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Dravidian Proof of the Indus Script via the Rig Veda: A Case Study

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Title page illustration: Indus Seal from Mohenjodaro (M-377)
(Courtesy: *Corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions,* Vol.1)

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Introduction

This is the first announcement of a new identification of a frequent phrase in the Indus texts, interpreted as '**Merchant of the City**'. The interpretation is supported by firmly inter-locked evidence at three levels, namely, Corpus of Indus Texts and later survivals from the earliest Dravidian (Old Tamil) and Indo-Aryan (Vedic) sources. I shall present the evidence from each level in a separate Section, and proceed to draw some important conclusions from the results which validate the title of the paper. The results are numbered serially to facilitate discussion.

Section I: The Indus Texts

0.1 The Indus Phrase

The phrase under consideration is a frequent sequence of four signs in the Indus texts (Fig. 1). The four signs can occur as a complete text (Fig. 2), also more often as part of longer inscriptions (Fig. 3). Simple segmentation procedures (Mahadevan 1978; Nisha Yadav et al. 2008) show that the four-sign sequence ABCD constitutes an integral linguistic unit termed here as a 'phrase'. The phrase can in turn be subdivided into two parts: AB and CD. It can also be shown by simple grammatical analysis (Mahadevan 1986a) that AB functions as an attribute qualifying CD which contains the main root C with the grammatical suffix D. (See Nisha Yadav 2008 and Sundar et al 2009 for statistics and summary analysis of frequent signs, pairs and triplets in the Indus texts.)

Signs				
Alphabetic Index	**D**	**C**	**B**	**A**
Frequency	1395	92	63	105
Conventional Labels	JAR	CROSSROADS	HOOK	WOLF

Fig. 1 The frequent four-sign sequence in Indus Texts (ASI Concordance 1977).

Fig. 2 The four-sign phrase. Seal text. Mohenjodaro. (CISI II: M-857)

Fig. 3 The four-sign phrase in a longer seal text. Mohenjodaro. (CISI I: M-377)

Fig. 4 Sign A with 'braided and knotted hair'. Detail from seal text. Mohenjodaro. (CISI I: M-1)

0.2 Dravidian Linguistic Interpretation: Methodology

Word signs in the Indus script are interpreted conventionally as basic roots since the actual phonetic shape of the words cannot be directly ascertained. The root sign may stand for a noun, adjective, verb or particle as indicated by the context. A non-personal noun may also be interpreted as the corresponding personal noun depending on the context. A broad range of etyma is provided to indicate the probable core meaning without attempting linguistic reconstruction. Selection from among the suitable etyma is guided by the requirements of rebus writing.

All ancient pictographic scripts employed the technique called Rebus, by which a picture sign can be read with *another* meaning suggested by the *same* sound. For example, the picture of an 'eye' can be read as 'I', first person singular pronoun, if the language is English. This technique was used to depict concepts difficult to pictorialise. To give an actual example, the Sumerian script depicted the arrow with the phonetic value *ti* which means 'arrow' as well as 'life'. The Sumerian example had another unintended fallout. The word *ti* in Sumerian also meant 'rib'. This is the ultimate source of the Biblical myth of Adam creating Eve from one of his ribs. This is a particularly instructive example. You will find in the present paper several such cases of unintended meanings of Indus signs translated into Vedic, creating myths.

1.1 Sign A: WOLF

(i) Ideographic interpretation

The sign depicts an animal seated on its haunches with its back turned towards the viewer. According to Hunter (1934: Table XIX), the sign shows 'the tail, back,

two ears and hind legs of an animal', which he identified as the jackal 'from the shape of its ears'. He also noted that the ears seem to have undergone 'progressive conventionalisation'. I interpret the 'protuberance' covering generally only one of the ears as 'braided and knotted hair' worn slantingly (Fig. 4). This feature indicates the anthropomorphic character of the sign. The significance of this feature is further explained below (Paras 2.1 (ii) & 3.8).

The animal is more likely to be the wolf as it looks larger and its tail is curled up. The fact that only the back of the animal is shown is made clear by the closely hatched lines drawn over it, and the absence of the face which seems averted. The unusual portrayal indicates that the sign is an ideogram conveying some meaning connected with the posture rather than with the animal as such. Thus Sign A actually depicts the 'back of the wolf', labelled 'WOLF' for brevity.

According to me, the critical features of the ideogram are:
(a) **change** in the normal position; **exchange** of front and back (of the animal);
(b) face (of the animal) averted, **hidden**.

(ii) Linguistic interpretation

(a) Literal meaning

The **literal** (as distinct from the intended) meaning of the sign is ascertained first by comparing the critical features of the sign with the corresponding words in Dravidian languages. (Etyma cited from DEDR are indicated by prefixed D to Entry numbers; names of languages are abbreviated as in DEDR).

D. 4761:
Ta. *maṟi*	'to turn back, turn about'.
Ma. *maṟi*	'turning around'.
Ka. *maṟaḷ*	'the face to be turned or averted, turn back or backward'.
Tu. *marakaṇe*	'on the back'.
Te. *maṟalu*	'to turn back'.

D. 4834:
Ta. *māṟu*	'to become changed, exchanged, retreat (as showing one's back)'.
Ma. *māṟuka*	'to be changed, altered'.
Ka. *māṟu*	'to be opposite, state of being changed or altered'.
Tu. *mādāvuni*	'to turn about, to turn the face to another quarter'.
Te. *māṟu*	'changed, altered, turned, averted'.

3

D. 4760:
Ta. *maṟai*   'to hide, conceal, concealment, secret'.
Ma. *maṟekka*   'to hide, conceal'; *maṟa* 'secret'.
Ka. *maṟagu*   'hiding, secrecy'; *maṟapu* 'to hide, conceal'.
Tu. *madepuni*   'to hide'.
Te. *maṟugu*   'to be concealed, hidden'.
D. 4836:
Ta. *māṟṟu*   'to conceal, hide'.
Te. *māṭu*   'to conceal, concealment'.
cf. Ta. *maṟu pakkam* 'the other side'.

The sign showing the back of the animal indicates, *ipso facto*, that the face is hidden or concealed. The significance of this aspect of the sign is explained further in Para 3.7.

The **literal** meaning of **Sign A** is: 'turn back (showing one's back); exchange, hide, conceal'.

(b) Intended meaning through rebus

The **intended** meaning of the sign emerges from a comparison of the following homophonous words with those listed above.

D. 4834:
Ta. *māṟu* 'exchange of goods, barter, sell'; *māṟṟu* 'exchange, barter, trade or sale'.
Ma. *māṟuka* 'to exchange, barter'; *māṟṟam* 'barter, trade'.
Ka. *māṟu* 'to take or give one thing for another, barter, sell'; *māṟāḷi* 'barterer, seller, vaiśya'.
Tu. *māṟāṭa* 'sale, barter, exchange'.
Te. *māṟu* 'exchange, barter'.
cf. Ta.   *uppai **māṟi** veṇ nel tarīiya*
          'to **barter** salt for white rice' (*Kuṟun.* 269.5*)*.

          *nāḷ mōr **māṟum** ... āy makaḷ*
          'the cowherd girl ... **bartering** buttermilk daily' (*Perum.* 160-162).

          *tēṉ neyyoṭu kiḻaṅku **māṟiyōr** mīṉ neyyoṭu naṟavu maṟukavum*
          'they who **barter** honey and roots, and return with fish oil and toddy'
          (*Porunar.* 214-215).

I add an interesting example of continuity of tradition:
          *kaṅkai nati-p-puṟattu-k-kōṭumai-p-paṇṭam kāviri veṟṟilaikku **māṟu koḷvōm***
          'we shall barter the betel leaves of the Cauvery for the wheat of the Ganga'
                    (Subrahmanya Bharati 1882-1921).

cf. also ***pari-vṛt*** (Skt.) 'to turn about, exchange of goods, barter' (MW).

The **intended** meaning of Sign A is:

'exchange (of goods), barter; one who barters, trader, merchant'.

Indus Sign	Dravidian: Linguistic interpretation (literal)	Indus: Intended meaning (through rebus)
⚇ A (back of the) WOLF	*maṟ-/māṟ-* *(maṟi, māṟu; maṟai, māṟṟu)* 'turn back (showing one's back); exchange, hide, conceal' (D. 4760, 4761, 4834, 4836).	*māṟ-* *(māṟu, māṟṟu, māṟāḷi)* 'exchange (of goods), barter; one who barters, trader, merchant'. (D. 4834)

Result 1. Interpretation of Sign A: (back of the) WOLF: Dravidian to Indus.

1.2 Sign B: HOOK √

(i) Ideographic interpretation

The elongated Z-shaped sign depicts a 'hook'. The S-shaped copper fishhook excavated at Khirsara, a Harappan site in Gujarat, offers a close parallel (Fig. 5).

(ii) Linguistic interpretation

Two alternative linguistic interpretations of Sign B seem possible, judging from later survivals.

(a) First parallel

Literal meaning

D. 2151:
Ta. *koḷuttu* 'to cause to hold, a clasp';
    koḷuvu 'clasp, buckle, hook on';
    koḷukki, koḷuvi 'hook, clasp';
    koṇṭi 'clamp, cleat';
    kōḷ 'holding'.
Ma. *koḷuttuka* 'to make to hold, hook, clasp, fasten';
    koḷuttu 'what holds, a hook'.
Ka. *koḷike* 'clasp, hook'; *koṇḍi* 'hook'.
Tu. *kolike* 'clasp, hook'; *koṇḍi* 'hook, staple, clasp'.
Te. *koliki* 'hook, clasp'; *koṇḍi* 'hook, catch'.
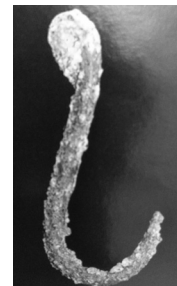
Fig. 5 Copper fishhook. Khirsara, Gujarat. (*Frontline,* June 28, 2013)

The **literal** meaning of Sign B (first parallel) is: 'hook'.

