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THE KOḌUMBĀLŪR INSCRIPTION OF  
VIKRAMA-KĒSARĪ.

BY

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Koḍumbālūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai state is a place of ancient renown. It is said in the *Śilappadikāram* to have been situated on the high-road then in use between Uṟaiyūr, the Cōḷa capital, and Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.<sup>1</sup> The *Periyapurāṇam* calls it the chief city of Kōṇāḍu, *Kōṇāṭṭuk-koḍi-nagaram*, which was the centre of the Vēḷir power represented for a time by Iḍaṅgaḷināyaṅār, in whose noble family was born Āditya who covered with gold from the Koṅgu country the roof of the Poṅṅambalam (golden hall).<sup>2</sup> The king Āditya thus mentioned by Śēkkiḷār following Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi was most probably Āditya I Cōḷa, the father of Parāntaka I and conqueror of Koṅgu.

The Mūvar-Kōvil, the 'temple of the three', is an ancient structure of which only two temples survive, though the basement of the third is intact.<sup>3</sup> On the south wall of the central one of the three temples, all of them facing west, is engraved an interesting grantha inscription which I edit below from an impression supplied by Miss C. Minakshi, M.A., Research Student in the Department of Indian History of the University of Madras. The inscription has been noticed before by Mr. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1908, and the text has been printed as No. 14 in the *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkōṭṭai State* (1929).

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1. Canto XI, l. 71.

2. There seems to be no evidence for the date of Iḍaṅgaḷi, who is placed by Venkayya in the 9th century A.D. A.R.E. 1908. II 84.

3. Venkayya says no traces of it exist. A.R.E. 1908, II 87.

The inscription is mutilated both at the beginning and the end. The extant portion consists of twenty-four lines comprising eleven full stanzas in Sanskrit in various metres, and fragments of two others, one at the opening and the other at the end. The inscription occupies a wall space 4' 10" in height, and a pilaster on the wall which, though it must have been part of the original structure, bears no letters, divides each line into two parts of the length of 2' 8" to the left of it and about 1' 5" to the right.<sup>1</sup> The size of the letters is well over an inch, the ligatures sometimes even reaching two inches.

The alphabet exhibits all the peculiarities enumerated by Bühler as characterising the third or transitional variety of Grantha, which grew up in 9th and 10th centuries A.D.<sup>2</sup> The *virāma* is expressed by > placed to the right of the *mātrkā* sometimes below the level of the top-line as in *t* in ll. 2 and 3 and sometimes above the line as in ll. 5, 7 and 12. The letter *ga* shows a projection to its left and perceptibly differs in appearance from its more modern representative. Medial *r* is marked by a slanting stroke on the top of the letter, and the consonants following are invariably doubled—*rgga*, *rdda* (l. 4), *rṣṣu* (l. 13). The length of medial *ū* is expressed by a curve in addition to the *u* sign—see Koḍumbāḷūr in l. 13. The *anusvāra* and *ṁ* are used indifferently and in *taikṣṇyam* (l. 15) the *anusvāra* dwindles into a slight stroke. Besides the doubling of consonants following a medial *r*, the only peculiarities of orthography are the use of *tbha* for *dbha* in l. 7. and the omission of *Sandhi* in *yasmin śāsati* in l. 14. Examples of peculiarities of vocabulary are furnished by *sāmaja* (elephant) in l. 12, and *mālikā* (place) in l. 13.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the three temples (*vimānatrayam*), now known as Mūvar-kōvil, by Vikrama-kēsari, and the presentation to the Kāḷāmukha ascetic Mallikārjuna of a big *maṭha* attached to the temple with eleven villages set apart for the maintenance of the *maṭha* (monastery). The opening verses give the following genealogy of Vikrama-kēsari's dynasty, the *yadu-vamśa*:—

1. The temple has been recently restored by the State authorities, but we are assured that the original plan has been strictly maintained. In the plate the two parts of each line are shown pieced together.

