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ART. XIII.—*The Early Pallavas of Kāñchīpura*. By the Reverend T. FOULKES, M.R.A.S., etc., Retired Senior Chaplain, Madras Establishment.

THE remarkable Pallava inscription edited by Professor G. Bühler in the first number of the “*Epigraphia Indica*” very appropriately inaugurates that new publication, not only because it is the earliest copper-plate muniment which has hitherto been discovered in India, presuming the argument for its date in this present paper is sound, but more especially because its contemporaneous evidence stamps the rule of the Pallavas in Southern India at that early time with historical certainty. Moreover, it supplies authentic materials for an outline sketch of the condition of the Pallava region of the Dakhaṇ at this period of its ancient history, and its political, religious, and social institutions, and of its intellectual and literary advancement.

This document is a renewal of a previous grant of a garden made by an earlier king, Bappa, whose name has already appeared in the inscriptions of the Pallavas, to several Brahmans of various ancestral lineage in certain specified shares, and free from all taxes; to which was now added a new grant of a piece of land in a neighbouring village for a threshing-floor, and of another piece for house-sites, together also with four cultivating labourers, and two other agricultural serfs attached to the soil; this endowment being created for the increase of the merit, longevity, power, and fame of the donor’s family and race. The grant was issued from Kāñchīpura, the modern Conjeveram, 46 miles southwest from Madras, and it is dated on the fifth day of the sixth fortnight of the rainy season in the year eight of the donor’s reign. The grantor is the righteous supreme great king of kings of the Pallava race, Śivaskanda-varman, a

member of the spiritual guild of the ṛishi Bharadvāja, and an offerer of the Agnishtoma, Vājapeya, and Aśvamedha vedic sacrifices. The entire body of the inscription is in an old form of Prākṛit; but a short benediction in Sanskrit is added at its close, and the king's name on the seal is also written in its Sanskrit form.

With regard to the date of the grant, Professor Bühler remarks that "it is impossible to say how the donor is connected with the other Pallava kings known from the śāsanas as yet published, or to fix the period when he reigned;" but he derives an argument for a tentative early date from the circumstance of its being written in Prākṛit. There are, however, in addition to this language-clue, two other clues to its date incidentally embodied in its statements. One of them is of a very general character, and, like the language-clue, merely suggests in a vague way some very early date; but the other will, I think, supply the key to certain definite limits of time within which its date must fall:

(1) King Śivaskanda-varman had offered the horse-sacrifice (aśvamedha), a sacrifice which Samudra-gupta, about A.D. 365, boasts of having revived after it "had been long in abeyance."¹ Nobody will maintain that this present Pallava grant is of later date than the fourth century A.D., and so it follows, howsoever indefinitely, from that boast, that Śivaskanda-varman lived "long" before Samudra-gupta.

(2) The second clue is derived from the circumstance of the date of the grant being stated in the peculiar form of the serial fortnights of the year of three seasons, spring, summer, and winter; and to follow it up, I proceed to trace the dynasty of kings by whom this special system of dating was adopted, and the period of time in which it was used.

With regard to the Pallava inscriptions which have hitherto been published, I find that out of the fifteen documents attributed to the kings of this race, only five of them exhibit their dates, the rest being either without date originally, or their dates have been obliterated or lost.

¹ Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XXI. (N.S.), p. 619.

Four of these five are dated uniformly on the lunar days of the waxing and waning lunar fortnights of the twelve lunar months in the serial years of the king's reign; and the fifth,¹ my grant of Pallava-malla, omits the months and days, and has simply the regnal year of the king. This method of dating by lunar fortnights, lunar months, and regnal years may therefore be regarded as the established system of the Pallavas during the period which these inscriptions cover, namely, from the fourth century² downwards, and probably somewhat earlier.

The inscriptions of the Chálukya kings during the same period are similarly dated for the minor divisions of time, but in them the continuous era of Śáliváhana is used for the years, in the place of the regnal years of the kings.

It is to be observed here that the lunar fortnights of these two systems are of a quite different character from the solar serial fortnights of the system of our present Pallava grant. I must also add that, with one solitary partial exception to be noticed presently, no trace of this latter system has hitherto been met with of so late a date as the fourth century A.D. We may therefore proceed to examine the period before that date, in order to discover at what time this peculiar method of season-fortnights was used as a formal division of time.