Intended meaning through rebus

The **intended** meaning of Sign B (first parallel) is obtained from the following homophones.

D. 2151:
Ta. *koḷ* 'to receive, buy, acquire'; *koḷvōṉ* 'buyer'; *koḷḷunar* 'buyers';
   koṇṭal 'receiving, taking'; *koṇṭi* 'getting possession'; *koṇā* 'take';
   kōḷi 'receiver'; *kōṭal* 'taking, buying'.
Ma. *koḷka* 'to receive, acquire'; *koḷḷikka* 'to make to hold or receive'; *kōḷ* 'taking, purchase'.
Ka. *koḷ* 'to buy'.
Tu. *koṇuni* 'to take'.
Te. *konu* 'to buy, take'.
   cf. Ta. *-koḷḷi* as in *kāppu-k-koḷḷi* 'one who receives protection' (*Tēvāram* 5.95.3).
   nīr koḷḷi 'reservoir holding water' (*Glossary of Tamil Inscriptions*).

The **intended** meaning of Sign B (first parallel) is:
'take, receive, buy; one who takes, receiver, buyer'.

Indus Sign	Dravidian: Linguistic interpretation (literal)	Indus: Intended meaning (through rebus)
√ B HOOK	*koḷ* - *(koḷuttu, koḷuvu, koṇṭi, kōḷ)* 'hook' (D.2151).	*koḷ* - *(koḷ, koḷḷi, koṇṭi, kōḷ, kōḷi)* 'take, receive, buy; one who takes, receiver, buyer'. (D. 2151)

Result 2. Interpretation of Sign B: HOOK (first parallel): from Dravidian to Indus.

(b) Second Parallel

Literal meaning

D. 2761:
Ta. *ceṭil* 'hook machine' (a post with a long sweep from which a person under a vow is suspended by a hook fastened into the integuments of his back).

Ka. *siḍi* 'an iron hook, the hook machine'.
Tu. *seḍi* (as in Ta.);
Te. *siḍi* 'a hook or goad, the hook machine'.

The literal meaning of Sign B (second parallel) is: 'hook, goad'.

The existence of an alternative expression *ceṭ-*, with the literal meaning 'hook, goad' for interpreting Sign B is inferred from later survivals in Old Tamil as well as Vedic. (See Paras 2.2(ii) and 3.5 respectively.)

Indus Sign	Dravidian: Linguistic interpretation (literal)	Indus: Intended meaning (same as literal)
√ B **HOOK**	*ceṭ-* *(ceṭil, seḍi, siḍi)* 'hook' (D.2761).	*ceṭ-* *(ceṭil, seḍi, siḍi)* 'hook, goad' (D. 2761).

Result 3. Interpretation of Sign B: HOOK (Second Parallel): from Dravidian to Indus.

1.3 Sign C: CROSSROADS ※

(i) Ideographic interpretation

This is one of the more 'transparent' signs of the Indus Script and may be interpreted directly as crossroads (four-road junction). The sign (Fig. 6.1) closely resembles the corresponding sign in Early Sumerian script (Fig. 6.2) with similar literal meaning. The 'crossroads' motif is also incorporated within the CITY sign in the Indus Script (Fig. 6.3) which depicts a 'walled city divided by intersecting streets'. The Indus CITY sign is virtually identical with the Egyptian ideogram (Fig. 6.4) for 'city, town, village (or settlement in general)'.
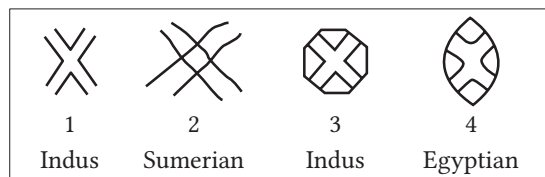

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Indus | Sumerian | Indus | Egyptian |

Fig. 6 Pictographic Signs for 'CROSSROADS' and 'CITY'.

(ii) Linguistic interpretation

Two alternative linguistic interpretations of Sign C: CROSSROADS, seem possible, judging from later survivals.

(a) First Parallel

D. 4064:
Ta. *pāṭi* 'town, city, hamlet, pastoral village';
    pāṭam 'street, street of herdsmen'.
Ma. *pāṭi* (in n.pr. of villages).
Ka. *pāḍi* 'settlement, hamlet, village'.
Te. *pāḍu* 'village (at the end of place names)'.
    cf. Skt. *pāṭaka* 'a kind of village, half a village' (borrowing from Dr.;
    CDIAL 8031).

The **literal** and **intended** meaning of Sign C (first parallel) is: 'street, city, town, village, (a settlement); one who resides in the settlement'.

Indus Sign	Dravidian: Linguistic interpretation (literal)	Indus: Intended meaning (same as literal)
✖ C CROSSROADS	*pāṭ-* *(pāṭi, -pāḍu)* 'street, city, town, village, (a settlement)' (D. 4064).	*pāṭ-* *(pāṭi)* 'street, city, town, village, (a settlement); one who resides (in the settlement)'. (D. 4064)

Result 4. Interpretation of Sign C: CROSSROADS (first parallel): from Dravidian to Indus.

(b) Second Parallel

Literal meaning

D. 5297:
Ta. *vaḻi* 'way, path, road'.
Ma. *vaḻi* 'way, road, path'.
Ka. *baḻi* 'way, road, passing on'.
D. 5292:
Ta. *vaḷaṅku* 'to move, proceed'; *vaḻakku* 'moving, passing (to and fro)'.
Ka. *baḷake*, *baḷike* 'course'.
Te. *vaḍuvu*, *vaḍugu* 'way'.

The **literal** meaning of Sign C (second parallel) is: 'way, road, path, pass'.

Intended meaning through rebus

D. 5372:

Ta. ***vāḻ***   'to live, flourish'; ***vāḻkkai*** 'living, wealth, prosperity'; ***vāḻvu*** 'living, residence, prosperity, wealth'; ***vāḻippu*** '(over) luxuriant growth'.

Ma. ***vāḻuka***   'to live, live well'; ***vāḻvu*** 'prosperity; ***vāḻi*** 'he who lives somewhere, ruler'.

Ka. ***bāḻu***   'living, living prosperously'.

Tu. ***bāḷuni***   'to thrive, prosper'.

Te. ***b(r)aduku*** 'to live'.

cf. Ta. *Celva-k-kaṭuṅkō **vāḻi**-y-ātaṉ*: a Cēra <u>ruler</u> of the Irumpoṟai branch <u>resident</u> at Karur
<div align="right">(Patiṟṟu. 7th patikam).</div>

The **intended** meaning of Sign C (second parallel) is:

'residence, prosperity, wealth; resident (of the city), the prosperous one'.

The existence of an alternative expression ***vaḻ- > vāḻ****,* having partly overlapping meanings with the first parallel, ***pāṭ-,*** for interpreting Sign C: CROSSROADS is inferred from later survivals in Old Tamil as well as Vedic. (See Paras 2.3 (iii) and 3.2 respectively.)

Indus Sign	Dravidian: Linguistic interpretation (literal)	Indus: Intended meaning (through rebus)
╳ C CROSSROADS	*vaḻ-* *(vaḻi, vaḻakku)* 'way, road, path, proceed' (D. 5292, 5297).	*vāḻ-* *(vāḻ, vāḻvu, vāḻi)* 'residence, prosperity, wealth; resident (of the city), the prosperous one'. (D. 5372)

Result 5. Interpretation of Sign C: CROSSROADS (second parallel): from Dravidian to Indus.

1.4 Sign D: JAR ⋃

Fig. 7 JAR Sign. Pottery graffito. Kalibangan. (CISI I: K-105)

(i) The JAR is the most frequent sign in the Indus Script. It can be identified pictorially as a 'vessel with handles (ears) and a tapering bottom' (Fig. 7). The sign occurs mostly in the final position and hence generally regarded as a grammatical suffix. I have identified the sign as the Dr. pronominal masculine singular suffix (Mahadevan 1970, 2011).

The **intended** meaning of **Sign D** is: **-(a)nr̠-** '-he' (or) 'he of the -' (in appellative nouns).

(ii) The **JAR** sign has also an ideographic value 'sacrificial vessel with food offerings' (Mahadevan 2009 a, b). This meaning is not relevant to the present context.

1.5 Interpretation of the Indus Phrase

The complete Indus phrase ABCD can now be interpreted as follows:

A	**B**	**C**	**D**
mār̠-	*koḷ-*	*pāṭ-*	*-(a)nr̠-*
barter	receiving	settlement	he of the-
barterer	receiver	resident	-he
(in short) **'Merchant of the City'.**			

The consistent and interlinked results of the study presented above are the primary clues to identify the corresponding survivals in Old Tamil and Vedic traditions discussed respectively in Sections II & III. The twin streams of bilingual parallels validate each other and also the interpretation of the Indus Phrase ABCD. The Indo-Aryan survivals in the *RV* are attested much earlier than those in Old Tamil. However, the latter are considered in the following Section II on grounds of linguistic continuity. The Indo-Aryan survivals, represented by loan translations from the earlier Indus-Dravidian, are taken up for discussion in Section III.

