How did the 'great god' get a 'blue neck'?
a bilingual clue to the Indus Script

Iravatham Mahadevan
(Indus Research Centre, Roja Muthiah Research Library, Chennai)

Introduction

I seek to show in this paper that ⚊ ⚊, a frequent pair in the Indus texts, which has been interpreted broadly as 'great god or personage' by several scholars from ideographic evidence, can now be read underlined_phonetically. This has become possible from a study of loanwords and loan translations from Dravidian to Indo-Aryan and the re-borrowing from the latter by Old Tamil along with the accompanying myth but without the original meaning.

The paper is in three parts dealing respectively with method, application and result. The first two parts are abridged and updated excerpts from my earlier papers (1975 and 1986). I crave the reader's indulgence for the repetition, as they are the essential steps leading to the discovery of the phonetic values announced in this paper.

I acknowledge the technical assistance extended by the Indus Research Centre, Roja Muthiah Research Library, Chennai. Illustrations of the Indus seals are by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. Text numbers are cited from my book (1977).

I. Method: Bilingual parallels

1.1 The method of bilingual parallels is based on three crucial assumptions:

(i) The Indus seals, in accordance with universal usage, give the names of their owners. The longer texts probably also contain titles, honorifics, references to occupations, place names and other ancillary information. It is likely that due to extended bilingualism and the gradual replacement of Dravidian with Indo-Aryan languages in North India, some at least of the more important names and titles passed into the latter as loanwords and loan translations.

(ii) It is also possible that when the Indus Script disintegrated as a writing system, at least some of the more important ideograms survived and evolved into traditional symbols of various kinds. Such symbols may consist of iconographic elements and other religious symbols, royal insignia, emblems on coins and seals, totem signs of clans and tribes, etc. It is likely that the symbols were continued to be associated, even though in a conventional manner, with the new linguistic forms of names and titles which were earlier represented by the corresponding signs in the Indus Script.

(iii) Such survivals of names and associated symbols can be recognized by
   a) The arbitrariness of the symbolism
   b) The absence of a convincing Indo-Aryan etymology for the
     loanwords
   c) The telltale presence of myth and folk etymology invoked to
     explain the symbolism and the loanwords and translations.

1.2 The method opens up, in principle, a promising avenue for the exploration of the Indus Script. It should be possible to undertake a comparison of the traditional symbols resembling the signs of the Indus Script and the names and concepts associated with such symbols in Indian historical tradition in an attempt to establish their original ideographic meanings. The results thus obtained should not be inconsistent with those suggested by frequency-distribution analysis of signs and sign combinations in the Indus texts.

1.3 The application of the method in actual practice is, however, rendered difficult by an incredibly complex evolutionary situation. The traditional symbols derived from the Indus signs may undergo both graphic and verbal evolution, acquire new significance, and even become unrecognizable pictorially or replaced verbally by synonyms. The loanwords (borrowed from the Harappan language) maybe assimilated to phonetically similar words in the Indo-Aryan languages and maybe substituted by synonyms. The loan translations may not be faithful to the originals and may be based on the wrong homophones. Synonyms may also replace the translations in due course with attendant distortion in emphasis or shades of meaning.

