edited by Arun Shourie fiercely opposed the Mandal Commission recommendations, while Dinamani from the same stable supported them subject only to the exclusion of the creamy layer. I thoroughly enjoyed my work as Editor, Dinamani. I resigned in 1991 to devote my remaining years to complete my research projects.

Please tell us something about your second spell of research on the Tamil-Brahmi script?

I resumed my work on Tamil Epigraphy in 1991. I began an intensive tour of TamilNadu visiting all the caves once again for re-copying and re-editing the inscriptions. I was awarded a National Fellowship by the Indian Council of Historical Research for three years (1992-95). However, I suffered another setback when my wife died suddenly in 1992 from a heart attack. Somehow, I resumed my work with the help of a band of young scholars from the TamilNadu State Department of Archaeology
and completed the work in 2000. My book *Early Tamil Epigraphy* was published in 2003 by Cre-A in Chennai and by the Harvard University, USA.

**What are you working on currently?**

I have resumed my work on the Indus script. We have recently established the Indus Research Centre at Roja Muthiah Research Library in Chennai. The Centre is collaborating with the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Mumbai, and Math Science at Chennai on a project to prepare a revised and enlarged concordance to the Indus inscriptions, which would include all the new material discovered after my earlier publication in 1977. The Centre has already published some good papers. My hope is that the Indus Research Centre would attract brilliant young scholars to carry on the study of the Indus Script. I am also engaged in writing a book *Interpreting the Indus Script: A Dravidian Model* due to be published by Penguins India in 2009.

**Please tell us about the charitable trust you have established?**

When our elder son Vidyasagar died tragically in 1986, my wife and I had resolved to perpetuate his memory by creating a charitable trust. The project had to wait till I had fulfilled my other commitments and found the resources to set up the trust. In 2003, I sold my seaside bungalow at Tiruvanmiur and established the Vidyasagar Educational Trust with a personal donation of Rs. fifty lakhs. The Trust has donated Rs. forty lakhs to the Sankara Nethralaya at Chennai, to establish the Vidyasagar Institute of Biomedical Technology and Science, affiliated to BITS, Pilani, for M.S. and Ph.D. degrees. The Trust is also awarding annual scholarships to poor and meritorious students studying in Polytechnics or Industrial Training Institutes in TamilNadu.

**What keeps you going even at this age?**

An insatiable thirst for knowledge and passionate pursuit of Truth.

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There is much more to hear from this legend. But, it is already three hours since he started his recount. I end the interview half-heartedly. But I also know, his history is as deep and as vast as the Indian History. How much ever you try to unravel, you would never finish...
From Orality to Literacy: Transition in Early Tamil Society

Mahadevan, Iravatham

The Brāhmī script reached Upper South India (Andhra-Karnataka regions) and the Tamil country at about the same time during the 3rd century B.C. in the wake of the southern spread of Jainism and Buddhism. However, the results of introduction of writing in these two regions were markedly different.

The most interesting aspects of Tamil literacy, when compared with the situation in contemporary upper South India, are:
1. Its much earlier commencement;
2. Use of the local language for all purposes from the beginning, and
3. Its popular democratic character.

Early literacy in Tamil society

The earliest Tamil inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmī script may be dated from about the end of 3rd century or early 2nd century B.C. on palaeographic grounds and stratigraphic evidence of inscribed pottery. The earliest inscriptions in Kannada and Telugu occur more than half a millennium later. The earliest Kannada inscription at Halmidi (Hassan District, Karnataka) is assigned to the middle of the 5th century A.D. The earliest Telugu inscription of the Renati Cōḷas at Kalamalla in Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh belongs to the end of 6th century A.D.

The earliest extant Tamil literature, the Caṅkam works, are dated, even according to conservative estimates, from around the commencement of the Christian Era. The earliest extant literary works in Kannada and Telugu were composed almost a millennium later. The earliest known literary work in Kannada is the Kavirājamārga, written early in the 9th century A.D. and the earliest known literary work in Telugu is the famous Mahābhārata of Nannaya composed in the middle of the 11th century A.D. It is also probable that Kavijanāśraya, a work in Telugu on prosody, composed by Malliya Rechana, is about a century earlier. There were earlier literary works in Kannada and Telugu, as known from references in earlier inscriptions and later literature. But none of them are extant.

The earliest inscriptions in the Tamil country written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script are almost exclusively in the Tamil language. The Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions are all in Tamil though with some Prakrit loanwords. There are no Prakrit stone inscriptions in the Tamil country. Coin-legends
of the early period are also in Tamil (with the solitary exception of a Pāṇṭiya copper coin carrying bilingual legends both in Tamil and Prakrit).

Seal-texts are also in Tamil (with the exception of a seal impression on clay in Prakrit found at Arikamedu and a few gold rings with Prakrit legends from Karur.) Inscribed pottery found at various ancient Tamil sites is mostly in Tamil, with a few exceptions in Prakrit confined to cities or ports like Kanchipuram and Arikamedu. In contrast, during the same period, all early inscriptions from Upper South India on stone, copper plates, coins, seals and pottery are exclusively in Prakrit and not in Kannada or Telugu which were the spoken languages of this region.

Popular versus elitist literacy

Another noteworthy feature of early Tamil literacy was its popular or democratic character, based as it was on the language of the people. Literacy seems to have been widespread in all the regions of the Tamil country, both in urban and rural areas, and encompassing within its reach all strata of the Tamil society. The primary evidence for this situation comes from inscribed pottery, relatively more numerous in TamilNadu than elsewhere in the country. As mentioned earlier, excavations or explorations of several ancient Tamil sites have yielded hundreds of inscribed sherds, almost all in Tamil written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. The inscribed sherds are found not only in urban and commercial centres like Karur, Kodumanal, Madurai and Uraiyr and ports like Alagankulam, Arikamedu and Korkai, but also in obscure hamlets like Alagarai and Poluvampatti, attesting to widespread literacy. The pottery inscriptions are secular in character and the names occurring in them indicate that common people from all strata of Tamil society made these scratchings or scribblings on pottery owned by them. Herostones inscribed in the Tamil-Brāhmī script of 2nd century B.C., recently discovered in a couple of villages in the upper Vaigai valley, also attest to widespread literacy even in the remote corners of the Tamil country in the Caṅkam Age. On the other hand, inscribed pottery excavated from Upper South Indian sites are all in Prakrit and mostly associated with religious centres like Amaravati and Salihundam.