2. See Indian Palaeography edn. Fleet pp. 72—3.

A king (name lost) who captured the elephants of a lord of some place (name lost).<sup>1</sup>

In his family was born

Paravīrajit

Vīratuṅga, conqueror of the Maḷava

Ativīra Anupama

Saṅghakṛt

Nṛpakēsarī

Paradurgamardana, conqueror of Vātāpi

Samarābhirāma: killed the Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala; married Anupamā, a Cōḷa princess

Bhūti Vikramakēsarī;<sup>2</sup> conquered the Pallava forces on the banks of the Kāvērī; defeated Vīra-Pāṇḍya and killed Vañcivēḷ; had a place at Koḍumbālūr and two wives Karraḷi and Varaguṇā.

By Karraḷi

Parāntaka

Ādityavarman

With characteristic insight, Venkayya suggested that Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who was defeated by Bhūti Vikramakēsarī, was the same as the Pāṇḍya with whom Āditya II Karikāla fought in his youth, and this suggestion gains in force from many other considerations besides the palaeography<sup>3</sup> of the inscription and the identity of the

1. Venkayya's impression perhaps contained the additional word *Pāṇḍya* at the beginning, of which the present impression shows no trace. He calls the first king: "vanquisher of the Pāṇḍya elephants." (A.R.E. 1908, II 85)

2. *Minnāmalā* seems to be another title applied to him in v. 4.

3. Krishna Sastri thinks that palaeographically the inscription is earlier than the time of Āditya II. But as he seems to concede that Vikramakēsarī may have been contemporary with Gaṇḍarāditya (S. I. I. iii, p. 249) and as there can be no decisiveness in palaeographical arguments when the interval is so short, I see no reason to depart from Venkayya's position.

name of the Pāṇḍyan opponent of Vikramakēsarī and Āditya. Āditya's father was Parāntaka; and Vikramakēsarī's children are named Parāntaka and Āditya; this may well be a token of Vikramakēsarī's political relation to the Cōḷa power. An inscription from Tillaisthānam,<sup>1</sup> dated in the thirteenth year of a Rājakēsarī, mentions a gift of a lamp by Varaguṇa-perumāṇār, the *dēviyār* of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār. Another inscription also of the 13th year of Rājakēsarī from Lālguḍi records a gift from Naṅgai-varaguṇa-perumāṇār, the sister of the Cōḷa king.<sup>2</sup> Yet another Rājakēsarī inscription, from which the regnal year has been lost, mentions Kaṛṛalippirāṭṭi, the wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷ *alias* Maṛavaṇ Pūdiyār.<sup>3</sup> The presumption arises that Varaguṇā, the sister of the Cōḷa king Rājakēsarī and wife of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, and Kaṛṛali, the wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, mentioned in these inscriptions may be identical with the two queens of Vikramakēsarī mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. The three Rājakēsarī inscriptions cited above doubtless belong to about the same period as that of Āditya II to which Venkayya assigned the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsarī. If what has been urged so far is correct, Vikramakēsarī must have had also the surnames Parāntakaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, and Maṛavaṇ Pūdiyār. Pūdi recalls the name Bhūti which occurs in our Grantha inscription. A certain Vīra-cōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷār is known to have been ruling at Koḍumbāḷūr in the reign of Parāntaka I Vīracōḷa.<sup>4</sup> It seems quite possible that Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār was the title of Vikramakēsarī, the contemporary of Parāntaka II.

The contemporaneity of Vikramakēsarī and Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa is borne out in fact by much stronger evidence than the similarity of names or vague palaeographical inferences. There is at Koḍumbāḷūr an undated fragmentary inscription<sup>5</sup> of Madhurāntaka Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. It is well-known that Sundara-cōḷa fought against the Pāṇḍya and "drove him into the forest," and that in this war he was assisted by Parāntakaṇ

1. 287 of 1911 (S.I.I. iii, 113).