SECTION II: Old Tamil Survivals

2.0 Introduction

The southern migration of Agastya, attested in both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian sources, is the most important evidence we have to link the Indus Civilisation with Old Tamil polity, not only linguistically but also culturally. The migration of the common ancestors of the Vēḷir-Yādava clans led by Agastya (< Dr. *aka-tt-i* 'lord of the fort') to South India in protohistoric times has been extensively documented by M. Raghavaiyangar in his classic *Vēḷir Varalāṟu* (1907). I have extrapolated his theory back in time to link the Indus civilisation with South Dravidian cultures, especially Old Tamil (Mahadevan 1970, 1986b, 2009 a & b, 2010). As a result of the migration, the Indus-Dravidian language influenced Proto-South Dravidian and through it, the earliest South Dravidian literary languages, especially Old Tamil.

The present paper offers new evidence in support of the hypothesis by showing that the Indus Phrase under consideration survived in Old Tamil while retaining the Dravidian roots with interlinked but modified meanings caused by the passage of time and the very different social and political organisations of Old Tamil polity. Evidence is presented below to show that the Indus Phrase ABCD evolved in Old Tamil as a cluster of names or titles, all linked to the **Pāṇṭiya** dynasty.

2.1 Sign A: *maṟ-/māṟ-* 🜨

(i) Māṟaṉ: a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name

Sign A in the Indus Phrase has been interpreted above as *māṟ-* 'barter'. The verbal forms from *māṟu* 'to barter' occur frequently in Tamil (See Para 1.1 (ii) (b) for examples). The *Tamil Lexicon* has also *māṟi* 'one who barters goods' (citing Winslow). The analogous form *māṟ-āḷ-i* 'barterer' is attested in Kannada (D.4834). However, the corresponding personal noun *māṟ-aṉ* 'barterer' is not attested in Tamil. The word **māṟaṉ** does occur in Old Tamil, but with a different meaning, 'a dynastic name of the Pāṇṭiya kings'. It is likely that in very remote times the Pāṇṭiyar were traders as indicated by the name *māṟa(ṉ)* which is etymologically connected with the root *māṟu* 'barter'.

The name Māṟaṉ is unique to the Pāṇṭiya dynasty and occurs from the earliest Caṅkam poetry (*Madu.* 772).

Thus, ***māṟ- > māra(ṉ)*, a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name**.

Indus Sign	Indus: Linguistic interpretation	Old Tamil Survival
A (back of the) WOLF	***maṟ-/māṟ-*** *(maṟi, māṟu; maṟai, māṟṟu)* 'turn back (showing one's back); exchange, hide, conceal' (literal) > ***māṟ-*** *(māṟu, māṟṟu, māṟāḷi)* 'exchange (of goods), barter; barterer, trader, merchant'(intended) (Para. 1.1 (ii); Result 1).	***māṟ- > māṟa- > māṟa(ṉ)*** 'a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name'.

Result 6. Evolution of Sign A: (back of the) WOLF: from Indus to Old Tamil.

(ii) Sign A: 'braided and knotted hair' motif

(a) Kuṭumi as a Pāṇṭiya name or title

The 'protuberance' covering one of the ears of the animal in Sign A is interpreted as 'braided and knotted hair' (Para 1.1 (i) & Fig. 4). This feature seems to have survived in Old Tamil tradition as ***kuṭumi*** 'knotted hair' worn in different styles.

D. 2049:
Ta. ***kuṭumi*** 'tuft of hair (esp. of men)'.
Ma. ***kuṭuma*** 'lock of hair (worn as caste distinction)'.
The ***kuṭumi*** was associated with Lord Śiva as well as the Pāṇṭiya dynasty.
cf. ***kuṭumi***-*t-tēvar* 'Lord Śiva' (*Periya.* 745).
em kō vāḻiya ***kuṭumi*** 'may Kuṭumi, our king, live long/prosper!' (*Puṟa.* 9.8),
referring to Mutu-***kuṭumi***-p-peru vaḻuti, an illustrious Pāṇṭiya ruler of the Caṅkam Age.

(b) Caṭaiyaṉ: a late Pāṇṭiya dynastic name

The epithet *kuṭumi* as applied to Lord Śiva and the Pāṇṭiya rulers seems to have been largely replaced in the medieval period by the synonym ***caṭaiyaṉ*** derived from Skt. *jaṭā* 'braided or knotted hair' (*CDIAL* 5086; DEDR Appendix No. 35).

The composite names Māṟaṉ Caṭaiyaṉ and Caṭaiyaṉ Māṟaṉ were borne by the Pāṇṭiya rulers in alternate generations from the early medieval period as attested in their stone inscriptions. *Caṭaiyaṉ* was rendered back into Sanskrit as *Jaṭilavarman* employed as a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name. *Caṭaiyaṉ* also occurs as an epithet of Śiva in Tamil literature from this period (*Patiṟṟu.*, invocatory verse added later).

The **kuṭumi** of the Pāṇṭiyar may be regarded as a vestige of the Indus Civilisation, as there is no evidence of this trait being associated with the Pāṇḍyas in Sanskrit literature. However, Śiva in the Tamil country seems to have acquired the epithet *caṭaiyaṉ* most probably only from the medieval period as the epithet is not found in Caṅkam literature.

2.2 Sign B: *ceṭ(-)* √

(i) Ceḻiyaṉ: a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name
Sign B: ʜᴏᴏᴋ has an alternative linguistic interpretation **ceṭ(i)** with the intended meaning 'lightning, thunderbolt'.

Intended meaning through rebus

D. 2151:
ceṭ- 'hook, goad'.

D 2759:
Ta. **ceṭi** 'light, splendour'.
Ka. **siḍil** 'shaft of lightning, thunderbolt'; **seḍilu** 'thunder'.
Tu. **śeḍilu**, **teḍilu** 'thunder, thunderbolt'.
cf. Skt. **taḍit** 'lightning' (borrowed from Dr.).
cf. Ta. **ceḷi (< ceṭi)** 'blazing, to burn'.
    ceṭi koḷ vāṉ 'sky ablaze with light (i.e. lightning)' (*Tiruvācakam* 29.5).
    ceḷikiṉṟa *tī-p-puku viṭṭil* 'moth entering the blazing fire' (*Tiruvācakam* 6.5).

There was a tendency in Old Tamil for *-ṭ-* (phonetically *-ḍ-*) to alternate with *-ḷ-* as shown by the following examples:

kaḷu-māṟa- (for *kaṭu-māṟa-*) (Ta. Br. inscr. *ETE* 2003: 44);
cf. *kaṭumāṉ-māṟa* (*Puṟa.* 198.27)
eṭupputi (for *eḷupputi*) 'wake up (someone)' (*Kuṟun.* 147.4).
See also citations in Para 1.2 (ii) (b).

Thus, **ceṭ(i)** > **ceḻi-** > **ceḻi-aṉ**, a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name.

The name Ceḻiyaṉ is unique to the Pāṇṭiya dynasty and occurs from the earliest times (*Naṟ.* 39.9).

Indus Sign	Indus: Linguistic interpretation	Old Tamil Survival
√ B **HOOK**	**ceṭ-** *(ceṭil, seḍi, sidi)* 'hook, goad' (literal) (Para. 1.2 (ii) (b); Result 3).	**ceṭ-** **ceṭi** 'light, lightning, thunderbolt' > **ceḻi-** 'burning, ablaze' > *'ceḻi-a'* > *'ceḻi-aṉ'* a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name.

Result 7. Evolution of Sign B: ʜᴏᴏᴋ (second parallel): from Indus to Old Tamil.

(ii) Sign B: Evolution of 'hook' as a weapon (*ceṇṭu*) √

Tamil tradition has preserved the memory of a hook-like legendary weapon known as the *ceṇṭu*. The weapon was mostly associated with the Pāṇṭiya dynasty. It is featured along with the twin carp in the insignia of the dynasty in temple sculptures, coins and seals (Fig. 8). The evidence suggests comparison with Sign B: ʜᴏᴏᴋ as well as the linguistic derivation:

ceṭ(i) 'hook, goad' > *ceṇṭu* 'hook-like weapon' (cf. Result 7).

Stone sculpture
Chidambaram

Stone Sculpture
Tiruvanaikkaval

Pāṇṭiya bronze seal
(Sankaran Raman, private collection)

Fig. 8. *ceṇṭu* symbol in Pāṇṭiya insignia (medieval period)

2.3 Sign C: *pāṭ-* ⪥

(i) Pāṇṭiyaṉ 'the dynastic name'

The literal interpretation suggested for sign C: CROSSROADS (first parallel) is *pāṭ(i)* 'street, village, town, city (a settlement)'; (also) 'one who resides in the settlement'. See Para 1.3 (ii) (a) and Result 4.

As the preceding signs A and B have been interpreted as *Māṟaṉ* and *Ceḻiyaṉ*, it appears reasonable to look for a connected word depicted by the next sign also.

Thus, ***pāṭ(i) > pāṇṭi- > pāṇṭi-aṉ,* the Pāṇṭiya dynastic name**.
Nasalisation of *-ṭ- > -ṇṭ-* is common in Dravidian.

(e.g.) Ta. *aṭu, aṇṭu* 'to be fit' (D. 78).
Ta. *taṭi* 'stick' (D. 3030), *taṇṭu* 'stick' (*Aka.* 274.8).

Pāṇṭiya is the basic name by which the dynasty is known from ancient times. It occurs in the earliest layer of Tamil Caṅkam poetry (e.g. *Aka.* 201.3; *Kuṟun.* 393.4). It is also mentioned by Kātyāyana and Megasthenes in the 4th century and in the Asokan edicts in the 3rd century BCE.

