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Date: 1.8.2011

#### **BRIEF RECORD**

Author: Chatterjee, Bijan Raj; Chakravarti, Niranjan Prasad  
Title: India and Java, *Part II*: Inscriptions (2nd ed.)  
Publ.: Calcutta : [Prabasi Press] 1933  
Description: 86 p.  
Series: Greater India Society Bulletin, 5 [2]

#### **FULL RECORD**

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# INDIA AND JAVA

*(Second edition, revised and enlarged)*

PART II  
(INSCRIPTIONS)

BY

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**CALCUTTA**

1933



## PREFACE

The second part of this Bulletin contains the Sanskrit Inscriptions from the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java and Sumatra. In offering this little work to the public, I have to tender my apology for its various shortcomings. It is not a pretension to scholarship, and I had to face considerable difficulties in seeing the book through the Press. After I had left Calcutta I had hardly any access to the books of reference needed for such a publication and I had mainly to depend on notes taken at Calcutta. The same has been the case with Dr. Chatterji. Under these circumstances it is just possible that some inscriptions may have been left out but I do not think there has been any important omission. No proper impressions of the epigraphs were available and I had to depend, in many cases, on imperfect facsimiles. Sometimes even such help was not forthcoming. I am responsible for the texts and translations of the inscriptions but the introductions are mainly the joint work of the authors. I regret to state that it has not been possible to indicate the diacritical marks in a satisfactory fashion. Many printing errors have also remained uncorrected.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, the Secretary of the Greater India Society, who has been in so many ways helpful to me.

N. P. C



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# Introductory.

## A SHORT SKETCH OF THE HINDU-BUDDHIST PERIOD OF JAVANESE HISTORY.

Yavadvipa (Java) is mentioned in the Ramayana where Sugriva sends out searching parties in quest of Sita. Ptolemy, who wrote his geography about 150 A. D., refers to Java as Jabadiu—a name which he himself translates as the island of barley.

The earliest inscriptions discovered in these distant islands come from Borneo. The language is Sanskrit and the script closely resembles that of the early Pallava inscriptions of South India and of the earliest epigraphy of Champâ (Annam) and Kambuja (Cambodia). The Borneo inscriptions are, however, much earlier than the Pallava inscriptions. Indeed we may say that it is in this remote island that we first find the script which became known later on by the name of Pallava Grantha. These Borneo records describe a yajna (sacrifice) performed by Brahmans for King Mulavarman. On palaeographical grounds these inscriptions (as they bear no dates) have been assigned by archaeologists to the 4th century A. D.

The next series of epigraphic records refer to King Purnavarman of Târuma-nagara which has been located near modern Batavia in West Java. The script is the same as that found in Borneo and on palaeographical grounds this series (which also bear no dates) have been assigned to c. 450 A. D. Purnavarman apparently was an illustrious monarch whose footprints have been carved on the stiles (of the inscriptions) and have been compared with Vishnu-pada-padma.

A little before this period (in 413 A. D.) Fa-hien reached Java on his way from Ceylon to China. He says that in this island there many Brahmans and but few Buddhists.

Buddhism is said to have been first preached in Java by a Kashmir prince, Gunavarman, in 423 A. D. From Java the ascetic prince passed on to China.

For three centuries we get no more inscriptions. But Chinese annals fill up the gap to some extent. They tell us of a kingdom of the name of Lan-ga-su in N.-W. Java and of another called Kalinga in Central Java. West Java now falls into the background.

It is in Central Java that we get the first dated record which has been as yet discovered in this island. This is

the Janggal inscription of the Shaka year 654 (732 A. D.). The script is still Pallava Grantha and the language highly ornate Sanskrit. It is a Shaiva record and contains a reference to Kunjara Kunja—Agastya's asrama in South India. Another inscription discovered at Dinaya—a place further to the east—and dated 682 Shaka era (760 A. D.) describes the consecration of an image of Maharshi Agastya. Apparently during this period the cult of Agastya was prevalent in Java. The Dinaya inscription is the first to be written in the Kavi script—which gradually replaces Pallava Grantha in Java. The language, however, is still Sanskrit.

In the last quarter of the 8th century Central Java was won from its Shaiva rulers by the Mahayanist monarchs of the powerful maritime kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra. An inscription unearthed near the beautiful temple of Târâ at Kalasan (in Central Java) informs us that this Mahayanist shrine was constructed at the command of the Srivijaya ruler of the Sailendra dynasty. Apparently the Javanese possessions were administered by governors on behalf of the Sumatran sovereign. The script of this as well as of other Srivijaya inscriptions brought to light in Java and Sumatra is North Indian, closely akin to the Pala inscriptions of Nalanda. Indeed there were cordial relations between the Pala Magadha and the Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya. South-eastern Sumatra (where Srivijaya was situated) became in this period a far-famed centre of learning and of commerce. The magnificent stupa of Borobodur as well as other lovely shrines and fine sculptures of this period in Central Java testify to the artistic taste of the Sumatran overlords.

About 863 A. D. Central Java seems to have been won back from its Mahayanist overlords by Hindu princes who were fervent devotees of Agastya. This appears from an inscription bearing the date 785 Shaka era (863 A. D.), written not in Sanskrit but in Kavi (Old-Javanese—a mixture of Sanskrit and a Polynesian dialect). It refers to descendants of Agastya as having settled in this island.

Of these Hindu kings of Central Java—the names of Daksha and of Wawa have come down to us. It was probably Daksha who built the famous Prambanam group of temples with its artistic reliefs depicting scenes from the Ramayana. Wawa's headquarter was in East Java and Central Java was administered by a governor on his behalf. Indeed from the close of Wawa's reign (828 A. D.) we hear very little of Central Java. An inscription of Wawa was sent by Sir S. Raffles to Lord Minto during the short period of the British occupation of Java. It is known as the Minto stone and is now in Scotland. It contains a grant of a rent-free holding for the Bhatara of a temple.

The scene now shifts to East Java where under a minister of Wawa, of the name of Mpoo Sindok, there was established a powerful kingdom. The great Erlangga was the issue of a princess of this dynasty and Udayana, the Governor of Bali. After many romantic adventures, which have been narrated at some length in an inscription, the most interesting epigraphic record which has been found in Java, Erlangga was enthroned as the Chakravarti sovereign of Yavadvipa (1035 A. D.) He was a great patron of Kavi literature. The Mahabharata and probably the Ramayana also were rendered into Kavi verse during his reign.

There was a partition of his kingdom after his death. The principality of Kediri (a part of Erlangga's kingdom) has become famous in Javanese history on account of its illustrious poets. The bards who adorned the court of Kediri, during the reigns of Varshajaya, Kamesvara and Jayabaya (1100-1155), composed the Kavi works Sumanasantaka, Krishnayana, Smara-dahana, Bharata Yuddha, Harivamsa, etc. Trade flourished as well as literature. Javanese ships touched Madagascar on the West and the Chinese coast on the east.

Early in the 13th century Kediri fell before the conquering adventurer Ken Arok. This remarkable person, the super-man of the Javanese chronicles, who is represented as the offspring of the Gods, committed every conceivable crime to win a throne and the hand of the peerless beauty Queen Dedes of Singasari (a vassal principality of Kediri). With the help of a Brahman, who had come from India to assist him in his pre-destined career of glory, Ken Arok made himself master of Singasari (1220 A.D.) and made that kingdom the most powerful State in Java. The charming image of Prajnaparamita, which belongs to his reign, is said to represent the features of his queen Dedes.

Krtanagara (1268-1292 A.D.), the fourth in descent from Ken Arok, was an adept in Tantric practices. He attempted the conquest of principalities in the neighbouring islands of Bali, Borneo and Sumatra but was killed in battle by a rebel vassal of his—the chief of Kediri. Before his death he had also in his pride insulted the envoy of the great Kubilai Khan of China. Shortly after his death Chinese troops landed in Java (1293 A.D.) to avenge this insult. The son-in-law of Krtanagara, Raden Vijaya, was a master of crafty diplomacy. At his instigation the Chinese troops marched on the rebellious realm of Kediri and subjugated it. Vijaya now made a surprise attack on the Chinese host and drove them to their ships. Having thus disposed of all his enemies—he founded the kingdom of Majapahit (1294), Majapahit was the name of a city which he himself had founded sometime ago and the city got this name from a

bael (बेल) tree with bitter fruit (in Javanese Majapahit) which grew on its site.

His daughter, the great queen Jayavishnuvardhani, began the conquest of the Archipelago (1343 A.D.) with the help of her famous minister Gajamada. Tantrism was the cult in the aristocratic circles of this period. The Kamahayanikam, a Mantrayana text, and the inscriptions of Adityavarman, a Sumatran prince, are typical examples of the prevailing Tantrism of this period.

This illustrious queen was succeeded in 1350 A. D. by her son Hyam Wuruk (a Javanese name which means the young cock). The reign of this monarch saw the greatest expansion of Majapahit. The *Nagarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton*, the two most valuable Kavi chronicles which we possess, give a long list of the territorial possessions of Majapahit. The whole Archipelago was brought under its sway. To the east it extended to New Guinea—to the north to the Philippine Islands. Srivijaya in Sumatra as well as Kedah, Singapore, etc., in the Malay Peninsula were all included in this list of dependencies. Mantris and Bhujangas (learned priests) were sent out by royal command to look after State affairs in the distant isles. The admirals (*Jaladhi-mantri*) of Majapahit always held themselves ready to crush any rebellion which might break out in any remote corner of this mighty maritime empire.

In the *Nagarakṛtagama*, composed by Prapancha—the court-poet of Hyam Wuruk—we have a glowing description of the capital Majapahit. Buddhism and Hinduism both shared the royal favour. The Javanese art of this period (best studied in the temple of Panataran) was coming more and more under Polynesian influence.

Rapid decay set in after Hyam Wuruk's death (1389). A princess of Champa, who was married to Kṛtavijaya (one of the last rulers of Majapahit), is said to have favoured Islam which strengthened its foothold in Java during this reign (C. 1448). The coast-line of Sumatra, Java, and the Malay Peninsula was being rapidly 'Islamised' during this period.