2. E. I. xx, p. 53.

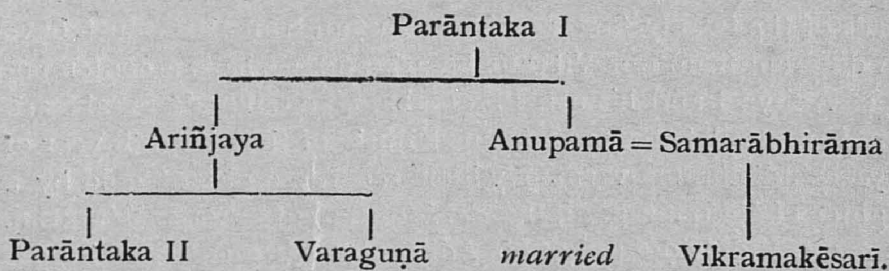
3. 273 of 1903.

4. 470 of 1908 (S. I. I. iii, 98).

5. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

Śirīya-vēlār of KoḢumbālūr who served as a general of the king's army.<sup>1</sup> It is also clear that Parāntaka II was a Rājakēsari.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the mention of Vikramakēsari's queens in Rājakēsari inscriptions and the facts that Sundara Cōḷa is a Rājakēsari, that an inscription of his is found in KoḢumbālūr, and that a general from KoḢumbālūr fought in Sundara Cōḷa's army in the Pāṇḍya country,—doubtless in the same war with Vira-Pāṇḍya in which Āditya II, the son of Sundara Cōḷa, distinguished himself—furnish conclusive proof of the political subordination of Vikramakēsari to Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. Varaguṇā was then the sister of Sundara Cōḷa, and daughter of Ariṇjaya. The period of Sundara Cōḷa's rule may be fixed roughly in the years A. D. 956-70. This must also be the period of Vikramakēsari's rule. His mother Anupamā, called also a Cōḷa princess, was perhaps an otherwise unknown daughter of Parāntaka I. The relations thus established are seen in the following table :—



It has been said : “ Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ, a contemporary of Vikramkēsarin of KoḢumbālūr, published his Malaiyaḍip-paṭṭi inscription in the 16th year of Dantivarmaṇ Pallava, and his Śendalai inscription in the 10th year of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ. The 16th year of Dantivarman Pallava would fall according to our arrangement in 805 A. D. Therefore Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ and his contemporary Vikramakēsarin of KoḢumbālūr should have lived in 800 A. D.”<sup>3</sup> The Śendalai inscription mentioned is apparently No. 10 of 1899, and the Malaiyaḍip-paṭṭi record is No. 18 of the Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions (Texts). But no attempt is made to establish the identity of Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Kuvāvaṇ Śāttan of the Malaiyaḍip-paṭṭi inscription with the Muttaraiyaṇ Śāttan of the Śendalai inscription.

1. E. I, xii pp. 121-6.

2. S. I. I, iii, 119.

3. A Rangaswami Sarasvati in *Vizianagaram Coll. Mag.* July 1923, pp. 207-8.

raiyaṅ of the Śendalai record which cites the tenth year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṅ ; and what is more important, no evidence is cited in proof of the assumption that this Muttaraiyaṅ was a contemporary of Vikramakēsarī of the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. Viḍēlviḍugu is a title, and Muttaraiya, a dynastic name, and no chronological deductions can be safely based on their recurrence either separately or together in different inscriptions. We have therefore no reason to accept a date about 800 A. D. for Vikramakēsarī in preference to one, say between 950 and 970 A. D. suggested by the considerations urged in the preceding paragraph.