(ii) Alternative derivation from Sign E: CITY ◈

The result is corroborated by another parallel derivation. The CROSSROADS is part of the Indus Sign: CITY (labelled E here; see Fig. 6). I have already interpreted the CITY sign as ***pāḻi*** 'city, especially planned city' (Mahadevan 1981, 2009a, 2010). In brief,

Ta. *pāḻi* 'city, agricultural town' (D. 4112);
Ka. *pāḻi* 'row, line, regularity, order' (D. 4113).

It is possible to derive *pāṇṭi-* also from *pāḻi* on the basis of the known development of *-ḻ- > -ṇṭ-* in Dravidian.

(e.g.)   Ta. *paḻa* 'old', *paṇṭu* 'antiquity' (D. 3999);
            Ta. *paḻu* 'ripen'; Te. *paṇṭu* 'ripen' (D. 4004).

Thus, ***pāḻi > pāṇṭi-> pāṇṭi-aṉ,* the Pāṇṭiya dynastic name.**

Indus Sign	Indus: Linguistic interpretation	Old Tamil Survival
C **CROSSROADS**	***pāṭ-*** *(pāṭi, -pāḍu)* 'street, city, town, village, (a settlement)'; 'one who resides in the settlement' (intended, same as literal) (Para. 1.3 (ii) (a); Result 4)	***pāṭ-*** *(pāṭi)* 'street, city, town, village, (a settlement)' > **'Pāṇṭi' > Pāṇṭi-aṉ** the Pāṇṭiya dynastic name.
E **CITY**	***pāḻ-*** *> (pāḻi)* 'row, line, regularity, order' *> (pāḻi)* 'planned city'.	***pāḻ-*** *(pāḻi* 'planned city') *> pāṇṭi- > pāṇṭi-aṉ* the Pāṇṭiya dynastic name.

Result 8. Evolution of Sign C: CROSSROADS (first parallel): from Indus to Old Tamil.

(iii) Vaḻuti 'a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name'

Interpretation of Sign C: CROSSROADS (second parallel) through rebus is *vāḻ(i)* 'resident (of the city)', (also) 'the prosperous one' (See Para 1.3 (ii) (b) and Result 5). As the preceding Signs A and B point to Pāṇṭiya names or titles, it seems reasonable to look for a similar development in this case also.

Thus, ***vaḻ(i)/vāḻ(i) > vaḻuti*** 'a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name'.

The name Vaḻuti is unique to the Pāṇṭiya dynasty and occurs in early Tamil literature (e.g. *Naṟ.* 150.4; *Aka.* 93.9).

Indus Sign	Indus: Linguistic interpretation	Old Tamil Survival
C **CROSSROADS**	***vaḻ-*** *(vaḻi, vaḻakku)* 'way, road, path, pass' (literal) ***>vāḻ-*** *(vāḻ, vāḻvu, vāḻi)* 'residence, prosperity, wealth; resident (of the city); the prosperous one.' (intended) (Para. 1.3 (ii) (b); Result 5)	***vāḻ-*** *(vāḻi, vaḻuti)* ***> vaḻuti*** a Pāṇṭiya dynastic name.

Result 9. Evolution of Sign C: CROSSROADS (second parallel): from Indus to Old Tamil.

2.4 Sign D: JAR -*(a)ṉṟ(u)* ∪̆

The JAR sign has been identified as the Dr. pronominal masculine singular suffix *-(a)ṉṟ-* '-he, he of the-' (Para 1.4). The equivalent suffix in Tamil is *-(a)ṉ*. The suffix is added at the end of the string of **Pāṇṭiya** names or titles evolved from the Indus Phrase ABCD.

2.5 Indus Phrase in Old Tamil

The complete Indus phrase ABCD can now be interpreted in Old Tamil as follows:

D	C	B	A		A	B	C	D
∪̆	⋈	√	𓂃		*māṟa-*	*ceḻi-a*	*vaḻuti/pāṇṭi-*	*-aṉ*

The interpretation reveals a string of **Pāṇṭiya** names or titles.

A comparison of the suggested interpretation of the Indus Phrase ABCD (Para 1.5) with the Pāṇṭiya names or titles reveals both continuity and discontinuity. The Indus texts refer to the 'Merchant of the City'; the Old Tamil names refer apparently to something different, a string of names or titles of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty. But, if one takes a closer look, one can detect the continuity of phonetic as well as semantic elements in both sets of words. The only change is in the case of Sign B, for which the word *koḻ-* 'hook' was replaced, in course of time by the synonym *ceṭ-* 'hook', which was then interpreted through the homophone *ceṭ-/ceḻ-* 'lightning, thunderbolt'. (See Para 1.2 (ii) (a) & (b) and Results 2 & 3).

The comparison between the original interpretation of the Indus Phrase ABCD and the later evolution in Old Tamil reveals for the first time the true origin and the original significance of the Pāṇṭiya names and titles:

māṟaṉ 'barterer' (<*māṟu* 'to barter').
ceḻiyaṉ 'he of lightning/thunderbolt' (<*ceṭi-/ceḻi-* 'lightning, thunder').
vaḻuti 'the prosperous one' (<*vāḻ* 'to prosper').
pāṇṭiyaṉ 'he of the city' (<*pāṭi* or *pāḷi*).

The four names and titles listed above refer to occupation, lineage/name, status and residence. This is precisely the type of information that one should expect to find on a seal text.

In addition to the four names or titles listed above, two more characteristics of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty are also shown to be derived from the Indus Phrase ABCD.

(i) *kuṭumi* (later, *caṭai*) 'braided and knotted hair', apparently the distinctive hairstyle of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty (Para 2.1 (ii); Fig. 4).
(ii) *ceṇṭu* 'hooked weapon', an insignia of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty (Para 2.2 (ii); Fig. 8).

Thus the remote ancestors of the **Pāṇṭiyar** were **city-dwellers** and **prosperous merchants** of the Indus Civilisation.

SECTION III: Vedic Survivals

3.0 Introduction

(i) The Aryan Migration

The Aryan-speaking people migrated into South Asia in the second millenium BCE, in the wake of the decline and the eventual collapse of the Indus Civilisation. The Indus polity had by then disintegrated into numerous smaller communities without effective central authority or leadership. The incoming Aryans were much fewer in numbers, but could achieve elite dominance over the local population due to their better mobility and advanced weaponry.

While some segments of the Indus population, unable or unwilling to be assimilated into the new social order, migrated eastward and southward, the majority stayed back, and in course of time, switched over to the dominant Aryan speech. Thus was born the Indo-Aryan society, speaking Indo-Aryan language, but retaining much of the Pre-Aryan Dravidian cultural elements in religious practices, agriculture, craft traditions and social institutions.

(ii) Indo-Aryan influenced by Dravidian

While the Dravidian languages disappeared over most of North India, their substratum influence radically transformed the Indo-Aryan as may be seen in phonological changes like the introduction of retroflex sounds, morphological changes like switch-over from inflexion to post-fixation, near-identical syntactical structures and lexical borrowings from Dravidian as loanwords and loan translations which can be traced even in the *RV*.

(iii) Identification of Dr. loanwords and loan translations in IA

While loanwords can be recognised from phonetic similarities, loan translations are harder to spot when they relate to universal concepts. However, incorrect loan translations with too literal or unintended meanings or from the wrong homophones produce strange, unusual or meaningless expressions, generally sought to be explained by equally bizarre myths or folk etymology. These are the tell-tale clues to the real significance of the original expressions in Dravidian.

(iv) Methodology of Bilingual Parallels

I have pondered over the problem of how to retrieve information on the Indus substratum from the Indo-Aryan languages. As a solution to this problem, I have developed the method of bilingual parallels (1975, 2008) which is based on the following assumptions:

  (a) The Indus texts consist mostly of word signs depicting names and titles. The longer inscriptions may have some additional information on religious practices, professions, economic activities, etc.

  (b) It should be possible to compare the more frequent ideographic signs of the Indus Script with bilingual parallels from Dravidian and Indo-Aryan to discover their meanings. A rigorous three-way control was designed to ensure that the meaning of the Indus ideogram matched those of the selected Dravidian roots and the corresponding Indo-Aryan parallels.

  (c) The names and titles and other information discovered by this method should find attestation in the Indian historical tradition by way of corroboration. This is a necessary control to avoid imaginary or illusory results.
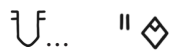
  (d) While interpreting the Indus texts, one has to take into account bilingual, multiple and apparently divergent parallels resulting from linguistic evolution, change in language (Early Dr. > IA > Late Dr.), and the cultural diversity of the Indian society. Such divergent parallels are not to be regarded as inconsistent or contradictory. Actually, they serve to strengthen the web of circumstantial evidence proving their common descent from the Indus civilisation.

It is important to recognise that Vedic and the earliest Tamil cultures as two divergent parallels, which flourished in regions and in time far removed from each other with no possibility of mutual influence. It follows necessarily that any common feature found between the Vedic and Old Tamil can only be traced to their common descent from the same source, namely, the Indus Civilisation. I have discussed in greater detail the theoretical aspects of the method and its application in my earlier papers (1975, 2008). The present paper offers many more instructive examples of how the method works in actual practice.

(e) The results should not be inconsistent with those obtained by structural analysis of the Indus texts.

(v) Some earlier results

The method of bilingual parallels has already yielded promising results some of which I have published in my earlier papers. Here, I have space to mention just two examples, a loanword and a loan translation from Dravidian to Indo-Aryan found in the *RV*. (Mahadevan 1986b, 2009b, 2010; 1975, 1982, 2009a).

JAR... (in/of) FORT

Loanword:
Dr. ***aka-tt-(i)*** 'Lord of the Fort' (cf. *aka-tt-ōn̲*, *Tol. Porul.* 20.12) >IA ***agasti/agastya***, author of hymns in the *RV* (1.165-191).