Literacy is not merely the acquisition of reading and writing skills. To be meaningful and creative, literacy has to be based on one's mother-tongue. In this sense, early Tamil society had achieved true literacy with a popular base rooted in the native language. On the other hand, Upper South India had in this period only elitist literacy based on Prakrit and not the native languages of the region.
What are the reasons for such contrasting developments between the two adjoining regions of South India? It cannot be that Prakrit was the spoken language of Upper South India at any time. If proof were needed to show that Kannada and Telugu were the spoken languages of the region during the early period, one needs only to study the large number of Kannada and Telugu personal names and place names in the early Prakrit inscriptions on stone and copper in Upper South India. The Gātha Saptasati, a Prakrit anthology composed by Hala of the Sātavāhana dynasty in about the 1st century A.D., is said to contain about thirty Telugu words. Nor can it be said that Kannada and Telugu had not developed into separate languages during the Early Historical Period. Dravidian linguistic studies have established that Kannada and Telugu (belonging to different branches of Dravidian) had emerged as distinct languages long before the period we are dealing with. Telugu and Kannada were spoken by relatively large and well-settled populations, living in well-organised states ruled by able dynasties like the Sātavāhanas, with a high degree of civilisation as attested by Prakrit inscriptions and literature of the period, and great architectural monuments like those at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that these languages had less rich or less expressive oral traditions than Tamil had towards the end of its pre-literate period.

**Literacy and political independence**

The main reason for the contrasting developments in the growth of literacy as between the two regions appears to be the political independence of the Tamil country and its absence in Upper South India during the relevant period. Upper South India was incorporated in the Nanda-Maurya domain even before the beginning of the literate period. Asoka specifically lists Andhra among the territories included within his domains in his Thirteenth Rock Edict. The region was, therefore, administered through the medium of Prakrit which was the language of the rulers and also became the language of the local ruling elite, of learning and instruction, and of public discourse, as clearly shown by the presence of Asoka's Prakrit edicts in the region. This situation persisted even when the Mauryas were succeeded by local rulers, the Sātavāhanas, and later by their successors like the Ikshvākus, Kadambas, Sālaṅkāyanas, Vishnukanḍins and Pallavas. It would have been in the interest of the ruling elite to protect their privileges by perpetuating the hegemony of Prakrit in order to exclude the common people from sharing power.
Persian in the Mughal Empire and English in British India (and even after Independence) offer instructive parallels to this situation.

The situation in the Tamil country during the early period was entirely different. The Tamil country was never a part of the Nanda-Maurya empires. The Tamil states, Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya, and even the smaller principalities like those of the (Satiyaputra) Atiyamāṇs maintained their political independence as acknowledged by Asoka himself in his Second Rock Edict in which he refers to them as his 'borderers'. As a direct result of political independence, Tamil remained the language of administration, of learning and instruction, and of public discourse throughout the Tamil country. When writing became known to the Tamils, the Brāhmī script was adapted and modified to suit the Tamil phonetic system. That is, while the Brāhmī script was borrowed, the Prakrit language was not allowed to be imposed along with it from outside. When the Jaina and Buddhist monks entered the Tamil country, they found it expedient to learn Tamil in order to carry on their missionary activities effectively. An apt parallel is the case of the European Christian missionaries in India during the colonial period, who mastered the local languages to preach the gospel to the masses.

Facilitating factors for spread of literacy in early Tamil society

Apart from political independence and the use of the mother-tongue, there were also several other factors facilitating the spread of literacy in early Tamil society. Of the factors which will be briefly discussed here, the first three were inherent features of the early Tamil society and the next three were new elements from outside which influenced the spread of early literacy in the Tamil country.

(i) The presence of a strong bardic tradition
Bards were so much respected in early Tamil society that they could move from court to court across the political barriers even when the princes were at war. The oral bardic tradition which must have been rich and expressive even in the pre-literate era, flowered into the written poetry of the Caṅkam Age with the availability of writing under the active patronage of the Tamil princes, chieftains and nobles.

(ii) The absence of a priestly hierarchy
There was no priestly hierarchy in early Tamil society with vested interest in maintaining the oral tradition or discouraging writing after its advent. It was the presence of such a priestly
hierarchy in early Brahmanical Hinduism in North India that prevented Sanskrit from being recorded in inscriptions for about four centuries after the introduction of the Brāhmī script. Prakrit inscriptions are available from the time of Asoka in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. The earliest Sanskrit inscription of consequence is the rock inscription of Rudradāman at Girnar dated in the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

Learning does not seem to have been the prerogative of any particular class like the scribes or priests in the early Tamil society. This is clearly shown by the wide diversity in the social status of the nearly five hundred poets of the Caṅkam Age, among whom were princes, monks, merchants, bards, artisans and common people. Quite a few of them were women. We have earlier noticed the evidence of the inscribed sherds for widespread literacy in the rural areas and among the common people manṟam

(iii) A strong tradition of local autonomy
Reference to self-governing village councils like ampalam, potiyil and manṟam in the Caṅkam literature and to merchant guilds (nigama) and village assemblies (ūr) in the Tamil-Brāhmī records show that there was a long tradition of strong local self-government in the Tamil society. In such an environment, literacy would have received special impetus as it would serve to strengthen local self-government institutions and merchant guilds.

(iv) The spread of Jainism and Buddhism
As mentioned earlier, knowledge of writing was brought to the Tamil country, as to the rest of South India, in the wake of the spread of Jainism and Buddhism to these regions. As protestant movement against Vedic Brahmanical Hinduism, these faiths kept away from Sanskrit in the initial phase and conducted their missionary activities in North India in the local Prakrit dialects. The monks followed the same tradition in the Tamil country, learning the local language and, in the process, adapting the Brāhmī script to its needs. They had no vested interest in maintaining the oral traditions nor any bias against writing down their scriptures in the local language. As a result of this attitude, the Jaina scholars (and to a lesser extent, the Buddhist scholars) made rich contribution to the development of Tamil literature during the Caṅkam Age and for centuries thereafter. A similar
development did not take place in Upper South India in the early period presumably because Prakrit was already the language of administration and public discourse in the region. The monks who were familiar with Prakrit had perhaps no opportunity or incentive to change over to the local languages in this region.

(v) Foreign trade

The Tamil country, with its long coastlines, carried on extensive trade during the Caṅkam Age with Rome and the Mediterranean countries in the west and with Sri Lanka and Southeast Asian countries in the east. Trade with Rome brought in not only wealth (as attested by numerous Roman coin-hoards in the Tamil country) but also early contacts with other literate societies using alphabetic scripts. Recent excavations of Roman settlements on the Red Sea coast of Egypt have brought to light a few inscribed sherds with Tamil names written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script of about the 1st century A.D. An ancient papyrus document written in Greek and datable in the 2nd century A.D. in a museum at Vienna has been identified as a contract for shipment of merchandise from Muciṟi to Alexandria. While the document itself is not in Tamil, one can infer from it the milieu of advanced literacy in the Tamil society whose merchants could enter into such trading contracts.

(vi) A democratic, quasi-alphabetic script

The Tamil-Brāhmī script is a quasi-alphabetic script with just 26 characters (8 vowels and 18 consonants). The enormous importance of such a simple, easy-to-learn script in the spread and democratisation of literacy can hardly be overestimated. Palm leaf as a writing surface was also a happy choice, as in the semi-arid Tamil countryside it is abundant, perennial and virtually free. Palm leaf and the iron stylus radically altered the ductus of the script from the angular Brāhmī to the round Vaṭṭeḻuttu in the course of a few centuries.