It may also be observed that a Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi Perumāṅār, daughter of a Muttaraiyar and queen of a Śembiya Irukkuvēḷār, is mentioned in an inscription from Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pd. 45) of the sixth regnal year of a Parakēsarī ; this lady is obviously different from her namesake, the Cōḷa princess of the Rājakēsarī inscriptions noticed above. Likewise, Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Ādittaṅ (Āccaṅ) Vikramakēsarī mentioned in two Parakēsarī records of the twenty-first year from Kuḍumiyāmalai<sup>1</sup> must have been different from our Vikramakēsarī, and perhaps a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāntaka, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarī. There is a mutilated record from Kīḷūr<sup>2</sup> of the eleventh year of Vijaya-Nandivikrama-varmaṅ which records a gift of gold by a daughter of Vikrama-pūdi, the *dēvi* (queen) of a Śāttāṅ Maravaṅ. The name Viḍēlviḍugu Iḷaṅgō Adiyaraiyaṅ is mentioned in this record perhaps as an *alias* of Vikramapūdi. The identity of this chieftain must also remain doubtful at present. These examples make it clear that the contents of the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsarī should not be taken to be a complete account of the history of the Vēḷs as has sometimes been done.

Much of the history recorded in this inscription is still very obscure. Besides defeating Vīra-Pāṇḍya, Vikramakēsarī claims to have won a victory against Pallava forces on the banks of the Kāvērī and to have put an end to the line of Vañcivēḷs. If the chronology suggested above is correct and Vikramakēsarī lived in the middle of the tenth century, the Pallava forces mentioned could not have been those of the rulers of the Simhaviṣṇu line which had been practically wiped out of existence by the Cōḷas before the beginning of the tenth century A. D. It seems likely

1. Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Madras) and Pd. 63 and 65.  
2. 295 of 1902.

therefore that the wars against the Pallavas and Vañcivēls were of the nature of local conflicts in which the Koḍumbālūr chief-tain gained the upper hand as against other local feudatories less enterprising than himself. Late local traditions<sup>1</sup> centering round a certain Śivandelūnda Pallavarāyar and his descendants seem to lend support to this view. One wonders, however, if by the expression *pallavasya dhvajinyāḥ*, the composer of the inscription meant *Vallabhasya dhvajinyāḥ* which would be an allusion to the invasion of the Cōḷa country by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III which occurred towards the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and is said to have reached as far as Rāmēśvaram. Samarābhirāma, the father of Vikramakēsarī, killed a Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam. Caḷukki need not necessarily be a reference to the Cāḷukyās of Bādāmi though the conquest of Vātāpi (Badami) by Paradurgamardana seems to render this probable. The ancient Tamils applied the name *śaḷukki* to local chieftains, *kuṟunila manṇar*. If we accept this meaning and treat the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam as another incident in local quarrels, the reference to the conquest of Vātāpi becomes difficult to explain. At the same time, there seems to be no indication in any other records of the early tenth century of a conflict of the Cāḷukyās of Bādāmi with the Tamils to which the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala may be referred. Though we have as yet no confirmation of the facts from other records, it is not unlikely that the Cāḷukyās<sup>2</sup> survived at Bādāmi with diminished power after the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and took part in the invasion of the Cōḷa country by Kṛṣṇa III; possibly a fight took place at Adhirājamaṅgalam (Tiruvadigai)<sup>3</sup> and a Cāḷukya prince lost his life in it. In any event, the 'conquest of Vātāpi' by Paradurgamardana has nothing to do with the two invasions of Vātāpi in the seventh century, in the reigns of the Pallava kings Narasiṃhavarmaṅ I and Paramēśvaravarmaṅ I.<sup>4</sup> The Maḷava conquered by Vīratuṅga, the second name in the genealogy, must have been a local ruler of the tract called Maḷanāḍu between the modern Trichino-

1. Miss Minakshi first drew my attention to these legends, and Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar D. Litt kindly lent me two mss. of an *ulā* and a *Piḷḷaittamil* on Śivandelūnda Pallavarāyaṅ.

2. Bom. Gaz. I ii, pp. 378-9.

3. 360 of 1921.