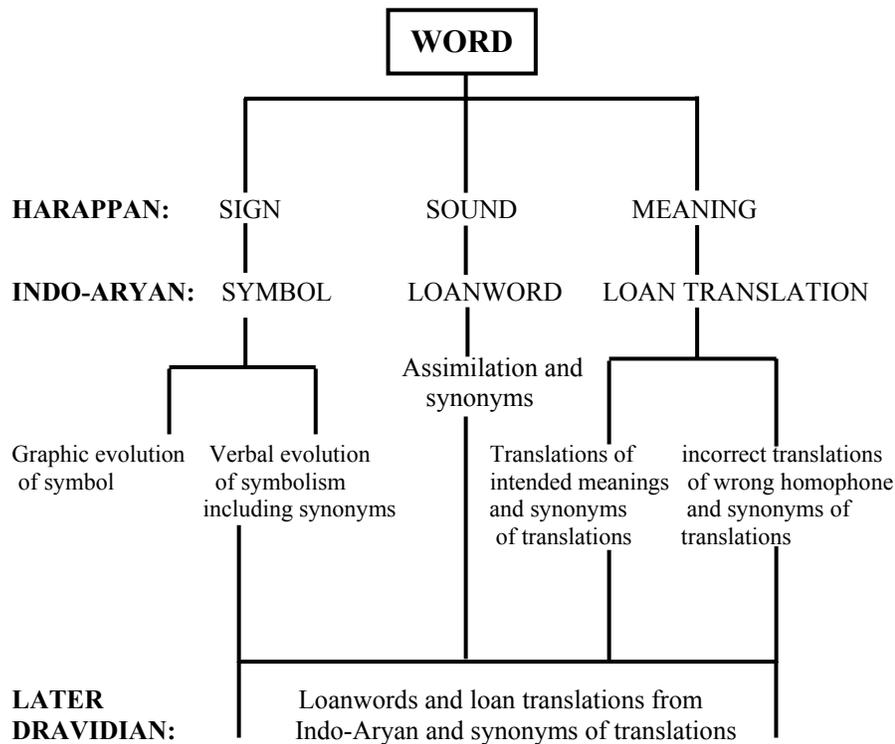1.4 These developments are shown schematically in Chart 1

```
                          ┌──────────┐
                          │   WORD   │
                          └──────────┘
              ┌───────────────┼───────────────┐

HARAPPAN:     SIGN          SOUND           MEANING

INDO-ARYAN:   SYMBOL       LOANWORD      LOAN TRANSLATION
         ┌──────┴──────┐
                     Assimilation and        ┌────────┴────────┐
                        synonyms

Graphic evolution  Verbal evolution     Translations of    incorrect translations
 of symbol          of symbolism       intended meanings   of wrong homophone
                 including synonyms      and synonyms        and synonyms of
                                         of translations      translations

LATER        │       Loanwords and loan translations from                  │
DRAVIDIAN:   │       Indo-Aryan and synonyms of translations               │
```

Chart 1: Graphic and linguistic evolution of Indus signs and words

1.5 The situation is in fact much more complex than is suggested in the chart. The continental size of the country, the great time-depth involved in the changes and the incredible diversity of the Indian society have also to be taken into account. One has therefore to be on the lookout for <u>layers</u> of parallelisms as well as different, and often divergent, <u>streams</u> of parallelisms. As a result, the Indus sign, word and its meaning may be reflected in Indo-Aryan and in later tradition, not by just one set of symbol, loanword and loan-translation respectively, but by multiple sets of symbols and words. These may occur in different regions and periods, all differing from one another, but all of them based on the same prototype.

1.6 The two great linguistic traditions of India, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, continually acting and reacting upon each other, add yet another dimension to the picture. The Indo-Aryan languages were influenced by the substratum Dravidian languages. The influence of the dominant Sanskritic tradition on the Dravidian languages in historical times was much greater. In this situation, it could happen that ideas which originated in Dravidian in the Harappan age, and which were borrowed by the Indo-Aryan at a very early period, travelled back to Dravidian at a much later time. In such cases, the later Dravidian concepts and words may not necessarily restore the earlier Dravidian values. Finally, the method itself is severely limited by its dependence on accidental and random survivals of symbols and words, and the uncertainty in recognizing loanwords and loan translations.

1.7 In spite of these uncertainties and limitations, which I have deliberately emphasized   here, the method of bilingual parallels would seem to be the only one available at present for at least a partial understanding of the context of the Indus texts. The Indian historical tradition is unique for its preservation and continuity. The Egyptian, Sumerian and Akkadian gods and heroes have long been forgotten in their countries. In India, the Vedic hymns are still chanted without missing a single syllable, and the Pre-Aryan gods are still worshipped in the temples across the country, though their names and titles have been mostly Sanskritised. This continuity is the 'Rosetta Stone' of the Indus script. I feel that, when interpreted with due care and circumspection, bilingual parallels derived from Indus ideograms can be virtually as good as bilingual inscriptions and may lead, in especially favourable circumstances as in the present case, to the phonetic values of the Indus signs.

II. Application: Ideographic interpretation of Sign pair 木 苗

I proceed to illustrate the method with the example of a frequent pair of signs in the Indus Texts **(Fig.1)**.