The consequences of literacy in early Tamil society

There is little doubt that literacy transformed the early Tamil society in several ways yet to be fully evaluated.

A preliminary listing of changes can be as follows:


1. Transformation of tribal chieftaincies into states with more centralized administration; levy of taxes and tributes properly accounted for; and external relations based on written communications like treaties and trade contracts
2. Urbanisation of royal capitals, port towns and commercial centres
3. Temple administration based on written records including inscriptions
4. Increased foreign trade as evidenced by the occurrence of Tamil inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmī script in Roman settlements in Egypt to the west and Thailand to the east
5. Democratisation of society and strengthening of local rule which came about with widespread literacy based on a simple quasi-alphabetic script and with the mother-tongue as the language of administration, learning and public discourse
6. An early efflorescence of Tamil language and literature leading to the truly great epoch of the ‘Caṅkam Age’ almost a thousand years before any other regional language in South India reached that level of development.

Notes

1 Excerpts from the author’s Early Tamil Epigraphy (2003): 159-164
There is clear pictorial evidence from seals, sealings and other inscribed objects for the practice of religion by the Harappans. The question whether any deity is prominently mentioned in their writing is sought to be answered in this paper.

**Section I : Ideograms for 'Deity' in the Indus Script**

The search for the possible occurrence of the name of a deity in the Indus Script has to be based on the following criteria:

(a) A deity conceived to be human in form (as seen in the pictorial representations) is more likely to be depicted by an anthropomorphic ideogram than by syllabic writing.

(b) The ideogram will occur with high frequency, and with especially higher relative frequency in dedicatory inscriptions on votive objects found in religious contexts.

(c) The ideogram is likely to occur repetitively as part of fixed formulas possibly representing religious incantations.

Signs 1-48 in the Indus Script are classified as 'anthropomorphic' on the basis of their iconography. There are two near-identical signs in this group, Nos. 47 and 48 (Fig.1) depicting seated personages reminiscent of very similar representations of deities in the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, in which a seated figure functions as the determinative for 'god' (Fig.2), and similar ideograms, modified by the addition of distinctive attributes, represent specific deities.

On the basis of this analogy from a contemporary ideographic script, we may assume, as a working hypothesis to begin with, that Sign 47 of the Indus Script is the ideogram for 'deity' and that Sign 48, its modified form occurring with a much higher frequency, represents a particular 'Deity' characterised by the distinctive attribute added to the basic sign. This identification receives some support from the pairing of these two signs in either order in the texts, probably to be read as 'the deity X' or 'X, the deity'.

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1. Mahadevan, Iravatham

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The miniature tablets and sealings found at Harappa, especially from the lower (earlier) levels, are generally considered to be votive objects with dedicatory inscriptions incised or impressed on them. Sign 48, one of the more frequent signs in the Indus Script, occurs with a much higher relative frequency on the votive tablets and sealings.

Again, a text of three signs with Sign 48 in the lead, which has the highest frequency of any three-sign sequences in the whole of the Corpus of
Indus Texts, occurs almost exclusively on the votive tablets and sealings, indicating that it is a 'religious formula' of some kind (Fig.3). It is significant that in the Late Harappan Period at Kalibangan, the basic ideogram for 'deity' begins to appear as large-sized graffiti on pottery suggestive of its use also as a religious symbol (Fig.4).

It is even more significant that the basic Indus ideogram for 'deity' survived as a religious symbol in the Post-Harappan Era and occurs in regions far removed from the Harappan homeland:

(a) The frequent 3-sign text mentioned earlier (but with Sign 47 in the lead) is engraved on a seal found in the excavations at Vaisali, Bihar (Fig.5).

(b) The basic Indus ideogram for 'deity' occurs often, presumably as a religious symbol, in the pottery graffiti from the Megalithic burials at Sanur in TamilNadu (Fig.6).
There is thus strong *prima facie* evidence from iconography, context of occurrence, frequency-distribution statistics and later survivals that Sign 48 of the Indus Script represents a popular anthropomorphic deity of the Harappan Civilization. The survival of the basic Indus ideogram as a religious symbol in later times suggests that the cult of the Harappan deity spread to Eastern and Southern India along with the migration of the descendants of the Harappans to these regions after the demise of the mature Indus Civilization.

The two defining characteristics of the Harappan deity in Sign 48 are:

(a) A skeletal body with a prominent row of ribs;

(b) The deity is seated on his haunches, body bent and contracted, with lower limbs folded and knees drawn up.

As the ideogram is a conventional 'stick figure' with no width, the side-view of the seated deity (facing left in seal-impressions) gives the appearance of ribs 'sticking out of the body'. The Egyptian determinatives or ideograms for 'backbone and ribs' look similar (Fig.7)\(^\text{13}\). There are also two crucial pieces of evidence, both from Kalibangan, pointing to the true nature of the ideogram:

(a) An exceptional variant of Sign 48 is found deeply incised (pre-firing) on the concave inner surface of a shallow terracotta dish (Fig.8)\(^\text{14}\). This variant depicts the deity with a large head and the backbone with four ribs 'inside the body'.

(b) A unique seal, probably Late Harappan, found on the surface at Kalibangan, depicts a seated skeletal deity occupying the entire field (Fig.9)\(^\text{15}\). This pictorial representation may thus be classified as the 'field symbol' equivalent of Sign 48. The deity is facing right (in the original seal), leaning forward. He has a large head and a massive jaw jutting forward. The complete ribcage is shown in clear detail with almost all the ribs in position, curving naturalistically on either side of the backbone. The deity appears to be holding a ladle (?) in his right hand. His knees are drawn up and he seems to be squatting on his haunches\(^\text{16}\).

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Fig. 7: Egyptian Ideogram for ‘backbone, ribs’ (Gardiner, Sign List, F.37-40)
A careful comparative study of the two crucial variant forms of Sign 48 from Kalibangan with other known variants shows that the sign is a conventional depiction of a seated skeletal figure, and that the distinctive
attribute of the 'Deity' (Sign 48) differentiating it from the 'deity' (Sign 47) is the row of 'ribs' (Fig.10).^

Fig. 11: Egyptian Ideograms of ‘aman receiving purification from a stream of water’
(Wallis Budge, Sign List: 1.101-104)

Fig. 12: Harappan seal depicting the Skeletal Deity and the Yoke Bearer (J. Marshall, Seal No. 475)

The skeletal figure appears to be a symbolic representation of the dead, or rather, the spirit of the dead, or the manes (souls of the 'Fathers') or a demonic deity, suggesting some form of ancestor-worship.

cf. Skt. bhūta (lit., 'who was'): a spirit, the ghost of a deceased person, a demon, imp, goblin.

pretā (lit., 'the departed'): the spirit of a dead person (especially before the obsequial rites are performed), a ghost, an evil being.

