THE YUPA INSCRIPTIONS OF KING MULAVARMAN, FROM KOETEI (EAST BORNEO).  

BY

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In a meeting of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences held on 3rd June, 1879, Mr. K. F. Holle drew attention to an inscribed stone reported to exist, together with a large-sized pirogue, somewhere in the Native State of Koetei, East Borneo. Inquiries subsequently made from the Assistant Resident of Koetei proved the report to be true. That official in a letter dated 9th September of the same year informed the Batavian Society that some inscribed stones and other relics of the Hindu period did exist at Moeara Kaman, three stages above Pelarang and that on the same spot the remains of a Chinese junk were found. On the 26th August, 1880, the Assistant Resident sent a further communication to the effect that His Highness, the Sultan of Koetei, had generously decided to present the four inscribed stones to the Society and that they were ready to be despatched to Batavia at the first opportunity. They arrived before the close of the year and were deposited in the archaeological section of the Batavia Museum.  

In the meanwhile a facsimile of one of the inscriptions had reached Professor Kern who made the first announcement of the important discovery in a meeting of the Royal Academy of Sciences held at Amsterdam on 13th September 1880. He at once gave a transcript and translation of the inscription which was composed in pure Sanskrit and which, in Kern's opinion,

1 I here wish to give expression to my indebtedness to Mrs. Kuenen-Wicksteed for her kindly revising my manuscript, and to Mr. G. P. Rouffaer for some useful suggestions made in connection with this paper.
was to be assigned to the fourth century of our era. After this preliminary announcement Professor Kern received from Mr. Holle copies of the three inscriptions (including the one mentioned above), that on the fourth stone being almost completely obliterated. The materials supplied enabled him at a subsequent meeting of the Royal Academy to present a paper in which the Koetei inscriptions were discussed in detail. It appeared in the Proceedings of the Academy together with facsimiles of the inscriptions. In his article Kern gave complete transcripts and translations of the three inscriptions, discussed the various questions they raise, and gave special attention to the chronological problem in connection with the palaeographical evidence afforded by the inscriptions. He added an interesting disquisition on the history of the various alphabets in use in the Eastern Archipelago.

The Koetei inscriptions having been deciphered and discussed by so great an authority on Indian and Javanese epigraphy as the late Professor Kern, a fresh treatment of these documents will perhaps seem an undertaking as bold as superfluous. There were, however, two considerations which induced me to re-edit them, the reasonableness whereof, I am glad to add, was fully admitted by that great scholar himself in a letter written only a few months before his lamented death.

In the first place, it was no slight advantage to be able to utilize a set of excellent inked estampages for which I am greatly indebted to Dr. F. D. Kan Bosch, Director of Archaeology in Netherlands-India, whereas Professor Kern's edition of these epigraphs was based on eye-copies which, though executed with evident care, could never have the authority of mechanically prepared impressions and which, indeed, were misleading in several respects. The use of more reliable materials has enabled me to correct and supplement in some points the readings proposed by my predecessor.

The other ground on which a fresh treatment of these important documents seemed desirable is the circumstance that during the period which has elapsed since Professor Kern's

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article appeared, very considerable progress has been made in epigraphical studies both in Southern India and in Indo-China. It will hardly need demonstration that this advancement of our knowledge promises in no small degree to benefit allied studies in the Indian Archipelago.

The investigation of South-Indian epigraphy in the course of the last thirty years is mainly associated with the names of Fleet, Hultzsch and Venkayya. It is Dr. E. Hultzsch, late Government Epigraphist and now Professor of Sanskrit at Halle University to whom the progress made in this department of studies is due in the first place, as is evidenced by his three imposing volumes *South Indian Inscriptions*. 1 Kern, when writing his paper on the Koetei inscriptions, had to rely largely on Dr. A. C. Burnell's *Elements of South-Indian Palaeography*, the second edition of which had appeared only a couple of years before (in 1878). Now the author of this work, while dedicating it to the Philosophical Faculty of the Strassburg University, modestly qualified it as an 'Erstlings-Arbeit auf einem bisher unbefahnten Felde'. It has now been superseded by Georg Bühler's standard work *Indische Palaeographie* (Strassburg 1896), which forms part of the *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*. 2

Whilst archaeological researches in India proper have been conducted by scholars of various nationality giving them quite a cosmopolitan character, the progress made in Indo-China in this department of knowledge is entirely due to the enthusiastic

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1 *Archaeological Survey of India. South Indian Inscriptions*, edited and translated by E. Hultzsch. Vols. I—III, Madras 1890—1903. Numerous inscriptions from Southern India have, moreover, been discussed by various scholars in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*. Two other important publications are Mr. B. Lewis Rice's *Coorg Inscriptions* (1886) and *Epigraphia Carnatica* (1889—1903), a revised edition of which has partly appeared. Accounts of recent discoveries will be found in the *Progress Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, which are brought out annually, in the first year (1907—08) by Mr. Venkayya and further by his successor Mr. Krishna Sastri. In two Native States of Southern India the work of epigraphical research is being carried on vigorously, as is evident from the *Report of the officer in charge of Archaeological researches in Mysore* [R. Narasimhachar] and from the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, (since 1910).

efforts of French scholarship. With regard to epigraphy we have to note, first of all, the monumental work on the Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā and Cambodia by Auguste Barth and Abel Bergaigne. It is accompanied by two portfolios of beautiful, large-sized facsimiles. The École française d’Extreme-Orient, a model institution founded at Hanoi in the year 1900, has nobly carried on the work of research in this as in many another field. It is particularly M. Louis Finot who has continued the work of those two great scholars in a series of articles which have appeared in the pages of the “Bulletin” of the French School under the title “Notes d’Épigraphie”. Of late years a young Sanskrit scholar of great promise, M. George Coedès, has also entered the lists and contributed some remarkable epigraphical studies to the same periodical.

In the South of India there existed from early times three powerful kingdoms, named Cola, Pāṇḍya, and Cērā (or Kerala), which are mentioned as independent states in the edicts of Açoka (c. 250 B.C.). The Cola country was called Cola-manḍala (lit. “the Cola Circle”), a name from which the southern part of the east coast has become known in Europe as the Coast of Coromandel. The Pāṇḍya kingdom occupied the extreme south of the peninsula; its capital in later days was Madura. The country of Cērā or Kerala stretched along the southern portion of the west or Malabar coast, its territory nearly corresponding to that of the modern State of Travancore.

Now there is one important fact in particular which has been established by recent epigraphical research, namely, the pre-eminence of an almost forgotten dynasty, that of the Pallava’s, in the history of southern India during a period of no less than five centuries. Dr. Burnell in his ‘Elements’ (p. 36) complained that of the Pallavas but little was known. That little he sums

2 In 1876 Dr. Fleet made the same complaint. Ind. Ant. vol. V p. 50; cf. also vol. VIII, 1879, p. 170.

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up in a few lines. «The general use of the title varman,» he says, «is common to them and the Veṅgi kings; and this and some other facts make it most probable that they belonged to one family. They had numerous contests and alliances by marriage with the Cera, Coḷa and Cālukya families, but in the 11th century they were mere feudatories of the Colas, and on this account were, apparently, repeatedly attacked by the Western Cālukyas. They disappear 'about the 14th century A. D.» Less than thirty years after this was written Mr. Venkayya, whose premature death is a severe loss to South-Indian epigraphical studies, contributed a very full paper to the Archaeological Annual for the year 1906—07, in which he gave in a condensed form an accurate account of all that antiquarian research had brought to light regarding the history of that remarkable dynasty.

It is not a little curious that the Pallavas derive the origin of their race not from the Sun or the Moon, as is usual among the princely families of India, but from Aĉvatthāman who, like his father Drona, is one of the leading heroes in the great epic Mahābhārata. The salient point about those two ancient warriors is that they were Brahmīns, belonging to the priestly house (gotra) of Bharadvāja. Like so many a bishop of mediaeval Europe those two Brahmīns distinguish themselves by their valour on the battlefield. In the genealogy (vaṃcāvalī) found in some of the later documents of the Pallavas, it is said that Aĉvatthāman had a son, named Pallava, by a divine nymph or apsaras. «Once», says the Amaravati pillar inscription, «surrounded by [other] celestial maidens, the famous nymph Madani who wished to see the abode of the hermits, entered the path of sight of that ascetic (Aĉvatthāman). The saint approached her, while, seated amongst a group of acoka-trees, she was wistfully regarding the male swans, which were afraid of being separated from their beloved ones, whenever they lost sight of them behind a lotus of the lake which was agitated.


2 South Indian Inscr. vol. II pp. 27 sq. The genealogy is also given in the Kailāsanāṭha temple inscription and in the Kūram, Kāṇḍakudi and Udayendiram copper-plate charters which all belong to the latest period of Pallava history. In the Kāṇḍakudi grant the heavenly mother of Pallava is called Menakā, and a son named Aĉokavarman is attributed to him.
bij the wind. Perceiving him who resembled Cupid in the dress of a saint, she lost her self-control, just as Umā (Pārvatī) on seeing Čarva (Čiva). Then the nympha united the couple which had conceived a deep affection. In due time, the nymph gave birth to a protector of the earth, which is girt by the ocean. The father called his son Pallava, as he was lying on a couch [covered] with a heap of sprouts (pallava).

Such is the poetical conceit by which the hero eponymous of the Pallava race is connected with the priestly hero of the epic. At the same time an attempt is made to account for the name which, as an appellative, means «a sprout or shoot» in Sanskrit.

There is another curious legend preserved in Tamil poetry which connects the origin of the Pallavas with the ancient rulers of Coromandel. It relates that the first «Tondaimān» (i.e. Pallava) was the son of a Cola king by a Nāgi or female serpent-demon.

These ancient legends have a certain poetical charm, but do not enlighten us on the true origin of the Pallavas which is to be sought in quite a different direction. There is, indeed, some reason to assume that they were of Parthian extraction, as the word Pallava appears to be identical with Pahlava which, like the older form Pārthava, is the designation by which the Parthians were known in ancient India. A further discussion of this interesting question would be out of place in the present paper. This much is certain that, when the Pallavas of Coromandel first make their appearance in history, they are thoroughly Hinduized; in their documents we find no trace of their alleged Iranian ancestry. They bear Indo-Aryan names ending in varman and reckon themselves to belong to the gotra of the Bhāradyājas. It must, however, be borne in mind that during the first period of their history those documents — three copper-plate charters composed in Prakrit — are extremely scanty. Two of these grants acquaint us with a king of the name of Čivakashandavarman who in one of them is said to have performed

1 The Tamil poem Maņimegalai in which this legend occurs, also mentions a town named Nagapuram in Čavaka-nādu which, as Mr. Venkayya says, appears to be the Tamil name of the island of Java. Two kings of Nagapuram are mentioned, viz. Bhūmicandra and Punyaraja, who claimed to be descended from Indra. Arch. Survey Annual Report for 1906—07, p. 221, footnote 1.
the agniṣṭoma, vājapeya and aṅvamedha sacrifices. The king mentions in it a previous donation by Mahārāja Bappasvāmin who is praised for his munificence and who, in all probability, was the donor’s father. The charters are dated only in regnal years, but the use of Prākrit in official documents, according to Bühler, perhaps indicates that they are not later than the first half of the fourth century A.D. The dominions of Cīvaskandavarman included not only Kāñcipuram (Conjeeveram) from whence his grants were issued, and the surrounding country, but also the Telugu country as far north as the river Kistna.¹

That from a very early date Conjeeveram, about forty miles south-west of Madras, was the capital of the Pallava kingdom is also evident from the famous prācasti or eulogy on the Allahabad pillar which, originally set up by the Buddhist emperor Aśoka to promulgate the good Law, was afterwards utilized by the Gupta king Samudragupta to extoll his conquests by the sword. Among the rulers of the South (Dākṣīṇapatha) vanquished by the great Gupta monarch, we find Viṣṇugopa of Kāñci, who consequently must have lived about the middle of the fourth century.²

For the next period of Pallava history, the fifth and sixth centuries, we possess another series of title-deeds, engraved on copper, which are distinguished from the earlier documents of the same type in that they are in Sanskrit. Their technical execution is also decidedly superior to that of the Prākrit charters. Three of the Sanskrit title-deeds which were issued from different places belong to the reign of a king named

¹ The three Prākrit charters in question are: 1st The Mayidavolu grant of the Yuvamahārāja Cīvaskandavarman, dated in the 10th year of the unnamed king (mahārāja) then ruling. (Hultzsch, Ep. Ind. vol. VI pp. 84 sqq.); 2nd the Hirahadagalli grant of the Dharmamahārājādhirāja Cīvaskandavarman, dated in the 8th year of his reign (Bühler, Ep. Ind. vol. I pp. 2 sqq.; 3rd the British Museum grant of Queen Cārudevi, consort of the Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman and mother of Buddhyākura. It is dated in some regnal year of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman (Fleet, Ind. Ant. vol IX pp. 101 sq. and Hultzsch, Ep. Ind. vol. VIII pp. 143 sqq.). All three title-deeds are written in a very cursive writing; the execution is poor. Bühler classes the character of the Prākrit grants among the precursors of the southern alphabets (Indische Palaeographie p. 44; Fleet’s transl. p. 44; plate III).

Simhavarman. They furnish, moreover, the names of several other princes of the Pallava dynasty which it will be unnecessary to repeat here. Suffice it to say that these kings are described as Bhāgavatas, that is to say, as worshippers of Bhāgavat, «the Lord» (Viṣṇu), and as scions of the Brahmanical house of Bharadvāja. They bear names which, with only one exception, end in varman.

It will be noticed that for a period of three centuries the documents relating to Pallava history are confined to a few copper-plate inscriptions. These charters bear no other date than the regnal year of the ruling monarch who in most cases was the donor of the grant. The chronology of this period is consequently very uncertain, the only criterion for dating these inscriptions being the palaeographical evidence of the character used in them. Epigraphs on stone are entirely wanting.

For the third and last period of Pallava rule, the time of their greatest power as well as of their decline and final overthrow, which comprises the seventh and the first half of the eighth century, archaeological materials are much more abundant. We now have a fresh series of kings usually indicated as «the line of Simhavisṇu», all bearing names ending in varman with the only exception of their progenitor, Simhavisṇu himself. In the inscriptions we find these kings often indicated by a number of subsidiary names or birudás. Parameçvaravarman, for instance, is also called by such names as Ugraḍaṇḍa («he of the

1 The Sanskrit charters are the following: 1st the Omgodu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman (II), issued from Tambrāpa in the 33rd year of his reign. It is supposed to be «the earliest of the Pallava Sanskrit records examined so far» and, on account of the character, is ascribed to the beginning of the fifth century (of. Progress Report Epigraphy S. C., for 1915—16, p. 113); 2nd the Pikira grant of Simhavarman issued from Menmiltura in the 5th year of his reign (Hultzsch, Ep. Ind. vol. VIII pp. 159 sqq.); 3rd the Māngalūr grant of Simhavarman, issued from Daçanapura in the 8th year of his reign (Fleet, Ind. Ant. vol. V pp. 154 sqq.); 4th the Uruvupallī grant of the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman, issued from Palakkada in the 11th year of Simhavarman (Fleet, Ind. Ant. vol. V pp. 50 sqq.); 5th the fragmentary Darṣi grant of the great-grandson of Virakorevarman (Ep. Ind. vol. I, pp. 397 sqq.); 6th the Cendalu grant of Kumāraśiva (II) issued from Kāneipura in the second year of his reign (Hultzsch, Ep. Ind. vol. VIII pp. 233 sqq.); 7th the spurious Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman, issued from Kāneipura in the first year of his reign (Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. vol. III pp. 142 sqq.).
fierce rod») and Lokaditya («Sun of the World»). Another
difficulty is the frequent recurrence of the same names in this
as well as in the earlier lines of Pallava kings. There seems to
have existed a regular fashion of naming a child after its grand-
father.

The epigraphical records of the house of Simhaviṣṇu comprise
not only copper-plate charters but also numerous inscriptions
on stone. The former are extensive poems in flowery Sanskrit
which contain a good deal of historical information, especially
in the first portion dealing with the Pallava rulers and their
ancestry. They are very appropriately designated in the in-
scriptions themselves by the term praçaṣti («eulogy») which
otherwise is hardly ever applied to copper-plate grants. They
are also remarkable for their excellent workmanship.