According to tradition Vijaya V, the last monarch of Majapahit, fell fighting the Muslim conquerors in 1478 A. D. But recent researches seem to indicate that it was a Hindu prince, Ranavijaya of Kediri, who dealt the death-blow to Majapahit in 1478. From Portuguese sources we learn that at the end of the 15th century the central authority in Java was still Hindu. In 1513 Albuquerque wrote to the King of Portugal referring to the Hindu suzerain of Java as seeking the Portuguese alliance. The last Hindu ruler of Java must have been swept away by the rising tide of Muslim conquest sometime between 1513 and 1522. In the latter year Majapahit was still considered to be the most important place in Java.

## The Inscriptions.

The earliest indications of the appearance of Hinduism in the Malay Archipelago are the inscriptions of Borneo and West Java. These epigraphic records continue, in an almost unbroken series, down to the end of the Indo-Javanese period in the beginning of the 16th century. But the number of Sanskrit inscriptions found in these islands is much smaller than that of similar records discovered in Kambuja (Cambodia) and Champa (Annam). Again the historical matter which we obtain from these inscriptions is comparatively small. For almost without exception they commemorate occasions of building of temples or of pious donations. Hence we generally find in these records information as to when and by whom the building or the donation of temple or monastery or sacred image, took place. If it is a gift of land—one finds the boundaries fixed; if privileges have been bestowed—these are carefully written down. Thus we get the regnal years of various sovereigns: we learn something about their high officials and incidentally administrative and political information in addition to religious matters. Generally we do not get in such records definite statements of historical facts. Mentions of such facts are just passing references in connection with religious ceremonials.

The inscriptions are engraved either on stone stiles or on copper plates. A few gold and silver plates have also been discovered. Some are copies of older inscriptions. The language of the earliest inscriptions (which are not dated) is Sanskrit. The first appearance of a date and another language (Old Malay) is to be found in Sumatra. Up to the middle of the 8th century A. D. the Pallava Grantha script is invariably used. Only in Srivijaya epigraphy we get the Nagari script. In the Dinaya inscription (760 A. D.) we first come across the Kavi script. This is, as Dr. Krom states, not a script freshly imported from India (Brandes thought that it had been borrowed from Gujarat), but only a later development in Java itself of the earlier Pallava script. Later inscriptions are all in Kavi characters. About the same period the Kavi language, a mixture of Sanskrit and a Polynesian dialect, replaces Sanskrit in the inscriptions. The Kavi inscriptions are more numerous than those in Sanskrit. The last Kavi inscription is dated 1408 Saka era (1486 A. D.). Finally we must note that for the reconstruction of the Indo-Javanese period of the history of the Archipelago we have not only these inscriptions but also the Kavi chronicles and references to these islands in the Chinese Annals. The Arab records also give valuable information for some periods.

*Note*—This portion is based on the introduction to Dr. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*.

## I. INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALAY PENINSULA

In the ruin of an ancient brick building near Bukit Meriam in Kedah, a small building some 10 feet square, Col. James Low found a slab, a kind of slate, inscribed with the formula of the Buddhist creed. Probably the small building where the slab was discovered was the hut of a disciple of Buddha. Kern, who deciphered the Sanscrit inscription would not say if it were older than another inscription unearthed by Low "while excavating some old ruins on a sandy side in the northern district of Province Wellesley." The inscribed stone seems to have been the upper part of a column. On a copy of it can be seen the representation of a stupa. On either side is a line of writing, containing the same couplet as on the Kedah slab. Along the edge of the pillar is another broken inscription which shows that the monument was a gift to a temple of a pious Buddhist sea-trader Buddhagupta, who lived at a place called 'Red Earth.\*' The Southern Indian style of writing agrees exactly with the type known as Pallava and in Champa in W. Java and enabled Kern to give A. D. 400 as its approximate date. Col. Low also went on an elephant to transcribe a group of seven inscriptions on the sloping side of a granite rock at Cheroke Tokum which lies near the centre of Province Wellesley. They are too small and indistinct to be more than contributions to palaeography. One is written in nearly the same type as Buddhagupta's inscription. The characters of another Kern considered to be not older than the 6th century and similar to those at Pattadakal in W. Deccan and to those of the oldest Cambodian inscriptions of Bhavavarman. Some fragmentary clay tablets were found 9 ft. below the floor of a cave in Kedah bearing undecipherable inscriptions in North Indian Nagari script of the 10th or perhaps the 7th century A. D. Five votive tablets from Trang have been identified as relics of Mahayana Buddhism belonging to the western group of the 11th century A.D. and resembling the characters of the Benares grant of Karnadeva and the grants of the Rathors of Kanauj; on the obverse are Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

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\* This place called 'Rakta-mṛttika' may be identified with the 'Rakta-mṛttika vihāra' in Karnasuvarṇa (Murshidabad) mentioned by Hsuan Tsang as Lo-to-mo-chih, wrongly translated by Watters as raktamṛta. See Watters, II. p. 192 and Chatterji—*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*.

At the mouth of the Singapur river was discovered a large rock inscribed with some undecipherable lettering.—The stone was blasted later by the P. W. D. Several fragments of it were sent to Calcutta. All that has been so far ascertained is that it is in a script used in Majapahit about the middle of the 14th century.

As these later inscriptions cannot be traced at present the texts cannot be given here.

All these inscriptions have been found on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. But about the 4th century A.D. appear also epigraphical remains on the east coast. (Finot, *Bul Com. Arch.* 1910 pp. 152-154).

### 1. KEDDAH INSCRIPTION

ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवा तेषां हेतु(°) तथागतो ( ह्यवदत् ? ) [I]  
 तेषा(°) च यो निरोध एव(°) वादी महाश्रमणः(°) [II]  
 अज्ञानाच्चीयते कर्म जन्मनः(°) कर्म कारणम् [I]  
 ज्ञानान्न क्रियते कर्म कर्माभावाच्च जायते [II]

“The Laws which arise out of a cause, Tathagata told about that, and what is their suppression has thus been told by the great Sramana.

Karma (*i.e.* action) accumulates through lack of knowledge. Karma is the cause of (re-birth.) Through knowledge no Karma is effected (and) through absence of Karma (one) is not born (again).”

Of the two verses the former is the well-known Buddhist creed.

### 2. INSCRIPTION FROM N. WELLESLEY PROVINCE.

This inscription repeats the Keddah inscription with the following addition at the end :

महानाविक(स्य) बुद्धगुप्तस्य रक्तमृत्तिकावास(स्य ?)\*\*\*  
 ( दानम् ? )]

“[The gift] of Buddhagupta, the great sailor, whose abode was at Raktamṛttika.

## II. INSCRIPTIONS FROM BORNEO

### 1. THE YUPA INSCRIPTIONS OF KING MULAVARMAN FROM KUTEI (E. BORNEO)

In 1879 K. F. Holle drew attention to several inscribed stones existing in the Native State of Kotei (East Borneo).\* In 1880 the Sultan of Kutei presented four inscribed stones to the Batavian Society. In the same year Prof. Kern gave a transcript and translation of the inscriptions.

Since then our knowledge of epigraphy has much improved (see especially Bubler—*Indische Palaographie*—Eng. transl. by Dr. Fleet, 1904, Appendix to the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIII). And we also know more of South Indian history, especially the Pallavas.

Mr. Venkayya (in the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1906-07) points out that the Pallavas derive the origin of their race from Asvatthaman, the son of Drona of the gotra of Bharadvaja. In a genealogy (found in some of the later documents of the Pallavas,) it is said that Asvatthaman had a son, named Pallava, by a divine nymph Madani. Pallava got his name from his bed of पल्लव in the abode of hermits where he was born.

The Tamil poem Manimegalai contains a legend which relates that the first 'Tondaiman' (*i. e.* Pallava) was the son of a Cola king by a Nagi. This Tamil poem also mentions a town Nagapuram in Savakanadu (Tamil for the island of Java). Two kings of Nagapuram are mentioned—Bhumicandra and Punyaraja who claimed to be descended from Indra.

Prakrit characters of the first half of the 4th century A. D. acquaint us with King Sivaskandavarman whose dominions included not only Kanchi but also the Telugu country as far north as the Krisna.

For Pallava history in the 5th and 6th centuries we have Sanskrit title-deeds which give the names of several Pallava princes. These are described as Bhagavatas (worshippers of Visnu). The names end with Varman.

For the 7th and first half of the 8th centuries, when the Pallava power rose to its culminating point and then declined, archaeological materials are more abundant. There are numerous inscriptions on stone as well as copper-plate

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\* This introduction is a summary of Dr. Vogel's article in the *Bijdragen tot-de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsche-Indie*, 1918.

charters. Vikramaditya II (Calukya) gave the death-blow to the Pallava power. It is during the period of Pallava ascendancy that we meet with the first epigraphical monuments of Hindu influence in the Archipelago. In the history of the spread of Indian civilisation the Coromandel coast played an important part although the Indian emigrants did not come exclusively from that part of India. That during the 4th to 7th centuries A. D., there must have been a lively intercourse between India, Indo-China and the islands of the Archipelago is evident from the accounts of Chinese pilgrims.

Fa Hian sailed along the coast from Tamralipti to Ceylon and then went to Java—where Brahmans flourish.

In Hiuen Tsang's life, described by two contemporaneous authors, it is stated that Kanchipura, the capital of Dravida, was the sea-port of South-India for Ceylon. Apparently it then held the position now held by Madras. May we not assume that then existed a direct intercourse between Kanchi and the Archipelago? (Kanchi is about 40 miles from the mouth of the Palar river. But Tamralipti, Broach etc. were also inland. Moreover the river Palar has changed its course).

I-tsing describes Srivijaya, Malaya and Kichcha (Kedah?) Nicobar Islands as halting stations on the way to Tamralipti.

Probably there were other intermediate ports from Srivijaya to Tamralipti. We must remember the pillar inscription of the Buddhist sea-captain Buddhagupta of Raktamrttika in the Wellesley province (near Penang), which may be assigned to 400 A. D. The character is very similar to that of the early inscriptions of Java.