Note: The most frequent sign pair at the commencement and the most frequent sign at the end of the Indus texts correspond respectively to IA ***agastya*** and the legend of his birth from a vessel (*RV.* 7.33), thus corroborating the proposed interpretation.

JAR-BEARER   BEARER

Loan translation:

Dr. ***por̲-ay*** lit. 'bearer'; N. of the Cēra dynasty in Old Tamil

>IA ***bharata*** lit. 'bearer'; N. of a famous Aryan dynasty in the *RV.*

Note: The interpretation is corroborated by the compound sign JAR-BEARER equivalent to ***bharad-vāja*** lit., 'bearer of food'; N. of a famous seer in the *RV.*

(vi) Survival of the Indus Phrase ABCD as Pūṣan in the *RV*

The present paper offers more evidence of words in the Indus texts passing into the *RV* as loan translations. What is specially interesting in the new discovery is that a frequent sequence of four signs, the Indus Phrase ABCD, turns up in the *RV* as a firmly interlinked set of epithets of **Pūṣan**, an early Vedic god identified as a Vaiśya deity.

3.1 *pathaspati:* 'The Lord of the Path' (epithet of Pūṣan) ⟨⟨

> *vayamu tvā* **pathaspatē** *ratham na vājasātayē*
> *dhiyē pūṣan na yujmahi (RV.* 6.53.1*)*

> '**Lord of the Path**, O Pūṣan, we have yoked and bound thee to our hymn,
> Even as a car, to win the prize' (Griffith).

An obvious pictorial clue connecting the Indus Phrase ABCD with Pūṣan, the 'Lord of the Path', is Sign C: CROSSROADS. Pūṣan is the personification of the Path.

Pūṣan is a unique Vedic deity and has several exclusive and peculiar traits; but, above all, he is the 'Lord of the Path', as virtually every hymn referring to him in the *RV* proclaims with ever-changing metaphor. Here is a sampling selected from Macdonell (*VM:* 35-37).

> Pūṣan is born on the **far path of paths**, on the **far path** of heaven and of earth. He conducts the dead on the **far path** to the Fathers. As a **Knower of Paths**, Pūṣan is conceived as the **Guardian of Paths**. He is besought to remove dangers, the wolf, the waylayer, from the **path**. Pūṣan is prayed to disperse the foes and make the **paths** to lead to booty, to remove foes to make the **paths** good. He is invoked to protect from harm on his **path** and to grant an auspicious **path**. He is the **guardian of every path** and **lord of the road**.

Sāyaṇa explains *pathas-pathaḥ-paripati* (*RV.* 6.49.8) as *sarvasya mārgasya adhipati* 'overlord of all the pathways'. The four-roads depicted in Indus Sign C maybe interpreted in the Vedic context as 'all the pathways'. However, there was a marked change from the city-based life in the Indus Age to the village-based life in the early Vedic society. Accordingly, the Indus Sign C: CROSSROADS, which survived as a symbol in the folklore of later times, came to mean 'pathways (of the countryside)'; the *RV* mentions the dangers faced by the traveller on the roads from 'the wolf and the waylayer' (*RV.* 1.42.2-3). Thus 'he of the streets (of the city)' in the Indus Age (Sign C) evolved into **pathaspati,** the 'Lord of the Path (of the countryside)' in the early Vedic society.

Macdonell's identification of the underlying character of Pūṣan as the 'beneficent power of the sun' gives less importance to the basic feature of Pūṣan as the 'Lord

of the Path', and seems to be more influenced by the post-Vedic development, when the name of Pūṣan, if remembered at all, became a synonym for the sun. Yāska identifies Pūṣan as the sun (*āditya*).

However, Oldenberg pointed out that the oft-recurring basic feature of Pūṣan's activity is that '**he knows the paths**, **shows the paths (and) leads the paths**' (*The Religion of the Veda:* 118-119). He identified this as the clear sphere of Pūṣan's activity and central to our understanding the form of the god. He wondered whether Pūṣan had a further prehistory, but despaired of 'any chance of penetrating it' (ibid).

The present paper attempts to show that Pūṣan did have a prehistory and that it was connected to the Indus Civilisation. The obvious pictorial clue of Indus Sign C: CROSSROADS is just the beginning. We shall see presently that virtually every exclusive trait of Pūṣan mentioned in the *RV* can be traced back to the Indus Civilisation in the light of the further clues provided by the Indus Phrase ABCD. The investigation also helps to resolve the mystery surrounding the peculiar traits of Pūṣan, and the myths relating to him, which have not been satisfactorily explained so far. Myth does not remember its origins and therefore it invents stories which are not arbitrary and may provide indirect clues to the origins. The present paper offers many interesting examples of this phenomenon.

Indus Sign	Indus (Dravidian) linguistic interpretation	Vedic (Old Indo-Aryan) Survival
 C CROSSROADS	*pāṭ-* *(pāṭi, -pāḍu)* 'street, city, town, village; (a settlement)'; 'one who resides in the settlement'. (Para. 1.3 (ii) (a); Result 4).	*pathaspati* 'Lord of the Path' (epithet of Pūṣan) (*RV*. 6.53.1) Loan translation from unintended meaning.

Result 10. Evolution of Sign C: CROSSROADS (first parallel): from Indus to Vedic.

3.2 *Pūṣan:* 'The Prosperous One' ⋇

> *pūṣā gā anvētu naḥ pūṣā rakṣatvarvataḥ*
> *pūṣā vājam sanōtu naḥ (RV. 6.54.5)*

> 'May **Pūṣan** follow near our kine; may Pūṣan keep our horses safe;
>   May Pūṣan gather food for us' (Griffith with changes).

(i) Pūṣan is the name of the 'Lord of the Path' in the *RV.* Etymologically, the name means 'prosper-er' derived from the root *puṣ* 'to cause to thrive' (*VM:* 37).

Sāyaṇa explains the name Pūṣan as *pōṣakō* (or) *pōṣāyitā dēvaḥ* 'god who nourishes' (*RV.* 6.24.5; 10.17.3). Pūṣan is also called *puṣṭimbhara,* 'the increaser of nourishment' (*RV.* 4.3.7). Pūṣan is described as a Stream of Wealth, a Heap of Riches (*RV.* 6.55.3), and he is frequently invoked to bestow wealth. Pūṣan possesses all wealth, abounds in wealth, gives increases of wealth and is bountiful. His bounty is particularly often mentioned (*VM*: 36).

(ii) Pūṣan's golden ships

What is the source of Pūṣan's great wealth so often celebrated in the *RV* ? His calling as a divine herdsman or cattle-keeper as described in the *RV* cannot possibly account for such immense riches. We find a precious clue in the *RV* itself (6.58.3), which refers to Pūṣan's 'golden ships that travel across the ocean' *(samudrē hiraṇyayīḥ nāvaḥ caranti)*. We may dismiss the suggestion in the hymn placing the 'ocean' in 'mid-air' (*antarikṣa*) as poetic fancy. The hymn must be regarded as a valuable record of Pūṣan's prehistory as a merchant of the Indus Civilisation engaged in maritime trade of valuable merchandise. This evidence enables us to identify Pūṣan as the deification of *māṟ-* 'barterer, trader, merchant' depicted by the Indus Sign A: (back of the) WOLF. (See Para 1.1 (ii) (b) and Result 1.) He was also a 'prosperous resident of the city' of the Indus Civilisation as depicted by the Indus Sign C: CROSSROADS. (See Para 1.3 and Results 4 & 5; see also Para 3.1 and Result 10.)

There is no apparent connection between the conceptions of *pathas-pati,* the 'Lord of the Path', and *Pūṣan,* 'one who nourishes and bestows wealth'. I suggest

that the missing link is to be found in the Indus Sign C: CROSSROADS. In brief,

cf. **vaḷi** 'path' (D. 5297);
vāḷi 'resident', (also) 'the prosperous one' (D. 5372).

Indus Sign	Indus (Dravidian) linguistic interpretation	Vedic (Old Indo-Aryan) Survival
✕✕ C CROSSROADS	**val-** (vaḷi, vaḷakku) 'way, road, path, pass' (literal) >**vāḷ-** (vāḷvu, vāḷi) 'residence, prosperity, wealth'; 'resident of the settlement'; 'the Prosperous One' (intended) (Para. 1.3 (ii) (b); Result 5).	**pūṣan** 'the Prosperous One' (name of the deity) *(RV.* 6.53.1) (loan translation from the intended meaning.)

Result 11. Evolution of Sign C: CROSSROADS (second parallel): from Indus to Vedic.

3.3 *karambhād:* 'Eater of gruel' (epithet of Pūṣan) ✕✕

ya ēnam-ādidēśati **karambhāditi** pūṣanam
na tēna dēva ādiśē (RV. 6.56.1)

'Whoso remembers Pūṣan as the **eater of gruel**,
 Need think of no other god' (Griffith, with changes).

(i) One of the peculiar traits of Pūṣan mentioned in the *RV* is that he is the 'eater of gruel (**karambha**)'. The *RV* does not offer any indication as to why Pūṣan is restricted to this unusual diet. The explanation offered in later Vedic literature (*ŚBr.* 1.7.4.7) is that Pūṣan was 'toothless' *(a-dantakaḥ)*. This raises the question: what happened to his teeth? The answer is found in the strange tale of the mutilations suffered by three Vedic gods including Pūṣan (*Kau. Br.*). I shall summarise here the myth relating only to Pūṣan.

When the gods offered the first fruit (*prāśitra*) of their sacrifice to Pūṣan, it knocked out his teeth, as he failed to take the necessary precautions before consuming the potent stuff. Hence it is said that 'Pūṣan has no teeth, he eats *karambha* (gruel)' (*Kau. Br.* 6.13).