Sign 大

2.1 The second member of the sign pair (read from the right) appears to depict a 'horned god or personage'. Many scholars have interpreted the sign

as a title meaning broadly a 'divinity, personage, hero or warrior' (Hunter 1934: 109; Heras 1953: 263; Knorozov 1968: 15; Gurov 1968: 44; Parpola et al. 1969: 11-12, 1970: 42; Mahadevan 1970: paras 2.43-2.45, 1975: para 29, 1986: 117-118). This interpretation is corroborated by variants of the sign ⋏ clearly showing the 'horns' **(Fig.2)** and by the pictorial motif of the 'buffalo-horned god or personage' depicted on the Indus seals **(Fig.3)**.

Sign ⼲

2.2 The first member of the sign pair (read from the right) appears to represent some kind of a weapon or tool with a toothed head and a long handle. It resembles a 'trident', though the variants recorded in the Indus texts have four or more 'teeth'. The close graphic similarity of the Indus sign ⼲ with the Sumerian ideogram *gal* 'great' **(Fig.4)** was noticed quite early (Langdon in Marshall 1931: 454; Hunter 1934: 209). The probability that the Indus sign has also a similar meaning is suggested by the following considerations:
   a) The sign functions grammatically as an attribute.
   b) It is very often found before the 'horned personage' sign **(Fig.5)**.
Accordingly, the Indus sign ⼲ has also been interpreted to mean 'great' (Heras 1953: 76; Gurov 1968: 44; Mahadevan 1970: paras 2.47-2.49, 1986: 117-118).

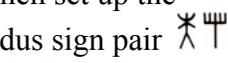**Ideographic interpretation: 'great god or personage'**

2.3 If the analogy of the 'trident' is pursued further, we get an important and wholly independent corroboration of the meaning of sign ⼲. The most characteristic <u>symbolic</u> attribute of *Śiva* is the 'trident'. Hence, the names like *śūlin, śūladhara, śūlapāṇi,* and other equivalents. It is significant that the most characteristic <u>verbal</u> attribute of *Śiva* is the epithet 'great' as evidenced by names like *mahādēva, mahēśa,* and *mahēśvara.* We can then set up the following parallelism from later Indian tradition for the Indus sign pair ⋏⼲ (arranged left to right in Chart 2 for convenience of transcription).

Fig.1: Sign pair ᚷ ᛏ in the Indus text 1010
From Mohenjodaro (Marshall 1931:seal
No.10)

Fig .2: Variant of sign ᚷ with realistic depiction of 'horned
personage' in the Indus text 6122 from Chanhudaro
(Mackay 1943:LI-22)

Fig.3: A 'horned god or personage' in the field with
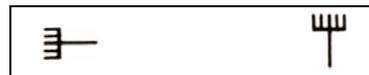the Indus text 2420 from Mohenjodaro
(Mackay 1938: Seal No.420)

Fig.4: Sumerian (left) and Indus (right)
ideograms for 'great'

6

CONCORDANCE		R	INDEX
2444	00	⨻𝖚✳𝖳	𝘟
2864	10	⨻𝖚✳𝖳	
	20	▨𝖚✳𝖳	
4603	10	⧈⊗✳𝖳	
	20	𝖚‖	
4606	10	⧈⊗✳𝖳	
	20	𝖚‖	
2627	00	𝖚˙✳𝖳▨	
2904	11	𝖚✳𝖳˙▨	
	12	𝘠⊛𝘈𝖳	
4597	10	⨻𝖚✳𝖳˙▨	
	20	𝖚Ⅲ	
4641	10	⨻𝖚✳𝖳▨	
	20	𝖚Ⅲ	
1318	00	𝖚✳˙𝖳˙▨⊗	
2359	00	𝖚✳𝖳✳✕✕	
1010	00	𝖚✳𝖳⤳"⊗	
1322	00	𝖚✳𝖳∝𝙼𝙼✹"◇	
3232	10	𝖚✳𝖳𝙆𝙆"◇	
	20	⨻𝖚⟩⟩∝𝙼𝙼✹	
1616	10	⤳)✳)	
	20	𝖚✳𝖳✗	
2048	00	𝖚✳𝖳✗"◇	
2338	00	𝘬𝖚✳𝖳✗"◇	
2647	00	𝘬𝖚✳𝖳✗"◇	
4103	00	𝖚✳𝖳✗"𝘈⚹‖∕	
1209	01	𝖚✳𝖳Ⅲ𝖚	
	02	)(𝟎	
1050	00	𝖚✳𝖳"𝘟 ‖‖‖⁰𝖳⁰	
2476	00	𝖚✳𝖳"◇	
2533	00	𝖚✳𝖳"◇	