4. *Contra* A. R. Sarasvati *Vizianagaram Coll. Mag. ibid.*

poly and Tanjore Districts. A Maļavēndra gave his daughter in marriage to the Pāṇḍya Rājasirṃha I (c. A. D. 740-65).<sup>1</sup>

The father of Vikramakēsarī is called *Yaduvamśakētu*, the banner of the race of Yadu (v. 3) and Vikaramakēsarī is himself called *yādava* (v. 11). This recalls the legend preserved in an early Śaṅgam poem preserved in the anthology of the *Puraṇānūru* (No. 201) addressed to an Iruṅgōvēḷ by the celebrated Kapilar. The poet says that the *Vēḷir* arose from the fire-pit of a northern sage, and counted forty-nine generations ruling at Tuvurai (Dvārakā).

vaḍapāṇ = muṇivan = raḍaviṇuṭ = ṭōṇric-  
cermbu puṇain-diyarriya śēṇeḍuṃ = purisai-  
yuvarā = vīgait = tuvarai = yāṇḍu  
nārpat-toṇbadu vaḷi-muṇrai vanda  
vēḷiruḷ vēḷē.

The late annotator Naccinārkkinīyar adds that eighteen families of these Vēḷir chieftains followed Agastya to the south and were established by him in the different parts of the Tamil country. This legend explains to some extent the connections between several local dynasties of South India attested by epigraphy.<sup>2</sup>

The Kālāmukhas (*asita-vaktras*), to whom Vikramakēsarī gave a big *maṭha* with eleven villages attached to it, were a set of Pāśupata ascetics addicted to many gruesome practices<sup>3</sup> and apparently very influential in South India between say the ninth and twelfth centuries, when they are mentioned in several inscriptions of the Tamil country. Vidyārāśī, the spiritual *guru* of Mallikārjuna is mentioned in an early inscription from Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri) engraved on a slab together with a representation of the teacher himself worshipping a liṅga. The slab is in the Madras Museum.<sup>4</sup>

#### KODUMBĀḶŪR—TEXT.

1. नाथगजयूथहरः
2. (आ) सीत् ॥ तद्व्ययः परवीरजिन्माळवजिच्छ्रीवीरतुंगोमुतो जा-
3. (तो)स्मादतिवीर इत्यनुपमस्तस्मादभूत्संघकृत् । अस्माच्छ्रीनृप-
4. केसरी विववृधे यो बाल एवोरगैस्तत्सुनुः परदुर्गमर्ह-

1. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 57—8.

2. A. R. E. 1927 II 73.

3. Bhandarkar—*Vaiṣṇavism*, etc. pp. 127—8.

4. E. I. x. p. 64 and n. 5.7.

5. न इति ख्यातस्स वातापिजित्<sup>1</sup> ॥ तस्य समराभिरामः पुत्रः सुत्रामतेजसः ।  
 6. अधिराजमंगलाजौ यो निजघान च(लु)क्किम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ तस्याच्युतस्य कम-  
 7. लेव सरस्वतीव पद्मोत्भवस्य गिरिजे(व)हरस्य साक्षात् । प्रेयस्य-  
 8. भूदनुपमेति यथार्थनाम्न<sup>3</sup> श्रीचोळराज(दु)हिता यदुवंशकेतोः<sup>4</sup> ॥  
 9. तस्यामस्य बभूव भूतिरपराम्मिन्नामळाख्यान्दधन् श्रीमान्विक्रमेकेस-  
 10. (री)ति समरे लब्धान्यनामा नृपः<sup>5</sup> ॥ कावेरीवारि शोणं समकृ(त)  
 11. रुधिरैः पल्लवस्य ध्वजिन्याः यो वीरो वीरपाण्ड्यं व्यजयत स-  
 12. मरे वञ्चिवेळन्तकोभूत्<sup>6</sup> ॥ मत्तारिसामजान्दत्त्वा वसन्विक्रमेकेसरी ।  
 13. कोटुम्पाळ्पुंराद्रीन्द्रमालिकाविवरोदरे<sup>7</sup> ॥ विद्वत्कल्पतरौ क्षितीश्व-  
 14. रकरद्वन्द्वाम्बुजेन्दौ भुवं यस्मिन्शासति मेदिनीजयरमाश्रीकीर्त्तिवा-  
 15. ग्वल्लभे । तैक्षण्यं नेत्रयुगे भ्रुवोश्चलनता केशेषु काण्य(न्त)-  
 16. नौ तन्वीनान्तनुताभवस्तनयुगे चान्योन्यसंपीडनम्<sup>8</sup> ॥ तस्याभूता-  
 17. न्देव्यौ क<sup>११</sup>ळि वरगुणसमाह्वये सत्यौ । क<sup>१२</sup>ळिरभवज्जननी प-  
 18. रान्तकादित्यवर्मणो कम्पकम्पणाम्<sup>9</sup> ॥ आत्रेयगोत्रजश्रीमान्माधुरो  
 19. वेदपारगः । विद्याराशेस्तपोराशेदिशष्यो[श्री]भून्मल्लिकाज्जुनः ॥ 10  
 20. विमानत्रयमुत्थाप्य प्रतिष्ठाप्य महेश्वरम् । स्वनाम्ना प्रिययोर्ना-  
 21. म्ना तस्मै सोदाद्बृहन्मठम्<sup>11</sup> ॥ तस्मै कालमुखादानयतिमुख्याय याद-  
 22. वः । प्रादादेकादशग्रामविनिबद्धं बृहन्मठम्<sup>12</sup> ॥ पञ्चाशतामसितवक्रत-  
 23. पोघनानाम् भुक्त्यै बृहन्मठ...वे स राजा । नैवेद्यग-  
 24. न्धकुसुमाक्षतधूपदीपताम्बू (ल)