There are other versions of the legend. The best known among them is found in the *MBh.* In brief, when Dakṣa offered a sacrifice, he failed to invite Rudra (Śiva), who got enraged and barged into the venue, attacking the assembled gods, including Pūṣan whose teeth were torn off. This account ends on a happier note; Rudra was eventually appeased and restored the teeth of Pūṣan.

The myth has been a puzzle, considering especially that Pūṣan, as his name indicates, is a well-nourished and wealthy god. He should have had no reason to be on the starvation diet of mush. Oldenberg, admitting that he cannot explain Pūṣan's 'toothlessness', asked, "Did one think of the 'toothlessness' to explain the sacrificial food, or is the former based on the other hand, on the latter concept?" (*The Religion of the Veda:* 169). The present study has found the answer. Oldenberg's first conjecture is the right one; the 'gruel' mentioned in the *RV* as Pūṣan's meal necessitated the later explanation that he was 'toothless'.

The clue to solve the puzzle is contained in a sign of the Indus Script (labelled F here). It is a compound sign whose components point to the intended meaning (Mahadevan 1981, updated here).

Sign F: ⧖ = ◇ + ⧗ : PLACE (AT) CROSSROADS = **ASSEMBLY**

Sign F depicts the 'assembly' in which the residents of the city met to discuss and decide on public affairs. Location of the PLACE at the CROSSROADS indicates symbolically that the meeting of the assembly was open to all citizens of the city.

cf. D. 173:
Ta. *ampalam* 'village assembly for transacting village affairs'.
Ma. *ampalam* 'place devoted for public use, assemblies, etc., a temple'.
Ka. *ambala* 'hall where public affairs are discussed'.
Tu. *ambila*, *ambela* 'the place around or in front of the temple'.
cf. Ta. *ampalam* 'assembly, place of assembly' (*Pari.* 18.28; *Maṇi.* 14.4; *Peruṅ.* 1.34.41).

Thus the meaning of Sign F is: **'assembly, place of assembly, member of the assembly'**.

In later times, when the Indus Script was no longer understood, and the institutions depicted by the signs ceased to exist, the signs survived as traditional or conventional symbols, sometimes with different meanings based on unrelated homophones, as seems to have happened in the present case.

cf. D. 174:
Ta. **ampali** 'porridge, esp. of ragi'.
Ka. **ambali**, **ambila** 'pap or porridge (of ragi, etc.)'.
Tu. **ambuli** 'pap or gruel of ragi or rice'.
Te. **ambali** 'porridge, pap'.
cf. Marathi **ābīl** 'gruel' (borrowed from Dr.)

At this stage, **ampal-** 'assembly' was misunderstood as **ampal-** 'gruel', and the latter meaning is the source of the loan translation **karambha** 'gruel' in the *RV*. Thus Pūṣan, 'member of the assembly' in the Indus Age, became an 'eater of gruel' in the early Vedic society.

(ii) Pūṣan 'Hero of the Assembly (*vidatha*)'

In one of the hymns of the *RV* (7.36.8), All-gods (*viśvēdēvāḥ*) are entreated to bring Pūṣan, the 'Hero (*vīra*) of the Assembly (*vidatha*)' to the place of the sacrifice. Pūṣan is also referred to here as a 'member of the assembly (*vidathya*)'. In another hymn (*RV*. 10.85.26), Pūṣan is asked to take the bride by hand and conduct her to the assembly where she would address the gathering.

Vidatha is a somewhat obscure expression occurring mainly in the *RV*. Its general sense, however, seems to be 'meeting, assembly, council, association or congregation' (MW). It appears that *vidatha* was the 'lesser assembly' than the *sabhā* or *samiti.* The main difference between them is that women were allowed to participate in the proceedings of the *vidatha* unlike in the *sabhā* or the *samiti.* It appears that *vidatha* was the assembly of the common people while *sabhā* (*samiti*) was the assembly of the nobility.

I suggest, on the basis of the above evidence, that *vidatha* 'assembly' in the *RV* corresponds to Dr. *ampal(a)* depicted by Sign F of the Indus Script. It follows that **vidatha** 'assembly' and **karambha** 'gruel' are both loan translations from Dravidian, the latter being an incorrect one from an unintended homophone.

Indus Sign	Indus (Dravidian) linguistic interpretation	Vedic (Old Indo-Aryan) Survival
⬡ **F** **PLACE AT CROSSROADS**	*amp-al-* *(ampalam, ambala)* 'place at four-road junction' (literal) > 'assembly, place of assembly, member of assembly.'(intended) >*amp-al-* *(ampali, ambuli)* 'gruel' (unintended)	*karambhād* 'eater of gruel' *(RV. 6.56.1)* (loan translation from unintended meaning). *vidatha* *(RV. 7.36.8; 10.85.26)* 'assembly, council, congregation'; *vidathya* 'member of the assembly'; (loan translations from intended meaning).

Result 12. Evolution of Sign F: PLACE AT CROSSROADS: from Indus to Vedic.

3.4 *āghṛṇi:* 'The Glowing One' (epithet of Pūṣan) √

> *iyam tē pūṣan-* ***āghṛṇē*** *suṣṭutir dēva navyasī* *asmābhis tubhyam śasyatē* (*RV.* 3.62.7).

> 'Divine, resplendent Pūṣan, this our newest hymn of eulogy, By us is chanted forth to thee' (Griffith).

A frequent and exclusive epithet of Pūṣan in the *RV* is *āghṛṇi*. The expression is explained as 'glowing with heat' (MW). Sāyaṇa explains *āghṛṇi* as *āgata dīpti* 'fire which has come into existence or is born', that is, fire ignited or kindled (*RV.* 6.53.3).

According to Macdonell, *āghṛṇi* indicates Pūṣan's connection with light and hence 'the beneficent power of the sun' (*VM:* 35-37). However, the expression is never associated with the light of the sun in the *RV;* it is the exclusive epithet of Pūṣan except once in *āghṛṇī–vasu* 'rich with glowing heat' describing Agni (*RV.* 8.60.20).

Sāyaṇa's gloss, corroborated by the epithet being applied once to Agni, seems preferable to the explanation by Macdonell connecting it with the light of the sun.

Oldenberg who was averse to the idea of connecting Pūṣan with light, expressed his reservation on the 'exact meaning' of *āghṛṇi* and described it as 'an attribute of a completely uncertain implication' (*The Religion of the Veda:* 169-170).

I propose a new interpretation of *āghṛṇi* based on the Indus Sign B: ʜᴏᴏᴋ, which leads to a better understanding of the expression. In later times, when the context indicated by the Indus Phrase was forgotten, the meaning of the expression depicted by Sign B was misunderstood, resulting in an incorrect loan translation from an unintended homophone. This is shown by the following analysis.

> *koḷuttu* 'to cause to hold, a clasp'; *kōḷ* 'receiving'; *kōḷi* 'receiver' (D. 2151).
> *koḷuttu* 'to kindle, set on fire'; *koḷḷi* 'firebrand, fire' (D. 2158).

cf. Ta. *koḷḷi: neruppu uṟu viṟaku* 'burning firewood' (*Tivākaram*).
 vicumpu vīḻ koḷḷi 'meteorite falling from the sky' (*Kuṟun.* 221:2).

It appears that *koḷ- (koḷuttu, kōḷi)* 'hook, receive' was misunderstood as *koḷ- (koḷuttu, koḷḷi)* 'set on fire, firebrand', which is the source for the loan translation *āghṛṇi* 'the glowing one' in the *RV.* Thus *koḷḷi* 'receiver (of barter)' in the Indus Age became *āghṛṇi* 'the glowing one, firebrand' in the early Vedic society.

Indus Sign	Indus (Dravidian) linguistic interpretation	Vedic (Old Indo-Aryan) Survival
∫ B ʜᴏᴏᴋ	*koḷ-* *koḷuttu* 'hook' (literal) >*kōḷ,kōḷi, koḷḷi* 'to receive, receiver' (intended) >*koḷ-* *(koḷuttu, koḷḷi)* 'set on fire, firebrand'; (unintended) (Para. 1.2 (ii) (a); Result 2.)	*āghṛṇi* 'the Glowing One; firebrand' (epithet of Pūṣan) *(RV.* 6.53.3) (loan translation from unintended meaning).

Result 13. Evolution of Sign B: ʜᴏᴏᴋ (first parallel): from Indus to Vedic.

3.5 *aṣṭrā (or) ārā:* The 'goad' of Pūṣan √

yā tē **aṣṭrā** *gō-ōpaśā-āghṛṇē paśusādhanī*
tasyās tē sumnam-īmahē (RV. 6.53.9).

'Thou bearest, glowing Lord, a **goad** with a horny point that guides the cows;
Thence do we seek thy gift of bliss (Griffith).

Pūṣan's characteristic weapon is ***aṣṭrā*** 'goad' (*RV.* 6.53.9). As the divine herdsman (*gōpā),* he guides the cattle on the right path with the goad (*RV.* 10.17.3).

The *RV* also employs another expression ***ārā*** 'awl' (*RV.* 6.53.8), but apparently with the same meaning as *aṣṭrā* 'goad'. Sāyaṇa treats both terms as synonyms (*RV.* 6.53.9), and explains their meaning as *sūkṣma-lōha-agra-daṇḍaḥ* 'stick with a sharp metallic point' (*RV.* 6.53.5). The description fits the 'goad', the spiked stick still in use for driving the cattle. The 'awl' is a shoe-maker's tool with a sharp 'hook' at the tip to perforate the leather and draw the thread through it (cf. Sign B: HOOK and Fig. 5.). The analysis shows that *ārā* is likely to be the earlier expression later modified as *aṣṭrā* 'goad', the herdsman's weapon.