Fig.5 Indus Texts with the frequent sign pair 𝘟 𝖳 (Mahadevan 1977: 172)

	TRIDENT	GOD	:	*śūla dhara*
=	GREAT	GOD	:	*mahā dēva*
Hence, TRIDENT =	GREAT	:	*śūla = mahā*

Chart 2: Ideographic interpretation of sign pair 𝝌 𝝩

2.4 The suggestion made here is as follows: Sign 𝝩 survived as a symbol in later times and its association with the meaning 'great' was also remembered. When *Śiva* evolved as the 'great god' of the Hindu pantheon, he also acquired this symbolic attribute, which itself evolved into a weapon (trident) in his hands. The Hindu religious tradition has thus preserved in this case the ancient and hitherto unsuspected connection between the symbolism of the 'trident' and its original signification 'great'. This parallelism provides a wholly independent corroboration of the meaning of sign 𝝩 already suggested by its positional and functional characteristics in the Indus texts as well as by its close graphic similarity with the corresponding Sumerian ideogram with the same meaning. Here is a three-way control on the meaning of the sign, which merits serious consideration.

2.5 The evolution of sign 𝝩 into a symbol representing a 'trident' is a post-Harappan phenomenon. It is also not necessary that the sign pair 𝝌 𝝩 in the Indus texts referred exclusively to a divinity. It is probable that the title was in general use by the Harappan ruling classes in the same way as the titles *dēva* and *mahādēva* occur as royal epithets or even as personal names in later times.

III. Result: Phonetic values of sign pair 〤 〒

Sign 〤

3.1 Let us begin by looking at probable words in Dravidian for 'eminent personage, hero, warrior'. As the ideogram depicts a personage with horns, the selected word should preferably have some connection with 'horns'. Consider the following etyma from the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (henceforth DEDR; Dr. : Dravidian; IA: Indo-Aryan; inscr.: inscription. The names of languages are abbreviated as in DEDR):

DEDR 1173 : Ta. *kaṇṭaṉ* 'warrior'; Ka. *gaṇḍa* 'strong, manly, male person; Te. *gaṇḍuḍu* 'a brave, strong man'. , Malt. *genḍa* ' male'.

The stem *ka(ṇ)ṭ -* also occurs in Dr. etyma for 'horned beasts or creatures':

DEDR 1173 : Ta. *kaṇṭi* 'buffalo bull'.

DEDR 1114 : Ta. *kaṭamā* 'bison'; Ma. *kaṭamāṉ* 'elk'; Ka. *kaḍava* 'elk, Indian stag' ; Tu. *kaḍama* 'elk, stag'.

DEDR 1123 : Ta. *kaṭā, kiṭā* 'buffalo, bull, ram' ; Go. *kāṛā* 'young buffalo'; Kur. *kārā* 'young, male buffalo'; Br. *xarās* ' bull', *xar* 'ram'.

DEDR 1117 : Ta. *kaṭampai* 'hornet'; Ka. *kaḍaja* 'hornet'.

The title *kaṇṭaṉ* 'warrior, hero' occurs along with personal names in Tamil literature and inscriptions:

kaṇṭaṉ 'warrior; title of *Cōḻa* kings' (*Ta.Lex.*)

uḷar cila kaṇṭarkaḷ 'there are some warriors' (*Periya.* 629).

tiṉ tiṟal kaṇṭaṉ 'the mightly warrior' (inscr. *SII*.VII: 863).

kaṇṭar-ātittaṉ 'N. of a *Cōḻa* king'.

The Dr. word *kaṇṭ(a)* was borrowed into IA :

Skt. *(lex.)* : *gaṇḍa, gaṇḍīra* 'hero'.

It is interesting that Skt. *gaṇḍīra* was re-borrowed into Tamil even by the time of the *Caṅkam* anthologies :

kaṇṭīra-k-kōṉ 'N. of a prince' (*Puṟa.* 151:6).