*Translation.*

There was . . . . . the capturer of the herd of elephants of the lord. . . .

(1) Of his family was Pravīrajit; the glorious Vīratuṅga, the vanquisher of the Maḷava was born of him; from him came Ativīra Anupama who gave birth to Saṅghakṛt; from him (came) the glorious Nṛpakēsari (Lion of kings) who as child grew up with the serpents; his son was the celebrated Paradurgamardana (the destroyer of enemy forts), the conqueror of Vātāpi.

(2) Of him who had a divine splendour, Samarābhirāma (Delightful in battle) was the son who attacked (or killed?) the Caḷukki in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala.

- |                                   |                      |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. The metre is Śārdūlavikriḍita. | 7. Anuṣṭubh.         |
| 2. Anuṣṭubh.                      | 8. Śārdūlavikriḍita. |
| 3. Read नाम्नी.                   | 9. Āryā.             |
| 4. Vasantatilakā.                 | 10. Anuṣṭubh.        |
| 5. Śārdūlavikriḍita. (half verse) | 11. Anuṣṭubh.        |
| 6. Sragdharā. (half verse)        | 12. Anuṣṭubh.        |

(3) Of him, who was the banner of the Yaduvarṣa, Anupamā (peerless) rightly so called, the daughter of the Cōḷa king, was the beloved (wife), who resembled Lakṣmī (the wife) of Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī of the Lotus-born (Brahmā), and Girijā (Mountain-born) of Hara himself.

(4) Of her was born to him the glorious king Bhūti, who bore the alternative name *minnāmalā*<sup>1</sup> (?) and who earned in war the title of Vikramakēśari (the lion of valour).

(5) The water of the Kāvēri was turned red with blood of the Pallava's forces; and this warrior defeated Vīra-Pāṇḍya in battle, and became Death to Vañcivēḷ.

(6) After fighting the rutting elephants, *viz.*, his foes, Vikramakēśari was living in the palace on the hill in the city of Koḍumbāḷūr.

(7) While the earth was ruled by him, the Kalpataru to the learned, the moon to the lotuses, *viz.*, the two hands of the (subordinate) kings<sup>2</sup> and the beloved of the Goddesses of Earth, Victory, Prosperity, Fame and Speech, sharpness was found (only) in the pair of eyes, instability in the two eyelashes and darkness in the hair (of women); weakness in their bodies; and jostling in the pair of (their) breasts.

(8) He had two good wives called Kaṛṇaḷi and Varaguṇā; (and) Kaṛṇaḷi became the mother of two very beautiful (sons), Parāntaka and Ādityavarman.