Indus Sign	Indus (Dravidian) linguistic interpretation	Vedic (Old Indo-Aryan) Survival
√ B HOOK	***ceṭ–*** *(ceṭil, seḍi, siḍi)'* 'hook, goad' (literal) (Para. 1.2 (ii) (b)&Result 3).	***aṣṭrā*** 'goad' (*RV.* 6.53.9), ***ārā*** 'awl', also 'goad' (*RV.* 6.53.8) (weapon of Pūṣan) (loan translations from literal meaning).

Result 14. Evolution of Sign B: HOOK (second parallel): from Indus to Vedic.

3.6 *ajāśva:* 'One whose horses are the goats' (epithet of Pūṣan)

> *rāyō dhārāsy-āghṛṇē vasō rāśir-**ajāśva***
> *dhīvatō dhīvataḥ sakhā* (*RV.* 6.55.3)

> 'Bright God whose steeds are **goats**, thou art a stream of wealth, a treasure-heap,
> The Friend of every pious man' (Griffith).

One of the peculiar traits of Pūṣan is that his chariot is drawn by goats instead of horses. For this reason, he is called ***ajāśva*** 'one whose horses are goats' (*RV.* 6.55.3,4). This is apparently an ancient myth; the reason why goats draw Pūṣan's chariot is not explained in the *RV*.

The clue to the solution of the puzzle is an incorrect loan translation based on a misunderstood meaning of the Indus Sign A: (back of the) WOLF. This is brought out in the following analysis:

> Ta. ***maṟi*** 'to turn back, turn about' (D. 4761).
> Ta. ***maṟi*** 'sheep, young of sheep, female of sheep'; Te. ***maṟaka*** 'a kid' (D. 4764).
> cf. Ta. *ciṟu maṟi konṟu* 'having killed a kid' (*Kuṟun.* 362.4).
> *āṭu...maṟi eṉpa* 'the *āṭu* (sheep or goat) is called *maṟi*' (*Tivākaram*).

In later times, when the Indus Script was no longer understood, the signs of the script survived as symbols, sometimes with different meanings based on unrelated homophones. Thus ***maṟi*** 'to turn back' (D. 4761) was misunderstood as ***maṟi*** 'goat or sheep' (D. 4764). This became the basis for the myth that Pūṣan's chariot was drawn by goats instead of horses.

Indus Sign	Indus (Dravidian) linguistic interpretation	Vedic (Old Indo-Aryan) Survival
 A (back of the) WOLF	***maṟ-/māṟ-*** *maṟi* 'to turn back' (literal) >*māṟ-* 'exchange of goods, barter; trader, merchant' (intended) >*maṟi* 'goat or sheep' (unintended) (Para. 1.1 (ii) (a) & (b); Result 1.)	***ajāśva (aja-aśva)*** 'One whose horses are the goats' (epithet of Pūṣan) (*RV.* 6.55.3) (loan translation from unintended meaning).

Result 15. Evolution of Sign A: (back of the) WOLF: from Indus to Vedic.

3.7 *agōhya:* 'one from whom nothing is concealed' (epithet of Pūṣan)

> *pūṣā rājānam-āghṛṇir-apagūḷham guhā hitam*
> *avindac-citra barhiṣam* (*RV.* 1.23.14*)*

> 'Pūṣan the Bright, has found the King concealed and hidden in a cave;
> Who rests on grass of many hues' (Griffith).

One of the peculiar traits of Pūṣan is his ability to make hidden things manifest. Hence his characteristic epithets:

> (a) ***a-gōhya*** 'one from whom nothing is concealed' (*RV.* 10.64.3)
> (b) ***a-naṣṭa-vēdas*** 'one losing no goods' (*RV.* 6.54.8)
> (c) ***a-naṣṭa-paśu*** 'one losing no cattle' (*RV.* 10.17.3)

Pūṣan's unique ability as the finder of lost things is the basis of the legend in the *RV*, which credits him with discovering King (Sōma) who was 'concealed and hidden' in a cave (see hymn cited above). This ancient myth indicates that Pūṣan's ability to find lost things is not confined merely to his role as the herdsman preventing cattle from straying, which is only one example of his power. We have to look deeper into Pūṣan's origin to find the clue to this special aspect of his character. The clue is furnished by the expressions 'concealed, hidden' in the hymn cited above. The evidence points to the Indus Sign A: (back of the) WOLF. The sign, showing the back of the animal indicates, *ipso facto,* that the face is concealed or hidden from view. In brief,

> Ta. ***maṟai*** 'to hide, conceal' (D. 4760);
> Ta. ***māṟṟu*** 'to conceal, hide'; Te. ***māṭu*** 'to conceal, concealment' (D. 4836).

Thus, ***māṟu, māṟṟu*** 'to barter' of the Indus texts was misunderstood as ***māṟṟu*** 'to hide, conceal', when the original context was lost in the early Vedic society. Pūṣan, the 'Lord of the Path', became also the 'Lord of Concealment'. The latter attribute was, however, understood in the positive sense that Pūṣan is the god to be supplicated whenever anything hidden, concealed or lost was sought. For this reason, Pūṣan was known as ***agōhya*** 'one from whom nothing can be concealed', from the root *guh* 'to hide'; cf. *guhya* 'secret' (*RV).* For a parallel development, we may compare how Vighnēśa, literally the 'Lord of obstacles' became the 'god who removes obstacles'.

There is also more direct evidence to support the suggested evolution of the epithet *agōhya* from a presumed original *guhya* 'secret'. In classical Sanskrit, the root *gup*

has the same meaning as *guh*, namely, 'to conceal, hide'. Thus, **gupta** 'hidden, concealed' was employed as the equivalent of the earlier *guhya* in the same sense. The suffixed epithet **–gupta** occurs in classical Sanskrit also as the name of men belonging to the *Vaiśya* caste (MW). The later *Vaiśya-gupta* link corroborates the earlier *Pūṣan-agōhya* link, as Pūṣan has been identified in the present study as the deification of the Vaiśya.

Indus Sign	Indus (Dravidian) linguistic interpretation	Vedic (Old Indo-Aryan) Survival
A (back of the) **WOLF**	**maṟ-/māṟ-** *maṟi* 'to turn back' (literal) >*māṟ-* 'exchange of goods, barter; trader, merchant' (intended) >*maṟ-* (*maṟai, māṟṟu*) 'to hide, conceal' (unintended meaning) (Para. 1.1 (ii) (a) & (b); Result 1.)	**agōhya** 'one from whom nothing is concealed' (*RV.* 10.64.3), (epithet of Pūṣan) (loan translation from unintended meaning).

Result 16. Evolution of Sign A: (back of the) WOLF: from Indus to Vedic.

3.8 *kapardin* 'one with braided and knotted hair' (epithet of Pūṣan)

rathītamaṃ **kapardinam** *–īśānam rādhasō mahaḥ*
rāyaḥ sakhāyam –īmahē (RV. 6.55.2)

'We pray for wealth to thee, most skilled of charioteers with **braided hair**, Lord of great riches, and our Friend' (Griffith).

Pūṣan is described as **kapardin** 'one with braided and knotted hair' (*RV.* 6.55.2). He shares the epithet only with Rudra in the *RV* (1.114.1). Sāyaṇa explains *kaparda* as *cūṭā* 'top knot on the head'. (cf. Dr. *cūṭ(u)*) 'hair tuft'; D.2721.) According to MW, *kaparda* is 'braided and knotted hair'. The protuberance covering one of the ears of the animal in the Indus Sign A: (back of the) WOLF has been identified as 'braided and knotted hair' worn slantingly. (See Para 1.1 (i) and Fig. 4.)

Evidence from Indus seal motifs shows that men wore their hair as knot at the back of their heads, while priests and women (priestesses?) wore their hair as long plaited tresses. We may infer that Pūṣan's hairstyle was similar to that of the men depicted in the Indus seal motifs. This hairstyle was probably a mark of identity of the trading classes in the Indus Civilisation.

3.9 *Pūṣan:* 'the pastoral and agricultural god in the *RV*'

> *mā kir nēśan mā kīm riṣan mā kīm saṁ śāri kēvaṭē*
> *athāriṣṭābhir -ā gahi (RV. 6.54.7)*

> 'Let none be lost, none injured, none sink in a pit and break a limb,
> Return with these [cattle] all safe and sound' (Griffith).

(i) Pūṣan, the pastoral god

Pūṣan is pre-eminently a pastoral god in the *RV*. He follows and protects the cattle; he preserves them from injury by falling into a pit, brings them home unhurt, and drives back the lost (*RV.* 6.54.7 cited above; *VM:* 36).

Hence Pūṣan's characteristic epithets:

(a) *gōpā* 'protector of cattle' (*RV.* 10.17.3)
(b) *paśupā* 'protector of cattle' (*RV.* 6.58.2)
(b) *a-naṣṭa-paśu* 'one who loses no cattle' (*RV.* 10.17.3)
(d) *aṣṭrā* (or) *ārā* 'the goad of Pūṣan to drive the cattle' (*RV.* 6.53.8-9).

The *RV*, as the literary record of a predominantly pastoral society, naturally lays much emphasis on Pūṣan's role as a herdsman. However, Pūṣan appears also as the god of agriculture in the *RV*.

(ii) Pūṣan, the agricultural god

Agricultural implements, identified as the plough and the ploughshare (*suna* and *sīrā*), are associated with Pūṣan. In a hymn devoted to agricultural implements, Pūṣan is featured as a plougher driving the ploughshare to turn up the ploughed land and keep the course of the furrow (*sītā*) straight, with some help from Indra (*RV.* 4.57.4-8). The *suna* and *sīrā* were regarded as divine. In later Vedic literature, it is prescribed that this hymn of the *RV* be repeated silently at the commencement of ploughing (Griffith, Note on *RV.* 4.57).