On the basis of the evidence summarised above, we can provisionally determine the phonetic value of the Indus sign 〤 as *kaṇṭ(a)* 'eminent personage' and look for confirmation. I had arrived at this conclusion even in my early studies of the Indus Script (1970, 1975, 1986), but could not progress further due to the incorrect phonetic value I had chosen for 〒 as narrated below.

Sign ⊤

3.2 There are several Dr. words for 'great'. I had earlier considered *neṭ(u)* 'great' as in *neṭumāl* 'Viṣṇu', *neṭuvēḷ* 'Murukaṉ', *neṭuñ-cēral-ātaṉ* 'N. of a *Cēra* king', etc. But reading the sign pair 人⊤ as *neṭ(u)-kaṇṭ(a)* - (1970: paras 2.48-2.49) did not prove to be productive, as the title could not be satisfactorily related to any of the traditional names or titles in Dr. or borrowings by IA. It has taken me more than three decades of further search to discover that the apt word in this context is the Dr. root *nīḻ* 'great' and not its oblique stem *neṭ(u)*. Such are the occupational hazards of would-be decipherers! A seemingly minor modification has now resulted in a major break-through:

DEDR 3692 : Ta. *nīḻ* ' great, loftiness'; Tu. *nēḻya* 'great'.

The word *nīḻ* 'great' occurs in Old Tamil:
nīḻ eri : 'great heat' (*Aka.* 51:2)
nīḻ kuṭi : 'great lineage' (*Pura.* 71:17)
nīḻ niti : 'great riches' (*Cīvaka.* 615)
nīḻ : 'great' (*Piṅkala.* 7:2)

Sign Pair 人⊤

3.3 The suggested phonetic values and meaning of the Indus sign pair are: *nīḻ kaṇṭ(a)* 'great personage'. The phrase *nīḻ kaṇṭ(a)* as such is not attested in Old Tamil (for reasons I shall explain presently). However, the meaning of the sign pair can be readily gathered from the component words of the phrase, which, as we have seen above, are attested in Old Tamil.
The significance of the phrase *nīḻ kaṇṭ(a)* is that it suggests immediately IA *nīlakaṇṭha* 'god with the blue neck' who is also *mahādēva*, 'great god' as well as *śūlin* 'god with the trident'. The evidence indicates that the Harappan Dr. *nīḻ kaṇṭ(a)* 'great personage' was borrowed into IA as a loanword with only minimal phonetic changes *(ḻ > l and ṭ > th)*. Concurrently, the meaning of the Dr. title *nīḻ kaṇṭ(a)* passed into IA as a loan translation, *mahādēva*, 'great god'. Both the loanword and the loan translation refer to *śiva* who had emerged as the 'great god' in this period.

However, as *nīlakaṇṭha* 'god with the blue neck' does not correspond in meaning to *mahādēva* 'great god', the association of the loanword and the loan translation became arbitrary and conventional in Indo-Aryan and needed the invention of a myth to explain the connection.

The myth of *Śiva*'s 'blue neck'

3.4 The well-known myth of churning the ocean which produced both nectar *(amṛta)* and poison *(kālakūta)* was probably already in existence and provided the background to the new myth. *Śiva* swallowed the poison and *Pārvati* (or *Nārāyaṇa* according to another version) seized *Śiva*'s throat to prevent him from swallowing the poison which would have destroyed the universe. Thus the poison got stuck in *Śiva*'s throat, turning his neck blue. Thereafter *Śiva*, the great god (*mahādēva*), came to be called *nīlakaṇṭha* 'god with the blue neck'.

Nīlakaṇṭha and synonyms in Indo-Aryan

3.5 The earliest references to *Śiva* as 'god with the blue neck' are found in the Yajurveda (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 4:5.5.5), where he is addressed as *nīlagrīva* and *śitikaṇṭha*, both obviously synonyms of *nīlakaṇṭha* which must have been the original loanword according to the evidence presented here. The name *nīlankaṇṭha* occurs (along with *mahādēva* repeated twice) in the *Nīlakaṇṭha-mahāmantram* traditionally recited in between the First and Second *anuvāka* of the *Rudram*, but this *mantra* is regarded as a later addition not belonging to the Yajurveda. The name *nīlakaṇṭha* occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (Sorensen's *Index* p. 213) and in later Sanskrit works. The late occurrence of *nīlakaṇṭha* should not be interpreted to mean that the name did not exist earlier. The occurrence of *nīla-* (in *nīlagrīva*) and *-kaṇṭha* (in *śitikaṇṭha*) in the Yajurveda clearly presupposes the existence of *nīlakaṇṭha* earlier. Indeed, the occurrence of such synonyms in the Yajurveda indicates long familiarity with the myth of *nīlakaṇṭha* probably current even in the early Vedic period.