The dates of the inscriptions of the early Guptas have the same minor divisions of time as the Chálukya grants; but for the years they use an era of their own in the place of that of Śáliváhana. For this group we have examples in the inscriptions of Chandra-gupta, Skanda-gupta, and Budha-gupta.³ There is, however, an irregularity in the method of this series. Buddha-gupta's grant adds the week day; one of Toramána's⁴ is dated like the above four Pallava grants; and one of Skanda-gupta's⁵ uses the days of the lunar fortnights of the serial lunar months of the year of

¹ Indian Antiquary, vol. viii. p. 273; Salem Manual, vol. ii. p. 355.

² See the heading to plate xxiv. of Burnell's South Indian Palaeography.

³ Journ. Bomb. Asiat. Soc. vol. viii. p. 124; Arch. Surv. Western India, vol. ii. pp. 21-23, 137. See Prinsep's Essays (Thomas), vol. i. pp. 249, 250, 340.

⁴ Arch. Surv. Western India, vol. ii. p. 23.

⁵ Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bomb. vol. vii. p. 124; Arch. Surv. Western India, vol. ii. p. 137.

three seasons, being in this respect a cross between the usual Gupta method and that of the Indo-Scythians in one direction, and that of the present Pallava grant in the other direction. These Gupta inscriptions thus belong to the transition period when the older system was working out and the newer system working in.

Ascending beyond the Guptas into the Satrap period, we still find the same minor divisions of time as in the Gupta and Chálukya documents; the years of the Satrap inscriptions are expressed in the continuous series of an era which was probably their own. The inscription of Gonophares adds to this the regnal year of this ruler. Instances of this group occur in the inscriptions of Nahapána, where the month and day are omitted, Usavadáta, Rudra-dáma, and Rudra-sena.¹

We come next to the period of the Indo-Scythian kings, ranging on both sides of the epoch of the Christian era. Eighteen inscriptions of this group belong to the magnificent finds of Sir Alexander Cunningham at Mathura.² They are respectively dated on the 4th, 5th, 11th, 12th, 16th, 20th, and 30th days of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th months of the three seasons, Grishma, Varsha, and Hemanta. Here we find an approach to the system used in our present Pallava grant, but with these important differences: (1) that the Indo-Scythian system uses the whole-month days, from one to thirty, of the serial *months* of the three seasons, while our Pallava grant uses the days of the serial *fortnights* of those seasons; and (2) that it uses the continuous years of a Samvat era, whereas this Pallava grant uses the regnal year of the king. Another point of distinction may also be noted, namely, that all these Indo-Scythian inscriptions are written in the Sanskrit language, although, as must also be borne in mind, the coins of this dynasty have Prákrit legends.³ Their

¹ Early History of the Dekhan, pp. 13, 17, 19; Arch. Surv. Western India, No. 10, pp. 33, 52; *ib.* Reports, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16, 40, 43, 129; vol. iv. pp. 24, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103.

² Archæol. Surv. Rep. vol. iii. p. 30ff.; with Professor Dowson's paper on some of these inscriptions in Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. V. (N.S.), p. 182ff.

³ For some examples, see the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vásudeva in Archæol. Surv. Western Ind. vol. ii. p. 31.

coins, like their lithic inscriptions, are dated in the three seasons of the Samvat years, with the addition in some instances of the whole-month days and the months of the Macedonian Calendar.

There remains one more group belonging to this early period to complete our review, namely, the inscriptions of the reigns of the Andhrabharitya kings. Four inscriptions of this class occur at Kánheri, near Bombay, of the times of Gotamiputra Sátakarṇi, Sákasena, Mádhariputra Sirisena, and Gotamiputra Śrí-yajña-Sátakarṇi.¹ Four more occur at Kárle, at the head of the Bórghát leading up from the Bombay coast to the plains of the Dakhan, belonging to the reign of Pulumáyi.² Six other inscriptions belonging to this king's reign occur at Násik,³ another at Amarávatí,⁴ and another at Nánaghát.⁵ One of the reign of Śrí Sátakarṇi occurs on the southern gateway of the Sánchi tope.⁶ Násik has also one of the reign of King Kṛishṇa,⁷ two of the reign of Gotamiputra Sátakarṇi,⁸ and one of Śrí-yajña Sátakarṇi.⁹ There is another inscription of the last-named king in the Madras Museum, which was found at Chinna-Ganjám, I presume, on the sea-shore in the Kistna District.¹⁰ One of the time of Hárítiputra Sátakarṇi has been found at Bánavási,¹¹ on the route of the great western ford of Harihara on the Tungabhadra, and one of Mádhariputra Purisadatta, if it belongs to this group, at Jagayyapett,¹² on the route of the great

¹ Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bomb. vol. v. pp. 47, 56; vol. xii. p. 408; Arch. Surv. Western India, No. 10, p. 61; vol. v. pp. 75, 79, 82.