Pāli peta: dead, departed, the departed spirit; the Buddhist peta signifies both the manes as well as the ghosts.

Pkt. pe(y)a: a class of gods, the dead.

Ta. pēy: devil, goblin, fiend. (DEDR 4438)^18
The second characteristic shared by Signs 47 & 48, of being seated, denotes dignity or divinity (as in the Egyptian ideograms). The sitting posture has close parallels from the anthropomorphic sculptures found at Mohenjodaro (Pl.I)\textsuperscript{19}. The bent, contracted posture serves as a linguistic clue which will be discussed in Section III.

**Section II: Survival of the Harappan Skeletal Deity in Later Mythology and Art Traditions**

The identification of the 'Harappan Skeletal Deity' leads directly to the recognition of its evolution as the 'Emaciated Ascetics' in later Indian mythology and art traditions. Some characteristic examples are considered here.

**Dadhyañca's ribs**

Dadhyañca (Dadhīca) is mentioned as a divinity in the *rgveda* and as a teacher or *rshi* in the later Vedic literature and the *Mahābhārata*\textsuperscript{20}. Two famous myths associated with him are relevant to our study:

(a) Dadhyañca's gift of his own ribs or bones to the gods for making the vajra with which Indra slew ninety-nine Vrtras.
(b) Dadhyañca getting a horse's head by the power of the Asvins. His name and his horse-head connect Dadhyañca with Dadhikrāvan, the famous divine steed presented by Mitra-Varuṇa to the Pūrus. The etymology of the two names seemingly derived from dadhi 'curds, buttermilk' has remained inexplicable.

The myths appear to have evolved from the iconography of the Harappan Skeletal Deity remembered as a religious symbol long after its linguistic context was forgotten:

(a) 'ribs': Dadhyañca's inseparable identification with 'ribs and bones' suggests that he had a 'skeletal' body.

(b) 'horse-head': This myth must have arisen when the symbol of the Harappan Skeletal Deity was later re-interpreted as a 'horse' with a large 'head', four 'legs' (though the actual number varied) and a 'raised tail'. This interpretation is seemingly plausible when the symbol is viewed in the horizontal position. It is interesting that some modern scholars studying the Indus Script have also interpreted Sign 48 as a 'horse' (Meriggi: 'horse'; Misra: 'Dadhikrāvan')21. The Soviet scholars have also interpreted the sign as a quadruped, but as the 'buffalo' (presumably because there is no place for the 'horse' in their theory of the Dravidian origin of the Indus Civilization!)22

(c) The reason why Dadhyañca and Dadhikrāvan have names apparently derived from dadhi 'curds' may be explained on the basis of Dravidian etymology, assuming that these are loan-translations:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{muci} (Ta.): to grow thin, to be emaciated (DEDR 4903).
  \item \textit{mucar, mōr} (Ta.): curds, buttermilk (DEDR 4902).
  \item \textit{muruṭu, muruṇṭu} (Ka.): to shrink, shrivel (DEDR 4972).
  \item \textit{moraṭa, moraṇa} (Skt.): sour buttermilk (connected to Dr. mucar, mōr in DEDR 4902).
\end{itemize}

The Dr. words for 'emaciated' and 'curds' were homonymous. The Skt. names Dadhyañca and Dadhikrāvan appear to be the result of translating the wrong homophones, and thus 'the emaciated one' became 'one fond of curds'!
Bhṛṅgin, the 'Skeleton Demon'

Among the circle of the bhūtaganas attending on Śxīva, Bhṛṅgin, the 'Skeleton Demon', considered to be a form of Andhaka, stands out. Bhṛṅgin got a skeletal body because of Pārvati's curse when he insisted on worshipping Śiva alone and not her. Several sculptural representations of Bhṛṅgin are known, depicting him as a mere skeleton (Pl.II)\(^{23}\). His antiquity, identity as a bhūta and his skeletal body indicate the derivation of the myth ultimately from the Harappan Skeletal Deity.

Plate II : Bhṛṅgin, seated at the feet of Naṭarāja, Sculpture in Cave 14, Ellora (Photograph:Courtesy Institut Franncais d’ Indologie, Pondichery)
Bhīshma and his 'bed of arrows'

The story of Bhīshma, the great pitāmaha of the Kurus, is too well-known to be re-told here. Three legends connected with his deathbed as narrated in the Bhīshma-vadha-parvan of the Māhabhārata are relevant to the present study:

(a) When Bhīshma fell in battle, he lay on 'a bed of arrows' without touching the earth. If one views the symbol of the Harappan Skeletal Deity (Sign 48) in a horizontal position, it can be interpreted as a person lying on a 'bed of arrows' without touching the earth.

(b) When Bhīshma's head was hanging down, he asked Arjuna for a pillow. Thereupon Arjuna supported Bhīshma's head with three arrows shot from his Gāṇḍīśva.

One of the variant forms of the Harappan Skeletal Deity (Sign 48) in which three projecting lines are seen attached to the back of the head provides the pictorial basis for this myth (See the first sign in the second row in Fig.10).

(c) When Bhīshma was lying on his bed of arrows, he asked for water. Arjuna shot an arrow from his Gāṇḍīva piercing the earth, and there arose a jet of pure and cold water for Bhīshma to drink. It is interesting that the nearest pictorial depiction of this legend is provided by an Egyptian ideogram (when viewed horizontally) of 'a man receiving purification from a stream of water' (Fig.11). Perhaps a similar variant form of Sign 48 exists and may still be found.

Buddha as an 'Emaciated Ascetic'

Gautama in the course of his wanderings in search of Truth came to Uruvela and practised the severest austerities which reduced him to a mere skeleton; but, failing to attain the goal by mortification of the flesh, he decided to take nourishment just enough to sustain the body. This famous incident in the Buddha's life is splendidly portrayed in a sculpture from Gāndhāra dated ca. 2-3 cent. AD. (Pl. III) According to tradition, the skeletal figure of the Buddha is intended as a warning to others of the futility of excessive austerities. However it is possible to take a more positive view of the depiction of the Buddha as an 'Emaciated Ascetic in penance' as worthy of adoration. This explanation accounts in a more
satisfactory manner for the wide prevalence of the motif of the 'emaciated ascetics' in Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions, ultimately going back to the Harappan prototype.

Plate III : Buddha as the Emaciated Ascetic, Gāndhāra style. (Photograph: Courtesy Institut Français d’Indologie, Pondichery)

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, the pēy

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, the earliest of the Tamil Saivaite saints (ca. 5-6 cent. AD.), chose to describe herself in her poems as the pēy, which meant originally 'the departed soul' (from Pkt. peya), but later acquired the pejorative meanings 'demoness, she-devil'. True to her assumed title, she describes Śiva's dance surrounded by ghosts; she views the ghosts as 'blessed with sympathetic and human hearts'. The magnificent Chola bronzes from a later period depict her literally as the pēy with a skeletal body, prominent ribcage and squatting on her haunches (Pl.IV). The similarity between the Gāndhāran Buddha and the Chola bronzes of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār in the treatment of the emaciated, skeletal body is striking, even though they are wide apart in space and time. This thematic unity spanning the sub-continent and between the Indo-Aryan and
Dravidian traditions indicates a common inheritance going back to the Harappan times.