Nīlakaṇṭa and his blue neck in Later Dravidian

3.6 The legend of *Śiva*'s blue neck caused by swallowing the poison is found in Old Tamil from the earliest layer of *Caṅkam* anthologies (committed to writing in the early centuries CE, but recording much earlier oral traditions).

Along with the legend, the name *nīlakaṇtha* in IA was borrowed by Tamil as *nīlakaṇta* 'god with the blue neck' replacing the earlier Dr. *nīḷ kaṇt(a)* 'great personage'. The linguistic developments can be summarised as follows: Earlier Dr. *nīḷ kaṇt (a)* > IA *nīlakaṇtha* > Later Dr. *nīlakaṇta*. The earlier Dr. *nīḷ kaṇt(a)* and its original significance 'great personage' did not survive in Tamil and were replaced by the loanword *nīlakaṇta* with a very different meaning. Similarly, IA *śūlin* 'god with the trident' passed into Tamil as the loanword *cūli* with the same meaning (*Piṅkala*.2:2).

3.7 The following citations are from *Puranāṉūṟu,* one of the earliest of Old Tamil anthologies (translations by Hart and Heifetz 2002):
kaṟai miṭaṟṟu aṇṇal 'god with the blue black throat' (55.4).
maṇi miṭaṟṟōṉ 'god whose neck is the colour of sapphire' (56.2).
nīla maṇi miṭaṟṟu oruvaṉ 'whose neck is as dark blue as sapphire' (91.6).
In a unique variation of the theme found only in Old Tamil, the legend of the blue neck is associated with *Durgā*, the consort of *Śiva*. The following citation is from the epic *Cilappatikāram* (ca.6th cent. CE): *nañcu uṇtu karutta kaṇti* 'she whose throat is darkened by swallowing the poison' (12:57).
3.8 The name *nīlakaṇta* is not found in Old Tamil sources. But its earlier existence can be inferred from terms like *nīla*-'blue' and *kaṇti* 'she of the throat' in the citations given above. It is remarkable that the earliest references to *kaṟai miṭaṟu* and *nīla maṇi miṭaṟu* appear to be loan translations of *śitikaṇtha* and *nīlagrīva* respectively found in the Yajurveda. The preference for loan translations rather than for loanwords in Old Tamil poems is well known. Cf. Ta.*kaṟai* for Skt.*śiti* 'black (stain)'; Ta.*miṭaṟu* for Skt.*kaṇtha* and *grīva* 'throat'. The earliest loanword (cited above) is *kaṇti* (fem.), adapted from Skt. *kaṇtha* 'throat'; *perunteivam* and *peruntēvaṉ* are Old Tamil translations from Skt. *mahādēva*.

Nīlakaṇta and the legend of the blue neck in later Tamil

3.9 The great Bhakti movement which swept the Tamil country from about the 6th century CE saw a revival of the Saiva sect, when the legend of *nīlakaṇta* became much more popular than in the earlier *Caṅkam* Age. The Bhakti poetry, especially the *Tēvāram*, is replete with references to *nīlakaṇta* and his blue neck. Several synonyms of *nīlakaṇta* also appear, far more than in Sanskrit for *nīlakaṇtha*. A few illustrative citations (ca.6-7 cent. CE) from the *Tēvāram* will suffice:
nīla maṇi miṭaṟṟāṉ 'one whose throat is like the sapphire' (*Kārai*. 76).
nīla kaṇtaṉ 'god of the blue neck' (Campantar 1: 66).

12

maṇi kaṇṭaṉ ' god with the sapphire (-coloured) neck' (Campantar 2: 28). The name *nīlakaṇṭaṉ* is listed as one of the synonyms of *śiva* in *Piṅkalantai* (2:2) dated in ca.9th cent. CE.