I-tsing has given us short biographies of 60 eminent Chinese pilgrims who had visited India in his days. Chavannes in the introduction to his French translation of that work (*Voyages des pelerins bouddhistes, Memoire composee par I-tsing*, E. Chavannes, Paris, 1894) thinks that there were many more pilgrims of whom we do not know anything, and that the actual number of these pious palmers must have amounted to several hundreds.

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 greater justice of the early records of the two ancient kingdoms of Champa and Cambodia. Here too we find Brahmanical civilisation grafted anew on two nations, the Cam and the Khmer. These peoples reshaped that civilisation in accordance with their own national genius, as is evident from those grand monuments which still excite admiration.

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, formed a natural link between China and Java. The name Cam was bound to remind the emigrants of the ancient city of Champa on the Ganges, and no doubt thus the name of Champa was given to the Cam country.

The oldest epigraphical document of Champa and of the whole of Indo-China—the rock inscription of Vo-Canh (partly illegible)—may be ascribed to the third or perhaps the second century A. D. The existence of a Sanskrit inscription of so early a date in far-off Campa is remarkable.

Then come 3 inscriptions of Bhadravarman (not dated but probably of the 4th century A.D.) which are Saiva in character. The king's title in one of them is Dharmmamaharaja, a title also borne by a Pallava prince (Sivaskandavarman) in the 4th century. Another of these inscriptions gives the site of the sanctuary of Siva Bhadresvara who is invoked in the two other inscriptions.

Stele 111 of 657 A. D. of Mi-son gives the names of princes who must have come after Bhadravarman. These princes trace their origin back to a king Gangaraja. Is there any connection with the Ganga-Pallavas?

The earliest dated inscription of Cambodia (604 Saka.) is Saiva in character.

Two points deserve special notice with regard to the early epigraphical records of Indo-China: the prevalence of the worship of Siva and the exclusive use of the Saka era (which is decidedly the era of S. India), whereas in Northern India it was the Vikrama (or Malava) era which was preferably used. Here, again, therefore, we have a peculiarity which points to the southern origin of that particular form of Indian civilization which is found in the Far East.

It is certainly astonishing that in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and other Southern dynasties no reference 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 such a valuable record, were of a perfectly peaceful nature. We are perhaps justified in concluding that the penetration of Hindu culture in the Far East took place along the peaceful lines of trade and traffic. Fa Hian found Brahmans settled in Ye-po-ti (Yavadvipa). The merchants on the vessel which brought the pilgrim home from his long voyage were partly at least—he says so explicitly—Brahmans. It was no doubt through the Brahmans in the first place that Brahmanical civilization, together with their religion, their sacred lore, and their ancient language was carried across the eastern ocean.

In the records of Campa 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 civilization, of whose greatness those very records are so eloquent witnesses. Indirect testimonies however are not altogether wanting.

We have seen that Pallava was believed to have been borne by a heavenly nymph (named either Madani or Menaka) to Drona's son Asvatthaman. According to another legend the first Pallava prince had sprung from the union of Asvatthaman and a Nagi, whereas in Tamil poetry it is a Chola King who married the daughter of the Serpent-lord. Now the Sanskrit inscription in Stele III from Mi-son contains a curious passage which accounts for the origin of the kings of Cambodia in the following terms :

"It was there that Kaundinya, the greatest of Brahmans, planted the javelin which he had received from the eminent Brahman—Asvattháman—the son of Drona. There was a daughter of the Naga king who founded on this earth the race which bore the name of Soma. The great Brahman Kaundinya married her for the accomplishment of the rites." (Finot's translation).

In whatever way we look at it, the Cambodian legend brings us back to the Pallava court. This fact is more worthy of attention as the legend is associated in Indo-China with the name of Kaundinya who can be fairly called the 'Indianiser' of Cambodia.

Another point which may be mentioned here is the nomenclature of Hindu (or rather Hinduised) Rajas in the Far East. M. Bergaigue 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 Vo-canh rock inscription which is the earliest of all—we meet with royal names ending exclusively in Varman.

"We will not find a single royal name which has not got this termination, which was also exclusively used in Cambodia from the period of the earliest inscriptions, as it has been also in the Archipelago, and above all among several dynasties of South India, Kings of Vengi, Pallavas, Kadambas, from the 5th or even the 4th century."

If we remember that for a long period the Pallavas stood 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 Hinduised princes of the Far East.

The Javanese inscriptions do not mention the Pallavas, but Kancipura, the Pallava capital, is mentioned in the old Javanese chronicle Nagarkṛtagama. This work was composed by the poet Prapanca in honour of Hayam Wuruk, the

King of Majapahit, in Saka 1287. 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 bhiksu Buddhaditya who lived in Jambudvipa (India) in the town of Kancipura with its six viharas."

Again the Simbiring tribe (belonging to the Karo-Bataks of West Sumatra) is subdivided into five subdivisions—Colia (Cola), Pandiya (Pandyas), Meliyala (Malayalam), Depari and Pelawi (Pallava?). So we can recognize well-known ethnic names from the Dravida country which clearly points to the South-Indian origin of the tribe.

In the Kotei inscriptions (one of the earliest documents of Indian civilization in the Archipelago) we meet with two royal names (Mulavarman the ruling prince and Asvavarman, his father) ending in Varman. The name of the grandfather of the King—Kundunga—has got a 'barbarous' sound. Kern concluded that it was possibly under Kundunga that Indian civilisation had been introduced in Eastern Borneo. Kern seems to imply that Kundunga was a native of Borneo and that the personages to which these inscriptions refer were Hinduised rather than Hindu princes. Krom however points out that the name Kundukara occurs in a Pallava inscription. We find a parallel in Indian history. The Kushan kings have foreign names—Kanishka, Vasiska, Huviska—but after Huviska there comes a king who bears the purely Indo-Aryan name of Vasudeva. This inference agrees with our assumption regarding the peaceful penetration of Hinduism in the Archipelago.

It is a point of considerable interest that the Kotei stones are described in the inscription as Yupa (sacrificial posts—generally made of wood). In India only three instances of stone Yupas have been found. The earliest was set up by a Brahman near Mathura in the reign of Vasiska and we may assign it to 102 A. D. (It is one of the earliest inscriptions in pure Sanskrit found in India). The stone yupa is an exact copy in stone of the actual sacrificial posts used in ancient India (corresponding to the description of the Satapatha-Brahmana). The second stone Yupa of Bijaigarh (Biana) does not seem to be an imitation of the wooden post in actual use at a sacrifice. It may be dated—372 A. D. There is a third stone Yupa in Mysore. It is not dated. The Kotei Yupas are not copies of the wooden Yupa of the Vedic ritual. They are four roughly dressed stones of irregular shape.

That the Kotei 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 Buddhists reject the animal sacrifice.

Besides, the inscriptions mention that the creation of these Yupas was due to the assembled 'twice-born' priests on whom King Mulavarman had bestowed rich gifts in gold, cattle and land. Here again therefore we meet with those Brahmans who had carried their ancient civilization to Borneo as well as to Java and Sumatra.

The word Vaprakesvara (in inscription C) must be a proper name—the name of a spot sacred to Siva. Krom points out that Vaprakesvara is mentioned in a later Javanese inscription: "Ye gods at Vaprakesvara." The Hindu images which have come to light in various localities of Borneo appear largely to belong to the Saiva pantheon.

Two other objects—a gold Vishnu statuette and a gold tortoise—were found at the same spot—but earlier. The Sultan of Moera Kaman used to wear both these objects round his neck on State occasions.

Moera Kaman in Kotei where these inscriptions come from, must be an ancient site of some importance. There are other sites in Kotei 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—one of which is Ganesa.

We must note the very fine execution of the Yupa inscriptions. The letters are large-sized and clearly cut. The lettering of inscription D is defaced. The four inscriptions are all composed in Sanskrit poetry—A in *Arya* the rest in *anustubh*. The verses are arranged on the stone so that each pada occupies a line. Generally in Indian inscriptions the lines are arranged without any reference to the verses. In this respect the Kotei inscriptions are similar to the cave inscription of the Pallava King Mahendravarman I at Mahendravadi.

Although the Kotei inscriptions are extremely simple records—they betray a very fair knowledge of Sanskrit. In this respect they are decidedly superior to the nearly contemporaneous epigraphs of Bhadravaman I of Campa. This bears testimony to a considerable degree of Hindu culture in East Borneo at this period.

The term 'Vengi character' was adopted by Kern to designate the peculiar script from South India which we find employed in the early Sanskrit inscriptions of the Archipelago. Later writers on South Indian epigraphy, however, never use the term. (The Vengi country comprised the tract between the mouths of the Godavari and Kistna rivers). In the 5th century the Vengi country made part of the Pallava empire and remained in Pallava

possession till the beginning of the 7th century (up to the war with Pulakesin).

In the opinion of Vogel it is advisable entirely to discard the term 'Vengi 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 South India it is the character employed in the early records of the Pallava rulers that shows the nearest approach to that of the Kotei and contemporaneous Javanese epigraphs. Dr. Burnell had arrived at the same conclusion—(though he used for the Pallava character the not very appropriate term 'Eastern Chera' as he assumed that this alphabet had been introduced into Tondainadu from the Cera country).

Prof. Bühler applies the term 'Grantha' to the script used in the Sanskrit records of the Pallava dynasty. The Grantha is the peculiar alphabet employed in South India up to modern times for literary works composed in Sanskrit, in contradistinction from the alphabets in which the various Dravidian vernaculars are rendered. What Bühler's use of the word really implies is that that the Grantha, *viz.* the literary alphabet of South India, 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 types he reckons all Pallava Sanskrit inscriptions, including those of Narasimhavarman I; but from the Kuram copper-plate charter of Narasimha's son, Paramesvaravarman I, his middle variety commences. He further states that the archaic variety is also met with in the rock inscription from Jambu in Java.

During the earlier period of Pallava rule their documents are restricted to copperplate charters. It is only by the commencement of the 7th century that the first stone inscriptions (according to Vogel) make their appearance. There are therefore no lithic records from Coromandel which may be supposed to be contemporaneous with the Kotei inscriptions. The copper-plates, which serve 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. The Kotei 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 Kotei inscriptions a peculiar interest for the history of South Indian epigraphy. It is in the distant lands 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 owes to the Pallava Kings of the 7th century. We may say that the Archipelago and Campa have preserved the earliest examples of archaic Grantha carved in stone.