Plate IV: Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, Chola bronze, Tirutturaippundi, Thanjavur District (Photograph: Courtesy Institut Français d’Indologie, Pondicherry)

**The Emaciated Ascetics from Harwan**

Harwan, near Srinagar in the Kashmir valley, is famous as the site where Kanishka is said to have convened the Fourth Buddhist Council in the 2nd cent. AD. The chaityagṛha at this site is embellished with stamped terracotta friezes in the Late Gāndhāran style (ca. 4-5 cent. AD.). The most prominent among them are the repetitive friezes depicting 'emaciated ascetics' "who are lean, nude, reduced to a skeleton, shown with their bent backs, legs tucked up, hands placed on knees and with chins resting on their hands"\(^{30}\) (Pl. V)\(^{31}\). Here too, the interpretation that the figures are intended as a warning against excessive austerities is unconvincing, especially when this depiction is the dominant motif at the
site. It is more likely that the figures represent the Buddha as the emaciated ascetic. The similarity between the emaciated ascetics of Harwan and the Harappan Skeletal Deity is too close to be missed.

Plate V: The Emaciated Ascetics, Terracotta; Harwan, Kashmir. (Photograph: Courtesy Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay)

The Emaciated Ascetics from Paharpur

The Somapura Mahāvihāra at Paharpur, Bangladesh, dating from 8th cent. AD. is especially famous for the continuous friezes comprising thousands of stamped terracotta plaques adorning the exterior walls of the plinth and the lower terraces. The plaques are known for their 'exuberant treatment' of 'all conceivable subjects of human interest' including divine figures, both Brahmanical and Buddhist (many more of the former than the latter). "Ascetics as traveling mendicants, with long beards, their bodies bent and sometimes reduced to skeletons, carrying staff in hand, and their belongings such as bowls hanging from either ends of a pole carried on the shoulder, are one of the most favourite themes" depicted on the plaques.32 Here are two unmistakable motifs ultimately derived from the Harappan, of the 'emaciated or skeletal body' (Sign 48) and the 'yoke-bearer' (Signs 12-15). It is significant that the two Indus ideograms are found paired in the Indus Texts (Fig.12).
An extraordinary plaque from Paharpur combines both motifs in one composite figure (Pl. VI), reminiscent of the technique of composite signs in the Indus Script. The plaque depicts a naked ascetic reduced to a skeleton with a bent back and exaggeratedly prominent ribcage and backbone and folded legs. He is carrying a ladle in his right hand (cf. the Kalibangan seal described above). He is also carrying a yoke on his shoulders to which are tied at either end a pair of vessels with ropes.

It is possible to interpret the Paharpur plaques depicting separately the 'yoke-bearer' and the 'skeletal ascetic' in terms of the Brahmanical legends of Bharadvāja (lit., 'the bearer of victuals') and Dadhīca (famous for his gift of his own ribs and bones) respectively. This is indeed more likely as the Harappan symbols from which they are ultimately derived would have been long forgotten when these plaques were made. However, the extraordinary combination of the two motifs in one composite figure strengthens the hypothesis that they are the survivals of the two related motifs depicted in the Indus ideograms (Nos.15 and 48).

Plate VI: The Emaciated Ascetic-cum-Yoke-bearer, Terracotta, Paharpur, Bangladesh.
(Photograph: Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi)
Section III: Identification of the Harappan Skeletal Deity with Dr. *muruku

We have so far looked at the pictorial depictions of the 'Harappan Skeletal Deity' and the 'Emaciated Ascetics' of the later mythology and art tradition to learn what we can about the external attributes of the deity. An attempt will be made in this section to discover the probable original name and nature of the deity by searching through the Dravidian (Dr.) etyma with the nearest meanings corresponding to the pictorial elements. As seen earlier, the two defining characteristics of the pictorial depictions of the Harappan deity are (a) a skeletal body, and (b) bent and contracted posture. The Dr. etyma with the nearest meanings are as follows:

(a) 'To be shrivelled' (DEDR 4972):
Ma. *muraktu*: to shrivel; *muruluka*: id., decay.
Tu. *muruṇṭu*: shrunk, shrivelled.
Nk. *mural*: to wither.
Kur. *murdnā*: to be dried to excess.

(b) 'To be contracted' (DEDR 4977):
Ta. *muri*: to bend; *murivu*: contracting, fold; *mūri* (nimir): (to stretch by) winding limbs.
Ka. *murige*: bending, twisting; *muruhu*: a bend, curve, a crooked object;
Ka. *muraṭu*, *muruṭu*, *murunṭu*: to be bent or drawn together, state of being contracted. (DEDR 4972).
Tu. *muri*: curve, twist; *murige*: twist.
Pa. *murg*: to be bent; *murgal*: hunchback.
Ga. *murg*: to bend; *murgen*: bent; *murug*: to bend down.
Go. *moorga*: humpbacked.
(cf: Pkt. *muria*: twisted; old Mar. *mured*: to twist.)

We may infer from the linguistic data summarised in (a) and (b) that PDr. *mūr/mur-*V is the primitive root from which words with the meanings 'shrivelled' and 'contracted' have been derived.

We may now proceed to apply the technique of rebus to try and discover the Dr. homonyms with the intended meanings.

(c) 'Strong, fierce, wild, fighting' (DEDR 4971):
Airāvati

Ta. *muraṭu* : ill-temper, wildness, rudeness; *muran*: fight, battle, fierceness, strength.  
Ma. *muran*: fight, strength.  
Ko. *mort*: violence (of action); *mordn*: violent man.  
Tu. *murse*: quarrelsome man.  
Te. *moratu*: rude man.

(d) 'To destroy, kill' (DEDR.4975) :  
Ta. *murukku*: to destroy, kill; *muruṅku*: to be destroyed.  
Ma. *muruka*: to cut.  
Kol., Nk. *murk*: to split, break.  
Kui. *mrupka*: to kill, murder.  
Kur. *muruknā*: to mangle, mutilate.  
Malt. *murke*: to cut into bits.

(e) 'Ancient' (DEDR. 4969) :  
Ta. *muraṅcu*: to be old, ancient; *mūri*: antiquity.  
Nk: *murtal*: old woman.  
Go. *mur-*: to mature.

The two sets of etyma in (c) and (d) taken together indicate that the original name of the deity was something like *mūr/mur-V and that his essential traits were those of a fierce god, destroyer or hunter.