3.10 Personal names like *Makātēvaṉ, Maṇikaṇṭaṉ* and *Nīlakaṇṭaṉ* are still popular in Tamil Nadu. *Nañcuṇṭa* is equally popular as a personal name among the speakers of all the four literary Dravidian languages of South India. Persistence of names like these exemplifies the astonishing vitality and continuity of Indian historical tradition from the Harappan to Tamil via Sanskrit.

Summary

3.11 The argument of the paper is summarised in Chart 3. The reader may like to compare this with Charts 1 and 2 dealing respectively with the theory and application of the methodology which have led to the result presented in the last chart.

INDUS SIGNS:
(l. to r.)

	SIGN	SOUND	MEANING

HARAPPAN :
(Earlier Dr.)

TOOTHED WEAPON-HORNED MAN	*nīl- kaṇt(a)*	'great personage'

SYMBOL	LOANWORD	SYNONYMS	LOAN TRANSLATION	SYNONYMS

INDO-ARYAN :

śūlin ('god with the trident')	*nīla-kaṇtha* ('god with the blue neck')	*nīla-grīva* *śiti-kaṇtha*	*mahā-dēva*	*mahēśa* *mahēśvara*

LATER DR.:
(Old Tamil)

cūli	*nīla-kaṇtaṉ* *makā-tēvaṉ*	*maṇi-miṭarrāṉ* *karai-miṭarru-nañcu uṇṭa-*	*perun-tēvaṉ*	*perun-teivam*

Chart 3: Phonetic values and bilingual parallels of sign pair ⚘

References

Akanāṉūṟu : See Subramaniyan, S.V. (ed.) 2006.

A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary 1984.
T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau (ed.), 2nd revised edn. Oxford.

Gurov, N.V. : See Knorozov Yu. V. *et al.* 1968.

Hart, G.L. and H. Heifetz 2002.
The Puṟanāṉūṟu (translation). Penguin Books.

Heras, H. 1953.
Studies in Proto-Indo- Mediterranean Culture, Vol.I. Bombay.

Hunter, G.R. 1934.
The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its connection with other scripts. London.

Knorozov, Yu.V. *et al.*1968.
*Proto-Indica.*Moscow.

Mackay, E.J.H. 1938.
Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro. New Delhi.

-------------- 1943.
*Chanhudaro Excavations (1935-36).*New Haven.

Mahadevan, Iravatham 1970.
Dravidian parallels in proto-Indian script. Madras:
International Association of Tamil Research.
Reprinted in *Journal of Tamil Studies:* 2 (1) (1970): 157-276.

--------------1975.
Study of the Indus Script through bilingual parallels. In *Proceedings of the Second All-India Conference of Dravidian Linguists.* 1972. pp.240-261.
Reprinted in *Ancient Cities of the Indus.* G.L. Possehl (ed.). Delhi 1979.
pp.261-267.

--------------1977.
The Indus Script: Texts, Concordance and Tables. New Delhi:
Archaeological Survey of India.

Mahadevan, Iravatham 1986.
Study of the Indus Script: a bilingual approach. In *South Asian languages: structure convergence and diglossia.* Bh. Krishnamurti (ed.). Delhi: pp.113-119.

Marshall, J. 1931.
Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization. London.

Parpola , Asko et al. 1969.
Progress in the decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Indus script. Copenhagen.

-------------- 1970.
Further progress in the Indus script decipherment. Copenhagen.

Periyapurāṇam : See Subramaniyan, S.V. (ed.) 2007.

Piṅkalantai : *Cēntaṉ Tivākaram, Piṅkalam, cūṭāmaṇi* (texts and glossaries). 2004. Santhi Sadhana. Chennai.

Puṟanāṉūṟu : See Subramaniyan, S.V. (ed.) 2006.

Sorensen, S. 1904 (2006).
An Index to the names in the Mahābhārata. Delhi.

South Indian Inscriptions (SII). Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

Subramanian, S.V. (ed.) 2006.
Caṅka Ilakkiyam (complete edn. of texts). Chennai.

Subramanian, S.V. (ed.) 2007.
Paṉṉiru Tirumuṟai (complete edn. of texts). Chennai.

Swaminathaiyar, U.Ve. (ed.) 1887 (1986).
Cīvakacintāmaṇi. Chennai.

Swaminathaiyar, U.Ve. (ed.) 1892 (2001).
Cilappatikāram. Chennai.

Tēvāram : See Subramaniyan, S.V. (ed.) 2007.