We shall now examine the chief palaeographical characteristics of the Kotei inscriptions. They are the following :

(1) The heads of the letters are marked by means of small, deeply cut squares which are found at the head of practically every aksara. Bühler notes the same peculiarity with regard to the early script of Central India in its more developed form. He further notes that this 'Box-head' characteristic occurs also in two Kadamba inscriptions of the 5th century and the copper-plate grant of Simhavarman Pallava which has been assigned to the same period. 'Box-heads' are also peculiar to the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campa.

(2) Another feature of the Kotei 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 is interesting that similar little hooks are found in the Pallava Prakrit grants of the 4th century, whereas in Sinharvarman's characters of the 5th century those excrescences are usually prolonged so as to reach up to almost half the length of the vertical. A still further development is noticeable in the later Pallava inscriptions of the 7th century, 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 (Seven Pagodas).

It is noteworthy that in the Campa inscriptions of Bhadravarman which otherwise betray so close a palaeographical affinity to those of Kotei the long verticals (क, र, ज etc.) show no trace of the little hook. In this respect they represent an earlier stage of writing than the Kotei inscription. In the Carunten and Jambu inscriptions (West Java) we notice a more advanced stage, as here the hooks are prolonged.

(3) In the aksaras ज, प, ब, ल and ह the left-hand stroke bulges outward. Here again the alphabets of South India, Indo-China and the Archipelago exhibit a parallel development (beginning with a notch and ending with the tendency to make the lines wavy).

(4) Another feature of the Kotei inscription is the little hook which we find attached to the right stroke of the

letters य, ञ, ण, and ष. This feature is peculiar to the alphabet of the Pallava inscriptions and is unknown in other scripts. This hook replaces the usual cross-bar in other scripts.

In the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campa only ष is treated in a similar fashion.

(5) One of the most remarkable features of the Kotei inscriptions is the looped form of the 3 letters ष, न, ण. The ष and न, are so similar in appearance that they could easily be mixed up. In the case of ष the loop extends further upwards and the vertical is shortened.

In the Pallava script the न is not provided with a loop, while ष is often looped. In the inscription of Bhadravarman of Campa, however, we do find these forms.

In the Carunten rock inscription the three aksaras ष, न, ण appear in exactly the same shape as in the Kotei inscriptions.

(6) The absence of the vowel is not expressed by the virama as in the Nagari of North India. In the Kotei inscriptions this vowelless letter (न and ण) is about half the size of the ordinary aksara and is written beneath the line.\*

Burnell says: "The Java character has the peculiar small m used for a final m, and we find this also in the Vengi and Pallava characters and in them only." But it is found in Gupta inscriptions. In the Bhadravarman inscription of Campa we come across the same practice.

(7) In the Kotei inscriptions we find the medial ह expressed in the ancient fashion by a single superscribed curve to the left, but always open except in the aksara णि when a closed curve is found. This closed curve, which assumes the appearance of a superscribed circle, becomes the regular manner of expressing medial ह in later alphabets. The primitive form is found in the inscription of Bhadravarman and in the Carunten inscription.

In the Kotei inscription medial ह is expressed in the ancient fashion followed in the early Gupta inscription by a double curve over the aksara. In the Bhadravarman inscriptions the ह in णि is written exactly as in the Kotei inscriptions. In later inscriptions both in Campa-Cambodia and in Java the double curve has become closed so as to assume the appearance of a circle similar to that marking the short ह.

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\* The same feature is noticed in the Central Asian manuscripts written in both the Central Asian varieties of Indian scripts commonly known as the 'slanting' and the 'upright' Gupta scripts, as well as the fragments written in Kushana and Gupta characters. N. P. C.

(8) Finally attention may be drawn to the sign for medial **ए** consisting of a little curve which is attached on the left-hand side to the top of the consonant.

Medial **ए** is expressed by a double **ए** stroke. In this respect again the Koetei script approaches the Pallava character very closely.

Conclusion :—It is undoubtedly the archaic type of the ancient Grantha character used by the early Pallava rulers which appears to be most closely allied to the character of the Koetei inscriptions. The Koetei inscriptions are the earliest specimens of the Grantha used in stone records.

We have also noted the very near affinity existing between the Koetei inscriptions and those of Bhadravarman of Champa. In certain respects the inscriptions of Bhadravarman appear to represent a somewhat earlier stage of writing. On the contrary, the Charunten rock inscription of Purnavarman (West Java) exhibits a more advanced style of writing, so that we arrive at the chronological succession: Bhadravarman, Mulavarman, Purnavarman. The intervening period in each case may be roughly estimated at half a century.

Neither in India nor in Indo-China the early records bear any date. As on the basis of palaeographical evidence only an approximate date can be assigned to these documents, it follows that we stand on no very firm ground. Prof. Kern hesitated between the 4th and 5th centuries, and finally proposed 400 A. D. as the approximate date to assign to the Koetei inscription. Vogel accepts this view. Then the Bhadravarman inscription would belong to the middle of the 4th century, a somewhat earlier date than that proposed by M. Finot who has assigned them to approximately 400 A. D. The Charunten inscription then should be attributed to 450 A. D., a conclusion agreeing with that arrived at by Kern.

The facsimiles of the Borneo Inscriptions as published by Mr. Vogel were not available to me, The following readings are based entirely on the plates given by Kern.

## A

- L. (1) श्रीमद्विराजकीर्त्तः (2) राज्ञ [ श् ] श्रीभूलवन्मन्त्रः पुण्यम् [I]  
 (3) श्रयवन्तु विप्रमुख्य(ः) (4) ये चान्ये साधवः पुरुष(ः) १, II  
 (5) बहुदानजोषदानम् (6) सकल्पवृत्तं सभूमिदानञ्च [I]  
 (7) तेषाम्पुण्यगणानाम् (8) यूपोयं स्थापितो विप्रः [II]²

“Let the foremost amongst the Brahmins and whatsoever other pious men (there are) hear of the meritorious deed of King Mulavarman, of illustrious and resplendent fame—(of his) various gifts, gift of animals, together with (the gift

of) a wish-yielding tree and gift of land. For those multitudes of pious deeds this sacrificial post has been set up by the Brahmins."

1 Though Kern reads आ at the end, it is not visible on the eye-copy in both the places.

2 Metre; आर्या.

I am not sure about the meaning of कल्पवृक्ष here. It usually denotes one of the trees heaven which is supposed to grant all desires, or it may also mean a tree of lasting till the end of the कल्प. What appears possible in this connection is that perhaps the king performed a sacrifice in which he granted the desires of all the supplicants and in memory of which a certain tree was planted, The term कल्पवृक्ष stands in the figurative sense of a very generous person. We also find in popular stories that certain kings became कल्पवृक्ष on certain occasions i. e. they promised to fulfil the wish of everybody. The word must have been used in some such sense here. Kern's suggestion of taking it as a cherry-tree is not correct.

## B

- L. (1) श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य (2) कृगडंगस्य महारमनः [1]  
 (3) पुत्रोश्चवर्म्मो<sup>2</sup> विख्यातः (4) वंशकर्त्ता यथाशुमान् [11]  
 (5) तस्य पुत्रा महात्मानः (6) व्यस्रय इवारनयः [1]  
 (7) तेवाश्रयाशाम्प्रबरः (8) तपोबलदमान्वितः [11]  
 (9) श्रीमूलः र्म्मो राजेन्द्रो<sup>3</sup> (10) यष्ट्वा<sup>4</sup> बहुसुवर्णकम् [1]  
 (11) तस्य यज्ञस्य यपोयम् (12) द्विजेन्द्रैस्सम्प्रकल्पितः [11]<sup>5</sup>

"The illustrious Kundanga, the noble lord of men had a famous son Asvavarman, who like unto the sun was the founder of a race. He had three noble sons, resembling the three (sacrificial) fires. The foremost of those three, the illustrious Mulavarman, the lord of princes, endowed with the strength of austerity and self-restraint, having sacrificed a Bahusuvarkaka (sacrifice),—this sacrificial post of that sacrifice has been set up by the best of the twice-born.

1. Kern reads कुन्द. But to me it appears to be कू. In this inscription, the vertical strokes of क, प, र, etc. are not found bent to the left.

2. Read. वर्म्मो। Kern reads वर्म्म but ओ is certain on the plate.

3. Kern reads राजेन्द्र but राजेन्द्रो is clear in the plate.

4. Kern reads यष्टा but यष्ट्वा is clear and certain.

5. Metre-श्लोक.

The three fires referred to are the three well-known sacrificial fires, गर्हापत्य आहवनीय and दक्षिण ।

बहुसुवराणक seems to be the name of a sacrifice, in which, evidently, much gold was distributed. Kern points out बहुहिरण्य as the name of a सोम sacrifice and suggests बहुसुवराणक as synonymous with the former.

## C

- L (1) श्रीमतो नृपमुल्यस्य (2) राज्ञ(श्)श्रीमूलवर्मणाः [I]❧  
 (3) दानं<sup>1</sup> पुण्यतमे क्षेत्रे<sup>2</sup> (4) यहसम्प्रकेश्वरे [II]❧  
 (5) द्विजातिभ्योन्निकल्पेभ्यः<sup>3</sup> (6) विंशतिर्गोसहस्रिकम् [I]❧  
 (7) तस्य पुण्यस्य यूपोद्यम् (8) कृतोविप्रैरिहागतं(ः)<sup>4</sup>❧

“The gift of twenty thousand kine of the illustrious and foremost of the rulers of men, the king Mulavarman, which was given at the most sacred place of Vaprakesvara to the twice-borns resembling fire—for that meritorious deed this sacrificial post has been erected by Brahmans who had come hither.”

1. Kern reads जा(?)त, but the facsimile shows clearly दानम् ।
2. Kern reads क्षेत्रे but क्षेत्रे is clear on the facsimile.
3. Kern reads कल्पस्य erroneously.
4. No visarga is visible on the facsimile. Metre श्लोक.

## D

- (1) सगरस्य यथा राज्ञः (2) समुत्पन्नो महीरथः (I)❧  
 (3) .....मूलवर्म ..... [II]❧

“As Bhagiratha was born of the king Sagara, (so) Mulavarman (was born of the king Asvavarman).”