Among stone inscriptions we may mention, in the first place,
those of Simhaviṣṇu's son and successor, Mahendravarman I.
They are found on rock-cut temples at Trirāpaḷi (vulgo Tri-
chinopoly), Čiyamanagalam, Dalavanur, and Mahendravādi. The
cave temple at the last-mentioned place was dedicated to the
god Viṣṇu; the other three to Čiva. The double inscription in
the upper cave of Trichinopoly is of special interest, as it men-
tions also the erection of a stone image of the king himself. A
fifth inscription in a cave temple at Pālavaram near Madras
contains nothing but a number of birudas of the king in
Sanskrit, Telugu, and Tamil. A cave inscription in Tamil found
at Vallam near Chingleput records the dedication of a cave
temple by a vassal of Mahendravarman. Finally, there is a cave

1 The charters of the third period are the following: 1st the Kūram grant
of Parameśvaravarman I (Hultzsch, South Indian Insr. vol. I pp. 144 sqq.); 2nd
the Kācaṇkaṇi grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, engraved on no less
than eleven copper-plates (op. cit. vol. II pp. 342 sqq.); 3rd the spurious
Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (op. cit. vol. II pp. 861
sqq.). These charters are written partly in Sanskrit (in the Grantha character)
and partly in Tamil.

2 Cf. Fleet, Gupta Inscr. p. 87 n.

3 Trichinopoly {upper} cave inscr. (Hultzsch, op. cit. vol. I pp. 28 sqq. and
II, plate X); Čiyamanagalam cave inscr. (Hultzsch, Ep. Ind. vol. VI pp. 819
sqq.); Dalavanur cave inscr. (Hultzsch, Ep. Ind. vol. XII, pp. 825 sqq.);
Mahendravādi cave inscr. (Hultzsch, Ep. Ind. vol. IV, pp. 152 sqq.); Pālavar-
am cave inscr. (Progress Report for Epigraphy, S. C., 1905—06, p. 75 sqq.);
Vallam cave inscr. (Hultzsch, op. cit., vol. II pp. 340 sqq.); Manḍagappattu
at Manḍagappatṭu dedicated to the gods Brahmā, Icvara (Ṣiva) and Viṣṇu, but unfortunately the king's name in the inscription is illegible.

It appears that under Mahendravarman I the great struggle between the Pallavas and Cālukyas commenced which lasted for one century and a half and ended with the downfall of both. His great antagonist was the Cālukya prince Pulikeçin II (A. D. 609—642). In the words of the famous prācaṣṭi of Aihole, the latter «caused the splendour of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kāncipura». ¹ And in the same eulogy it is stated that Pulikeçin «caused great prosperity to the Coḷas, Keralas and Pāṇḍyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost— the army of the Pallavas».

Pulikeçin also succeeded in occupying the Venṭi country, situated between the mouths of the Kistna (Krṣṇa) and Godāvari rivers, over which he established his younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana, who first ruled the country with the title of yuva-rāja, but subsequently made himself independent and thus became the founder of the Eastern Cālukya empire. ²

Evidently, however, the splendour of the Pallavas was only temporarily obscured. It was Mahendravarman's son and successor, Narasimhavarman I, who retrieved the fallen fortunes of his house. It is stated in the Küram copper-plate grant that he not only repeatedly defeated the Coḷas, Keralas, Kāḷabhras and Pāṇḍyas, but also that he «wrote the syllables of the word vijaya (victory) on Pulikeçin's back which was caused to be visible in various battles» and that he even destroyed Vatāpi, the capital of the Cālukyas. That this was no idle boast is proved by a rock inscription which the Pallava king left in the very capital of his opponent. ³ The conquest of Vatāpi (the

¹ The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (Si-yu-ki, transl. Beal, vol. II pp. 255 sqq.) has left an interesting account of Pulikeçin (whom he mentions by name) and of his kingdom which he calls Mo-ho-la-ocha, i.e. Mahāraṣṭra or Mahāraṭṭha.

² Ep. Ind. vol. VI, p. 11, verses 29 and 31.

³ Ind. Ant. vol. XX pp. 94 sq.

⁴ This interesting record, which unfortunately is partly obliterated, was discovered in the season 1876—77 by the late Dr. Fleet who edited it (Indian Antiquary, vol. IX (1880) pp. 99 sq.) together with a lithograph from an estampage prepared by himself. The inscription, which is written in the
present Bādāmi in the Bombay Presidency) by Narasimhavarman which, according to the late Dr. Fleet, must have taken place about 642 A. D. and marks the culminating point of Pallava power, is repeatedly mentioned in the documents of the period. The Pallava king assumed the title Vātāpi-konḍa «Conqueror of Vātāpi», and in the inscriptions he is compared to the "pitcher-born" Agastya, the great Saint of Southern India, of whom it is related that he overcame a demon of the name of Vātāpi.  

In the Singhalese chronicle Mahāvaṃsa it is recorded that in his wars with Pulikecin the Pallava king was assisted by the pretender Mānavarman whom he twice supplied with an army to invade Ceylon.

Among the numerous birudas or epithets by which Narasimhavarman I is designated is also that of Mahāmalla «the great Wrestler». It appears to be preserved in the name of Māmallapura (i.e. Mahāmallapura) or Māvalivaram, as it is called in Tamil, a locality on the coast, about 30 miles south of Madras, which by its wonderful ancient temples and sculptures still recalls the bygone glories of the Pallava race. This remarkable group of monuments, now-a-days best known under the Anglo-Indian appellation of the ‘Seven Pagodas’ has excited the curiosity and admiration of many a traveller. The Venetian adventurer Nicolao Manucci, whose wanderings through nearly the whole of India fall in the reigns of the Great-Moghuls Shāh-Jahān and ‘Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb), was one of the first Europeans in whose writings they are noticed. «On the coast of Coromandel», he says, «near the sea, there is also a rock called Mavelivaraō [i.e. Māvalivaram], distant four leagues from a place called Sadrastapataō [i.e. Sadrastapatam or Sadras], where there

same character as the contemporaneous Pallava inscriptions of Coromandel, consists of six lines, of which ll. 1—2 contain a date, whilst in ll. 3—6 we find a stanza in the Čārdūlavikṛṣṭa metre. It is followed by the remnants of a few lines in the Cālukya character.

1 The Dinaja stone inscription of the Čaka year 682 (A. D. 760) edited by Dr. F. D. Kan Bosch establishes the interesting fact that in ancient Java too there existed a regular cultus of Agastya (Tijdschrift van het Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. LVII, pp. 410 sqq.). The story of Agastya and Vātāpi is told both in the Mahābhārata (Bombay ed.) III, adhy. 96—99 and in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay ed.) III, sarga 11 (cf. 43).

2 Mr. Wijesinha’s Translation, pp. 41 sqq., Di. 74.
are many sculptured figures resembling Chinese». Manucci had a fantastic notion «that the Chinese were once lords of Hindustan, and that they were ejected by the Pathans», and the Chinese character which — strange though it may seem — he assigned to the remains of Māvalivaram, was adduced by him as an argument in favour of his thesis!

About a century later a servant of the Dutch East-India Company, Jacob Haafner by name, gives a much fuller account of the wonderful ancient remains of Māvalivaram, which in the course of his prolonged stay at Sadras, then a Dutch “factory”, he had frequently had occasion to inspect. In the twenty-four pages which he devotes to “Maveliewarom”, as he calls the place, Haafner largely indulges in musings on the transitory nature of human things and the vanity of royal pomp. But the temples and images inspired him at the same time with a genuine admiration for what had been achieved by the ancient Indians in the field of architecture and sculptural art. Herein lies the chief interest of Haafner’s account: in his appreciative and warm sympathy with India and Indians he is the herald of a new period.

His actual description of the temples and sculptures which is conceived in the somewhat inflated style than in fashion, is rather vague and not free from exaggeration. Yet, on the whole, it is possible to make out the individual monuments he alludes to. Thus he refers to the so-called “Shore Temple”, in which he notices «the image of a male of a gigantic size, bearing a mitre on his head, who, chained both at hands and feet, lies in a kind of sarcophagus (grave) which stands in the middle of the temple». He speaks also of the colossal image of Viṣṇu reclining on the serpent Čeṣa, which is carved on the wall of one of the cave temples. The five so-called “rāths” which are popularly named after the five Pāṇḍava brothers and their common spouse, Draupadi, are also duly noticed by Haafner who correctly describes them as carved out of a single rock. He calls special attention to the rāth of Bhīma, and adds that in the roof there is a large rent probably caused by lightning.

1 J. Haafner, Reise in einen palanquin, Amsterdam 1808, vol. II pp. 415—438. The author lived at Sadras till 17th June, 1781. For further particulars I may refer to my paper Jacob Haafner. Schets uit de laatste jaren der Oost-Indische Compagnie (De Indische Gids, March 1900).
His description is accompanied by a sketch in which the rāth of Bhīma, conspicuous by its roof, and that of Draupadi, smallest in size and simplest in shape, are perfectly recognisable. Haafner, as a matter of course, accepted the popular tradition which connects the remains of Māvalivaram with the Pāṇḍavas, and duly enlarged upon the pristine glories of the ancient city of “Joudishter”. «On several of these monuments and ruins,» he says, «there are inscriptions, but the characters are wholly unknown, and among the most learned Pundits no one has yet been found who could read the same. They differ entirely from those of the Sanscrit, Nagari, Grindam [i.e. Grantha!], or other ancient Indian languages». 1

It is due to the scholarship of Professor Hultzsch that the true history of the remains of Māvalivaram has at last been revealed. 2 From the numerous inscriptions found on them it follows that one of the earliest monuments of the site must be the so-called «rāth of Dharmarāja (alias Yudhiṣṭhira)», the largest of the group of five rock-cut temples. It is covered with a number of short epigraphs which were first erroneously believed to refer to the images of deities under which they are found, but which Hultzsch has shown to be in reality birudas of a Pallava king, Narasimha, whom he identifies with Narasimha I, the conqueror of Vātāpi. Consequently the «Dharmarāja-ratha» must have been sculptured in the first half of the seventh century of our era.

Somewhat later in date are the monolithic Ganeça temple and the two cave temples called Dharmarāja- maṇḍapa and Rāmānuja- maṇḍapa. In the inscriptions they are assigned to a king of the name of Atyantakāma whom Hultzsch identifies with Narasimhavarman I’s grandson: Parameçvaravarman I.

Finally we have the quaint tiger-cave at Ĉaluvaṅguppam, a village 2 miles north of Māvalivaram. It bears a bilitteral epigraph in which the praises of a Pallava king Atirānacanḍa are sung. Hultzsch believes him to be the same as Nandivarman under

1 It will hardly be necessary to point out that Nagari and Grantha are not languages, but alphabets in which the Sanskrit is usually written in North- and South-India respectively.

2 Prof. Hultzsch has first edited the Pallava inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas in his South Indian Inscriptions, vol. I pp. 1 sqq., and subsequently given a revised edition of them in Ep. Ind. vol. X pp. 1 sqq.
whom, as we shall presently see, the power of the Pallavas collapsed. This sudden collapse, in Dr. Hultzsch's opinion, may account for the fact that so many of the excavations at the Seven Pagodas have remained unfinished.

It would be impossible in the present paper to give an adequate account of the wonderful monuments of Māvalivaram which were raised by the Pallava princes of the seventh century. Suffice it to say that they form the most striking memorials of that remarkable dynasty and that, moreover, they are of great interest as the prototypes of Dravidian architecture.

Next to Māvalivaram, it is the former Pallava capital Conjeeveram (Kāñcipuram) which still bears testimony to their piety and love of art. Foremost among its ancient shrines stands the temple dedicated to Īśvara under the name of Kailāsanāṭha ("Lord of Mount Kailāsa"). It was built by Rājāsimha who is the same as Narasimhavarman II. The central shrine bears an inscription of twelve Sanskrit verses which, after praising the mythical ancestors Bharadvāja, Drona, Aśvatthāman and Pallava, eulogizes the royal founder of the temple which after him is designated by the name of Rājāsimheçvara. Round the inside of the enclosure of the shrine we find, moreover, a great number of short inscriptions containing an enumeration of several hundred birudās of the same king.

Two points may here be parenthetically noted: the prevalence of the worship of Ṣiva, especially under the form of the liṅga or phallus and the absence of dates in the inscriptions of the period.

While the Pallava princes were adorning Conjeeveram and Māvalivaram with sanctuaries, the war with their hereditary enemies, the Cālukyas, continued with undiminished vigour and alternating success. In the Kūram copper-plate grant a


lengthy description is given of a fearful battle fought between Narasimhavarman I’s grandson, Paramēçvaravarman I and the Cālukya Vikramāditya I, (A. D. 655—680), surnamed Rañarasika, who was a son of Pulikeṭin II. The end was, in the words of the inscription, that the Pallava king «made Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several lakhs, take to flight, covered only by a rag» ¹. Vikramāditya, on the other hand, boasts in one of his records that «this lord of the earth, conquering Īçvarapotarāja (i. e. Paramēçvaravarman I), took Kāñci whose huge walls were insurmountable and hard to be broken, which was surrounded by a large moat that was unfathomable and hard to be crossed». ²

It appears that on the death of Parameçvaravarman II the Pallava kingdom was torn by internal dissensions. His successor was Nandivarman Pallavamallā, but from some obscure allusions found in the records of his reign, it would appear that he had usurped the throne. This much is certain that he belonged to a collateral branch of the royal line, as he was descended from Bhimavarman, a younger brother of Siṃhaviśṇu. The Cālukya king, Vikramāditya II, was not slow to take advantage of the weakness of his opponent. As stated in one of his own charters (the Vakkaleri grant) he «resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy, the Pallava, who had robbed of their splendour the previous kings born from his race, reached with great speed the Tūṇḍāka-viśaya [i. e. the Pallava country], attacked at the head of a battle and put to flight the Pallava, called Nandipotavarman, who had come to meet him, .... and entered /the city of/ Kāñci which seemed to be the handsome kāñci (girdle) of the nymph of the southern region, — without destroying it». Not only did he spare the capital of his enemy, but he also bestowed his bounty on the twice-born, the distressed and the helpless and acquired great merit by rich gifts to the Kailāsanātha and other temples. A half obli-

¹ South Indian Inscr. vol. I p. 154. In an inscription in the Kailāsanātha temple of Conjeeveram it is said that the valour of Lokāditya (a biruda of Parameçvaravarman, meaning „the Sun of the World”) dried up the army of Rañarasika, just as the heat of the Sun does the mud. (op. cit. vol. I p. 28).
³ South Indian Inscr. p. 146.
iterated Kanarese inscription on a pillar of the Kailāsanātha temple still bears testimony to the conquest of the Pallava capital by the Cālukya. «This defeat of the Pallavas by the Cālukyas», Mr. Venkayya says, «seems to have dealt the death-blow to the sovereignty of the former. Thus the history of the Pallavas emphasises the oft-repeated lesson of Indian history that, when internal dissensions set in in a dynasty, its decline and disappearance is only a question of time. Powerful kings could by their personal prowess only put off the down-fall to a more distant date. Pallava ascendancy came to an end about the middle of the 8th century and, curiously enough, their rivals, the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, also ceased to be the reigning power about the same time».

The above survey of Pallava history will perhaps, at first sight, seem somewhat out of place in a paper dealing with inscriptions from Borneo. It should, however, be borne in mind that it is during the period of Pallava ascendancy that we meet with the first epigraphical monuments of Hindu influence in the Archipelago. Now there is reason to assume that in the history of the spread of Indian civilisation the Coromandel coast played an important part, although the Indian emigrants who set sail for the eastern islands did not exclusively come from that part of the Indian continent. That during the 4th to 7th centuries of our era there must have been a lively intercourse between India, Indo-China, and the islands of the Archipelago is evident from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims who during that period travelled to «Jambudvīpa» by sea to visit the sacred places associated with the life of the Buddha.