The legends and myths surrounding the deity have become inextricably mixed up and both sets of etyma in groups (a) to (d) apply to him. In short, the deity was both 'a departed soul or demon' as indicated by his skeletal body and contracted posture, and also 'a fierce killer or hunter' as indicated by the Dr. etyma. Furthermore, the linguistic data in (e) can be interpreted to mean that the deity was considered to be 'ancient' even in Harappan times.

In the concluding part of the Paper, we shall compare the traits of the Harappan Skeletal Deity as revealed by the pictorial depictions and linguistic data summarised above, with those of *muruku* (Murukan), the primitive god of the Tamils as recorded in the earliest layers of the Caṅkam poetry.

The most striking aspect of muruku is that he had no form; he was a disembodied spirit or demon who manifested himself only by possessing his priest or a young maiden. When muruku possessed him, the priest (*vēlañ*) went into a trance and performed the shamanic dance in a frenzy...
(veriāṭal). When muruku possessed the maiden (anaṅkutal), her mother called in the priest (vēlaṅ) to perform the veri dance to pacify the spirit and restore the girl to her senses\(^\text{37}\).

The second prominent trait of muruku was of a 'wrathful killer' indicating his prowess as a war-god and hunter\(^\text{38}\).

The only physical traits which may be attributed to the primitive muruku are his red colour (cēy) associated with blood and bloody sacrifices, and his spear (vēl) associated with killing enemies and hunting animals. As muruku had no material body, these two physical traits are shown to belong to his priest, vēlan the 'spear-bearer' who wore red clothes and offered red flowers in ritual worship involving the sacrifice of goats and fowls. There were no temples in the earliest times, and the worship was carried out in the open field (kaḷam) before a wooden altar.

Another very ancient aspect of the worship of Murukan, not alluded to in the Caṅkam poems, but strongly supported by Tamil tradition, is the ritual carrying of offerings on the kāvati (yoke with the offerings tied to the ends by ropes). The Paharpur plaques noticed above may also be compared with the Tamil legends of muruku (the demon) and Iṭumpañ, his kāvati-bearing worshipper\(^\text{39}\).

Much of the later Tamil literature, and virtually all the Tamil inscriptions and iconographic motifs have been heavily influenced by the Sanskritic traditions of Skanda-Kārttikeya-Kumśara and have very little in common with the primitive muruku except the name Murukan\(^\text{40}\). Even the meaning of his name has undergone a radical transformation from muruku 'the demon or destroyer' to Murukan 'the beautiful one', consistent with the later notion that gods must be 'beautiful' and demons 'ugly'. As P.L. Samy points out in his incisive study of Murukan in the Caṅkam works, there is no support for the later meaning in the earliest poems. He derives muruku (Murukan) and murukku 'to destroy' from Dr. muru-, and endorses the identification of Murukan with mūradeva (a class of demons) mentioned in the rgveda, as proposed by Karmarkar\(^\text{41}\).

The muruku of the early Tamil society before the Age of Sanskritization was a 'primitive tribal god conceived as a 'demon' who possessed people and as a 'wrathful killer or hunter'. This characterisation of the earliest Tamil muruku is in complete accord with his descent from the Harappan Skeletal Deity with similar traits revealed through pictorial depictions, early myths and Dravidian linguistic data.
Postscript (2008)

During the last ten years after the publication of this paper, interesting discoveries have been made in TamilNadu and Kerala, which support the identification proposed here.

1. The most important discovery is that of a Neolithic polished stone celt (ca. 1500 BC.) incised with four characters of the Indus script (see Pl.VII). The celt was found at Sembian-Kandiyur in the lower Kaveri delta by a school teacher when he was digging in his backyard garden. The first and second signs in the inscription (read from the left) are signs 48 and 342 which is a very frequent combination in the Indus texts, especially from Harappa. The pair of signs may be read muruku - anr (Ta. Murukan). It is known that the Neolithic people of South India were in contact with the late Harappan or post-Harappan people of the Deccan. The discovery also confirms the traditional accounts in Old Tamil Literature of the migration of the Vēlir chieftains led by Agastya from the Saurashtra region of Gujarat. (Iravatham Mahadevan. A note on the muruku sign of the Indus script. International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics 35(2), June 2006. pp.175-177.)

Plate VII : Neolithic polished stone celt from Sembian-Kandiyur, TamilNadu

Plate VIII : Potsherds from Pattanam, Kerala
2. Two potsherds were found in 2005 during the trial excavations at Pattanam (identified as ancient Muciṛi), Kerala. (Pl.VIII). Each is incised with a solitary large-sized symbol which appears to be identical, though one of them is in rectilinear and the other cursive in style. The symbol can be pictorially identified with the muruku signs of the Indus script (No.47 & 48). The graffiti appear to belong to the megalithic period and resemble those occurring at Sanur in TamilNadu. (V.Selvakumar, K.P. Shajan & I. Mahadevan. Inscriptions and Graffiti on Pottery from Pattanam (Muciṛi), Kerala. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 35(2), June 2006. pp.117-124.)

3. Excavations by the TamilNadu State Department of Archaeology at Mangudi in TamilNadu have yielded three potsherds incised with the symbol resembling the muruku signs of the Indus script (No.47 & 48). The graffiti closely resemble those already known from Sanur. (*Excavations at Mangudi*. TamilNadu State Department of Archaeology, Chennai, 2003. Drawings at pp. 45, 47 and 48.)

4. A megalithic terracotta dish of ca. 1st century BC. found at Sulur near Coimbatore, TamilNadu, many years ago and now in the British Museum, London (Pl.IX), is incised with five symbols which not only resemble the signs of the Indus Scripts closely, but appear in the
same order as in an Indus text on a miniature stone tablet from Harappa. The muruku sign does not occur on the Sulur Dish. However, two frequent sign-pairs mostly associated with the muruku sign on the miniature tablets at Harappa, viz., Jar-Harrow (342-176) and Three-Cup (89-328), do occur on the Sulur Dish. Such close resemblances are possible only if the South Indian megalithic scripts is related to the Indus script. The common sequences indicate that the languages are also related to each other. For details, see the photographic essay cited below. (Iravatham Mahadevan, A Megalithic Pottery inscription and a Harappa tablet: A case of extraordinary resemblance. *Journal of Tamil Studies* 71 : (2007) 80-87.

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**Notes**


2 See, for example, the pictorial representations of deities and sacrificial scenes on seals, sealings and other inscribed objects. I. Mahadevan 1977 (=ISTCT), App. II: Field symbols 47-81; Pl.IV-VI: Figs. 80-116.

3 ISTCT, Sign List: Nos. 1-48 (p. 32).

4 Gardiner, Sign List: A.40 (determinative) and C.1-7 & 9-1 1: (ideograms).

5 It is interesting that Asko Parpola and his Finnish colleagues started off in 1970 with virtually the same assumptions and identified Sign 47 as 'god' and Sign 48 as 'Mother goddess'. Asko Parpola et al. 1970: pp. 25-26. However Parpola has since changed his mind and presently identifies

ISTCT, Concordance, pp. 195-96. The pairing of the signs proves that they are not mere graphic variants. Either sign can function as a substantive or as an attribute. However when they occur as substantives, Sign 48 is followed by the 'JAR' suffix (Sign 342) indicating masculine gender, and Sign 47 is followed by the 'ARROW' suffix (Sign 211) indicating non-masculine gender. I. Mahadevan 1998.