1. This inscription is not found in Kern's V. G. Vol. VII. The metre is श्लोक and the second line may be re-constructed us :

तथाश्ववर्मणो राज्ञः मूलवर्मा महीरथिः ॥

### III INSCRIPTIONS FROM WEST JAVA

It is a remarkable fact that whereas the glorious monuments of Indo-Javanese architecture are found in Central Java, the earliest documents testifying to Indian influence belong to the Western part of the island. They consist of four rock-inscriptions all composed in Sanskrit verse and eulogise a ruler of the name of Purnavarman, who if we may trust palaeographical evidence (for none of the inscriptions is dated, must have flourished about the middle of the fifth century A. D. These four rock-inscriptions are all found within the boundaries of the province of Batavia. There is a 5th inscription of the same series, mentioned by Krom in *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* at a place called Mocara Jianten, which is as yet undeciphered.

It is significant that these earliest records of Hindu settlement are found exactly in that part of the island where the Dutch traders first established their factories. The geographical position of the Batavian coast with regard to India and the special advantages which its figuration offers to shipping and trade are circumstances which will easily account for a coincidence that is certainly not due to mere chance.

There is no reason to doubt that king Purnavarman mentioned in three of these inscriptions is one and the same person.

Kern assumed (while dealing with the Tugu inscription) that in Purnavarman we have an ancient hero and sage of Indian origin whose worship had been introduced in West Java. But why should Purnavarman be regarded as a legendary personage? His name ending in Varman (like that of Muluvarman, the ruler of East Borneo, whose historical existence has never been doubted) in imitation of the royal nomenclature then in vogue both in India in Further India, suggests a historical person. The Tugu inscription mentions the 22nd year of his reign. It is true that in India the symbol of the foot-print indicates a divine person. But it is nothing but a conjecture that the foot-prints of Purnavarman (in the Ci-aruton and Jambu inscription rocks, served a similar purpose. In the case of the Kebon Kopi inscribed rock which shows the footprints of Purnavarman's elephant, it is certainly unlikely that they were presented for adoration by the king's subjects. In the inscriptions themselves there is nothing to support Kern's supposition.\*

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\* In Jaina inscriptions, even in those of a much later date, we find however foot-prints given for the adoration of worshippers.

Nothing is said in the inscriptions regarding the king's lineage. From the circumstance that in the Ci-aruton inscription the king is compared to Visnu it has been somewhat rashly concluded that Purnavarman must have been a Vaisnava. The Tugu inscription however speaks of Purnavarman's gift of a thousand cows to the Brahmans. We may assume therefore that Purnavarman was an adherent of the Brahmanical and not of the Buddhist religion. This agrees with the almost contemporaneous statements of Fa-hien "The law of Buddha is not much known here."

In the history of the Sung Dynasty (420-478) there is the following statement: "In 435 (A. D.) the king of the country Ja-va-da whose name was Sri Pa-do-a-la-pa-mo, sent an envoy." It has been suggested that the king mentioned here is Sri-pada Purnavarman. (Prof. Lévi however does not accept this identification.)

The few facts these inscriptions give us may be summed up thus: Purnavarman probably lived about the middle of the 5th century A. D. He must have had a fairly long reign, the Tugu inscription being dated in his 22nd regnal year. His capital was Taruma a name which is preserved in the name of the Tarum. (Tarum is a Javanese word meaning 'indigo' which grows in abundance in this region).

In three of the inscriptions in each case the inscription is accompanied by a pair of foot-prints and these symbols constitute the *raison d'être* of the epigraphs. In two of the inscriptions (Ci-aruton and Jambu) the foot-prints are stated to be those of Purnavarman himself and in the third one (Kebon Kopi) it is the footmarks of the King's elephant which are carved on both sides of the legend.

We can only surmise that Purnavarman must have been a ruler of such renown that it was thought necessary to record in stone certain places which had been hallowed, as it were, by his presence.

The Ci-aruton rock-inscription may possibly mark the spot of the King's cremation. This would account for the curious position of the inscribed stone in the bed of the Ci-aruton torrent. From the wording of the Jambu inscription it appears that it was put up after Purnavarman's death. If we take the text literally it would follow that the foot-prints (of the deceased king) were credited with a magical power to protect his followers and to hurt his enemies.

It is difficult to explain the meaning of the curious carvings found about the inscription. First of all, we have the two so-called 'spiders' (to follow the usual explanation of these symbols) which are shown in front of the foot-prints and seem to be attached to them by means of a thread.

Kern suggests that they possibly referred to the doctrine of *ahimsa* which prescribes that care should be taken not to tread on any living creature.

Perhaps these are meant for **आवर्त्ता** i.e. tokens of good luck. In two early rock inscriptions of the Kangra valley at the end of the legend we find a **स्वस्तिक** together with what might be a foot-print.

According to Finot the soul is represented among the Austronesians, in the Archipelago as in Indo-China, in the form of insects and especially of spiders, The feet and the spiders might then represent respectively the physical person and the psychic person (**नामरूप**) of the king.

Another puzzle is presented by a line of cursive writing which is written over the inscription proper but in a different direction and which cannot be deciphered.

It would seem as if the Jambu inscription was an epitaph incised after the king's death.

In the Kebon Kopi inscription a very large portion of the surface of the rock (on which the inscription is incised.) is taken up by two enormous elephants' foot-prints between which the record has been engraved.

In the Tugu inscription we should note the names of two ruins of north India. The inscription begins by stating that formerly a river of the name of Candrabhaga had been regulated by means of a canal. (The name Candrabhaga may have been applied to the canal itself). Apparently the canal served as an outlet into the ocean. The river (on the canal) flowed by the Puri, but it is not clear whether the work in question had been executed by Purnavarman himself or by his father (**गुरु**). In another Javanese inscription the deceased king is designated as 'Bhatara Guru'<sup>1</sup>).

In the 22nd year of the reign of Purnavarman himself, that king had a canal dug to which apparently the name of Gomati is applied and which measured 6122 'dhanus' in length. The conclusion is obscure. Who is the grandfather and the royal sage? Probably the grandfather of the king. The last time refers to a **दक्षिणा**. of a thousand cows to the Brahmins.

Dr. Krom says that there are several inscriptions which relate to engineering operations carried out for the drainage of a river.

In a Kavi (old Javanese) inscription of 932 Saka era from Soerbaya, we hear of a water-course which has been caused to be made by the Bhatara Guru (His Late Majesty) who may have been Er-langga. Another Kavi (old Javanese)

1 Bhatāra guru corresponds to Sanskrit **महारकगुरु**

inscription of the middle of the 10th century Saka era (Kelagan inscription—See Brandes and Korm, *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* vol. Lx (1913) p. 81, no. XLIV) describes a disastrous flood of the Brantas river which had overtaken the country and caused much damage. In consequence Erlangga caused an embankment to be made at Waringin Sapta (959 Saka era).

Another inscription in the province of Soerbaya dated 856 Saka records the construction of dikes for regulating the course of the river.

Purnavarman's inscriptions bear ample testimony to a high degree of civilisation in West Java during the 5th century A. D.—a civilisation which is strongly marked by Indo-Aryan influence. Those who carved the inscription must have possessed considerable skill and artistic feeling. And the pandits, the authors of the inscription, were well acquainted with the sacred language. The inscriptions on the whole, are grammatically correct.

The characters employed in Purnavarman's inscriptions are almost identical with the script of Mulavarman's inscriptions.

Here too the letters are 'Box headed.'

A palaeographic study of these inscriptions confirms the conclusions arrived at as regards the close affinity between the script used in these earliest epigraphical records of the Archipelago and the ग्रन्थ alphabet of the Pallava dynasty.

In certain respects the script of Mulavarman's inscription is more archaic than that of Purnavarman's records. If we ascribe the former to 400 A. D., the approximate date of Purnavarman's inscription would be the middle of the 5th century.

Of the following four inscriptions the first three, viz. those of Ci-aruton, Jambu and Kebon Kopi are at close proximity to each other in the hilly country round Buitenzorg, a place of Dutch origin, best known as the residence of the Governor-General. The fourth now preserved in the Batavia Museum, was originally found at Tugu 'near the sea-coast to the east of Tondjong Priok, the port of Batavia.' All the four inscriptions have recently been edited with excellent facsimiles by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (*The earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java, 1925*) in Publications of the Archaeological Survey of Netherlands' India.

## 1. THE CI-ARUTON ROCK INSCRIPTION.

(SEE VOGEL, P. 22 AND PLATES 28, 29)

This inscription was first brought to notice by the Rev. Brumund in 1868 and edited by Dr. A. B. Cohen in 1875

(Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 3rd Series, Vol. X pp. 163ff.) and reproduced by Kern (in V. G. Vol. VII, 1917, p. 4, note 1 and facsimile).

The inscription proper does not offer any difficulty but a great uncertainty is attached to the decipherment of the curious carving, looking like some highly cursive writing, above the inscription and to the interpretation of the two symbols, the so-called spiders, which are found attached by means of a thread to the heels of Purnavarman's foot-prints. Kern suggested that possibly they referred to the doctrine of **अहिंसा** of the Jains, forbidding not to tread on any living creature. Dr. Rouffaer thought that the spiders represent 'enemies attached to a thread on which the king has placed his foot.' Dr. D. Van Hinloopen Labberton (Z. D. M. G. Vol. LXVI, 1912 pp. 601ff) in his article on the symbolism of spider in Indian Literature, says that the spider denotes, the divine soul.' Mr. B. de Hann explains them as **आवृत्त** or turnings of the hair, 'to which people both in India and Indonesia attach a prognostic significance.' This view is endorsed also by Dr. Vogel, though not without some doubt. Finot also takes it as representing the soul. (see also above).

As for the cursive writing Dr. Brandes is said to have read as : Sri ji aroe ? eun vasa, which was translated, by him as 'the blessed lord of the Jiaroe ? eun, and by Dr. Kern as **पूर्यार्यावर्म-पदम्** 'the foot print of Purnavarman,' both of which, as can be seen from the photo, are equally conjectural. Dr. Vogel seems to think, from the difference of script as well as the direction in which the line is placed, that it has no bearing on the inscription under consideration.