It goes without saying that on their voyages from China to India and back those pilgrims had to adopt the routes which were then being followed by the sea-borne trade. Earliest in date is the itinerary of Fa-Hian which gives us a remarkably vivid impression of the dangers of the deep which the mariners of those days had to brave. Starting from China in the year 399 A.D., he had accomplished the journey from China to India by the hardly less dangerous overland route and, after visiting the sacred vestiges at the Bodhi tree and other places of pilgrimage in Upper India, he had embarked at Tāmrālīpti (Tamlāk), the port of Bengal, and, sailing along the coast for
fourteen days and nights, he reached «the country of the lions» (Simhāla, Ceylon). There he stayed for no less than two years, before undertaking the voyage home. He then shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel, which carried about two hundred men; but after a few days a terrible tempest arose, and the ship sprung a leak. The merchantmen were greatly terrified, but Fa-Hian invoked Avalokiteśvara and paid reverence to the Buddhist saints. After the hurricane had blown for thirteen days, they reached a small island and here they were able to repair the leak. They put to sea again. «In this ocean», Fa-Hian writes, «there are many pirates, who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything. The sea itself is boundless in extent; it is impossible to know east or west except by observing the sun, moon, or stars, and so progress. If it is dark, rainy weather, the only plan is to steer by the wind without guide. During the darkness of night we only see the great waves beating one against the other and shining like fire, whilst shoals of sea-monsters of every description [surround the ship]. The merchants, perplexed, knew not towards what land they were steering. The sea was bottomless and no soundings could be found, so that there was no chance of anchoring. At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings, and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards; but if they had happened to have struck on a hidden rock, there would have been no escape. Thus they voyaged for ninety days and more, when they arrived at a country called Ye-po-ti (Java, or perhaps, Sumatra).» Fa-Hian's account of the island, where he stopped the best part of five months, is disappointingly meager after his effuse description of the voyage thither. It is contained in the one sentence: «In this country heretics and Brahmins flourish, but the law of Buddha is not much known». The pilgrim then relates how he embarked on board another merchant vessel, having a crew of some two hundred men, and set sail for China. After a month and some days, in the middle of the night the ship once more was assailed by a storm of such violence that it was in great danger of being lost. Again Fa-Hian turned to Avalokiteśvara «the Great Com-

1 I quote Beal's transl. from the Introduction to his Si-yu-ki Buddhist Records of the Western world. Vol I, p. LXXX.
passionate for help, but the Brahmins ascribed their ill luck to the presence of the bhikṣu and resolved to land him on any island they should come across. Fortunately Fa-Hian’s religious patron interceded on his behalf and threatened them with the vengeance of the king of China who was a firm believer in the law of Buddha. After a long and perilous voyage the pilgrim at last reached «the land of Han».

The most celebrated of the Chinese pilgrims, «the Master of the Law», Hiuen Tsiang 1, whose very accurate and detailed itinerary is of inestimable value for the knowledge of ancient India, does not supply any information regarding the sea-borne trade which in those days was carried on between India and the Archipelago. Both on his way to India and back he chose the overland route. Yet his «Life» described by two contemporaneous authors contains a passage which is of some interest for our present purpose. There it is stated that Kāñcipurā, the capital of Dravīḍa [i.e. the Tamil country] was the sea-port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which took three days. 2 It follows that Kāñcipurā was in those days an intermediate port on the route from Tāmralipiṭa in Bengal to Ceylon, and that apparently it then had the position now held by Madras. May we not assume that there existed also a direct intercourse between the ancient Pallava capital and the Archipelago?

Hiuan Tsiang returned to China in the year 645 A. D. after an absence of sixteen years. It appears that his example excited the enthusiasm of another famous divine, whose religious name

1 Hiuen Tsiang personally visited Kāñcipurā, the capital of Dravīḍa, as he calls it, in 640 and gives a valuable account of the town which interested him particularly as the native place of Dharmapāla. According to the pilgrim the country counted some eighty Brahmanical temples and some hundred Buddhist monasteries. Si-yu-ki(transl. Beal), vol. II pp. 228 sqq.

2 Histoire de la vie de Hionen-thsiang, traduite par Stanislas Julien, Paris 1853, pp. 191 sq. Thomas Watters, On Yuan Cheung's travels in India, London 1905, vol. II, p. 227. At first sight it may seem somewhat surprising to find Kāñcipurā described as a sea-port, considering the position of the modern town of Conjeeveram at the distance of some 40 miles, as the crow flies, from the mouth of the Palar river. But it should be remembered that several important ports of ancient India such as Bharukaccha, (modern Broach) on the West coast, and Tāmralipiṭa (modern Tamluk) in Bengal were similarly placed at considerable distance from the coast. Tamluk, e. g., is now some 60 miles from the sea. Moreover, the course of Indian rivers is liable to change. In the case of the Pālār this is explicitly noted by E. Reclus, Nouvelle géographie universelle, Paris 1888, vol. VIII p. 527.
was I-tsing. This pilgrim, however, is distinguished from his great predecessor in that he travelled by sea both on his voyage out to India and home. In 671 he sailed on a Persian ship from Kanton and, favoured by the north-east monsoon, reached Fo-che (Bhoja), also called Čri-Bhoja, which apparently was the capital of a State of the same name and in all probability was situated somewhere near Palembang.

That Bhoja was a centre of Hindu civilisation appears from the fact that I-tsing sojourned there for six months in order to acquaint himself with Sanskrit grammar. He then continued his journey to Mouo-louo-yu (Malayu) 1, where he stopped again for two months. His next station was Kie-tch'a which has been identified by M. Chavannes with Achin, but which more probably, according to Kern's identification, represents the port of Kedah in Malacca.

By the end of 672 he sailed from this place for the Indian continent and on his way visited «the land of the naked people» i.e. the Nicobar Islands, of which he has left us an interesting description. In the course of the following year he landed at Tāmralipti from where he continued his pilgrimage by land to the Mahābodhi temple and the famous Convent of Nālandā. We need not follow him on his further wanderings. For our present purpose the main point of interest in his itinerary is that it acquaints us with another trade-route, which connected the Archipelago with the chief port of Bengal.

On the route from Tāmralipti to Bhoja (or Čri-Bhoja) there were probably other intermediate ports besides the three mentioned by I-tsing. I may remind the reader of the pillar inscription of the Buddhist sea captain (m āhānāvika) Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttikā which has been found in the Wellesley district of the Malay peninsula, and which, according to Professor Kern, may be assigned to about 400 A.D. The character is very similar to that of the early Sanskrit inscriptions of Java. 2

I-tsing has not, like Hiuen Tsiang, composed a detailed account of his pilgrimage. The information regarding the countries he

1 Mr. Rouffaer (Notulen Bat. Gen., 1909, p. 116) proposes to identify this locality with Djambi (Jambi) on the north coast of Sumatra.

visited is only incidentally contained in his two works, one of which *A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*¹, is chiefly interesting for the history of Buddhism in those countries. In his other work he gives short biographies of no less than sixty eminent Chinese pilgrims who had visited India in his days. M. Chavannes ² in the introduction to his French translation of that work calls attention to the remarkable fact that in a single generation sixty persons were found willing to undertake such a perilous journey. Moreover, M. Chavannes shows good reason for assuming that there were many more pilgrims of whose wanderings no record has been preserved and that the actual number of those pious palmers must have amounted to several hundreds.

«A vrai dire,» M. Chavannes says in his introduction, «les difficultés que rencontraient ces voyageurs auraient dû décourager les audacieux qui étaient tentés de les imiter; ceux qui passaient par terre devaient traverser le désert de Gobi où les mirages trompeurs entretenaient des épouvantes indicibles, où le vent qui soulevait des flots de sable menaçait d’ensevelir les caravanes, où la route à suivre était marquée par les ossements des bêtes et des gens qui y avaient trouvé la mort. Ceux qui hasardaient leur vie sur de lourdes jonques qui se perdaient parfois, corps et bien; quoique les Chinois fussent au VIIᵉ siècle de notre ère les plus hardis navigateurs de l’Orient et quoique leurs embarcations pussent porter jusqu’à six ou sept cents personnes, ils n’étaient pas sûrs de triompher des vagues déchaînées; ou bien ils se trompaient dans leur route et venaient échouer sur des récifs qu’ils croyaient être le dos du monstre marin makara. Même arrivés en Inde, ils n’étaient pas à l’abri des dangers: les fleuves étaient parcourus par des barques de pirates; les routes étaient infestées par des bandes de brigands. Malgré


toujours, les pèlerins ne perdaient pas leur enthousiasme sacré et se passaient de main en main la torche de la Loi.

If we admit that the study of the Pallava inscriptions of Coromandel is important for the right understanding of the beginnings of Hindu civilisation in the Archipelago, the same may be said with even greater justice of the early records of two ancient kingdoms of Further India, Campā and Kambodia, which have received and absorbed in such a remarkable degree that wave of culture from the coast of the Indian continent. Here too we find Brahmanical civilisation — which, after taking its origin among the Indo-Aryans of Āryāvarta (Hindustān) had first been carried to the Dravidian peoples of the Deccan — grafted anew on two nations, the Cam and the Khmer, which, like the Dravidas, were widely different from the Indo-Aryans in race and tongue. These peoples which, from the Brahmanical point of view, were in reality Mlecchas (barbarians) have reshaped that ancient Indian civilisation in accordance with their own national genius, as is evident, in the first place, from those grand monuments of architectural and sculptural art which still excite the admiration of travellers from all parts of the globe.

It is particularly the ancient kingdom of the Cam which has played an important part in the spread of Hindu civilisation in the Far East and which, owing to its situation on the east coast of Further India (the present Annam) formed a natural link between Java and China. The name Cam by which this "Mleccha" nation called itself, was bound to remind the Brahmin immigrants of one of the great ancient cities of their homeland, Campā on the right bank of the river Ganges, and it was, no doubt, on that account that in their Sanskrit inscriptions they designate the Cam country by that famous and familiar name.


2 On the close relations between Cam and Javanese art cf. Dr. Krom's remarks Rapport Oudh. Onderzoek Ned. Indië, 1911, pp. 85 sqq. An interesting monument of the concluding period of Hindu civilisation in Java is the tomb of the Cam princess, known as Ratu Putri Campa at Majapahit. Its date is Čaka 1370.

3 Campā was the capital of the Aṅga country. In the ancient Pali text Mahāparinibbānasutta (The Book of the great Decease) Sacred Books
The state of Campā, according to some Chinese sources, had been founded in the year 137 A.D. ¹ It is still referred to by Marco Polo (c. 1292) as «la grant contrée de Cyamba». By the end of the fifteenth century it was finally overpowered by the Annamites who were originally settled in Tonkin and who in the Sanskrit records of Campā are, curiously enough, indicated by the name Yavana, a term which in India proper was, in the first instance, applied to the Greeks. ² At present the Cam nation is reduced to some 100,000 people who survive in Binh Thuận (the southern-most district of Annam) and in Kambodia. Their chief settlement is the valley of Phan-rang, a locality which in the Sanskrit inscriptions occurs under the name of Pāṇḍūraṇga. ³

It is due, principally, to the labours of M. Louis Finot that of late years an enormous stride has been made in the elucidation of the early history of that country. The oldest epigraphical document of Campā (and of the whole of Indo-China) is the rock inscription of Vo-canh, 4 kilometers from Nha-trang, and since 1910 in the Hanoi Museum. ⁴ This inscription, which unfortunately is partly illegible, is ascribed to the third (or perhaps the second) century of the Christian era. The existence of a Sanskrit inscription of so early a date in a far-off country like Campā is not a little remarkable.

Special interest attaches to the three inscriptions ⁵ which come next in time and which are associated with a king of the name of Bhadravarman who begins the line of historical rulers of Campā. None of these three epigraphs is dated, but for

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¹ Chavannes, Les religieux éminents etc., p. 203.
³ Finot, Pāṇḍūraṇga. Album Kern, 1903, pp. 381 sqq.).
⁴ Bergaigne, Inscriptions sanscrites du Campā et du Cambodge (1893), pp. 11—18 [191—198] n° XX (416). Finot, B. E. F. E. O., vol. II (1902), p. 185 and vol. XV (1915), n° 2, pp. 3—5 (with facsimile). The inscription is partly defaced and, consequently, the king’s name lost. But in the preserved portion he is said to belong to the race of Ātṛ-Māra.
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Palaeographical reasons have been attributed to about 400 A.D. Two of them are short rock-inscriptions: the one is found at Cho'-dinh in the province of Phu-yen, the other is incised on a rock called Hon-cuc, at a distance of 28 kilometers south-east of Tourane (Turan). The Cho'-dinh inscription refers to a sacrifice instituted on behalf of the Dharma Mahārāja Bhadravarman. The title by which the king is here designated is also borne by the Pallava prince Čivaskandavarman in one of the copper-plate charters of the 4th century which have been noted above (pp. 172 sq.). The sacrifice apparently was offered to Čiva under the appellation of Bhadreçvara. The Hon-cuc inscription is nothing but an invocation of «the Lord Mahādeva Bhadreçvara-svāmin». It does not contain the name of any king, but it is so similar to the rock-inscription of Cho'-dinh that it may be assumed to belong likewise to the reign of Bhadravarman I.

We now come to the third and most important inscription of that king. It was discovered by M. Finot in December 1899 on the site of Mi-so'n which is described by him in the following terms: «A une heure de marche du village [i. e. Mi-so’n] est un vallon d’un accès difficile, clos de toutes parts d’une ceinture de collines rocheuses et envahi par une brousse épaisse. Ce cirque solitaire recèle le plus magnifique ensemble de monuments qui nous soit resté de l’ancien Champa. Sur les deux rives d’un ruisseau qui le traverse du Sud au Nord se groupent plus de trente édifices ou édificules de briques, dont un habile et patient ciseau a délicatement sculpté les murs, les baies et les frontons. Les constructions principales étaient: dans le groupe Ouest, deux vastes salles rectangulaires servant sans doute de lieux de réunion; dans le groupe Est, une haute et spacieuse tour, dont le sanctuaire ne contient plus aujourd’hui que le grand piédestal de pierre, qui portait autrefois la statue de la divinité du lieu, probablement Čiva.»

Here then we have the chief sanctuary of that Čiva Bhadreçvara who is invoked in the two rock inscriptions, one of which — that of Hon-cuc — is situated at a distance of only 8 kilometers to the north-west of Mi-so’n. According to a universal Indian practice to which I shall have occasion to revert, we find the god as well as his shrine indicated by a compound in which the name of the founder Bhadra(varman) is combined with the word īçvara «the Lord» (i. e. Čiva). The inscription...
is incised on the two faces of a stele of a type similar to that found in Java. It was discovered by M. Finot in front of the main temple. The inscription is composed in Sanskrit prose, but it betrays an imperfect knowledge of grammar, and the wording is clumsy. It records that the land enclosed between the mountains, in other words, the valley in which the shrine is situated, together with its inhabitants, is bestowed on the god, Çiva Bhadreçvara. It contains no date.

The first instance of a dated inscription in Campā is afforded by another stele found in the same spot as the one just discussed. Unfortunately the slab is broken in two and the inscription otherwise damaged, so that portions of the text are lost. Of the date only the figure indicating the hundreds has been preserved. This inscription is important for the further history of the Bhadreçvara temple. It relates that the ancient shrine had been destroyed by a conflagration in the reign of Rudravarman and that after the king's death, his son and successor, Çambhuvarman, rebuilt the temple which henceforth became known under the name of Çambhubhadreçvara. It will be observed that in this appellation we find the names both of the founder and of the restorer of the temple coupled with the word içvara indicating Çiva. Originally the inscription must have contained no less than three dates for the chief events related therein, to wit, the destruction of the temple, the death of Rudravarman, and the restoration by Çambhuvarman, but of these three dates only that of the conflagration has been partly preserved, the figure indicating the hundreds being alone extant. From the words catursu varṣaçatešu Çakānām vyatitesu it follows that the event in question must have happened in the fifth century of the Çaka era, or, in other words, between 479 and 577 A.D.

The site of Mi-śo'n, after having been completely cleared under the supervision of M. Parmentier, yielded several more inscriptions. Among the total of twenty-five inscribed stones found on the spot, the stele indicated by M. Finot as «stele III» is of special interest for the early history of Campā, because it supplies the names of several kings who must have ruled some
time subsequent to Bhadravarman's reign. Those princes trace their origin back to a king of the name of Gangārāja. It is tempting here to suspect some connection with that branch of the Pallavas, the scions whereof in their charters called themselves Gāṅgeya «sons of Gangā», and who by writers on Indian history are usually designated as Ganga-Pallavas. The inscription on «stele III» contains two dates,—the Çaka years 579 and 601 (?), corresponding to A. D. 657 and 679.

Among the early inscriptions of Campā there are two more to which I wish briefly to refer. One is the stele inscription of the monument of Po Nagar which belongs to a king of the name of Satyavarman. The contents of this inscription may be summarized as follows. A very ancient Çiva temple, said to have been founded by a mythical king, Vicitra-sagara, had been burnt down and the mukhaliṅga (i. e. a linga carved with the face of Çiva at the top) enshrined in it robbed by pirates who are described as very black, very lean and as cannibals. This had happened in Çaka 696 (A. D. 774). Satyavarman pursued the enemy and beat him in a naval battle. He did not, however, recover the head of Çiva nor the temple treasures which likewise had been carried off by the invaders. Both vanished in the ocean. The king then rebuilt the temple and placed in it a new mukhaliṅga called after him: Çri-Satyamukhaliṅga. The restoration of the temple took place in Çaka 706 (A. D. 784), exactly ten years after its destruction.