ISTCT, Tables I & IV.

ISTCT, Concordance, pp. 197-200.


Sinha & Roy, p.121, Pl. XXX, No.24. A grey-coloured round terracotta seal with three Indus signs (47-342-176) to be read in the clock-wise direction starting from the 6 o'clock position (in the impression). This little-known seal was first identified as bearing a legend in the Indus Script by Chakraborty (p.88 & Pl. 3A). The excavators assign the seal to Period III (ca. 200 BC - 200 AD.). However it is difficult to believe that this seal (bearing a text so similar to the Harappan that, had it been found at Harappa, it would not have attracted special attention) can be so late. As the excavators point out, the site is a highly disturbed one, and PGW and NBP ware occur together "as the ware was re-deposited from the lower levels in the course of making the plinth of the Garh higher and erection of mud rampart" (Sinha & Roy, pp 7-8). Most probably the present seal came from the lowest level reached at this site (ca. 1100 BC).

Lal, Pl. XXXI B-1(Megalithic) symbol No.47. The symbol also occurs in Pl. IIIA-1,3 and Pl. XXX B-1. See especially Lal's photographic comparison of the Indus sign and the Megalithic symbol (Pl. XXXI B). He remarks: "In the case of Sanur (rare examples elsewhere also) three symbols occur in such close proximity to one another as to give the impression of a record. It may however be added that the three symbols interchange their positions on different pots producing all possible
Mahadevan, Iravatham 485

combinations" (Ibid. p.23). The graffiti-bearing Megalithic pottery found in TamilNadu is assigned to ca. the second half of the First Millennium BC.


16 The details are clearly visible in the highly enlarged photograph of the seal published in Swami Oamanda Saraswati 1975, Pl. 275.

17 For illustrated Lists of variants of Sign 48, see ISTCT, p. 785, No.48; Asko Parpola 1994, p.71, No.87.

18 It has been suggested that Ta. pēy is from Pkt. peya < Skt. preta. Filliozat 1982: p.10. Notwithstanding the weighty authority of DEDR (Entry 4438), I agree with Filliozat.

19 Ardeleanu -Jansen, pp. 139-57, Figs. 16-35.

20 The Vedic myths relating to Dadhya{n}ca and Dadhi{k}rāvan are summarised in Macdonell, pp.141-42 and 148-49. For references to Dadhi{c}a (Dadh{c}i) in the Mahābhārata, see Sorensen, p.225.


22 Knorozov et al, Index of Signs, No.48 (pp. 84, 100).

23 Ellora, Cave 14.

24 Sorensen, p.147.


26 Debala Mitra, Pl.5.

27 Kāraikkāl Ammai{y}ār, Aṟputa-t-tiruvantātī 101. Filliozat, pp. 10-11.

28 Kāraikkāl Ammai{y}ār, Tiruvaḷaṅkāṭṭu mūtta tiruppatikam.
29 Bronze of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyyār (Chola Period) at Bhava Aushadhisvāra temple in Tirutturāippuni (Thanjavur Dt.).

30 S.L. Shali, pp. 133-34.


32 K.N. Dikshit, p.66; Pl. XXVI (b): (yoke-bearer); Pl. XLVIII(e) : (Emaciated Ascetic).

33 Ibid Pl. XXVI (a). The photograph published in the book is not clear. Pl. VI illustrating the present Paper is from a much better photograph (ASI. 16/64) in the Photo Archives of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

34 The basic premise is that the Indus Texts are in a Dravidian language. The arguments in favour of the Dravidian character of the Indus Valley Civilization are presented in Parpola 1994, pp. 160-75.

35 The Dravidian linguistic data is taken from Burrow & Emeneau, A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 1984 (=DEDR). Names of Dr. languages are abbreviated as in DEDR.

36 The earliest layer of the Tamil Ĉaṅkam poetry comprises the Eṭṭuttokai (Eight Collections) and Pattuppāṭu (Ten Idylls) excluding Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai and Paripāṭal which are considered to be relatively later works. For analysis of the earliest references to Murukan in the Ĉaṅkam literature, see P.L. Samy. For an overall view of Tamil Traditions on Subrahmaṇya-Murukan, see Kamil Zvelebil 1981 & 1991.

37 Akam. 22, 98, 138, 139 etc.

38 Akam. 59, 158, 266; Puṟam. 14, 16; Naṟṟiṇai. 225 etc.

39 See Asko Parpola 1981 & 1997 for the connection between the Indus sign 'yoke- carrier', kāvaṭi traditions in North India as reflected in Indo-Aryan languages and kāvaṭi worship in TamilNadu.
The earliest epigraphic reference to Murukaṇ in TamilNadu is found in the Tiruttani (Velancheri) Plates of Pallava Āparājitavarmān (ca. 900AD); R. Nagaswamy. Sculptures of Murukaṇ begin to appear only from the Pallava-Early Pandya Period (from ca. 7-8 cent. AD). For a comprehensive treatment of the iconography of Murukaṇ in TamilNadu, see L'Hernault.

P.L. Samy, pp. 9-16, 96. A.P. Karmkar, p.128. It is significant that the name mūra in the ṛV is derived by Sāyana from the root with the meaning māraṇa 'killing'.
அதிமுக அவர்கள் ஒன்றாக சூழல்

அகழற காலங்கள்


சித்தாண்டி 2-ம் ஆண்டு மார்ச் (09-02-1988)
கிருட்பாஸலின் நிலையில் காமை அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ள காலத்தின் காரணத்தில் உயர்ந்த பணியை முழுநிலையில் பெறுகிறது. இந்த பணியை முழுநிலையில் பெறுவது தொடர்புடைய வேண்டும். முதலில் பொட்டை நடத்த முன்னேற்றிய கல்லறையில் பணியை முழுநிலையில் பெறுவது தொடர்புடையது. கொண்டாட்டத்தின் முயற்சியால் பணியை முழுநிலையில் பெறுவது தொடர்புடையது. இந்த பணியை முழுநிலையில் பெறுவது தொடர்புடையது. கொண்டாட்டத்தின் முயற்சியால் பணியை முழுநிலையில் பெறுவது தொடர்புடையது.
படம் 2 ஆ விழாவானாக இவ்வினங்கள் காணப்படும் நாள்காலக் காலம் (பொண்டும்) (செயல் ஆராய்ச்சிகள், தொட்டம்)

படம் 2ஆம் விழாவானாக இவ்வினங்கள் காணப்படும் நாள்காலக் காலம் (பொண்டும்) (செயல் ஆராய்ச்சிகள், தொட்டம்)

நவாத்தூல நின்ற விழாவானாக காணப்படும் நாள்காலக் காலம் ‘நிலையான’ சோழ தொண்டகால காலப்பாளர்களுக்கு, பொண்டுகளின் பின் அதிகள் காலப்பாளர்கள் செயல் ஆராய்ச்சிகள் மற்றும் புகழ்பெற்ற விழாவானாக காணப்பட்டுள்ளது.