#### Transcript

- (1) विक्रान्तस्यावलिपतेः (2) श्रीमतः पूर्यार्यावर्मणाः<sup>1</sup>  
 (3) तारुमनगरेन्द्रस्य (4) विष्णोरिव पदद्वयम् ॥—2

"Of the valiant lord of the earth the illustrious Purnavarman, the lord of the city of Taruma, (this is) the pair of foot (prints) like unto Visnu's."

1. Vogel reads **वर्मणः**: but the **र्म** is clear on the plate.
2. Metre **श्लोक** ।

## 2. THE JAMBU ROCK-INSRIPTION

(VOGEL P. 25, PLATES 30, 31.)

This inscription was discovered in 1854 by Mr. Jonathan Rigg and first deciphered by Kern in 1875 (V. G. VII. p. 6.)

This inscription is not preserved quite perfectly and here too we find a pair of foot-prints, evidently of the king. as the inscription says, but they are partly broken off. (Also see above.)

### Transcript

- (1) श्रीमान्दाता <sup>1</sup> कृतज्ञो नरपतिरसमो यो पुरा [ता]हमाया[म् <sup>2</sup> ]  
 नान्ना श्रीपूगर्णवर्मा प्रचुररिपुशराभेद्यविव्यातवर्मो <sup>3</sup> ।  
 (2) तस्येदम्पादविम्बद्वयमरिनगरोत्सादने नित्यदत्तम्  
 भक्तानां यन्दिपानाम्भवति <sup>4</sup> सुखकरं शल्यभूतं रिपूनाम् ॥ <sup>5</sup>

"Illustrious, munificent, correct in conduct (was) the unequalled king who in the past (ruled) in Taruma—by name the illustrious Purnavarman, whose armour was famous for being impenetrable by the numerous arrows of his enemies—his is this pair of foot-prints, always skilled in destroying enemy-cities which is salutary to princes devoted (to him, but) turns like a dart to (his) enemies."

1. In the plate द is clear but in the photo it looks like प. Keru reads पाता.

2. Vogel तारुमायम् ; but या is clear both on the photo and the estampage.

3. Read वर्मा. 4. Read यन्तृपा. 5. Metre स्रग्धरा. कृतज्ञ : I would take in the literal sense कृतं जानाति यः सः i.e. he who knows his duty. Vogel connects प्रचुर with रिपु but I would prefer to take it as an adjective to रिपुशर. It is preferable to take शल्य in the sense of a 'dart' here than 'thorn' as Vogel translated it.

### 3. THE KEBON KOPI ROCK-INSRIPTION

(VOGEL P. 27, PLATES, 32, 33.)

This inscription was first brought to public notice by the Rev. Brumund and was first deciphered by Kern in 1885 who also published a revised reading in 1910. (See V. G., Vol. VII. p. 136). The writing on the stone is badly preserved but interest lies in the fact of the rock containing two elephant's foot prints of enormous size, carved on both sides of the inscription.

- — जयविशालस्य तारुमे[न्द्र]स्य हृ[स्त]नः <sup>1</sup>  
 — — [पेरा]वताभस्य विभातीदम्पदद्वयम् (॥) <sup>2</sup>

"Here shines the pair of foot (prints) of the Airavata-like elephant of the lord of Taruma, great in victory.

1. Kern read महीपालः but the correct reading is given by Vogel.

2. Kern first read नित्यम् इदम् पदद्वयम् and then—तस्य द्वयम् विपदद्वयम्. Metre श्लोक.

#### 4. THE TUGU (BĒKASIH) ROCK-INSRIPTION.

(VOGEL, P. 32, PLATE 27).

This inscription was first edited by Kern in 1885 and again in 1917 (cf. V. G. Vol. VII pp. 129 ff.), with a facsimile of part of the inscription. The verses are all written in श्लोक metre and there is a figure at the beginning which looks like a burning torch. Vogel has shown from the two *tithis* given in the inscription that the months as used in the calendar in those days in Western Java were अमस्त as we find in South-India and not पूर्णिमान्त as prevalent in the North. This may be due to South Indian influence. Vogel also adds that "whereas the Vikrama era is generally associated with the पूर्णिमान्त scheme (except in Gujarat), the Saka era has the अमस्त month, especially in Southern India, which is the real home of that era. It is a well-known fact that it was the Saka reckoning which was introduced both in Further India and in the Archipelago."

#### TRANSCRIPT

- (1) पुरा राजाधिराजेन गुरुणा १ पीनवाहुणा  
खाता ख्यातां पुरीं<sup>(१)</sup> २ प्राप्य (२) चन्द्रभागागर्णाव ययौ ॥  
प्रवर्द्धमानद्वाविंशद्वत्सरः<sup>३</sup> श्रीगुणौजसा  
नरेन्द्रध्वजभूतेन<sup>४</sup> (३) श्रीमता पूर्णावर्मणा ॥  
प्रारभ्य फाल्गुने<sup>५</sup> मासि खाता कृष्णाष्टमीतिथौ<sup>६</sup>  
चैत्रशुक्लत्रयोदश्याम् दिनैस्सिद्धै कविहृषकैः<sup>(ः)</sup>
- (4) आयता षट्सहस्रेण धनुषा<sup>(ः)</sup> स-शतेन च  
द्वाविहसेन नदी रम्या गोमती निर्मलोदका ॥  
पितामहस्य राजर्षेर्बिदार्यं शिबिरावनिम्=<sup>७</sup>
- (5) ब्राह्मणैर्गोसहस्रेणा<sup>८</sup> प्रयाति कृतदक्षिणः<sup>९</sup> (?) ॥

"Formerly, the Candrabhaga, dug by the overlord of kings, the strong-armed father, after having reached the famous city, went to the ocean. In the twenty-second year of his

augmenting (reign), by illustrious Purnavarman, the banner (i. e. topmost) of the kings, shining forth through his prosperous qualities, was dug the charming river Gomati of pure water, in length six thousand, one-hundred and twenty *dhanus*, having commenced it on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phalguna and completed it in twenty-one days, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra. (This river) after having passed through the camping ground of the grandfather, the sage-like king, (now) flows by, along with (?) the Brahmanas, who have been presented with a gift of a thousand kine."

Vogel is doubtful about rendering गुरु by 'father' but गुरुः पिता गुरुर्विप्रो गुरुर्देवपुरोहितः । धूर्वहेपि गुरुः प्रोक्तो गुरुः शिष्यादि-कारकः . ॥ गुणौजसा is translated by Vogel as 'who shineth forth by prosperity and virtue.' I have translated it literally as "by the lustre of qualities.' One *dhanus* = 4 *hastas* or 2 yds., so the canal was 6120 *dhanus* or almost 7 miles in length. Evidently the inscription first refers to a canal known as Candrabhaga dug by the father of Purnavarman and then again to another canal Gomati dug by Purnavarman himself.

1. Vogel reads ना but या is certain.
2. Though Vogel reads अनुस्वार it is not visible on the plate.
3. Read रे
4. Vogel reads भूनेन and corrects it to भूतेन but the second letter may be easily read as त्त ; cf e. g. ता in ll. 2 and 3.
5. Read फाल्गुने
6. Vogel's reading कृष्णास्तमी seems to be an error in printing. The reading ष्ट is quite clear on the plate.
7. म् is not visible to me.
8. Read सहस्रेण
9. Read दक्षिणैः । Vogel reads दक्षिणो. What he reads as the sign of ओ may simply be a sign for विसर्ग ; कृतदक्षिणो is however grammatically incorrect.



## INSCRIPTIONS FROM CENTRAL JAVA

### (1) TUK-MAS INSCRIPTION

(*Residency Kedu*)

This is the earliest inscription of Central Java, a description of which first appeared in Not. Bat. Gen., 1888.<sup>1</sup> There is a deep depression and out of a stony wall in various places water springs out. The largest is known as Tuk-mas (Golden spring). The inscription is found on a large detached stone. Besides this inscription there are a great number of symbols (on the same stone). Most of these figures are recognisable—शङ्ख, चक्र, गदा, पद्म. The letters at the beginning and the end are not distinct.

From this inscription, taken together with the symbols, it seems that this water was considered holy. The date cannot be determined exactly, it should be approximately 500 A. D. on palaeographic grounds.

#### Transcript.<sup>2</sup>

— — शुचि अम्बु (म्बु) रूहाशुजाता—  
 कचिच्छिलावालुकानिर्गतैय : [ १ ]  
 कचित्प्रकीर्णा शुभशीततोया  
 संप्रसृता - — व गङ्गा [ ॥ ]

This (spring ?), sprung from pure white lotuses, in some parts oozing out of stones and sand and in others spreading with clear and cool water—is flowing (? extended) as the Ganga.

Metre, उपेन्द्रवज्रा. The eye-copy given by Kern is not satisfactory. Three letters at the beginning are missing. Above the inscription there is a number of symbols. To the right there are four lotuses and a *vajra* (?) and to the left the *Sankha* (conch shell), *Cakra* and *Gada* (mace.)

Kern reads *sruta* but I find no sign of *u*. If the spring is compared to the Ganges *Samprasrta*, 'extended' would give a better sense than *samprasuta* meaning 'oozing out.'

<sup>1</sup> See Kern, V. G., VII pp. 201-203.

<sup>2</sup> See Kern, *Ibid.* p. 204,

## (2) INSCRIPTION FROM CANGGAL (KEDU), OF S. E. 654.

The discovery of this inscription (found at Canggal or Janggal in Central Java) was announced at the Royal Academy, Amsterdam, in its session of 10th March 1884.<sup>1</sup> The record is composed of 25 lines of writing and is the earliest dated Sanskrit inscription of Java. The script is closely connected with that found in South Indian inscriptions from the 5th to the 10th centuries. It is more closely related to the Han-Chei inscription of Cambodia belonging to the 6th century. The language is pure Sanskrit though not elegant. The style is artificial and pompous. The inscription is a Saiva document and refers to the consecration of a *linga* in the Saka year 654 by order of the king Sanjaya. It precedes the Kalasan inscription and therefore belongs to a period before the Srivijaya conquest of Central Java. In v. 7 of this inscription we find a description of Java. Kern compares with this the verses referring to Java which are found in the Ramayana e.g.