The Yang Tikuh stele inscription of Indravarman, which is in excellent preservation, tells in Sanskrit prose and verse a very similar story, but here the interesting point is that the invaders who had come across the sea are distinctly called Javanese (Java). The sanctuary which forms the subject of the present inscription was also a Çiva temple, named Bhadrādhipatiçvara, which stood near the village of Takoh in the valley of


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Phan-rang (Sanskrit Pāṇḍuraṅga). It was burnt down by the Javanese in Caka 709 (A. D. 787) and was rebuilt by Indravarman in Caka 721 (A. D. 799), whence it was renamed Indrabhadreçvara.

Among the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambodia edited by M. Barth the earliest dated specimen is that on a stele placed inside the temple of Bayang. ¹ It records the erection (or restoration) of a Čiva āpaḍa and the construction of a āśrama in the vicinity in Caka 604 (A. D. 682) and 624 (A. D. 702) respectively.

With regard to these early epigraphical records of Indo-China two points deserve special notice: the prevalence of the worship of Čiva and the exclusive use of the Caka era. This era we find also regularly employed in the inscriptions of the Archipelago, as far as they are dated. Whatever the origin of the Caka era may be, it is decidedly the era of Southern India, whereas in Northern India it was the Vikrama (or Mālava) era which was preferably used. ² Here again, therefore, we have a peculiarity which points to the southern origin of that particular form of Indian civilisation which is found in the Far East.

It is certainly astonishing that in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and other Southern dynasties no reference whatever is made to the relations which in those days must have existed between Coromandel and the Far East. The explanation probably is that those relations, of which the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims have left us such a valuable record were of a perfectly peaceful nature. Supposed the powerful Pallava princes of Kāñcipurā had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Campā and Java, may we not assume that their conquests on the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their prācāstis with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Ĉālukyas?

If then, in the present case, some weight may be attached to an argument ex silentio, we are perhaps justified in

¹ Barth, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, pp. 81—88 no V (283).
³ It must, however, be admitted that the known inscriptions omit to mention Narasimhavarman's interfering in the Ceylon succession to which reference is made in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (cf. above p. 177).
concluding that the penetration of Hindu culture in the Far East took place along the peaceful lines of trade and traffic. Fa-Hian found Brahmins settled in Ye-po-ti. The merchants on the vessel which brought the pilgrim home from his long pilgrimage, were partly at least — he says so explicitly — Brahmins. It was, no doubt, through the Brahmins in the first place, that Brahmanical civilisation, together with their religion, their sacred lore, and their ancient language was carried across the eastern ocean.

In the records of Campā, on the other hand, as well as in those of Java there is likewise a remarkable paucity of direct references to the homeland of that Indo-Aryan civilisation, of whose greatness those very records are so eloquent witnesses. Indirect testimonies, however, are not altogether wanting. In the course of my survey of Pallava history I have mentioned some curious legends regarding the mythic origin attributed to that famous royal line. Pallava, the *heros eponymos*, was believed to have been borne by a heavenly nymph, named either Madanī or Menakā, to the warlike Brahmin hero of the great epic, Drona’s son Ācavatthāman. According to another legend the first Pallava prince had sprung from the union of Ācavatthāman and a Nāgī, whereas in Tamil poetry it is not Ācavatthāman, but a Cola king, named Kilī, who entered the snake-world and married the daughter of the Serpent lord.

Now the Sanskrit inscription on stele III from Mī-so’n to which reference has already been made, contains a curious passage which accounts for the origin of the kings of Kambodia in the following terms. I quote M. Finot’s translation.

«[C’est là que] Kaundinya, taureau des brahmanes de cette [cité], planta le javelot qu’il avait reçu de l’éminent brahmane Ācavatthāman, fils de Drona.

Il y avait une fille du roi des Nāgas, de naissance . . . . . , qui fonda sur la terre la race qui porte le nom de Soma: ayant adopté cet état, chose remarquable, elle habita une demeure humaine.

Le taureau des Munis nommé Kaundinya l’épousa pour l’accomplissement des rites. A l’égard de ce qui concerne la nature des causes des événements à venir, incompréhensible en vérité est l’action du destin!»

M. Coedès, while calling attention to this remarkable adaptation, concludes: «De quelque façon que nous l’envisagions, DL. 74. 13
la légende cambodgienne nous ramène à la cour des Pallavas.
Le fait est d'autant plus digne d'attention que cette légende est attachée en Indochine au nom de Kauṇḍinya, qu'on appelle volontiers «l'indouisateur du Cambodge». ¹

Another point which may be mentioned here is the nomenclature of Hindu (or rather, Hinduized) Rajas in the Far East. M. Bergaigne was one of the first to draw attention to the fact that in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Indo-China — with the only exception of the Nha-trang (or Vō-çanh) rock inscription which, as we saw, is earliest of all — we meet with royal names ending exclusively in varman.

«Or à partir du no XXI [the Cho’dinh rock inscription]», that author says with regard to Campā, «nous ne trouverons pas un seul nom royal sans cette terminaison, exclusivement usitée aussi au Cambodge dès l'époque des plus anciennes inscriptions, comme elle l'a été d'ailleurs dans les îles de la Sonde, et avant tout chez plusieurs dynasties de l'Inde du sud, rois de Venjī, Pallavas, Kadambas, dès le Ve ou même le IVe siècle.» ² Considering that among the dynasties of India proper there is a great variety of such royal «surnames» as āditya, gupta, candra, deva, pāla, rāja, vardhana, simha, and sena, the almost universal employment of names in varman in the Far East is certainly very remarkable. ³ In the course of our summary of Pallava history we have had occasion to note that the great majority of princes belonging to that illustrious line did bear names of that type. It is true that among other southern dynasties too such names were common. But if we remember that for a long period the Pallavas stood

² Bergaigne, Inscriptions sanscrites, p. 12.
³ In Northern India there were but few dynasties which employed royal names ending in varman, especially during the earlier period of Indian history. They are the Maukharis of Magadha, the Cāndellas, the Paramāras of Mālava (since c. 1100 A. D.), the Uṭpala dynasty of Kashmir (from c. 850 A. D.), the early rājas of the West-Himalayan Hill-State of Brahmapura-Campa (modern: Chamba). Cf. C. Mabel Duff, The chronology of India, Westminster 1899.
foremost in political importance, may we not assume that their royal house set a fashion which was followed first by their feudatories and neighbours and subsequently also by the Hinduized princes of the Far East?

Do we find any reference to the Pallavas in the ancient records of Java? The inscriptions, as far as I know, do not mention them, but it is interesting that Kāncipurā, the Pallava capital, is mentioned in the Old-Javanese chronicle Nāgarakṛtāgama. This work was composed by the poet Prapāñcā in honour of Hayam Wuruk, the king of Majapahit, in Čaka 1287 (A.D. 1365). In the 93rd canto of his poem the chronicler says, no doubt, with some exaggeration that all pandits in other countries composed eulogies in honour of his patron, King Hayam Wuruk. Among them he makes special mention of the illustrious bhikṣu Buddhāditya «who lived in Jambudvīpa [i.e. the Indian continent] in the town of Kāncipurī with its six vihāras.» 1 In view of the scarcity of references to India in Javanese documents, the passage in question is certainly remarkable, though the work in which it occurs belongs to a period many centuries posterior to the time when Kāncipurā witnessed the glories of the Pallava dynasty.

In this connection another point may be noted. In 1903 Professor Kern drew attention to an interesting paper on certain funeral ceremonies of the mērga Simbiring, by Mr. M. Joustra of the Netherlands Missionary Society 2 Simbiring (meaning «the Black») is the name of one of the five tribes (mērga) of the Karo-Bataks who are settled round Lake Toba in West-Sumatra. The Simbiring tribe is again subdivided. Now it is very curious that in the names by which these subdivisions are designated — Coliya, Pandiya, Mēliyala, Dēpari, 1 J. L. A. Brandes, Tjandi Singasuri en Panataran (Archaeological Survey of Java and Madura, vol. II). The Hague-Batavia, 1909, p. 23. Cf. N. J. Kron, De eigennamen in den Nāgarakṛtāgama. Alphabetisch Register (Tijdschr. v. h. Bat. Genootschap v. K. en W., vol. LVI, Batavia 1914, p. 515). It is curious that the Nāgarakṛtāgama mentions also a locality in Java of the name of Kafei.
Pelawi, etc. — Professor Kern recognised well-known ethnic names from the Dravida or Tamil country which clearly point to the South-Indian origin of the tribe in question. Among those names we have, in the first place, Coliya and Pandiya which clearly represent Cola and Pandyva, two nations which, as we saw above, were settled along the southern portion of the coast from the earliest times we have cognizance of. The name Meliyala is evidently identical with Malayalam or Malabar. As to the term Pelawi it would be extremely interesting, if we were allowed to identify it with the name Pallava. The connection with the Colas and the Pandyas in which the name occurs, would seem to render the identification perfectly plausible. Professor Kern, however, while suggesting it, expressed some doubt as to its correctness on account of the i at the end of the word Pelavi.

It is curious that among the other tribes of the Karo-Batak the «Keling» origin of the Simbiring is a recognized fact. This term Keling or Kling by which immigrants from the Indian continent are generally designated among the inhabitants of the Archipelago is clearly derived from Kalinga, the ancient name of the Telegu country situated on the east coast of India between the rivers Mahanadi and Godavari. I may note parenthetically that the use of this term indicates that the Telugu country too must have had a considerable share in the colonisation of the Far East.

If now we turn our attention to the Koetei inscriptions, we find that they are records of a ruler of the name of Mulaavaran. One of the inscriptions (A), moreover, acquaints us with the names of his father, Aqvavarman, and of his grandfather, Kundaunga. Here too, therefore, in one of the earliest documents of Indian civilisation in the Archipelago, we meet with two royal names ending in varman. It is certainly remarkable that, whereas both Mulaavaran and his father bear personal

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1 Mr. Joustra informs me that Dëpari (p. 554), not Sëpari (p. 548), is the correct form, the latter being merely due to a misprint. In his opinion, Pelawi may also stand for Melawi, meaning Malay.


3 Professor Kern read the grandfather's name Kundaunga.
names of Indo-Aryan origin, his grandfather's name has decidedly a «barbarous» sound. Professor Kern concluded that it was possibly under Kuṇḍūṅga that Indian civilisation had been introduced in Eastern Borneo. «The name of Mūlavarmān's grandfather», he says, «is non-Sanskritic, but that prince too must have been an adherent of Hinduism. Otherwise, he would not have given his son an Indian name». It is, of course, also possible that Ācārvarmān adopted this name himself on his conversion to Hinduism. Kern's conclusion, at any rate, would seem to imply that Kuṇḍūṅga was not an immigrant from the Indian continent, but probably a native of Borneo, and that the personages to which these inscriptions refer were Hinduized, rather than Hindu princes.¹ This inference agrees with our assumption regarding the peaceful penetration of Hinduism in the Archipelago. Although the Koetei inscriptions do not make mention of any historical facts, they are important in showing that at the time to which they belong Brahmanical culture was established on the borders of the Mahakam.

As regards the first member of the name Mūlavarmān, the Sanskrit word mūla, as an appellative, means «a root» (whence several secondary meanings have been derived), and, if used as a proper name, designates an asterism which in Indian astronomy figures among the lunar mansions (Sanskrit nakṣattra). Hence the name Mūlavarmān may be compared with personal names, the first member of which is Puṣya (e. g. Puṣyamitra) or Tiṣya.²

¹ Parallel instances can be quoted from the Indian continent. The princes of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty who were Indo-Seythians have foreign names — Kaniṣka, Vāsiṣṭha, Huviṣka — but after Huviṣka there comes a king who bears the purely Indo-Aryan name of Vāsudeva. A less notorious example is afforded by the ancient rulers of the West-Himalayan Hill State Chamba who have names ending in varman, but who in their earliest inscriptions designate themselves as ·borne from the house of Moṣuṇa (or Mūsuna). Cf. my Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I (Calcutta 1911) pp. 97 sq.

² Among the various meanings of the word mūla, the Petersburg Dictionary mentions that it is also used as an epithet of Sādāciva. I doubt whether Sir Alexander Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, (1871), p. 234) is right in assuming that Mūla is an appellation of the Sun-god, on account of the previous existence of a famous temple dedicated to that deity in the well-known city of Multan (ancient Mūlasthāna) in the Panjāb. It is very curious that the sanctuary at Tirukkalukkunram, half-way between Chingleput and Sadras, on the Coromandel coast is designated in inscriptions by that same name of Mūlasthāna. Cf. Hultsch, S. I. S., vol. II, n° 69, l. 34 (p. 143), Ep. Ind. III, 276 and Ind. Ant. XXI, 348.
It is a point of considerable interest that the Koetei stones are described in the inscriptions as sacrificial posts (Sanskrit yūpa). In the ritual of the animal sacrifice, as described in the Brāhmaṇas, the yūpa to which the victim is tied plays an important part. It was a wooden post preferably made of wood of the khadira (acacia catechu) which hence is called yūpadru(ma) i.e. the yūpa tree. Occasionally, however, in order to perpetuate the memory of some great sacrifice, stone yūpas were erected on the spot where it had been solemnized. As far as we may judge from the results of archaeological research, such monumental yūpas were extremely rare. In India proper only three instances of stone yūpas have been brought to our notice. In Further India no such monument appears to have come to light, whilst in the Archipelago the four inscribed stones from Koetei are the only specimens hitherto found. This circumstance invests them with a special interest.

In view of the extreme rarity of monuments of this type it will be worth our while to make a survey of the examples of stone yūpas which are known on the Indian continent. The earliest and undoubtedly the most remarkable instance is afforded by the two sacrificial posts, one of them inscribed, which were discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna, R. B., in the bed of the river Jamna near Īsāpur opposite the city of Mathurā (Muttra) during the hot season of the year 1910. In the Sanskrit inscription incised on one of these pillars it is recorded that the yūpa in question was set up by a Brahmin, named Droṇala the son of Rudrila, who belonged to the Brahmanical house (go trā) of the Bhāradvājās, on the occasion of a twelve days' sacrifice (saṭtreṇa dvādacarattreṇa). The inscription is dated in the reign of Shāhi Vāsiṣṭha and in the 24th year of an unspecified era. The time in which this Vāsiṣṭha reigned has not yet been established with certainty, but there can be little doubt that he belonged to the dynasty of the so-called Indo-Scythian kings of Northern India who designate themselves by the name Kuśāṇa. There is much reason to assume that Vāsiṣṭha was the successor of King Kaniskhā, the

1 In my paper The sacrificial posts of Īsāpur (Arch. Survey Annual Report for 1910—11; pp. 40 sqq., plates XXIII—XXIV) I have given a résumé of the ritual practised at the animal sacrifice according to the Catapatha brāhmaṇa.
most prominent monarch of the Kuṣāṇa house and that he continued to date his inscriptions from the anointment (aḥhi-śeṣka) of his great predecessor. The view that this «era of Kanisṭha» is identical with the Çaka era seems still to hold good, although it was opposed by the late Dr. Fleet. If then we refer the date of the 'Isāpur inscription to the Çaka era, it would correspond to A. D. 102. Whether this conclusion be correct or not, the 'Isāpur inscription must be one of the earliest, if not the earliest inscription in pure Sanskrit hitherto found in India.

As regards the object on which it is incised, both the inscribed pillar and the uninscribed one discovered at the same time are of great interest, because they appear to be exact copies in stone of the actual sacrificial posts used in ancient India. Their curious shape corresponds generally to the description of the Catapatha-brāhmaṇa. The shafts, except for the lower portion, are octagonal and they are bent at the top. They are, moreover, distinguished by a head-piece or top-ring (caṣāla) which is repeatedly mentioned in the ritual. The girdle-rope (raçanā) is also carved on both the pillars, and, in the case of the uninscribed one, it is wound three times round the shaft in close agreement with the sacred text. Finally a garland is shown hanging down from the top of the pillar; it is not referred to in the Brāhmaṇa, but we may assume that it represents the wreath with which the sacrificial animal was adorned.