² Arch. Surv. Western India, No. 10, pp. 34, 36, 37; vol. iv. pp. 24, 25, 92, 107, 112, 113.

³ Journ. As. Soc. Bomb. vol. v. pp. 42, 56, 153; vol. vii. pp. 48, 50; vol. xiii. p. 308; Cave Temples, p. 267; Arch. Surv. Western India, vol. iv. pp. 107, 108, 110.

⁴ Arch. Surv. Southern India, No. 3, p. 27; vol. i. p. 100.

⁵ Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bomb. vol. viii. pp. 236, 237.

⁶ Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, pp. 264, 266.

⁷ Early Hist. Dek. pp. 12, 17; Cave Temples, pp. 26, 275, note; Arch. Rep. Western India, vol. iv. p. 98.

⁸ Arch. Rep. Western India, vol. iv. pp. 104, 105.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 114.

¹⁰ Epigraphia Indica, vol. i. p. 95; see also Mr. Robert Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, vol. i. p. 83; and Mackenzie's Manual of the Kistna District, p. 206.

¹¹ Arch. Rep. Western India, No. 10, pp. 100, 101.

¹² Arch. Rep. Southern India, No. 3, p. 55; vol. i. p. 110.

eastern ford of the lower Kṛishṇa at Bezvāda. All of the inscriptions of this group are dated *precisely like the present Pallava grant*, namely, on the days of the serial fortnights of the three seasons in the regnal years of the kings, and without any continuous era; like it also, all of them are written in the Prākṛit language.

The following Table exhibits the details of the inscriptions of this group, so far as they affect the present enquiry:

<i>King.</i>	<i>Locality of Inscription.</i>	<i>Day.</i>	<i>Fort-night.</i>	<i>Season.</i>	<i>Regnal Year.</i>	<i>Language.</i>
Kṛishṇa	Nāsik	...	...	...	...	Prākṛit
S'rī Sātakarṇi	Sānchi	...	...	...	...	Do.
Gotamiputra Sātakarṇi	Kānheri	...	5	Grishma	...	Do.
Do.	Nāsik	1	2	Varsha	14	Do.
Do.	Do.	5	4	Varsha	24	Do.
	2nd date	10	6 or 2	Hemanta	24	Do.
Pulumāyi	Nāsik	4	4	Hemanta	2	Do.
Do.	Do.	8	4	Hemanta	2	Do.
Do.	Kārle	1	4	Hemanta	4	Do.
Do.	Do.	...	..	Hemanta	5	Do.
Do.	Nāsik	1	5	Grishma	6	Do.
Do.	Kārle	1	5	Grishma	7	Do.
Do.	Nāsik	13	4	Grishma	9	Do.
Do.	Do.	13	2	Grishma	19	Do.
Do.	Do.	7	...	Grishma	22	Do.
Do.	Kārle	2	3	Hemanta	24	Do.
Do.	Amarāvati	...	...	...	...	Do.
Sirisenā	Kānheri	10	6	Grishma	8	Do.
Sākasena	Do.	10	5	Grishma	8	Do.
Do.	Do.	..	...	...	...	Do.
S'rīyajña Sātakarṇi	Nāsik	1	3	Hemanta	7	Do.
Do.	Kānheri	5	1	Grishma	16	Do.
Do.	Chinna Ganjam	5	4	Hemanta	27	Do.
Hāritiputra Sātakarṇi	Bānavāsi	1	7	Hemanta	12	Do.
Purisadatta	Jagayyapett	10	8	Varsha	20	Do.

It may be well here to summarize this part of the subject:

The division of the year into three seasons is of very ancient date in India, being common both to Vedic times and to the period of the early Buddhists. It can be traced downwards, as the above notes show, through the surviving monuments of each succeeding dynasty of kings down to the early Guptas, during whose ascendancy it appears to have passed away. But each of these dynasties had its own separate method of arranging the minor subdivisions of the seasons:

(1) The Vedic Bráhmans and the early Buddhists used this measure of time as a mere secondary distribution of their lunar year of twelve months, with the serial days of their demi-lunations, together with the regnal years of the kings.

(2) The Indo-Scythians used it in combination with the years of a Samvat era, and with a subdivision of the three seasons into serial months of apparently thirty days each.