(9) There was the glorious Mallikārjuna, born of the Ātrēyagōtra, resident of Mathurā, the master of the Vēda and the pupil of Vidyārāśi, the abode of austerity.

(10) Having raised three *vimānas* in his name and in the name of his two wives and having enshrined Mahēśvara, he (Vikramakēśari) gave to him (Mallikārjuna) a big *maṭha*.

(11) The Yādava gave to that ascetic chief of the *Kālamukha* persuasion a big *maṭha* together with eleven villages attached to it.

(12) For the enjoyment of fifty Asita-vaktra (Kālamukha) ascetics the big *maṭha*. . . that king . . . offerings, sandal flowers, *aḥṣata*, *dhūṣa*, *dīṣa*, *tām* (*būla*) . . . . .

1. Is this a Tamil name—*minṇāmalai* (the shining mountain) ?

2. *i. e.* they closed their palms together in salutation. The moon is in Indian poetry, the foe of the lotus whose petals close in her presence.

## SELECT OPINIONS.

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your New Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

Q. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory . . . . . A Journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

Indian Review, November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research . . . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926.— . . . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

The Madras Mail, 21st January, 1927.— . . . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . . . .

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.—" . . . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards."

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.—" . . . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . . . ."

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET OF CAMPĀ

By

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

I have read and considered carefully the reply (pages 51-4 above) of Prof. R. C. Majumdar to my criticism of his view of the origin of the alphabet of Campā; I do not think that the case for a North Indian origin has improved by his discussion, and I want to indicate briefly why I think so.

Before doing so, I must say a personal word. Prof. Majumdar says: "Although I am unable to agree with his views I none the less appreciate the fact that he has not used such slighting and satirical remarks against me as I found in his book THE CŌḶAS." Evidently Prof. Majumdar has in mind the footnote at p. 83 of my CŌḶAS i, the only reference to him in this work, if I am not mistaken. This note, which has somehow attracted rather more attention than it merits, aims at stating that even a careful scholar like Majumdar was misled by what I consider to have been some initial mistakes made by the late Kanakasabhai in presenting the data drawn from Tamil works to the non-Tamil world, and I still believe that a perusal of the note will not create any other impression in the reader's mind. In any event, I owe it to myself to say that it was far from my intention to slight or ridicule a colleague in the field of Indian studies for whom I have always had a very high regard. I am sorry that the note should have caused him annoyance.

I shall now turn to the argument on the Campā alphabet. The first point of difference relates to the reascent of the lower end of the verticals of *a*, *ā*, *r* and of the medial *u* and *ū*. Prof. Majumdar says that he is unable to understand my argument on this point, and asks if I postulate an imaginary type of southern alphabet earlier than that of Girnār and Kaṇhēri. I do nothing of the kind. I even said in a note at p. 194 that the slight curve which develops into the 'reascent' was not exclusively South Indian, and added: 'There is much waywardness in the adoption of these ornamental excrescences when they first come into vogue. A period of uncertainty precedes the definite adoption or rejection

of the trait concerned', and I reached this conclusion after an examination of many inscriptions discovered since Bühler's Palæography was written. And I also drew attention at p. 195 to certain traits in the Vo-Canh record itself and some others which supported the older view of the South Indian origin, recently reiterated by Vogel. Though Prof. Majumdar uses quotation marks, I must beg leave to say that he has not quoted me properly on this point.

The next point relates to the upper vertical of *la*. Prof. Majumdar suggests that I have mistaken a spot on the estampage due to erosion of the rock in one case, and a serif in another for the bend of the vertical to the left. I say, quite possible; but will only add that in such an argument, I am quite content that Prof. Majumdar concedes that there is some apparent thing, about which he and I may differ.