Another instance of a monumental yūpa found in India proper is a red-sandstone pillar which was discovered in 1871—'72 by General Cunningham's assistant, Mr. A. C. L. Carleyle, inside the hill-fort of Bijayagarh near Biana in the Native State of Bharatpur (Rajputana). It will be noticed that Biana is situated only some fifty miles in a south-western direction from Mathurā (vulgo Muttra) where the two 'Isāpur pillars have been brought to light. There seems, however, to be some doubt whether the Bijayagarh pillar now occupies the position in which it was first set up. Unfortunately the extreme top portion is

broken; a metal spike which projects from it, indicates that it was originally surmounted by some kind of capital. As its shape does not resemble that of the Īśāpur pillars in the least, we may safely assume that in the Bijayagarh column we have not an imitation of the wooden post in actual use at the Brahmanical sacrifice. That it is, indeed, a monumental yūpa is definitely stated in the Sanskrit inscription incised on it which records that it was erected by the Varika Viṣṇuvardhana after the performance of a Puṇḍarika sacrifice in the year 428. The era is not stated; but Dr. Fleet, when editing the inscription, expressed the view that the date must be referred to the Mālava or Vikrama era, with the result of A.D. 371—72 expired and A.D. 372—73 current. The Varika Viṣṇuvardhana is not otherwise known to Indian history; in Dr. Fleet’s opinion, he may have been a feudatory of the great Gupta emperor, Samudragupta, whose death probably occurred about the year 375 A.D. It should, however, be noticed that the character used in this inscription differs very considerably from that employed in the Allahabad pillar. Fleet draws attention to what he calls “the Indo-Scythic form of ma” which, as he points out, disappeared in Northern India very soon after the commencement of the Gupta era (319—20 A.D.). It should, however, be observed that the ancient form of ma was preserved in the alphabets of Southern India. Other palaeographical peculiarities too characterize the Bijayagarh pillar inscription as a South Indian epigraph of a very early type. We shall, therefore, have to assume that the pillar was brought to Biana as a trophy from a military expedition to the Deccan.¹

I may note parenthetically that in a contemporaneous numismatic document, a gold medal of the Emperor Samudragupta, there is a curious representation of a sacrificial post.²

¹ Instances are known in India of monolith pillars having been removed a considerable distance from the place where they had originally been set up. The two Aśoka pillars of Delhi were brought there by Sultan Firoz Shāh Tughlaq.

There is reason to assume that the famous “Iron Pillar” of ancient Delhi too does not occupy now its original position, as the inscription is written in the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet.

We have had occasion to refer to the conquests of that monarch which are recorded on the Allahabad pillar and which included both Kānci and Veṅgi. It was presumably after his return from his expedition to the south that Samudragupta decided to celebrate his dig-vijaya by means of the ancient rite of the horse-sacrifice (açvamedha) and that the gold medal was struck in commemoration thereof. It shows the sacrificial horse standing in front of the yūpa to which it is tied. The scale is, of course, too small to bring out all the details, but the yūpa has a distinctly curved shape, whilst pennons attached to the top of it fly over the back of the victim. Another memorial of Samudragupta's horse-sacrifice is extant in a quaint stone horse of life size which was excavated about 1890 near an ancient fort on the border between Oudh and Nepal and has since been preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The fragmentary Prākrit inscription it bore, when discovered (.. d h a-guttassa deyadhamma), has unfortunately disappeared owing to exposure to the weather. As the stone horse of Lucknow was meant to commemorate a sacrifice, it may be said to belong to the same category of monuments as the stone yūpas as under discussion, although in the present instance it was not the sacrificial post but the victim itself which was fashioned in stone to serve as a lasting memorial of the oblation.

Finally I wish to draw attention to a curious pillar, described as a yūpa-stambha, which stands near the Kōdanḍarāma temple at the village of Hirimagalūr in Mysore. Mr. Narasimhachar, archaeological officer in Mysore State, who published a photo of this monument in his Annual Report, describes it as «a stone pillar, about 9 feet high, with the top fashioned like a trident or spear». The top portion which is pointed and appears to be slightly curved, has indeed some resemblance to a spear-head. The three grooves converging towards the pointed top which are plainly visible on the published photograph, probably suggested the term «trident» in the above description. The thick-set shaft, which is square beneath, octagonal in the middle and rounded above, is provided with a distinct top-ring (cāsāla) which is surmounted by the pointed top first described. Though considerably differing in detail, the Hirimagalūr pillar shows in its general appearance a certain resemblance to the Īsāpur columns. So we may perhaps assume that in the present case also there has been an intention to imitate the wooden yūpa.
There is unfortunately no inscription to enlighten us regarding its history. Popular tradition, with a characteristic disregard of the limitations of time and space, believes it to commemorate the famous serpent sacrifice of the Pāṇḍava king Janamejaya!

If now we turn our attention again to the four monumental yüpas from Koetei, we notice a very striking point of difference between them and some of the allied monuments from the Indian continent. From their general appearance it is evident that here we have not copies of the wooden yüpa of the Vedic ritual. They are described as four roughly dressed stones of irregular shape, measuring respectively 1 m. 87 (A), 1 m. 55 (B), 1 m. 69 (C) and 1 m. 21 (D) in height. The material is fine andesite. Their width varies from o. m. 27 to o. m. 38. ¹

It we remember that the Ḫīsapur pillars measure about 5 meters in height, whilst their width is nearly the same as that of the Koetei stones, it will be seen that, both as regards size and shape, there is no similarity whatever between the two sets of monuments. May we, perhaps, venture to conclude that at the sacrifices to which the Koetei inscriptions refer no yüpas of the type prescribed in the Vedic ritual were in use? Had such sacrificial posts been known in the island of Borneo, we might have found them imitated in the stone monuments. The masons who produced the beautiful inscriptions would certainly not have lacked the ability to fashion the stones too, if required, into the prescribed shape. But obviously no such attempt was made.

That the Koetei stones do represent sacrificial posts is definitely stated in the inscriptions. This alone would be sufficient to establish the Brahmanical character of these monuments. For it is well known that the Buddhists reject the animal sacrifice; sacrificial posts have consequently no place in their worship. Besides, the inscriptions mention that the erection of these yüpas was due to the assembled «twice-born» priests, on whom King Mùlavarman had bestowed rich gifts in gold, cattle and land. Here again, therefore, we meet with those Brahmins who had carried their ancient civilisation and religion to Borneo as well as to Java and Sumatra.

Another question which presents itself is whether these monuments can be assigned to a special sect of Hinduism. To this

¹ Brandes, Catalogue Batavia Museum, p. 372.
question the inscriptions give no definite answer. They do not mention (as is often done in copper-plate charters) whether the royal donor was a Čaiva or a Vaiṣṇava. Nor does his own name or that of his father afford any indication as to the peculiar creed which they confessed.

Inscription B, however, contains an expression which, perhaps, may be interpreted so as to give a clue to the question here raised. It is the word Vaprakeçvara which occurs in the 4th line. Professor Kern rightly observed that from the m at the end of the immediately preceding word dattam it follows that the initial of Vaprakeçvara was not v but b in pronunciation. But I must confess that my predecessor's conjectural rendering of the word as «sacred fire (=Agni)» does not satisfy me. It will be seen that in the third line of the same inscription the estampage here published very clearly shows the word kṣetre, whereas in the facsimile accompanying Professor Kern's article the vowel-mark belonging to the first aksara of this word had been left out. We, therefore, have to read puṇyataṁ kṣetre, meaning «in the most blessed field». ¹ If we further connect this expression with the word Vaprakeçvare in the next line (both words, it will be noticed, are in the locative case), it is obvious that Vaprakeçvara must be a proper name designating the sacred place or the sanctuary which witnessed Mūlavarman's munificence to the «twice-born». If my interpretation is correct, we may infer from the word īcvara, which is the second member of the compound, that Vaprakeçvara was the name of a spot or a temple (or perhaps both) ² sacred to «the Lord» (īcvara) i.e. Čiva. This conclusion is to a certain extent corroborated by the circumstance that the Hindu images which have come to light in various localities of the island of Borneo appear largely to pertain to the Čaiva Pantheon. ³

¹ That the Sanskrit word kṣetra meaning «a field» is also used in the sense of «a sacred place» is evident from the Amarāvatī pillar inscription (now Madras Museum) edited by Hultzsch, South Indian Inscri., vol. I, p. 27, l. 89 (cf. p. 28). It here stands for puṇyakṣetra «a field of religious merit», an expression which occurs in an Eastern Čalukya grant edited by Hultzsch, op. cit., vol. I, p. 56, l. 37.

² M. Barth says with regard to Indo-China: „Beaucoup de noms de dieux sont aussi des noms de lieux”. This remark is also true of India proper.

³ A. W. Nieuwenhuis, Quer durch Borneo (Leiden 1907) vol. II, pp. 115 sq., plate X (showing five stone sculptures including a small-size Nandi and a linga, found at the confluence of the Mahakkam and the Rata rivers).
We may perhaps go a step further and recall a curious custom in connection with the naming of temples to which we have already had occasion to refer in the course of this paper. In naming temples dedicated to Čiva it was a common practice to couple the founder's name with the word ḣīvara («the Lord»), by which that deity is often indicated. The prevalence of this custom in Kashmir is evident from numerous instances quoted in Kalhaṇa's famous chronicle Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Thus we read of two Čiva temples which were ascribed to the great Aṇṇoka and which consequently were known by the name of Aṇṇokeṛaṅvara. ¹

The same custom of nomenclature prevailed both in Southern India and in Indo-China. It is exactly during the period of Pallava ascendancy that several instances testify to its existence in Coromandel. Here we find the word ḣīvara usually combined not with the founder's actual name, but with one of his birudās. Thus the early cave temple at Dalavāṇūr in the South Arcot district bears an inscription which in a single Sanskrit cīloka records that the cave was caused to be excavated by Narendra Çatrumalla after whom it was called Çatrumalleṛavāḷaya «the abode of Çatrumalleṛavāra». The inscription on the rock-cut shrine at Ciyāmaṅgalam in the same district mentions that it was founded by Lalitāṅkura and named Avanibhājana-Pallaveṛavāra. Now it appears that Çatrumalla, Lalitāṅkura and Avanibhājana are all birudās of the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I.

In the same manner the largest of the five so-called rathas at Māvalivaram which popular tradition associates with Dharmarāja (viz. Yudhiṣṭhira) is called in two inscriptions Çṛi-Atyantakāma-Pallaveṛavā-grha[m] and Atyantakāma-Pallaveṛavā-grham, meaning «the ḣīvara (Čiva) temple of Atyantakāma-Pallava». As we saw above, Atyantakāma is supposed by Professor Hultzsch to be a biruda of the Pallava king Nara-sīṃhavarman I, the conqueror of Vāṭāpi. There are two other

temples at Māvalivaram, the Gaṇeṣa temple and the so-called Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa which are likewise designated as Atyantakaṁa-Pallaveçvara-grha, but here the name is believed to refer to Narasimhavarman's grandson, Parameçvara-varman. The Tiger Cave at Čāluvangauppam is described in an inscription as the Īçvara temple of Atiranacanda. This is supposed to be a biruda of Nandivarman. The Kūram copper-plate grant mentions a prince of the name of Vidyāvinita—Pallavādhīrāja, after whom the local Civa temple was called Vidyāvinita-Pallava-Parameçvara. In the ancient Pallava capital Conjeeveram there still exists the main temple in which Civa is worshipped under the title of Kailāsanātha, «Lord of Mount Kailāsa» (the Indian Olympos), but, as we have seen, the original name of that famous shrine was Rājasimha-Pallaveçvara, as it was founded by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II, who was also called Rājasimha.

The same habit with regard to the nomenclature of temples prevailed in the ancient Hindu States of Indo-China, as has been duly noticed both by Bergaigne and by M. Finot. The former refers to the existence of this custom both in Campā and Kambodia. «C'est un usage constant,» M. Finot says, «de désigner le Civa de chaque sanctuaire par le nom d'Īçvara précédé de la première partie du nom du roi fondateur.» 1 We have already had occasion to note an instance in the Bhadregvara temple, the remains of which are found near the village of Mi-so'n.

If now we meet with a term Baprakeçvara in one of the Koetei inscriptions, we feel naturally inclined to take it to be a similar formation as those quoted from Sanskrit inscriptions in Southern India and Indo-China. A serious obstacle, however, in the way of such an explanation is that, whereas in all the instances enumerated above we could at once recognize the founder's name in the first member of the compound, the word vapraka does not even present the appearance of a personal name. On the other hand, it must be admitted that it is equally hard to account for it as an appellativum.

It was noticed by Professor Kern in the course of his paper that the term Baprakeçvara is also met with in Old-Javanese records. Dr. Krom has been good enough to supply me with

further information on this point. «Baprakeçvara», he writes, «occurs repeatedly in Old-Javanese inscriptions, namely in the passage in which a number of deities are invoked as witnesses on the occasion of some pious foundation. The term must indicate a locality or sanctuary. The formula mentions in the first instance: bhaṭāra i ṣrī Baprakeçvara, or, more commonly kamung hyang (= «ye gods», always in the plural) i ṣrī Baprakeçvara, meaning «ye gods at Baprakeçvara». The particle ṣ is but rarely omitted, e.g. in the spurious Kawi Record n° II, quoted by Kern, and in one other instance. Unless this omission be merely due to the mason, the word may here be taken to be in the Genitive case: hyang Baprakeçvara (ṣrī is omitted here and elsewhere) = «ye gods of B.» In all other examples we find the word preceded by the particle ṣ. Now the question is whether the names of deities immediately following are to be taken as a more precise definition of those «gods at B.» or are to be regarded as an entirely new category of divine beings. These names, it should be noticed, are not always the same. In one instance I found Brahmā Viṣṇu Mahādeva, but usually we have either Agasti maharṣi, or ṣrī Haricandana Agasti maharṣi. Dr. Krom further informs me that in an Old-Javanese inscription of Çaka 830 mention is made of a sanctuary which bears a name ending in ḫcvara. The passage in question has kapujan bhaṭāra i Maṅkuçeçvara «adoration to the gods (or gods) at Maṅkuçeçvara». There exists no reason to assume that the first member of the compound indicates the founder’s name.

In connection with the above question it would, of course, be of the utmost importance to examine the spot where the four inscribed yūpas have come to light. For if that locality could be proved to contain the remains of a temple dedicated to Čiva, the proposed interpretation of Vaprakeçvara would greatly gain in probability. There would, moreover, be a chance of some further epigraphical documents being found to settle the question definitely. Now it is much to be deplored that such an investigation in loco appears to be impracticable in view of the circumstance that a great deal of uncertainty prevails regarding the exact provenance of the inscribed stones. It will not be out of place to consider the available data.
We have seen above that, after Mr. Holle had first drawn attention to the existence of inscribed stones in the Sultanate of Koetepi, the Assistant-Resident in his letter of 9th Sept. 1879 informed the Batavian Society that the inscribed stones in question together with some other relics of the Hindu period did exist at Moeara Kaman. This village, as the name implies, is situated at the confluence of the Mahakkam river with its tributary the Kaman. It lies at a distance of three stages above Pelarang. In his subsequent letter, however, dated 26th August of the following year, the Assistant-Resident wrote that the stones had not been found at Moeara Kaman, but at Koetepi Lama ("Old Koetepi"), a locality not very far from the northernmost mouth of the Mahakkam river. This place, as its name indicates, had been the seat of government of the sultans of Koetepi, but on account of its being exposed to piracy and subject to kidnapping raids had been abandoned for Tenggarong (Tengarung) which is situated higher up the river. The stones, it was said, had been accidentally found on a spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the site of the Kraton (the citadel) in the course of a search for treasure, reported to be buried there, which the Sultan had ordered to be made, but without success. One of the stones had been found at a depth of 16 meters [sic] under the surface. It was added that His Highness was not in the possession of any antiquities from Moeara Kaman and that the reports regarding such antiquities were very conflicting, but that the Assistant-Resident intended, when an occasion should occur, to make personal inquiries locally and would not fail to communicate the result to the Society.

The promised further communication apparently never arrived. There exist, however, some other references to this question which render it very doubtful whether the last-mentioned report, however accurate seemingly, may be accepted as trustworthy. In his description of the Koetepi subdivision, published in 1905, Mr. S. C. Knappert deals with the question of the provenance of the four inscribed stones. After quoting the Assistant-Resident's letter of 26th August 1880, he expressed his astonishment at the assertion it contains that the Sultan did not possess any anti-

quities from Moeara Kaman, in view of the fact that two objects — a gold Viṣṇu statuette and a gold tortoise — were known to have come from that place. The author had seen those two objects with his own eyes, and no less a personage than the Sultan himself (the son and successor of the prince reigning in 1880) had assured him that they had been found at Moeara Kaman. His Highness had never spoken to him of any antiquities from Koetei Lama.

After reading Mr. Knappert’s remarks, anyone slightly acquainted with the East will know how to interpret the report regarding the discovery of the inscriptions contained in the Assistant Resident’s letter of 26th August 1880. Evidently that official had been misinformed with the express purpose of concealing the fact that Moeara Kaman had yielded not only the inscribed slabs in question but also some minor antiquities of precious metal which had been deposited in the State Treasury.