यत्नन्तो यवद्वीपं ससराज्योपशोभितम् ।  
 सुवर्षारूप्यकद्वीपं सुवर्षाकरमण्डितम् ॥  
 यवद्वीपमतिक्रम्य शिशिरो नाम पर्वतः ।  
 दिवं स्पृशति शृङ्गेन देवदानवसेवितः ॥

(Ramayanam, Bombay Edn., IV, 40, 30.)

A temple in Kunjara-Kunja (South India ?) is cited as the model of the present shrine. "There was a miraculous shrine of Siva tending to the salvation of the world and brought over (the image ?) by the family settled in the holy land of Kunjara-Kunja."<sup>2</sup> In the Harivamsa Kunjara is said to be hill on which the auspicious abode of Agastya was situated and very likely this is to be placed in South India.

From the verses which follow we get the following account:—

"In Java, which is a noble island, there was a king of very high birth, who through the use of peaceful methods,

<sup>1</sup> See Kern, *Ibid.* pp. 117-128.

<sup>2</sup> Krom however, differs from Kern and interprets the verse thus: "There is a..... miraculous temple of Sambhu for the welfare of the world, as it were, brought over by the family settled in the blessed land of Kuñjara-Kuñja." This according to Krom does not mean that a temple was brought directly from Kuñjara-Kuñja, but that a temple very much like that could be found in Java. The *Bhatsamhitā* mentions Kuñjara, the hermitage of Agastya, as lying between Kach and Tāmraparṇī. Krom places it on the border of Travancore and Tinnevelly.

gained renown both far and near. Ruling his subjects lovingly as a father rules his children, he, by name Sanna (probably predecessor of Sanjaya), having overthrown his enemies ruled very long on this earth with justice like Manu.—After swaying the destinies of his royal kingdom, Sanna in course of time entered heavenly bliss and the world was cast down with sorrow. He being dead, he, who rose after him, rich with qualities like Manu, the son of Sannaha the eminent, who is honoured by Pandits as an expert in the subtle meaning of books, distinguished for courage, who like Raghu has conquered various feudatories, was King Sanjaya.

## TEXT

[Metres : Sardulavikridita, Vv. 1, 2, 4-7, 12 ; Sragdhara Vv. 3, 8, 11 ; Vasantatilaka, v. 9 ; Prthvi, v. 10].

1. शाकेन्द्रे विगते<sup>1</sup> श्रुतीन्द्रियरसरङ्गीकृते<sup>2</sup> वत्सरे  
वारेन्दौ घवलत्रयोदशित्थौ<sup>3</sup> भद्रोत्तरे कार्तिके [1]
2. लगने कुम्भमये स्थिराङ्गविदिते प्रातिष्ठिपत्पव्वंते  
लिङ्गं लक्षणाञ्जितन्नरपतिस्त्रीसञ्चयशान्तये [॥ 1 ॥]<sup>4</sup>
3. गङ्गोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गरञ्जितजटामौलीन्दुचूडामणि-  
भास्वत्पति<sup>5</sup> विभूतिदेहविकसन्नागेन्द्रहारद्युतिः<sup>6</sup> [1]
4. श्रीमत्स्वाञ्जलिकोशकोमलकरैर्देवैस्तु यस्त्यते  
स भ्रयो भवतां भवो भवतमस्सुय्यो ददात्वद्गु तम्<sup>7</sup> [॥ 2 ॥]

<sup>1</sup> One would ordinarily expect *Śākebde* or *Śākābde*. Kern connects *Śākendre* with *vatsare* and translates: "when the year of the Saka king had passed." Perhaps *atigate vatsare* is to be taken in the sense of 'expired year,' cf. also l. 26 of Vieng-sa inser. below.

<sup>2</sup> Kern corrects as *aṅkīkrte*. There is a dot after *vatsara* which is most probably a mark of punctuation.

<sup>3</sup> Grammatically *trayodasī* but the metre would require a short syllable here.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of this and the following verses is *Sardulavikrīḍita*.

<sup>5</sup> Kern reads *Paṁti* but there is no mark of *anusvāra* above *pa* and if so read it will spoil the metre. Moreover the word is *paṁkti* and not *paṁti* as Kern reads it. The reading is clearly *paṁti*.

<sup>6</sup> Kern puts the *visarga* within brackets but the sign is clearly visible on the plate.

<sup>7</sup> Note that the *virāma* is expressed by a semi-circular stroke above the onsonant.

5. भक्तिप्रह्वैर्मुनीन्द्रै रभितुतमसकृत् स्वर्गनिर्वाणहेतो-  
 ह वै लेखर्षाभाद्यै रवनतमकुटैश्चुम्भितं ष(6)ट्पदाभैः [I]  
 अङ्गुल्याताम्रपत्रं नथकिरणालसत्केसरारञ्जितान्तं<sup>1</sup>  
 देयात् शं शाश्वतमन्त्रस्त्रिनयनचर(7)यानिन्दिताम्भोजयुग्म ॥ [3II]  
 ऐश्वर्यातिशयोक्तवास्तुमहतामप्यद्गुता[नां]ि[न]धि ।<sup>2</sup>  
 स्यागोकान्तरतस्तनोति (8) सततं यो त्रिस्मयं योगिनाम् [I]  
 योष्टाभिस्तनुभिर्जागत्करुणया पुष्पाति [ न स्वार्थं]तो  
 भूतेशशशिशिखण्डभू(9)षितजटस्स त्रयमन्त्रकः पातु वः ॥ [4II]  
 विभ्रद्धेमवपुस्स्वदोषदहनज्वाला इवोद्यजटा  
 वेदस्तम्भस्रव (10)द्ध<sup>3</sup>लोकसमयो धर्म्मार्थकामोद्भवः [I][  
 देवर्व्वन्दितपादपङ्कजयुगो योगीश्वरो योगिनां  
 मान्यो लोक (11) गुरुर्ह दातु भवतां सिद्धिं स्वय(म्भू) र्विभुः ॥[5II]  
 नागेन्द्रोत्फणारत्नभित्तिपतितां दृष्ट्वात्मविम्बश्रियं<sup>4</sup>  
 सभ्रू (12) भङ्गकटाक्षया कुपितया [दू] र ['] श्रिया वीक्षितः ॥  
 यो योगारुणालोचनोत्पलदलशोतेम्बुशय्यात<sup>5</sup>(13)ले  
 त्राणार्थन्त्रिदशैस्तुतस्स<sup>6</sup> भवतान्देयात् श्रियं श्रीपतिः ॥ [6II]  
 आसीद्दीपवरं यवाख्यमतुल-[न्धान्या=]<sup>7</sup> (15) दिवीजाधिकं  
 सम्पन्नं कनकाकरैस्तदमरै-[दिनो=] पार्जितम् [I]  
 श्रीमत्कुञ्जरकुञ्जदेशनिहि[तं व-]<sup>8</sup> (15) इशादितीवाधृतं  
 स्थानन्दिव्यतमं शिवाय जगतप्रश-[म्भो] स्तु<sup>9</sup> यत्राद्भुतम् ॥ [7II ]  
 तस्मिन्द्वीपे यवाख्ये पुरुष [पद=] (16) महालक्ष्मभूते प्रशस्ते  
 राजोग्रदग्रजन्मा<sup>9</sup> प्रथितपृथुयशास्सामदानेन सम्यक्<sup>10</sup> [I]

<sup>1</sup> Kern reads *kesara* but a long syllable is required in *ra*.

<sup>2</sup> Kern reads *bhutā(nān-n)idhi*.

<sup>3</sup> Rd. *Subaddha*.

<sup>4</sup> Rd. *bimba*.

<sup>5</sup> Rd. *setembu*.

<sup>6</sup> Kern reads *tridaśais-stutas*.

<sup>7</sup> Portions within square brackets are not clear on the plate.

<sup>8</sup> Kern reads *nihita* but the last syllable should be long.

<sup>9</sup> The third letter from the beginning should be long. Perhaps we have to read रामाग्रद्योदग्रजन्मा.

<sup>10</sup> Rd. *samyak*.

शास्ता स[र्व्व प्र-] (17) जानाञ्जनक इव शिशोर्जन्मतोवत्संलत्वा-  
त्सन्नाख्यस्सन्नतारिर्मनुखि वुचिरम्पाति घम्मोण पृथ्वी [ म् ]<sup>1</sup> (118॥)

(18) एवङ्गते समनुशासति राज्यलक्ष्मीं

सन्नाह्वयेन्वयविधौ समतीतकाले [i]

स्वर्गे [ सुखं फल-] कू [लो-] (19) पचित्तम्प्रयाते

भिन्नजगद्भ्रमति शोकवशादनाथम् ॥ [9॥]

ज्वलज्ज्वलनविद्रवत्कनकगौरवशां [:] ~ --

[म-] (20) हद्भुजनितम्बतुङ्गतममूर्द्धशृङ्गोन्नतः [i]

भुवि स्थितकुलाचलन्नि तिघरोच्चपादोच्छ्रयः

[प्रभुता ?]<sup>2</sup> (21) गुणसम्पदोद्भवति य स्ततो मेखत् ॥ [10॥]

श्रीमानो<sup>3</sup> माननीयो बुधजननिकरेशशास्त्रसूहमार्थं [वेदी-]

[रा-] (22) जा शौर्यादिगुणयो रघुरिव विजितानेकसां [मन्तच] क्रः [i]

राजा श्रीसञ्जयाख्यो रविरिव य [शसा दि-] (23) त्रिवदिकल्यातलक्ष्मी-

स्सुनुस्सन्नाह्वनास्स्वसुर ~ ~ -- [न्या] यतश्शास्ति राज्यम् ॥ [11]

यस्मिञ्छास [ति साग-] (24) रोर्मिरशनां शैलस्तनीम्मेदिनीं

शेते राजपथे [जनो न] चकितश्चोरैर्न<sup>4</sup> चान्यैर्भयैः [i]

कीर्त्या [ वैधरलम-] (25) जिताश्च<sup>5</sup> सततन्धर्मार्थकामा नरैः

नूनं रोदिति रोदिति स कलिर्ज्ञास्या (?)ङ्ग<sup>6</sup>-[शेषो यतः] ॥ [12॥]

#### TRANSLATION.

(v. 1) When the years marked by *rasas*, organs and Vedas (*i. e.* 654) in (the era of) the lord of Sakas had elapsed, in the month of Kartika, on Monday, on the thirteenth day of the bright half, in the Bhadra (*naksatra*), in kumbha *lagna*, which is known as *sthiranga* (with a firm body), the king, the illustrious Sanjaya for (attaining) tranquility, established on the hill, a *linga* with (all) the auspicious marks.