(3) The Skanda-Gupta variation differs from the Indo-Scythian system by dividing the serial lunar months of the three seasons into demi-lunations, thus reverting from the solar to the lunar chronological method.

(4) The Andhrabhṛityas divided the three seasons into serial solar fortnights running throughout each season, and without reference to any months.

Down to the appearance of this new Pallava grant, this last method of distributing the three seasons appeared to be confined to the usage of the Andhrabhṛityas; we now learn that it was used by the Pallava kings of Káñchíputra, also in that period of their history to which this grant belongs.

These facts having been thus ascertained, I will now resume my argument. It may be fairly presumed that a grant dated after so peculiar a method may rightly claim to belong to the period when that method is known to have prevailed. On this principle this new Pallava grant is to be assigned to the period of the rule of the Andhrabhṛityas, namely to some time between 73 B.C. and 218 A.D.¹

But we can arrive at a more definite approximate date within this period by another method. The Andhrabhṛitya inscriptions in which this system is used by kings whose dates can be ascertained, are those of Gotamiputra Śátakarṇi, Pulumáyi, Sirisena, and Śrí-yajña Śátakarṇi. The first and the last of these names occur on the lists of the kings of this dynasty in the Váyú, Mátsya, Bhágavata, Brahmáṇḍa, and Vishṇu Purāṇas; and the other two names, though omitted in the Váyú, are given in the other four Purāṇas

¹ See Early History of the Dekkan, p. 29.

with slight variations of form. The Váyu, Mátsya, and Brahmáṇḍa give the number of years of each king's reign ; and from these numbers as given in the Váyu Purāṇa, and assuming, on grounds derived from other data, that the first king of this list began to reign in B.C. 73, the commencement of the reign of Hála, the seventh of the Váyu list, falls in A.D. 77. This name, Hála, is, on the high authority of Hemachandra's dictionary, a synonym of Śáliváhana ; and the epoch of the era of Śáliváhana, which is generally prevalent in Southern India, is A.D. 78, or virtually identical with the commencement of his reign according to the data of the Váya Purāṇa. Calculating from this date, Gotamiputra Śátakarni began to reign in A.D. 133, according to the number of years in the Váya Purāṇa ; or in A.D. 121, according to those of the Mátsya ; or in A.D. 134, according to those of the Brahmáṇḍa Purāṇa ; and Yajñaśrí Śátakarni's accession fell in A.D. 154 according to the Váyu, or in A.D. 184 according to the Mátsya ; or in A.D. 196, according to the Brahmáṇḍa Purāṇa ; while Pulumáyi (Pulimat, Puloman), and Sirisena occupied intermediate dates. By a calculation from a different set of materials Professor Bhandarkar arrived at the conclusion that "Pulumáyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A.D. 130."¹ We must not expect to arrive at the exact dates through any data at present available ; it is enough to be able to say for the present that the chronological system which is used in the Pallava grant now under examination prevailed in the Dakhaṇ throughout the second century A.D. ; and to some date in or about this period I propose, on these grounds, to assign this grant of Śivaskanda-varman.

A question may very properly arise here whether there are any good reasons, independently of this grant, for placing the Pallavas in the Southern Dakhaṇ at this early period, and in such extensive power as this grant indicates. I think the answer of those who have followed the rapid

¹ Early Hist. Dek. p. 21.

resuscitation of these long-lost kings during the last few years,¹ will be that there is nothing at all startling in this discovery, since each successive accession of materials bearing upon their early history has made for this conclusion. Kānchīpura, from which the Pallava king issued this present grant, was known to Patanjali in the middle of the second century before the Christian era, and the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon contain an early reference to the Pallavas which makes them the most considerable Buddhist power in India at that same period,² while their geographical environments in the passage referred to require them to be placed in the Southern Dakhaṇ.

Assuming the correctness of the identification of the Pallavas with the pauranic Pahlavas, and of the Pahlavas with the Parthians, there are good historical grounds for supposing that Parthian colonies established themselves in the Dakhaṇ at a very early period. From the time of the separation of Bactria from Syria in the middle of the third century B.C., the tendency of the Bactrians, forced by the pressure of their western and northern neighbours, was to extend themselves southwards into India, and the Parthians, after their conquest of the Bactrians about a century later, followed up their successes by overrunning the Indian provinces of Bactria. The natural effect of this latter movement was to press the conquered Indo-Bactrians still further southwards and eastwards into India, with the concurrent tendency on the side of the Parthians always to follow up the retreat of their vanquished foes. After another interval, the Indo-Parthians were themselves forced out of their possessions in Afghanistan, the Panjab, and Upper India by the Scythian invasion, and their only possible refuge then was in the south. We can follow the footsteps of the refugees, by means of the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas, as far as the upper basin of the Godāvarī and the northern

¹ See my previous paper on the Pallavas in this Journal, Vol. XVII. (N.S.), p. 183, etc.