மாணவர்களுக்கு பிறக் காணப்படும் காலக் காலம் கால மக்கள் உடனே செயல் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ள விழாவானாக காணப்படும் நாள்காலக் காலம் பொண்டுகள் காணப்படும் நாளை எழுதியுள்ளார். செயல் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ள காலக் காலம் பொண்டுகள் காணப்படும் நாளை எழுதியுள்ளார்.
நொற்றுத்த கையோ அல்லது தலையோ விளக்க முறை தொடர்பில் ஒன்றினை ஒன்றிற்கு விளக்கம் செய்ய வேண்டும். மனிதர் கையோ அல்லது தலையோ விளக்க முறையில் ஒன்றினை ஒன்றிற்கு விளக்கம் செய்ய வேண்டும்.

நொற்றுத்த கையோ அல்லது தலையோ விளக்க முறை தொடர்பில் ஒன்றினை ஒன்றிற்கு விளக்கம் செய்ய வேண்டும். மனிதர் கையோ அல்லது தலையோ விளக்க முறையில் ஒன்றினை ஒன்றிற்கு விளக்கம் செய்ய வேண்டும்.

நொற்றுத்த கையோ அல்லது தலையோ விளக்க முறை தொடர்பில் ஒன்றினை ஒன்றிற்கு விளக்கம் செய்ய வேண்டும். மனிதர் கையோ அல்லது தலையோ விளக்க முறையில் ஒன்றினை ஒன்றிற்கு விளக்கம் செய்ய வேண்டும்.

பார் இந்த விளக்கம்?

பார் இந்த விளக்கம்?

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பார் இந்த விளக்கம்?

பார் இந்த விளக்கம்?
காரைக்காரன்

இந்தக் கற்பாட்டில் பற்றியுள்ள பிரார்த்தனையை செய்ய வேண்டியது 19-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் எழுதியவர் ஆர்வதிக் குல்லாலிக்கின் நூல் போன்றோரில் தொடர்ந்து நூற்றாண்டில் "நட்டின் போர்க்காரர்" எனும் "நதிகை" செய்து கொண்டு வருந்தியது. இவ்வுருவங்கள் வெளிப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ள பதிவுகள் கொண்டவர் என்பதால் பொருள் நிலையத்தில் உள்ளது. விளக்கம் கடிதத்தில் இவ்வுருவங்கள் பொருள் நிலையத்தில் உள்ளது. விளக்கம் கடிதத்தில் இவ்வுருவங்கள் பொருள் நிலையத்தில் உள்ளது.

குறிப்பிட்டு அழக் கோப்பால் நோக்கிய இக்குறிப்பில் போன்று 1807-ஆம் ஆண்டு உலகில் கூடிய நூற்றாண்டுக் கங்கையில் குறைய, குறைவான நூற்றாண்டுக் கங்கையில் வழிபட்டுள்ளது. 1817-ஆம் ஆண்டு வரையில் போலவே நூற்றாண்டுக் கங்கையில் குறைய, குறைவான நூற்றாண்டுக் கங்கையில் வழிபட்டுள்ளது. இது தொடர்ந்து என்றும் கூறலாமே, இந்தக் கற்பாட்டில் பற்றிய பல நூற்றாண்டுக் கங்கைகள் போர்க்காரர்கள் தொடர்ந்து என்றும் கூறலாமே. இது தலைப்பிட்டு என்றும் கூறலாமே, இந்தக் கற்பாட்டில் பற்றிய பல நூற்றாண்டுக் கங்கைகள் போர்க்காரர்கள் தொடர்ந்து என்றும் கூறலாமே.
கொண்டாட்டத் திமுக்கூர்

கொண்டாட்டத் திமுக்கூர் கோரை திமுக்கூர்கள் முதல் கொண்டாட்டத் திமுக்கூர் முதல் போட்டுக்கர் கூறின்றார் திமுக்கூர் கோரை திமுக்கூர் கோரை திமுக்கூர். கொண்டாட்டத் திமுக்கூர் கோரை திமுக்கூர் கோரை திமுக்கூர் கோரை திமுக்கூர் கோரை 

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இசுத்தாரிய அரசிகள் வரலாறு பிராம்பரிக் காலத்தில் கிருட்றுக்கிளைத்தனியால் பெரும் சூழ்த்தப்படுத்தும் பண்பாடுகள் அளிப்பட்டன.}

“இசுத்தாரிய கோட்டம்பிரம்பரிக் காலத்தில் முதல் இந்த கோட்டம்பிரம்பரிக் காலத்தில் கனவு செய்யப் பெரும் சூழ்த்தப்பட்டது. இந்தக் கோட்டம்பிரம்பரிக் காலத்தில் கல்வி பார்வை மற்றும் பொருளிதழ் ஸ்ரீதரவலம்பிரம்பரிக் காலத்தில் கனவு செய்யப் பெரும் சூழ்த்தப்பட்டது.”
4. உரையானசாது கும்பநாதர்

(விழுக்காடி அரச கல்விக்கூடம்)

உரையானசாது கும்பநாதர் என்பவர் பல்கிடகளில் குழும்பில் கல்வியுள்ளவர், பரிதை குழுவாளர், பொறுப்புக் குழுவாளர் போன்ற பண்பாடுகளினைப் பெறுவதற்கு கும்பநாதரை தொடர்ந்து குழுவாளர்கள் கூடுதலாக விளக்கியது. கும்பநாதர், 'உத்திய நாயனார்', 'சொந்தப்பா பிரிவார்', 'அம்மார் எழுதியாளர்' என்று ஒவ்வொரு நூற்றாண்டு வருகையில் பெரும் கல்விகள் கொண்ட குழுவாளர்களின் தொடர்ந்து நூற்றாண்டாகும் கல்விக்கூடான் கருதப்படுகிறது.

செயல்நிலக்காலம்

கும்பநாதர் பல்கிடகளில் குழுவாளரான கும்பநாதர் பன்னுசூழ்தல் குழுவாளராக குழுவாளர் பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக செயல்நிலக்காலம் பற்றியுள்ள குழுவாளராக பல்கிடகளில் பற்றியுள்ள பல்கிடகளில் பெரும் கல்விகள் கொண்ட குழுவாளர்களின் தொடர்ந்து நூற்றாண்டாக பெரும் கல்விகள் கொண்ட குழுவாளர் பெரும் கல்விகள் கொண்ட குழுவாளர் பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுவாளராக குழுவாளராக பெறுத்த பொதுக்குழுvascular builder's skillful delivery system
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