The finding of the antiquities referred to by Mr. Knappert is also mentioned by two previous writers, H. von Dewall ¹ who visited Moeara Kaman in 1847 and S. W. Tromp who passed the place in the course of his travel in the interior of Koetei in the year 1885. The former writes: «On the 20th April [1847] I arrived at Moeara Kaman, a kampong of thirty-nine houses and lantings (rafts) situated at the confluence of the river of the same name [i.e. the Kaman] and the Mahakam, on the left bank of both. Here are found a number of stone slabs ² piled up under ground. It was on this spot also that the idol of massive gold, weighing 8 thing, was discovered, which the Sultan wears round his neck on State occasions. This image is four-armed, well proportioned and of good workmanship and seems to represent some god of Hindu mythology. The youthful prince, moreover, wears beneath this idol another golden, box-shaped object on which various mythological figures of the Hindu religion are shown in alto-relievo. The same appears to be of higher antiquity than the golden image, but, like the


² The term flag-stone ("vloersteen") used by the author would seem to indicate that the slabs made part of a pavement.
idol, it was discovered beneath the stone slabs in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Sāliḥ-ud-Dīn.¹

In Mr. Tromp's itinerary we read the following: «At 10.15 we passed Moeara Kaman. Several years ago some Hindu antiquities were found here, including a beautiful golden statuette which now belongs to the State insignia. On my previous visit to the place in the company of the Sultan we made a hundred men dig in order to make a further search for similar curiosities, but without result. We only found at a depth of ten feet bricks and pot sherds evidently belonging to an early period.²

Recently the provenance of the yüpa stones has been discussed again by the mining engineer, Mr. H. Witkamp, who, in the course of an excursion to the caves of Goenoeng Kombeng, used the opportunity, on his way back to the coast, to visit both Moeara Kaman and Koetei Lama. At the former place he examined the site where excavations had been made by Mr. S. W. Tromp. The traces of those diggings were still plainly marked by depressions, but of actual remains nothing was to be seen except a pillar of volcanic stone and a few sandstone slabs mostly in a broken condition. According to local reports a great number of such stones had been removed to the capital, Tengarong, where they had been utilized for paving. After his arrival at that place, however, Mr. Witkamp did not find anything to confirm that report. On a subsequent visit to the old capital, Koetei Lama, no remains of the pre-Mahomedan period were noticed. On the whole, Mr. Witkamp is inclined to assume that the four inscribed stones actually came from Moeara Kaman.³

The question is, however, far from settled. What renders it still more complicated is the circumstance that there is a third locality by which the discovery may be claimed. Carl

¹ In Mr. von Dewall's spelling: Mohhammad Tsaleh Oedien.
³ In the Catalogue of the Batavia Museum (Batavia 1887) p. 372, Moeara Kaman is said to be the find-place of the four inscribed yüpas. In the Voorlopende Lijst van Oudheden in de Buitenbezittingen, published in the Oudheidkundig verslag, Oudheidk. dienst van Ned.-Indië for 1914 (3rd Quarter), p. 150, the four stones are registered under Koetei Lama. But Dr. Krom who compiled that list writes me that chiefly on account of Mr. Witkamp's communication he now considers Moeara Kaman as the more likely find-place of the inscriptions.

Dl. 74.

14
Bock mentions three large inscribed slabs which had been found at Sangoelirang [read: Sangkoelirang, situated on the coast, 1.5° north of the mouth of the Mahakkam] and which were in the possession of the Sultan. Mr. Witkamp, while quoting this report, suggests that these slabs may be identical with the stone yüpas subsequently presented by H. H. to the Batavian Society. This supposition is, no doubt, correct, for in the Proceedings of the Society for 8th June 1880 (p. 98) we find recorded that Mr. Carl Bock had submitted "the drawing of a standing Buddha image from Kota Bangau (Koetei), and the eye-copy of an inscription on a Hindu monument in the vicinity of Sang Belirang, the character of the inscription being similar to that of the inscribed stones at Djamboe, Tjiroenten (Buitenzorg) and Bekasih". Now the eye-copy prepared by Mr. Bock which is still preserved at Batavia is indeed, as Dr. Krom informs me, a copy of one of the yüpas inscriptions which form the subject of the present paper. It follows that the names "Sangoelirang" and "Sang Belirang" indicate one and the same place. The only question is whether Mr. Bock was rightly informed that the stones had come from that locality. Taking it all into consideration, I should say that Moeara Kaman has the strongest claim.

From the various accounts quoted above it may be gathered that, apart from the question of the origin of the inscribed yüpas, Moeara Kaman must be an ancient site of some importance. It is, therefore, highly desirable that it be examined by an expert archaeologist. Mr. Witkamp, it is true, doubts whether fresh excavations will yield any results in view of the extent to which the soil has been disturbed by previous diggings. It is certainly very much to be deplored that in bygone years the site has been spoiled by unauthorized persons with the inevitable consequence that here as elsewhere valuable evidence has been irreparably lost. But it is perhaps not altogether unreasonable to hope that the eye of the expert will still succeed in detecting something of importance which has escaped the notice of previous amateur explorers.

2 Read: Kota Bangoen. The place is situated on the Mahakkam river above Moeara Kaman.
There are other sites in Koetei which still await a detailed survey by an archaeologist. In the first place there are the caves of Goenoeng Kombeng which contain a collection of Hindu images. These images appear to have been put in safety there at some remote period, but in all probability belonged originally to some temple or temples, the remains of which may still be extant at no great distance. At any rate, the images themselves deserve to be described and photographed. A close examination would perhaps reveal some inscription. We are, no doubt, indebted to Mr. Witkamp for the account he has given us of those curious relics of Hinduism, but he will be the first to admit that the hasty sketch accompanying his paper is insufficient and does not enable us either to judge of their artistic merit or to identify them.

The only one out of the ten images in Mr. Witkamp's sketch which it is possible to identify with absolute certainty is his figure $f$ which shows the familiar type of the elephant-headed Gañêça, four-armed and seated cross-legged. The four-armed seated figure $j$ is possibly a Višṇu holding a conch (Sanskrit çaṅkha) in his upper right hand, and a wheel (Sanskrit cakra) in the corresponding left hand. Fig. $d'$, standing with his left hand leaning on a club, Mr. Witkamp describes as a Rākṣasa. The head figured in $l$ may, of course, belong to one of the three headless images ($a$, $b$, or $e$). As it has four faces, we may perhaps assume that it belongs to a Brahmā image. Besides the ten images figured in his plate, Mr. Witkamp also noted a Nandi which would point to the existence of a Čiva temple. ¹

It was observed above (p. 203, n. 3) that in other places of the island of Borneo Nandi images have been noticed.

Borneo is a practically unexplored field of antiquarian research and no one can tell what discoveries it still has in store.

Before giving my transcripts and translations of the yüpa inscriptions, attention may be drawn to their very fine execution which testifies to a remarkable ability on the part of the masons.

¹ H. Witkamp, op. cit. pp. 595 sqq. Dr. Krom, Voorlopige lijst p. 152, no. 204 identifies also a Kārttikeya, probably in Mr. Witkamp's fig. $i$ showing a seated male deity with what indeed appears to be the head of a peacock (the vāhana of Kārttikeya) to his left. Dr. Krom states that three Čiva images from Goenoeng Kombeng have been removed to the Batavia Museum.
The letters are large-sized and very clearly cut so that the reading of the inscriptions \( A, B \) and \( C \) may be said to be absolutely certain. In inscription \( A \) which consists of twelve lines the letters are the largest in size. The single akṣaras like \( pa \) and \( ma \) measure 2.5 centimeters in height, akṣaras with long verticals like \( ka \) and \( ra \) 6 to 7 centimeters, and ligatures like \( cri \) 9 centimeters. For inscription \( B \), which has eight lines, these figures are 2 to 2.5, 5 and 8 centimeters respectively. The akṣaras of \( C \) are again somewhat smaller; they measure 2, 4, 5 and 7 centimeters respectively. The number of lines is the same as in \( B \). As far as we can judge from the little that remains of \( D \), it appears that here the letters are smallest in size, the single akṣaras measuring 1.5 to 2.5 and 4 to 5 centimeters. Dr. Brandes states that inscription \( D \) must originally have consisted of eleven lines. From the first two lines, however, which, except for a few akṣaras, can still be made out, it appears that this inscription, like \( A \) and \( D \), is composed in clokas (anusṭubh), so that the number of lines, in all probability, amounted to twelve.

The inscriptions are remarkable for their preservation with the exception of \( D \), the lettering of which is defaced to such an extent that hitherto no attempt has been made to decipher it.

It will be seen that I have changed the order of the inscriptions as given by my predecessor so as to give the first place to the one which is both largest in size and most important on account of its contents. In my transcripts I have noted any points in which my readings and renderings differ from those of the previous editor.

I now proceed to give my transcripts and translations of the inscriptions.

Inscription \( A \) (Kern's \( \text{no} \ II \) Text.

(1) črīmataḥ črī-narendrasya
(2) Kuṇḍūṅgasya \(^2\) mahātmanaḥ

\(^1\) Cat. Batavia Museum, p. 372.
\(^2\) Kern read Kuṇḍaṅgasya. I take the very pronounced down stroke at the bottom of the akṣara to represent the vowel-mark for medial \( u \). The ligature \( nd \) occurs in maṇḍalena (Mangalür grant II b, l. 1) and in maṇḍalasya (Uruvupalli grant II a, l. 1 and Pikira grant II a, l. 4). The akṣara \( nd \) is found in Kuṇḍaṅkūra (Uruvupalli grant III b, l. 3 and IV a, l. 1). In the inscriptions of Kambodia neither of these two ligatures appears to occur (Barth, Inschr. Sanscrites du Cambodge, p. 4 sq.).
The illustrious lord-of-men, the great Kundaṅga, had a famous son, Āçavārman [by name], who, like unto Amcumant, was the founder of a noble race. His were three eminent sons resembling the three sacrificial fires. Foremost amongst these three and distinguished by austerity, strength, and self-restraint was the illustrious Mūlavarm, the lord-of-kings, who had sacrificed a Bahusuvarṇaka sacrifice. For that sacrifice this sacrificial post has been prepared by the chief amongst the twice-born.

Kern has āvārmmanā; cf. the facsimile.

rajendra (Kern).

In Kern's facsimile the subscribed va has been omitted. He accordingly read: yaśṭā. The correct form would be iṣṭvā.

The past participle vikhyātaḥ can, of course, also simply mean "named", as Kern has rendered it.

Amcumant ("the Radiant one") is an epithet of the Sun-god, and is here taken by Kern in this sense. It is, however, also the personal name of the grandson of Sagara who is mentioned in the first line of inscription D. Both the Sun-god and Sagara's grandson may be described as progenitors.

As Kern has pointed out, the word pravara means as well "foremost in age (viz. eldest)" as "foremost in rank or excellence."

The compound tapo-bala-damānvita may also be interpreted in a slightly different manner, as Kern does, by making tapas subordinate to bala. It then would mean: "distinguished by (lit. provided with) the power of austerity and by self-restraint."

Kern takes bahusuvarṇaka to be synonymous with bahuhiranyā which is the designation of a special kind of Soma sacrifice. Hultzsch notes that the expression often occurs in inscriptions. Ep Ind. vol. IV, 1896—97, p. 194, n° 3.

The term "twice-born" (Sanskrit dvija, dvijāti, dvijanman) is really applicable to all Aryans, as the initiation which is symbolised by the investment with the sacred thread is regarded as a second birth. But commonly as in the present instance it is applied in particular to the members of the Brahmanical or priestly caste,
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Inscription B. (Kern's n° III) Transcript.

(1) çrimato ni̇pamukhyasya
(2) rājñāḥ ¹ çrī-Mūlavarmmaṇaḥ.
(3) dānām ² puṇyatame kṣetre ³
(4) yadh = dattam = Vaprakecvare
(5) dvijātibhyo gnikalpebhyaḥ ⁴
(6) viṇçatir = ṇgosahasrikam ⁵
(7) tasya puṇyasya yūpo yam
(8) kr̥to viprair = ihāgatai[h*]

Translation.
«When the illustrious and eminent prince, King Mūlavarmman, had given a gift of a thousand kine and a score to the twice-born who resemble the sacrificial fire, at the most blessed field Vaprakecvara, — for that deed of merit this sacrificial post has been made by the priests who had come hither».

Inscription C. (Kern's n° I) Transcript.

(1) çrimad-virāja-kīrtteḥ
(2) rājñāḥ ⁷ çrī- Mūlavarmmaṇaḥ puṇyam
(3) çṛṇvantu vipramukhyāḥ
(4) ye cānye sādhavaḥ puruṣāḥ
(5) bahudāna-jivadānam
(6) sakalpavrksaṁ sabhūmidānaṁ = ca
(7) teṣāṁ = puṇyagaṇaṇāṁ
(8) yūpo yam sthapito vipraih

¹ Kern has rājña(q).
² Kern has jā(?) tā.
³ In Kern's facsimile the vowel mark of the first akṣara of this word had been left out. He accordingly read kṣatre and followed this reading in his translation.
⁴ gnikalpasya[h] in Kern's reading, the vowel mark in the third akṣara having been omitted. In his translation Kern accordingly connected the word with the Genitive Mūlavarmmaṇaḥ.
⁵ ṇgosahasrikam (Kern).
⁶ On the meaning of Vaprakecvara (pronounced Baprakecvara, cf. above, pp. 203 sq.).
⁷ Here as in B ² 2 Kern read rājña(q). In both cases the visarga which had been omitted in his facsimile, is distinctly visible in the estampages which were supplied to me by Dr. Bosch.
Translation.

"Let the foremost amongst the priests and whatsoever other pious men [there be] hear of the meritorious deed of Mūlavarman, the king of illustrious and resplendent fame — [let them hear] of his great gift, his gift of cattle (?) ¹, his gift of a wonder-tree, ² his gift of land. For these multitudes of pious deeds this sacrificial post has been set up by the priests."

Inscription D. Transcript.

(1) Sagarasya yathā rājaḥ
(2) Samuṭpanno Bhagīrathaḥ
(3) ........................................
(4) Mūlavarmanma ..................................

Translation.

As Bhagīratha was born of King Sagara ........................................ Mūlavarmanma ..................................

The four inscriptions of Mūlavarman are all composed in Sanskrit poetry. Inscription A consists of three stanzas in the anusṭubh metre, B of two stanzas in the same metre and C of two stanzas in the ārīyā metre. We saw that in D too the

¹ The term jīvadāna is known from Sanskrit literature only as the title of a work on medicine. But probably Kern was right in taking it here in the sense of "a gift of live animals". It could also refer to the inhabitants of the land granted to the Brahmins. Cf. jīvaloka "the world of living creatures."

² The mention of 'a wishing-tree' (kalpavṛkṣa) among the gifts of Mūlavarman is somewhat surprising, as such an object belongs to the realm of mythology. It is the wonder-tree which fulfills all wishes. Kern supposed it to mean here a tree laden with precious things, a kind of Christmas tree. As far as I am aware, however, there is no indication of such trees having been known in ancient India. It is not unusual in Sanskrit inscriptions that the royal donor himself is compared to a kalpa-drūma or wishing-tree, e. g. in the Udayendiram grant in which the Pallava king Nandivarman is said to be "devoted [to liberality] as the Kalpa [tree]" (kalpakavrataḥ) and called "a Kalpa tree to good men" (satāṃ kalpavrakṣah [l. vṛkṣah]) S. I. I. vol. II, p. 367, verses 29 and 31. — In the Māṇgajīr grant (I. 6) the epithets anāntakalpadāyin "who gratified endless desires" and anāntakalpa "who performed an endless number of rites" are applied to the donor's grandfather Skandavarman. (Ind. Ant. vol. V, p. 155). Possibly the mention of the kalpavṛkṣa in the present inscription is due to a misunderstanding of such-like adjectives.
anusṭubh metre was employed; presumably the number of stanzas amounted to three, as is the case in A. It will be noticed that the verses are arranged on the stone in such a manner that each para occupies one line.

As regards their form, these inscriptions bear a certain resemblance to some of the cave inscriptions of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I, namely those of Mahendravāḍi and Dalavāṇur, in which we find one stanza of poetry (in the kokilaka and anusṭubh metre respectively), each pada occupying a separate line. In the Ciyāmanḍalam cave inscription of the same king we have a single āryā stanza, each half-verse of which is written in two lines without reference to the subdivision in padas. The two Sanskrit verses found in the upper cave of Trichinopoly consist each of four stanzas composed in various metres, but in this instance the lines do not correspond with the padas. Perhaps the agreement noted here will not seem to be very striking, but it should be borne in mind that the usual practice in Indian inscriptions is to arrange the lines without any reference to the verses.