Prof. Majumdar does not enter into the details of my discussion of the six features which, according to him, are common to the scripts of North India and the Vo-Canh inscription of Campā, and are absent in South Indian scripts. He says; "I can safely leave it to the judgment of any reader who will take the trouble of comparing the facsimiles of inscriptions referred to therein." But he prepares his reader for this task by prefacing the remark with a sneer and a *tu quoque*. He says: "Prof. Sastri has proved, to his own satisfaction, that these features are either not present in Vo-Canh record or are found in the South Indian inscriptions of an age not much later than the Girnār and Kaṅhēri records." I have seldom found that a proof which satisfies me fails to satisfy others; and in this case also, I think that, though Prof. Majumdar has not found satisfaction in what I have said, others may do so. Then he says: "Thus according to Prof. Sastri, the Vo-Canh record is both an 'earlier' and a later 'specimen of the same script'. Comment on this is superfluous." The reader will find that this is exactly what I said of Prof. Majumdar in my review of his paper at p. 197. The temptation to repeat the remark against me has been, unfortunately, too strong for him to observe that my 'inscriptions of an age not much later than the Girnār and Kaṅhēri records' are all of them earlier than the Vo-Canh record, and that my argument was that these new inscriptions, unknown to Bergaigne when he formulated his view of the South Indian origin of the Campā alphabet, go to confirm his views.

On the notched *pa* I find that I have reversed the order of Vogel's sentences in citing them, and this has led Prof. Majumdar to detect a contradiction in Vogel's remarks which is not there. I venture to think that if Prof. Majumdar looks up pp. 224-25 of the *Yūpa inscriptions* he will realise how close is the parallel in the development of this letter in South India and in Campā, and how in fact it is one of the strongest proofs that the Campā alphabet belongs to the South Indian class.

It may be well, before concluding, to define the extent of our difference on the subject under discussion. Prof. Majumdar does not deny the presence of South Indian influences in Campā, nor I that of northern influences. It is all a matter of where the original colonists started from and what the earliest Indian influences traceable among them are, more specifically what the place of the colonial alphabet is in the development of Indian script. When Prof. Majumdar formulated his view of a North Indian origin of this alphabet, it was quite new and contrary to the generally accepted view; and I started examining his views in some detail just to decide if I should accept the new theory or not, and when I saw there was much more to be said for the older view than for the other, I stated the results of my study. I have considered Prof. Majumdar's reply, and I do not see any need as yet to alter my views, which are, after all, not mine but those of a long line of competent scholars who have dealt with the subject for about half a century.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SUVARNADVĪPA—PART I, POLITICAL HISTORY BY DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., PROFESSOR, DACCA UNIVERSITY. Dacca, 1937, pp. xviii, 436 and 16.

The exact meaning of the expression 'Suvarṇadvīpa' is a matter for some doubt, and after glancing at the different views that have been put forward, Professor Majumdar concludes: "Thus on the whole, we shall not perhaps be far wrong, if we take Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa as general designations of Burma, Malay Peninsula, and Malay archipelago" (p. 48). Burma is left out of the reckoning in the rest of the book; but even so, the history narrated in it is not one continuous flowing record, but more or less well-authenticated fragments of a number of separate, but inter-related, histories of different states. The attentive reader will notice many striking analogies between this history of India across the seas and the history of the mainland. "Although Suvarṇadvīpa is a mere geographical expression and a congeries of states, it came to be, on two occasions at least, almost a political entity, first, under the Śailendra kings from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the eleventh century A. D., and, secondly, in the palmy days of Empire of Majapahit," (fourteenth century).

Book I comprising ten chapters (pages 1-148) is devoted to the study of the beginnings of Hindu colonisation in Malayasia. The period is full of controversial problems and Dr. Majumdar endeavours to do justice to the rival points of view held by different scholars, and does not flinch from formulating his own conclusions. He is inclined to date the beginnings of migration across the seas to the prehistoric period when the Dravidian and Āryan settlements in India dislodged the primitive peoples and sent them in search of new homes across the seas (p. 18). It may be observed in passing that this conclusion may seem to set at rest the doubts expressed by the author elsewhere (pp. 6-7) upon the probability of direct voyages between South Indian ports and the Malay Peninsula. He is not convinced by the