The wooden plough, in addition to the harrow, had already come into use in the Indus Age. See the terracotta model of the plough excavated at Banawali, a Harappan site in Haryana (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9. Indus plough. Terracotta model. Banawali. (Courtesy: ASI)

(iii) The 'goad' of Pūṣan as a 'badge of agriculture'

The goad (*aṣṭrā* or *ārā* in the *RV*) is primarily associated with Pūṣan's activities as a cattle-keeper. However, the goad was also regarded as the 'badge of agriculture' (*Vedic Index* I: 46). In later Vedic literature, the goad of the plougher was the mark of the Vaiśya in life (*Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* 37.1) as well as in death (*Kauśika Sūtra* 80), (both cited in *Vedic Index* II: 334). I have already pointed out the suggestive parallel between Indus Sign B: Hook and the goad of Pūṣan (Para 3.5; Result 14).

(iv) Origin and evolution of Pūṣan in prehistory

There is however evidence in the *RV* itself that Pūṣan was not originally a pastoral or agricultural god. It is significant that none of the six peculiar traits which characterise Pūṣan in the *RV* is in any manner connected with his roles as a pastoral or agricultural god (see Paras 3.1-3.4 and 3.6 & 3.7 above). The present investigation has resolved the mystery surrounding the apparently inexplicable traits of Pūṣan by showing that the Vedic god evolved from the dim recollections of a distant past when he was the 'prosperous barterer of the streets (of the city)' in the Indus Age (Indus Phrase ABCD). Thus the legend of Pūṣan ends where it began, as that of the 'prosperous merchant of the city'. Viewed from this historical perspective, Pūṣan is verily a Vaiśya god, and the god of the Vaiśyas.

3.10 Indus Phrase ABCD interpreted in Vedic *(RV)*

The complete Indus Phrase that is under consideration can now be interpreted in Vedic *(RV)*.

	A	B	C	D
	ajāśva (3.6)	*āghṛṇi* (3.4)	*pathaspati* (3.1)	–
	agōhya (3.7)	*aṣṭrā/ārā* (3.5)	*pūṣan* (3.2)	
	kapardin (3.8; Fig. 4)		*karambhād* (3.3) (from Sign F)	

(For details, see Paras cited within brackets.)

The Indus Sign D: JAR is a grammatical morph, the masculine singular suffix (Para. 1.4). As it is not a lexical item, it is not carried over from Indus to Vedic.

As indicated by the structual analysis of the Indus Phrase, Sign C is the main root, and Signs A and B are its attributes (Para. 0.1).

It will be seen that the Indus sign sequence comprises epithets corresponding to the six peculiar traits of Pūṣan mentioned in the *RV*. Further, two more characteristics of Pusan in the *RV*, namely his 'goad' (*aṣṭrā/ārā*) and his 'braided and knotted hair' (*kaparda*) have also been traced to the Indus Phrase ABCD as indicated above. All this cannot be mere coincidence. Thus we conclude that the Indus Phrase ABCD 'barter-receiver prosperous-(city)resident-he' survived and re-emerged in the Early Vedic Age as Pūṣan, the Vaiśya god, with characteristic traits inherited from the Indus Civilisation but with modified meanings in the *RV* due to loss of the original context and distortions caused by the change in the socio-linguistic context and the long interval of time between the two epochs.

SECTION IV: Summary and Conclusions

4.1. Summary of Results

The results of the present study (numbered 1 to 16) have already been summarised at the end of each relevant paragraph. I shall only add a comparative table of the results at each level, namely Indus-Dravidian (Para 1.5, Results 1-5), Old Tamil (Para 2.5, Results 6-9) and Vedic (Para 3.10, Results 10-16). The Table shows at a glance the evolution of the Indus Phrase ABCD through phonetic links between Indus-Dravidian and Old Tamil survivals, and semantic links between Indus-Dravidian and Indo-Aryan *(RV)* survivals through loan translations which may be literal or intended or unintended. Rows and columns in the Table indicate respectively the interlinked sequences within the Period and phonetic/semantic links across the Periods, constituting a **grid of correspondences**.

4.2. Conclusions

If the findings of the present study are acceptable, some important conclusions follow as a matter of course.

(a) The language of the Indus Civilisation was an early form of Dravidian.

(b) Due to the migration of a section of the Indus population southwards, forming some settlements in South India, the Indus Dravidian influenced the South Dravidian languages. The earliest attestations of such influence are found in Old Tamil.

(c) The Vedic Age succeeded the Indus Civilisation. The *RV* itself is a product of the composite culture. The time interval between the Indus texts and the *RV* must have been sufficiently long to account for the dim recollections and mythologisation seen in the Vedic equivalents of the Indus names and titles.

Grid of correspondences between Indus Phrase ABCD, Old Tamil and Indo-Aryan (RV)

Result Nos. within brackets; p: para; f: fig.

Signs	A: (back of the) WOLF		B: HOOK		C: CROSSROADS		D: JAR
Parallels	1	2	1	2	1	2	
Indus	(1) *mār-* barter.	braided & knotted hair. Pictorial motif. p 1.1 (i), f.4	(2) *koḷ-* receive.	(3) *ceṭ-* lightning, thunderbolt.	(4) *pāṭ-* street, settlement.	(5) *vāḷ-* residence, prosperity.	-(*a*)*ṉ-* masc. sg. suffix. p.1.4, f.7
	Indus Phrase: barter-receiver prosperous/resident of the city-he (p. 1.5).						
Old Tamil	(6) *māṟa-*	*kuṭumi* p.2.1 (ii) (a) *caṭaiy-aṉ* late. <Skt. *jaṭā.* p.1.2 (ii) (b)	(7) *ceḻi-a*	*ceṇṭu* hook-like weapon. p.2.2 (ii), f. 8	(8) *pāṇṭi-* also from: Sign E: CITY. p.2.3 (ii)	(9) *vaḷuti*	-*aṉ.* p.2.5
	Name, titles and insignia of the **Pāṇṭiya** Dynasty (p.2.5).						

Grid of correspondences between Indus Phrase ABCD, Old Tamil and Indo-Aryan (RV)

Result Nos. within brackets; p: para; f. fig.

Signs	A: (back of the) WOLF		B: HOOK		C: CROSSROADS		D: JAR
Parallels	1	2	1	2	1	2	
Indo-Aryan (RV)	(15) *ajāśva* one whose horses are goats < Dr. *mari* goat, sheep. (16) *agōhya* one from whom nothing is concealed < Dr. *māṛṛu* hide, conceal.	*kapardin* he of braided and knotted hair < Dr. *kuṭumi*. p. 3.8, f. 4	(13) *āghṛṇi* the glowing one < Dr. *koḷḷi* firebrand.	(14) *aṣṭrā/ārā* goad/awl < Dr. *ceṭ-* hook, goad.	(10) *pathaspati* Lord of the path < Dr. *pāṭ-* street. (12) *karambhād* eater of gruel < Dr. *ampal-* gruel, assembly (fm. Sign F: ASSEMBLY). *vidatha* assembly, *vidathya* member of the assembly.	(11) *Pūṣan* prosper-er < Dr. *vāḷ-* prosper.	

Name, traits and characteristics of **Pūṣan** (RV) (p. 3.10).

Postscript: Dravidian Proof via the Ṛgvēda

I began studying the Indus Script in 1968 and published my first paper in 1970. It is after the publication of the ASI Concordance (1977) that my studies became more rigorous. I have continued to publish my findings since then, most of them based on the method of bilingual parallels (1975, 2008). I have not claimed to have deciphered the Indus Script. I have been content to study individual signs and sign pairs and interpret them through bilingual parallels. I have obtained some interesting results published by me periodically (see References).

The present paper appears to me to be the most productive I have so far written. The quality and quantity of interlocked findings at the three levels described in the paper have transcended the level of mere evidence and attained the level of proof: **the Dravidian proof of the Indus Script via the ṚgVēda!** I hope to demonstrate the validity of this thesis with further examples in my forthcoming papers.

I conclude with a prayer to Pūṣan, the knower and guide of Paths, which is to be uttered, according to Sāyaṇa, by one in search of lost things:

> O Pusan, bring us to the man who knows, who shall direct us straight, and say unto us: **it is here** (*yaḥ ēva idam*)! (*RV.* 6.54.1).

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ASI. Archaeological Survey of India

ASI Concordance: See Mahadevan, Iravatham, 1977

Aka. Akanāṉūṟu

CDIAL. Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages

CISI. Corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions

DEDR. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (Revised 2nd Edition)

D. (Prefixed to entry numbers) in *DEDR*

Dr. Dravidian

ETE. Early Tamil Epigraphy 2003 (First Edition)

IA. Indo Aryan

Kuṟun. Kuṟuntokai

Kau. Br. Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa

Madu. Maturaikkāñci

MBh. An Index to the names in the Mahābhārata

Maṇi. Maṇimēkalai

MW. Monier Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*

Naṟ. Naṟṟiṇai

Patiṟṟu. Patiṟṟuppattu

Pari. Paripāṭal

Periya. Periyapurāṇam

Peru. Peruṅkatai

Perum. Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai

Porunar. Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai

Puṟa. Puṟanāṉūṟu

RV. Ṛgvēda

ŚBr. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

Ta. Br. Tamil Brahmi

Tol. Tolkāppiyam

VM. Vedic Mythology

Vedic Index. Vedic Index of Names and Subjects

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(Only modern works cited in the paper are included here. See also Abbreviations).

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