The Sanskrit verses of Mulavarman's inscriptions were qualified by Professor Kern as «insignificant, but irreproachable». The latter qualification is, indeed, applicable to them as far as metrical exigencies are concerned. Grammatically, however, they are not quite as accurate, as would appear from Kern's readings. As a matter of fact, that scholar in some cases in which his facsimiles were indistinct unconsciously corrected grammatical errors committed by Mulavarman's pandit. In the third line of A we have clearly the reading cvavarmmo (cf. Mula- varmmā in l. 9), for which Kern substituted the correct form cvavarmmā. The last word of l. 9 in the same inscription reads rājendro which, of course, would be perfectly correct, if we were to apply the saṃdhi rule in connection with the word yastva which forms the commencement of the next pada. As, however, the author of these inscriptions rightly regards the caesura as pausa and treats the closing syllable of each pada accordingly, ¹ he ought here also to have put rājendraḥ, the form chosen by Kern in his transcript. A more

¹ M. Barth, Inscr. sanscrites du Cambodge, p. 4, n. 3, calls special attention to this peculiarity of the Koetei inscriptions,
serious mistake is the impossible form *yastvā* (*A*, l. 10), for
which we must read *iṣṭvā*. In the facsimile accompanying Kern’s
article the subscribed *va* had been erroneously left out; hence
his reading *yaṣṭā*. In the sixth line of inscription *B*, I read
with some hesitation *vinçatirṅgo°*, but it is quite possible
that the strange appearance of the fourth aksara is merely
due to the mason. The form which is given in Kern’s transcript
*vinçatirggo* is, no doubt, what was meant; for it will be
noticed that generally in these inscriptions any consonant com-
bined with ṛ is doubled. In the second line of both this and
the following inscription (*C*) Kern read *rājña(ç)*. In both
cases the inscriptions have *rājñaḥ*, but in the previously pu-
lished eye-copies the sign for *visarga* had erroneously been
left out. It follows, therefore, that in Mūlavarmān’s inscriptions
a final sibilant preceding an initial sibilant is not retained in
writing, but expressed by *visarga*. In the same manner the
signs for *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* which are used
in some early Sanskrit inscriptions both in India and in Kam-
bodia (the *upadhmanīya* occurs in one of the rock-inscriptions
of Pūrṇavarman from Western Java) are here replaced by the
*visarga*.

Kern has called attention to the substitution of the anusvāra
by the guttural nasal before sibilants in the Koetei inscriptions
(*vaṅca°* and *aṅguṁān*, in *A*, l. 4; *vinçatir* in *B*, l. 6), a
peculiarity which, as he pointed out, is found also in Sanskrit
inscriptions from Cambodia. I may add that in India proper
this mistaken spelling is not unusual in Sanskrit inscriptions.
I may quote the Bijayagarh *yūpa* inscription, referred to above,
where we find the forms *viṁcesu* and *vaṅca°*. On the whole, it may be said that, although the Koetei
inscriptions are extremely simple records, if compared with the
extensive and highly artificial praçastis of the Indian continent,
they betray a very fair knowledge of Sanskrit. In this respect
they are decidedly superior to the nearly contemporaneous

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1 The consonant is not doubled in *putro*, (*A*, l. 3); *putrā* (*A*, l. 5),
*kṣetre* (*B*, l. 3), *viprair* (*B*, l. 8), *vipra°* (*C*, l. 8), and *vipraih* (*C*, l. 8).
2 On the contrary the final sibilant is retained in *dvijendrais* (*A*, l. 12)
so that in this respect too the spelling is inconsistent.
I, pp. 165 and 188.
epigraphs of Bhadravarman I of Campā. Both the scholarship and the workmanship of our yüpa inscriptions bear testimony to a considerable degree of Hindu culture in Eastern Borneo during the period to which they belong.

It now remains to consider the important question of the palaeographical evidence afforded by the Koetei inscriptions. "That the alphabets of the inscriptions of Java and Sumatra", Dr. Burnell wrote, ¹ «present many points of similarity with old Indian and Pali alphabets was early noticed, and traditions pointed to Kalinga as the source of the old civilisation of Java, but proof of the true origin of the Kawi and Javanese alphabets has only lately been furnished by the discovery of the late Dr. Cohen Stuart that two Sanskrit inscriptions in W. Java are in a character identical, so to speak, with that of the Vengi inscriptions; these very interesting lines are in Sanskrit verse, and are engraved on rocks at Tjampea and Djamboe, places not far from Buitenzorg».

The document from which Burnell derived the expression "Vengi alphabet" was a copper-plate charter of the Čalāṅkāyana king Vijayanandivarman, the son of Caṇḍavarman, who issued it in the seventh year of his reign. ² Burnell assigned it to the

¹ Burnell, Elements (1878), pp. 130 sq. Appendix B. The author points out in a footnote that Raffles (Java, vol. I, p. 371) "noticed the almost complete identity of the Kawi and the square Pali characters."

² After Burnell had discussed the character of this inscription (Elements ¹ pp. 16 sq. and 185 sq.; plates I & XXIV) Dr. Fleet has edited it with proper facsimiles (Ind. Ant. vol. V, pp. 175 sqq., n° XVIII.) Another charter of the same dynasty is the Prākrit copper-plate grant of the Čalāṅkāyana king, Vijayadevavarman, who was presumably an ancestor of the two rulers mentioned in the Sanskrit charter. It was likewise issued from Vengipura. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarman Pallava and of the Sanskrit charter just referred to. It was edited by Hultzsch, Ep. Ind. vol. IX, 1904—05, pp. 56 sqq.
fourth century of our era. The Vengi country comprised the tract on the mouths of the Godāvari and Krishnā (Kistna) rivers. It consequently is that portion of the east coast which is situated between Kalinga on the north and the Pallava kingdom (Tondainādu) on the south. About the middle of the fourth century Vengi appears to have been an independent state, as the Allahabad praçasti of Samudragupta mentions Hastivarman of Vengi among the princes of the South vanquished by that emperor. Dr. Burnell thought "that the Vengi dynasty which ruled on the Telugu sea-coast and the Pallavas of the Tamil coast near what is now Madras, were probably of the same family." This supposition, however, is not confirmed by the evidence of the copper-plate grant of Vijayanandivarman, in which the donor is neither called a Pallava nor is reckoned to belong to the Brahmanical house (gotra) of Bharadvāja.

This much is certain that in the fifth century the Vengi country made part of the Pallava empire, as the Pallava king Simhavarman in one of his charters granted to some Brahmins the village of Māṅgalir in Vengorāstra. It probably remained in the possession of the Pallavas till the beginning of the seventh century. For we have seen above (p. 176) that in the course of the war between Mahendravarman I and Pulikecīn II Cālukya the latter wrested the Vengi country from his opponent and established his younger brother Visṇuvardhana as yuvāraja in the conquered territory. This happened in A. D. 615. Subsequently Visṇuvardhana made himself independent and thus founded the Eastern Cālukya empire which remained in existence for five centuries at least. It was probably on account of this historical connection between the Cālukyas and the Vengi country that Dr. Brandes used the term "Cālukya or Vengi type" to indicate the script of the Koetei and contemporaneous inscriptions of the Archipelago. The use of this expression, however, is open to objection. The connection between the Cālukyas and Vengi, as we saw, dates only from the commencement of the seventh century, whereas the early Sanskrit records of Java and Borneo

\(^1\) Burnell, Elements, p. 131.
\(^3\) Cat. Batavia Museum, p. 351.
are about two centuries anterior. Moreover, it will be evident from the above that during the period with which we are here chiefly concerned the early kings of Veṅgi never wielded a political power equal to that of their neighbours, the Pallavas, to whom, indeed, the Veṅgi territory appears at a time to have been subordinate. Nor have they left any inscriptions or monuments of importance. ¹

It will be advisable, in my opinion, entirely to discard the term «Veṅgi alphabet» from the terminology used by writers on Javanese epigraphy and to substitute for it the expression «Pallava alphabet». For of all ancient scripts of Southern India it is the character employed in the early records of the Pallava rulers that shows the nearest approach to that of the Koetei and contemporaneous Javanese epigraphs. This is by no means a new observation: Dr. Burnell had in reality arrived at the same conclusion, though he expresses it somewhat differently. «Now if the character», he wrote ², «used in the W. Java inscriptions [those from Koetei were not yet known at the time when this was written] be compared with that of the Veṅgi and Pallava inscriptions, it will at once be seen that it is nearest to the last». «For these reasons», he continued, «it appears to me that the source of the primitive Hindu civilisation in Jaya must be looked for in the N. Tamil coast, rather than in Kalinga proper, or the Telugu sea-coast; to seek it in Bengal is out of the question, and it is also impossible to seek it directly in Western India, though that is the ultimate source of all S.-Indian civilisation of which we have any traces».

Professor Bühler, in dealing with the various ancient alphabets of Southern India, applies the term «Grantha» to the script used in the Sanskrit records of the Pallava dynasty. ³ The

¹ Mr. R. Sewell remarks: „It does not appear that the kingdom of Vengi was at any period one of very great importance”. See his Lists of antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras. Vol. I, Madras 1882 (Archl. Survey of Southern India. N. I. S., vol. VII), p. 36.
² Elements, p. 182. Elsewhere (p. 35) Dr. Burnell used for the Pallava character the not very appropriate term “Eastern Cera”, as he assumed that this alphabet had been introduced into Tondainādu from the Cera country.
³ G. Bühler, Indische Palaeographie (1893), pp. 68 sqq. (Fleet’s transl. (1904), pp. 70 sqq.). We have seen that Bühler (ibidem, p. 44; Fleet p. 44) classes the alphabet of the Pallava Prakrit grants under „the precursors of the southern alphabets”. He even remarks that „the characters of the Sanskrit
The Grantha (meaning "a composition, a text, a literary work"), in the ordinary acceptation of the word, is the peculiar alphabet employed in Southern India up to modern times for literary works composed in Sanskrit, in contradistinction from the alphabets in which the various Dravidian vernaculars, such as Tamil and Telugu, are rendered. What Bühler's use of the word really implies is that the Grantha, viz. the literary alphabet of the South is derived from the ancient character found in the Pallava records. Bühler recognizes three successive stages in the development of this ancient Grantha which he indicates as the archaic, the middle, and the transitional variety. To the archaic type he reckons all Pallava Sanskrit inscriptions, including those of Narasimhavarman I; but from the Kūram copper-plate charter of Narasimha's son Paramecvaravarman I his middle variety commences. He further states that the archaic variety is also met with in the rock inscription from Jambu in Java.

If now we endeavour to test the correctness of Bühler's remark with the aid of the Koetei inscriptions (the character found therein being practically the same as that of the early rock-inscriptions from W. Java), we are confronted by a serious difficulty. It has been noticed above that during the earlier period of Pallava rule their documents are restricted to copper-plate charters. It is only by the commencement of the seventh century that the first stone inscriptions make their appearance. We, consequently, possess no lithic records from Coromandel which may be supposed to be approximately contemporaneous with the Koetei inscriptions. The only documents available for comparison are the copper-plate charters, but it will be readily understood that the difference of material brings on a different execution. In general the copper-plates which served the purely practical purpose of recording a donation of land, are engraved in a much simpler style of writing than the stone inscriptions which were meant to be public memorials. It so happens that the Prākrit grants which are the earliest documents of the Pallavas, are written in a very slovenly manner, whereas the charters of Simhavarman (illustrated in his plate VII, cols. XX and XXI), show no closer connection with those of the Prākrit inscriptions of the Pallavas." It seems to me that the alphabets employed in these two categories of inscriptions are so similar that they cannot be very well separated.
Koetei inscriptions are distinguished by their careful workmanship and highly ornamental character.

On the other hand, the absence of stone inscriptions of so early an epoch in Coromandel imparts the Koetei inscriptions with a peculiar interest for the history of South Indian epigraphy. It is in the distant islands of the Indian Archipelago and on the coasts of Indo-China that we thus find the prototypes of that remarkable group of lithic records which Coromandel owns to the Pallava kings of the seventh century. We may say that the Archipelago and Campâ have preserved the earliest examples of archaic Grantha carved in stone, of which no specimens are now extant in the mother country.

We now proceed to examine the chief palaeographical characteristics of the Koetei inscriptions. They are the following: —

1. The heads of the letters are marked by means of small, deeply cut squares which are found not only at the tops of the long verticals of the letters ka and ra, but at the head of practically every akṣara, except initial i, kha (in khya), ga, ṅa (in ṅa etc.), ṇa (in ṇa), tha and dha. Occasionally it is found in ja too, though it will be noticed that in general it is absent in those akṣaras which are finished off at the top by means of a horizontal stroke.

Bühler notes the same peculiarity with regard to the early script of Central India in its more developed form. He says that in this script «the heads of the letters bear small squares which are either hollow or filled in. These squares, to which on account of their resemblance to small boxes the script owes the name «box-headed», are, like the wedges, artificial developments of the serifs. The solid, filled in, squares probably have been invented by writers who used ink, and the hollow ones by persons writing with a stilus, who feared to tear their palm-leaves».¹ He further notes that this characteristic is not restricted to Central India, but occurs also in some early documents from the South, such as two Kadamba inscriptions of the 5th century and the Uruvupalli copper-plate grant of Simhavarman Pallava which has been assigned to the same period.

¹ Bühler, op. cit. pp. 62 sq. (Fleet’s transl. pp. 64 sq.). A typical instance of this box-headed script is afforded by the charters of the Vikâtaka king Pravarasena II (Fleet, Gupta Inscr. n° 55 and 56).
«Box-heads» are also peculiar to the inscriptions of Bhadra-varman of Campā. This was first noticed by M. Bergaigne with reference to the Cho'-dinh rock-inscription noted above (p. 189). «Secondement>, he wrote, «les relations entre le royaume de Campā et ceux de l’Inde du sud étaient assez fréquentes pour que l’alphabet s’y modifiât exactement de la même manière: on verra même qu’un simple appendice ornemental, un carré profondément creusé à la tête des lettres, qui paraît avoir été dans l’Inde propre une véritable mode dont la durée coïncide à peu près avec celle du Ve siècle, se retrouve dans notre n° XXI [viz. the Cho’-Dinh inscription].»

M. Bergaigne has also drawn attention to the fact that the «fashion», as he calls it, of the box-headed letters had penetrated as far as Borneo, as is evident from the Koetei inscriptions. The Tjaroenten (Tji Aroeteun) rock inscription of Pūrṇavarman shows the same peculiarity.

2nd. Another feature of the Koetei inscriptions (it is mentioned by Bühler among the characteristics which distinguish the Southern alphabets from those of Northern India) is the little hook attached, on the left, to the foot of the long verticals. It will be noticed in kā, nā (in jñā) and rā, and also in the subscribed ū, if expressed by a downward stroke (in ku and in the ligature ntu [in C, l. 3] medial ū is rendered in a different manner). In a slightly more developed form we find this little hook in the aksara re (A, 1. 1), where it is prolonged upward.

It is interesting that similar little hooks or curves are found in the Pallava Prākrit grants of the fourth century, whereas in Sīnḥavarman’s charters of the fifth century those excrescences are usually prolonged so as to reach up to almost half the length of the vertical. Such is also the case in the cave inscriptions of Mahendravarman I. A still further development is noticeable in the later Pallava inscriptions of the seventh century.

1 A. Bergaigne, L’ancien royaume de Campā, p. 16 (tirage à part), and Inscr. Sanscrites, pp. 23 [203] sq. M. Finot (B. E. F. E. O. vol. II, p. 186) notes the same peculiarity with regard to the Hon-ene and Mīso’n inscriptions of Bhadravarman.


Bühler, op. cit., p. 60 (Fleet’s transl., p. 61) sub 4.
which, to use Bühler's terminology, exhibit the middle variety of the lithic Grantha alphabet. Here the upward stroke is prolonged up to the top of the aksara, so as to form a second vertical, in the letters a, ā, ka and ra as well as in medial u and ü. Such forms with double verticals are regularly found in the very ornamental epigraphs of «the Seven Pagodas» (Māvalivaram).

It is noteworthy that in the Campā inscriptions of Bhadra- varman which otherwise betray so marked a palaeographical affinity to those of Koetei, the long verticals show no trace of the little hook. In this respect they represent an earlier stage of writing than the Koetei inscriptions, a conclusion which is confirmed by other observations.

In the Tjaroenten (Caruntēn) rock inscription, on the other hand, we notice a more advanced stage, as here the hooks are prolonged in the same manner as in the charters of Siṃha- varman Pallava.

The Djamboe (Jambu) rock inscription, likewise from Western Java, shows again a somewhat later development, if we may judge from the published photograph.