² B.C. 165, according to Turnour's calculations. See Upham's *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, vol. i. p. 152; Turnour's *Mahawanso*, p. 171.

coast of the Konkans; and when these substantial materials fail us in tracing their further progress southwards, the very natural conjecture arises that some one of the more enterprising of the defeated Parthian generals would adventure at the head of his remaining troops into the wide plains of the Dakhan and carve out for himself a kingdom there, or, perhaps, enter into the service of the existing rulers of the Dakhan as an auxiliary defensive ally, having some frontier province committed to him for the payment of his troops, and with the ultimate inevitable result of establishing his own independent rule there. At this point of our tentative theory we are met by the Ceylonese records showing the great growth of the power of these Parthian colonists at a sufficiently early time, whatever dates may hereafter be attached to the early kings of Ceylon. Then, for the early years of the Christian era, this new Pallava grant places us anew on the firm ground of history, and the vivid glimpse which it affords of the firmly-established power of the Pallavas, and of their institutions at that time, and their permanent character, is sufficient for the present to carry us through the succeeding interval down to the time of Fah Hian's visit to India, whose great 'Kingdom of the Dakhan' I ventured to claim for the Pallavas several years ago.¹ An outline of this kind, pending the discovery of more definite materials to fill in the details, quite consistently prepares us for the next succeeding historical appearance of the Pallavas in Sir Walter Elliot's Vengi copper plates of Vijaya Nandi-varman and the subsequent inscriptions of the Chálukyas, at whose arrival in the Dakhan they found the Pallavas in possession of its western districts, as far at the least as the vicinity of Badámi in the middle basin of the Krishna, and of its eastern districts as far north at least as Rájahmahendri in the lower basin of the Godávarí, and with their capital still at Káncipura, where Śivaskanda-varman of our present grant reigned several centuries before.

The incidental statements of this grant furnish materials

¹ Ind. Ant. vol. vii. (1878), p. 1; vol. viii. p. 167.

for an outline sketch of the condition of the Pallava dominions in the reign of Śivaskanda-varman; and if the argument of this paper is as sound as I believe it to be, and his reign fell at any time about the end of the first century A.D., or the beginning of the second, that picture will apply to a sufficient time earlier to cover the period when that condition was being developed.

(1) The power of the Pallavas was well established at that time. Śivaskanda-varman is styled "supreme king of great kings," a title which implies paramount authority over other rulers subject to him; and the circumstance of his having offered the horse-sacrifice, which involved a claim and a challenge to supremacy, indicates his own personal appreciation of his great power. His predecessor, immediate or otherwise, King Bappa, was wealthy enough to make donations to the Brahmans of a hundred thousand ox ploughs, whatever the multiple of exaggeration may be, and many millions of gold coin.

(2) They reigned at Kānchīpura, a sacred old capital city which had already risen to fame in the reign of Aśoka, in the third century before the Christian era.

(3) The Pallava king was assisted in his government by "ministers" of state and "privy councillors"; and his throne was surrounded by "royal princes."

(4) Their dominions were very extensive; for, adopting the terms of Professor Bühler's translation, they embraced "countries" governed by "prefects," distributed into "provinces" administered by their "lords," and subdivided into "districts" under the superintendence of their "rulers."

(5) Their fiscal arrangements included "custom houses" and "officers" of customs, and "spies" or itinerant superintendents of revenue. They had also some kind of forest department with its staff of "foresters."

(6) They maintained a standing army, the brigades of which were commanded by "generals," and its minor groups of rank and file had their non-commissioned officers or "naicks."

(7) Their village lands were occupied by ryots ("free-

holders" is a term which is inconsistent with the early land-tenures of India), who paid "eighteen kinds" of contributions to the crown, partly in kind and partly in money ("taxes"). Amongst those which were paid in kind were "sweet and sour milk," "grass and wood," "vegetables and flowers." They had also to plough the crown lands by turns with their "oxen in succession," and it was a part of their obligation to keep the roads and irrigation works in repair by a system of "forced labour." "Salt and sugar" were royal monopolies; and these not infrequently involved the ryots in "troubles."

(8) The crown had power to confer grants of land for religious uses, for "the increase of the merit, longevity, power, and fame of his own family and race," and to exempt the grantees and their grant-lands from the payment of the customary taxes.

(9) When such land-grants were made, the agricultural "labourers," and the "kolikas" or village staff, were transferred with the land.

(10) These "labourers" received for their remuneration "half the produce," according to the system of *vāram*, which has survived in these parts down to the present day.

(11) The present grant consists of a considerable extent of "garden" land, sufficient to form an item in the income of twenty Brahmanical families, together with a detached threshing-floor and a site for houses in the neighbouring agrahāram where these grantees dwelt. The produce of this garden was divided amongst these grantees in thirty-four shares, ranging from one share to four shares each.

(12) Though these grants were intended to be perpetual "as long as the moon and stars endure," and the present grant was made as "a charter valid for a hundred thousand years," this same garden of the present donation had been "formerly given by the great king the Lord Bappa," either to these same grantees or some other Brahmans. The inference is that the grant had either been resumed by the crown in the meantime, or forfeited by the grantees; and this notwithstanding the minatory clauses appended to these grants.

(13) The present grant was composed by a member of the king's "privy council" "in his own handwriting," and handed over to the engraver for reproduction on the copper plates; it was then personally examined ("seen") by the king, and finally issued as his "own order," with the accompanying confirmatory ceremony of the "libation of water."

(14) With regard to the literary condition of the Pallava dominions at this time, the present grant shows that this "privy councillor" and secretary was familiar with both the Sanskrit and Prákrit languages; and we may conclude from this that both these languages were cultivated at Káncípura at this time. Professor Bühler has shown that the Prákrit of this grant "comes close to the literary Páli," a circumstance which has some significance when tracing the history of the literature of the Southern Buddhists, especially when we bear in mind the intimate early intercourse between the Pallava region and Ceylon. Moreover, since this privy-councillor was a strict Vedic Brahman, as his final benediction specially shows, we may also conclude that the knowledge of Prákrit was not confined to the Buddhists, but was a Brahmanical accomplishment also.

(15) Brahmins of the Átreya, Háríta, Bháradvája, Kauśika, Kaśyapa, and Vátsya gotras were settled in Southern India at the date of this grant, and for some time previously, dwelling together in agra-hára communities, with a recognized "chief" of each community, and holding *sarvamánya* lands there under royal charters. The influence of these Brahmins at court is illustrated by the circumstance that one at least of their number was a privy councillor and the secretary of the king.

(16) This last circumstance affords a proof that the Brahmins of this place and period did not confine themselves to spiritual duties, but were employed in secular affairs also. The management of their large garden and its produce, as well as of their grain-fields which peep at us through their new threshing-floor at Ápittí, may probably enough have been committed to lay hands; but putting all

together, it would appear that these early Brahmans of the Dakhaṇ lived in those days much as their descendants do now when they possess shares in agraḥārams endowed with cultivated lands.

(17) Whatever the religious condition of the subjects of the Pallavas may have been at this time, the present king was an observer of the ritual of the Vedas; he patronized the Brahmans after the example of at least one of his predecessors, and he was reckoned a member of the sacred clan of the ancient rishi Bharadvāja.

(18) Both the members of this king's compound name, Śiva and Skanda, point to the Śaiva form of the Brahmanical religion as the creed of his parents when they gave him this name, or his own if it was assumed by himself. In either case it indicates the existence, and perhaps the prevalence, of this religious denomination in Southern India, and particularly at Kāñchīpura and its court, in these early times. This conclusion is further illustrated by the circumstance that this same name of Śivaskanda was borne by one of the Andhrabhṛitya kings of the pauranic lists in the second century A.D.

This formulation of the information incidentally supplied by this grant shows us that the germs of those institutions which we see in their full development in the succeeding times, had already struck root firmly thus early. It remains to be discovered what of them the Pallavas brought with them into the Dakhaṇ from their northern homes, and what of them they found already established there. For the present this fortunate find has bridged over a great gap of unknown history,—slenderly, but still surely,—a gap which a short while ago seemed to be hopeless; for the life which it has revealed to us is in full touch, on the one hand, with the dawn of the history of all subsequent South Indian life; while, on the other hand, it is in contact with the sunset of the older life set up in India by Alexander the Great and his successors. The key to the transition period seems to be now in our hands, and we may be content to wait hopefully for fuller information in similar fortunate finds in the future.