In the aksaras ja, pa, ba, la and ha the left hand stroke bulges outward. The origin of this peculiarity can be traced back to the famous Girnar prācasti of Rudradāman, in which Bühler noticed the pa and ba with a notch in the left vertical. The notched pa is even found in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions.

Burnell observed the same in the so-called Veṇgi alphabet with regard to the letters ja and ba (also ṇa). It is, however, commonly found in the documents of the Pallavas, Kadambas and Vākāṭakas, especially in their lithic records.

A later development is the notching of the base-lines of certain aksaras, a fashion of which the first tendency is noticeable in the Jaggayyapetta inscriptions with regard to pa, ma and va, but which becomes a very striking feature of the very ornamental Pallava script of the seventh century, where we find it not only in pa, ma and va, but also in ja, ba, la, ṣa and ha.

It is interesting that here again the alphabets of Southern India, Indo-China and the Archipelago exhibit a parallel development. The inscriptions of Bhadravarman represent ap-
proximately the same stage as the yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarmman. The left-hand verticals of certain ṛā[s] are notched, but the base lines are throughout straight. It is the same stage which in Southern India is represented by the Pallava Prākrit grants of the fourth century. In the Sanskrit charters of Śimha-varman we notice a transitional stage, the base-lines of several ṛā[s] (ca, tha, dha, pa, ba, ma, la and ṣa) showing that peculiar twist which becomes so pronounced a feature of the seventh century inscriptions. In the same manner "la tendance à faire onduler les lignes" as M. Bergaigne formulates it, has become one of the chief features of the ancient script of Campā and Kambodia.

In the Tjaroenten (Caruntēn) inscription we find a stage in this development which might perhaps be described as intermediate between that of the Prākrit and that of the Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas. For here we find slightly ondulating base-lines in only a few ṛā[s], namely pa, ma and va. In this respect also the script of Tjaroenten is more advanced than that of the Koetei inscriptions which, like the epigraphs of Bhadravarman of Campā, have straight base-lines throughout.

Another peculiarity of the Koetei inscriptions to which I wish to call attention is the little hook which we find attached to the right-hand stroke of the letters tha (A, l. 4, also D, ll. 1 and 2, and in the ligature sthā in C, l. 8), ca and ṣa. In tha it replaces the central dot, in ca and ṣa the cross-bar of the earlier Indian scripts. The feature here noted is of special importance, as it is peculiar to the alphabet of the Pallava inscriptions, but appears to be unknown in other South-Indian scripts. On that account it is mentioned by Bühler among the chief characteristics of what he calls the archaic type of the Grantha alphabet. It deserves notice that in the Prākrit grants of Įivaskandavarman these forms of tha, ca and ṣa are not yet found. But in the earlier Jaggayyapetta inscriptions (third century A. D. ?), the script of which, as we have seen, Bühler classes under the precursors of the southern alphabets, the tha presents exactly the same appearance as in the Koetei inscriptions. The script of Jaggayyapetta, it will be observed, is also of a very ornamental type.

Whereas, therefore, in this respect the Koetei inscriptions show a very close relationship to the Pallava documents, it is

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worthy of note that in the epigraphs of Bhadravarman of Campā only ç a is treated in a similar fashion, whilst ś a has preserved the cross-bar and t h a the central dot.

In this connection it may be noted that d h a, which occurs only once in the Koetei inscriptions, namely in l. 4. of C, appears likewise to be distinguished by a little stroke attached to the right hand side of the aksāra.

5th. One of the most remarkable features of the Koetei inscriptions is the looped form of the three letters t a, n a and ņ a. The t a and n a are consequently so similar in appearance that they could easily be mixed up in documents less carefully executed than the present. I need only refer to those two letters in the first line of inscription A. It will be seen that in the case of the t a the loop extends farther upwards and consequently the vertical is shortened. I may note that, whereas the looped t a may be called an innovation, the looped n a is an archaic form which is regularly found in the Gupta inscriptions and occasionally even in documents of the Kuṣāṇa and Andhra dynasties. Bühler 1 classes it among the characteristics of the Western variety of Southern alphabets; it is found in Valabhi, Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions. It appears in other southern scripts too, e. g., in a Kadamba inscription of the fifth century (though here in a slightly modified form, the loop being particularly small) and in a Gāṅga inscription of c. 675 A. D.

In the Pallava epigraphs the n a is, as a rule, not provided with a loop. With regard to the Pikira grant of Sīmāhavarman Professor Hultzsch remarks that here «the forms with and without loop are used for both t a and n a, though in the majority of cases t a has a loop and n a has none». In the charter of the Čālaṅkāyana king Vijayanandivarman of Vengipura the t a is always looped, whilst n a is sometimes looped and sometimes not.

M. Bergaigne 2 notes with reference to the charter of Vijayānandivarman that in this script, as shown on plate I of Burnell’s Elements of South Indian Palaeography both t a and n a are looped. This, however, does not appear to be quite correct. From an examination of the facsimile published by Dr. Fleet I have come to the conclusion that in the inscription in question

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1 Bühler, op cit., p. 61 (Fleet’s transl., p. 63).
2 Bergaigne, Inscr., p. 14 [194].
ta is always looped, whereas the looped and the unlooped forms of na occur side by side, and the na is without loop except in one instance (IV 1. 3).

I cannot, therefore, point to any South-Indian inscription in which we find the looped forms of ta and na consistently used side by side, as they are found in the Koetei inscriptions. In the rock inscription of Cho'-dinh, however, we do find those forms, so that in this respect also that epigraph shows a close relation to the yüpa inscriptions. This is the more remarkable as in the earlier Vō-canh (Nha-trang) inscription which, as we have seen, is the oldest epigraphical document of Indo-China, (above p. 188) both ta and na are unlooped.¹

The looped na, like the looped na, is an archaic form which occurs in early Gupta inscriptions, e.g. the prācasti of Samudragupta on the Allahabad pillar and also in the Bijayagarh yüpa inscription.

In the Tjaroenten rock inscription the three akṣaras under discussion appear in exactly the same shape as in the Koetei epigraphs, with the only exception that in the word Tārūma⁶ which opens the third line, we have clearly a ta without loop. This exception, however, may be a mere accident. For it is very curious that in later Javanese inscriptions it is exactly the ta which is looped, whereas the na has lost the loop.

6th. The absence of the vowel is not expressed by the virāma, as in the Nāgari of Northern India. The vowelless consonant is written in smaller type beneath the line. In the Koetei inscriptions this vowelless letter (ṅ and ṁ) is about half the size of the ordinary akṣaras.

Burnell² says: «The Java character has the peculiar small m used for a final m (i.e. with virāma), and we find this also in both the Vengi and Pallava characters, and in them only». From this remark it would be wrong to infer that in other Indian alphabets this manner of rendering the vowelless consonant is unknown. We find it, e.g., in the word siddham at the beginning of the Īsāpur yüpa inscription. It is also

¹ Bergaigne, Insocr., pp. 12 sq. and 22. It is curious that in the Hon-cuc rock-inscription B. E. F. E. O., vol. II, pp. 186 sq., which M. Finot assumes to be contemporaneous with that of Cho'-dinh, we find ta without loop. The employment of looped and unlooped forms of the akṣaras in question appears, indeed, to be, to a certain extent, arbitrary.

² Burnell, Elements, p. 182.
peculiar to Gupta inscriptions, but here the small \( m \) is surmounted by a short horizontal stroke. It is from this stroke that the well-known virāma of the Nāgari alphabet has developed. In the very conservative Čāradā alphabet of the Panjāb the ancient mode of expressing the absence of the vowel has been retained until quite modern times.

In his discussion of the Cho'-dinh inscription Bergaigne says: «Il faut signaler surtout l’absence du virāma, dont l’usage est général au Cambodge dès les plus anciennes inscriptions. Ici, comme dans l’inscription précédente d’ailleurs, la consonne finale non rattachée au groupe suivant est écrite, avec des dimensions moindres, au-dessous de la ligne. C’est l’usage ancien, qui paraît s’être modifié dans l’Inde du sud à partir des Cālukyas, mais qui est général encore au Ve siècle dans les inscriptions des Pallavas, des Vākāṭakas et des Kadambas.»

On the whole, therefore, the mode followed in the Koetei inscriptions may be regarded as a sign of great antiquity. It is interesting to note that at the end of the Tjaroenten rock inscription the vowelless \( m \) (in the word \( \text{padadvayam} \)) is expressed by a small-sized akṣara, which, however, is provided with a curve issuing from its left hand top and slanting upwards towards the right. ² In this respect too the Tjaroenten inscription represents a more advanced stage of writing than the Koetei documents.

7th. I now wish to consider the rendering of medial (post-consonantic) \( i \) and \( ī \). In the Koetei inscriptions we find the short \( i \) expressed in the ancient fashion by a single superscribed curve to the left, but always open, except in the akṣara \( ī \) (I, l. 3), where the extremity of the vowel mark rejoins the top of the akṣara and consequently a closed curve is formed. This closed curve, which assumes the appearance of a superscribed circle, becomes the regular manner of expressing medial \( i \) in later alphabets, namely: ¹ in the Grantha where the open curve is usual in the Sanskrit charters of Simhavarmman

¹ Bühler, op. cit., p. 48 (Fleet, p. 48) (17); plate IV: 31, XV and 43 VII. Cf. my Chamba Inscri., p. 58.
³ It is interesting to compare the \( m \) in the Kalīsanāthā inscriptions of the seventh century. Bühler, op. cit., p. 69, plate VII: 41, XXIII, cf. plate VIII: 47, XIII.
(the archaic variety!), whereas it has become closed in the documents of the seventh century representing the middle variety of that script. A transitional stage is found in the cave inscriptions of Mahendravarman I in which the two forms appear side by side. 2nd in the ancient script of Indo-China. The primitive form of the i is found in the inscriptions of Bhadravarman, as observed by Messrs. Bergaigne and Finot. 3rd in the Old-Javanese script, e.g., in the Dinaja stone inscription of Caka 682 (A.D. 760) and also in as early a document as the Tjaroenten rock inscription.

A similar development can be traced in the case of medial i. In the Koetei inscriptions it is expressed in the ancient fashion followed in the early Gupta inscriptions, to wit, by a double curve over the akṣara, the long right-hand curve (similar to the sign for short i) running round the left hand curve which is smaller and assumes the appearance of a spiral. Sometimes, as in the case of the akṣara çrī, the two curves rise from the opposite ends of the horizontal top-stroke and are consequently separated. Or. e.g. in jī (C, 1. 5) the two curves have coalesced into one flourish resting on the extremity of the top-stroke (cf. also ki in C, l. 1).

In the Cho'-dinh rock inscription the i in çrī is written in exactly the same manner as in the Koetei inscriptions. In later epigraphs both in Campā-Kambodia and in Java we find that the double curve has become closed so as to assume the appearance of a circle similar to that marking the short i, but differentiated from the latter by means of a dot in the centre. The spiral vowel mark in the word çrī of the Tjaroenten inscription appears to represent a transitional stage in this development.

8th. Finally attention may be drawn to the sign for medial (postconsonantic) e consisting of a little curve which sometimes has the appearance of a spiral and is invariably attached on the left-hand side to the top of the consonant. If combined with j (A, ll. 9 and 12), t (A, l. 7 and C, l. 7) and ra (A, l. 1), we find it hanging down, as it were, from a short horizontal stroke which is attached to the top of the consonant.

The sign for medial ā, it is true, is also slightly curved (very much so in the case of jā in B, l. 5), but it does not present the very peculiar appearance of medial e. As medial ai (in tai [B, l. 8], prai [B, l. 8 and C, l. 8] and ndrai [A, l. 12]) is expressed by a double e stroke, and medial o by a combination of the signs for medial a and medial e, we notice in both these vowels the same peculiarity as in e. In this respect again the script of the Koetei epigraphs approaches the Pallava character very closely, particularly the ornamental writing of the inscriptions of Māvalivaram and Conjeeveram.

Here again the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campā appear to denote a somewhat earlier stage, as in them medial e is rendered by a short straight stroke to the left in accordance with the most ancient fashion of Indian writing. In these inscriptions medial o, as pointed out by M. Finot, is expressed in two different ways. "L' o a une double forme", that scholar remarks, "l'une de deux petits traits rectilignes tombant verticalement des extrémités du rectangle terminal [the so-called "box-head"], l'autre de deux courbes divergentes surmontant le même rectangle.

Our final conclusions, therefore, with regard to the palaeographical evidence of the Koetei inscriptions are the following. Among the epigraphical records of Southern India we cannot point to any specimen which exhibits exactly the same style of writing as is found in the earliest inscriptions of the Archipelago. But among Southern alphabets, it is undoubtedly the archaic type of the ancient Granthā character (to retain Bühler's terminology), used by the early Pallava rulers of the Coromandel coast, which appears to be most closely related to the character of the Koetei epigraphs. This point it would, in all probability, have been possible to establish with greater clearness, if side by side with the copper-plate charters of the fourth and fifth centuries we possessed also lithic records for that early period of Pallava rule. As unfortunately no documents in stone have hitherto come to light, we may say that the Koetei inscriptions, as it were, exhibit the prototype of that style of writing which we find employed in the Pallava stone inscriptions of the seventh

century of which the cave inscriptions of Mahendravarman I stand foremost as regards age. We are, therefore, perhaps justified in qualifying the Koetei inscriptions as the earliest specimens of the Grantha used in stone records.

In documents of some other contemporaneous Southern dynasties, such as the Çalaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi, we meet with an alphabet very similar to that used by the Pallavas and, consequently, also closely allied to that of ancient Koetei. This circumstance, however, does not, in my opinion, justify the use of the term «Veṅgi alphabet» to denote the script employed in the early inscriptions of the Archipelago.

We have further had occasion to note the very near palaeographical affinity existing between the Koetei inscriptions and those of Bhadravarman of Campā which, next to the Vō-canh (or Nha-trang) rock inscription, are the earliest epigraphical records of that ancient kingdom and, indeed, of the whole of Indo-China. In certain respects, however, the inscriptions of Bhadravarman appear to represent a somewhat earlier stage of writing. On the contrary, the Tjaroenten rock-inscription of Pūrṇavarman, the ancient ruler of Western Java, exhibits a more advanced style of writing, so that we arrive at the chronological succession: Bhadravarman, Mūlavarman, Pūrṇavarman. The intervening period in each case may be roughly estimated at half a century.

However abundant the epigraphical materials now available for comparison may be both in India proper and in Indo-China, they do not allow us to arrive at a very definite conclusion with regard to the chronological question. The reason is that, as we have noted above, neither in India nor in Indo-China the early records in question bear any date, except, in the case of the copper-plates, the regnal year of the ruling prince. As, therefore, on the basis of palaeographical evidence only an approximate date can be assigned to those documents, it follows that we stand on no very firm ground, if we endeavour to utilize them in order to settle the chronology of the inscribed yūpas from Koetei. Professor Kern hesitated between the fourth and fifth century and finally proposed 400 A. D. as the ap-

1 On the question whether A. D. 436–37 may be accepted as the date of Sinhavarman Pallava’s accession see Fleet’s paper A new Ganga record. (J. R. A. S. for 1915, pp. 471 sqq.)
proximate date to assign to these inscriptions. I believe we may still adhere to this view.

It would follow that the inscriptions of Bhadravarman belong to the middle of the fourth century, a somewhat earlier date than that proposed by M. Finot who has assigned them to approximately 400 A. D. ¹

The Tjaroenten inscription I am inclined to attribute to the middle of the fifth century, a conclusion agreeing with that arrived at by Professor Kern.

It is highly desirable that the early Sanskrit inscriptions from Western Java be re-examined and edited with proper facsimiles. At present the study of those interesting documents of Javanese history is impossible, as no reliable reproductions are available. It must be emphasized that only estampages prepared and reproduced by a purely mechanical process are of real use for purposes of study. In this respect a great deal still remains to be done.

The publication of the future (may it be a near future!) which is anxiously awaited by all that are interested in the early history of the Archipelago is a Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum which will comprise all ancient records both in Sanskrit and Old-Javanese known to exist in Java and the other islands of the Archipelago.


If M. Maspéro is right in identifying Bhadravarman I with the Campā king Fan-Hou-Ta of the Chinese sources (Young Pao, 1910, p. 347), it would follow that the date of c. 400 A. D. ascribed to that ruler must be correct. I would then attribute the Koetei inscriptions to c. 450 A. D. and the Tjaroenten inscription to c. 500 A. D. It must, however, be pointed out that M. Maspéro himself qualifies his identification as „très contestable“.
YÜPA INSCRIPTION OF KING MÜLAVARMAN.

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