<sup>1</sup> Reading appears to be *prthvi* on the plate.

<sup>2</sup> Kern's suggestion about the reading of *prabhutā* cannot be correct. The metre would require the second syllable to be long and the third should be short,

<sup>3</sup> Rd., *Śrīmān-yo.* cf. Kern p. 120, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Rd. *ṛṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> Kern reads-*ṛjīta*.

<sup>6</sup> Kern reads-*runāsty-aṅśa*.

(V. 2) May Siva, the sun to the darkness of the world, who has for his crest jewel the moon on his matted locks, coloured by the high waves of the Ganges, who has the lustre of the neck-lace in shape of the lord of snakes having on its body the splendour of the lord of luminaries (*i. e.* the sun), who is praised by the gods with the soft palms (of their hands) folded in the form of a vessel—grant you most perfect bliss.

(V. 3) May the two irreproachable lotuses which are the feet of the three-eyed (Siva)—which are repeatedly praised by the lords of sages bending in respect for their salvation in heaven, which are kissed by the gods, such as Indra and others with their bent crowns like the bees (kissing the lotus), which are slightly coloured at the end by the rays (issuing) from the toe-nails which are like the glittering filaments (of a lotus) and in which (feet) the toes are like the slightly copper-coloured leaves (of a lotus)—grant you perpetual welfare.

(V. 4) May the three-eyed (Siva), the Lord of beings—who has his matted locks decorated with the crescent-moon, who is the store-house of great and wonderful (things) being himself the source of an excess of greatness, who being solely given to resignation always causes wonder of the yogins, who nourishes the world through his eight-fold bodies\* out of pity and not selfishness—protect you.

(V. 5) May the self-born Lord (Siva) and the teacher of the world—who bears a golden body and the matted locks which are like the fire burning his own defects, who has made the Law of the world fixed in the posts of the Vedas, who is the source of religion, worldly prosperity and desire, who has his lotus-like feet worshipped by the gods, who is the Lord of the yogins and who is honoured by the sages—give you success.

(V. 6) May the lord of Sri (*i. e.* Vishnu)—who is regarded from a distance by the angry goddess of wealth (*Sri*) with a frowning look, who lies on the watery bed with his eyes (comparable to) lotus petals red through (abstract) meditation and who is praised by the gods for their protection—grant you prosperity.

(V. 7) There was an excellent island called Yava incomparable (to others), which contained an abundance of

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\* Siva's eight-fold bodies consist usually of the 5 elements, mind, egotism and Prakṛiti (matter) but according to the opening verse of Kalidāsa's *Sakuntalā* the last three are the sun the moon and the Yajamāna or the sacrificing priest,

grains such as rice and others, which was possessed of gold mines and which was acquired...by the gods. There was the wonderful and most excellent place (*i.e.* temple) of Siva tending to the welfare of the world, which was supplied as it were from the family settled in the illustrious land of Kunjarakunja.\*

(V. 8) In that noble island called Yava which became the great characteristic of . . . of men, there was the foremost of kings of exalted birth whose name was Sanna, who was of great fame and who, out of attachment to his subjects, ruled in a proper way through (the peaceful methods of) conciliation and gift, like a father (ruling) the child from his very birth and who, with his foes subdued, protects the earth for a long time with justice like Manu.

(V. 9) Under these circumstances, while the (king) named Sanna was ruling over the goddess of royalty, he, in course of time, and in the due order, went to enjoy happiness accumulated by his family (?). (Then) the earth, separated (from him), roamed in grief being bereft of her lord.

(V. 10) He, who rose after him, was possessed of mastery and richness in merits and was like the (mount) Meru. He was of colour bright like the molten gold or glaring fire (as the Meru is of white colour); he had long arms, big thighs and high and upraised head (as the Meru has big base and middle and high summit); who on this earth has greater position and loftiness than other existing rulers who are like principal mountains (*kulacala*) (as the Meru has a greater position and height than other principal mountains, the bearers of the earth).

(V. 11) The son of (the king) named Sannaha is the king the illustrious Sanjaya—who is respected by the assembly of the learned, who knows the subtle meaning of treatises (*Sastras*), who is possessed of qualities such as valour *etc.*, who like Raghua, has conquered the circle of many feudatories, who is like the sun in fame and whose splendour is well-known in all the quarters and who . . . .—is now ruling the kingdom with justice.

(V. 12) While he is ruling the earth who has for her girdle the waves of the seas and for her breasts the mountains, people can sleep on the road-side without being frightened by thieves or other fears; men, rich in fame, have always acquired in plenty (the three aims of life) religion, worldly prosperity and objects of desire—certainly the kali (age) is always crying because nothing remains of it.†

\* I have translated according to the reading suggested by me. N.P.C.

† The idea is that during the rule of this king no crime is committed which should be predominant in the Kali age.

### (3) DINAYA INSCRIPTION

(SAKA YEAR 682)

The first mention of this inscription is by Dr. Brandes in the Report of the Archæological Commission (*Rapport van de Oudheidkundige Commissie*) 1904, (p. 9). It is the earliest inscription in old Javanese (Kavi) characters. Dr. Brandes supposed that the Kavi script was imported into Java by immigrants from Gujarat as he believed that there was a similarity between the Girnar script and that of the Dinaya inscription. But Professor Krom, in his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, states that this alleged similarity disappears on closer investigation. The Kavi script, according to Professor Krom, was not introduced from India into Central Java in the 8th century (A. D.)—it was a local and later development of the earlier Pallava script. And Professor Krom is right. All subsequent inscriptions (excluding Srivijaya epigraphy which is in Nagari characters) are in the Kavi script.

The slab of the Dinaya inscription is broken into three fragments. The middle (and the largest) piece was found first and has been discussed in the *Tijd. Bat. Gen.*, 57, 1916. The two remaining fragments were discovered later and are described in the *Tijd. Bat. Gen.*, 64, 1924. So now the inscription is quite complete.

Dinaya is situated to the east of Central Java. It seems that about this period the Hindu princes were being gradually pushed out of Central Java by the Buddhist princes of Srivijaya (in Sumatra).

Several kings are mentioned in this inscription ; Devasimha, the devotee of the god Putikesvara ; Limva, his son, also known as Gajayana ; King Jananiya, etc.\* "King Gajayana, the benefactors of Brahmans, the worshipper of Agastya, with the help of ascetics and his nobles, caused to be constructed the lovely Maharsibhavana, . . . . . When the high-minded king, the lover of renown, had seen the image (of Agastya) made by his ancestors of Devadaru wood, he readily gave a sculptor the order and, (being) farsighted, caused to be made a wonderful image of black stone." This image of Agastya Kumbhayoni was consecrated in the Saka year 682 (760 A. D.).

The sage Agastya is referred to again in the inscription of

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\* For another possible interpretation see Translation v. 3, note 2 below—N. P. C.

Pareng in Central Java (785, Saka) which is partly in Sanskrit verse and partly in Kavi prose. "As long as the sun and the moon are in heaven; as long as the earth is encircled by the four oceans; as long as the ten directions are full of air—so long there is faith towards *Valaing*." Valaing is the Polynesian name of the star Canopus (Agastya).

In the same inscription there is a passage which seems to refer to Agastya as having built a temple named Bhadr-loka (in Java?) and the concluding lines of the Pareng inscription shower blessings on the descendants of Agastya (living in Java?).

So there was an Agastya cult in Java in the 7th and 8th centuries. Dr. Bosch points out that in Champa, Kambuja as well as in Java we find a tradition tracing a close connection between a Siva-linga, a famous Brahman and the ruling dynasty. In Kambuja it is king Jayavarman II and the Brahman Hiranyadaman whom we find introducing the cult of Deva-*raja* (Siva). In Champa the traditional ancestor of the royal dynasty, Uroja, is also the introducer of the Siva linga cult. In Java we have the tradition of Agastya. Dr. Bosch thinks that there is a common origin for all this in the Devadaru Mahatmya in the Skanda Purana.

### TEXT

[Metres; Anushubh, V. 1-3; Vasantatilaka, V. 3-5, 8, 9; Sragdhara, V. 6, 7]

- (1) स्वस्ति शकवर्षातीत<sup>1</sup> ६८२  
 (2) आसीत् नरपतिः धीमान्<sup>2</sup> देवसिंहः प्र-(3)तापवान् [1]  
 येन गुह<sup>3</sup> परीभाति पूतिकेश्व-(4) रपाविता ॥ [1॥]  
 लिम्बः अपि तनयः तस्य<sup>4</sup> गजयानः (5) इति स्मृतः [1]  
 ररत्न स्वर्गगे ताते सुतान् पुरुषान् मह<sup>5</sup> (6) ॥ [2॥]

1 Rd.-तीतः or-तीते.

2 Rd. आसीन्नरपतिर्धीमान्.

3 Rd. गुहः...पावितः or गुहा...पाविता. In परीभाति the second syllable is lengthened *metri causa*.

4 Rd. लिम्बोपितनयस्तस्य.

5 Perhaps we have to read सुतान्योपुरुषान्महान्. The reading of Bosch must be wrong as it goes against the metre.

- लिम्बस्य दुहिता जज्ञे प्रदपुत्रस्य भूपतेः [1]  
उत्तेजः (7)ना इति<sup>1</sup> महिषी जननी यस्य धीमतः ॥ [3II]  
आ-ननः (?) कलश-(8) जे भगवति अगस्त्ये<sup>2</sup>  
भक्तः<sup>3</sup> द्विजातिहितकृद् गजयानना[मा] [1]  
(9) मौलैः सनायकगणैः समकारयत् तद्  
रम्यम्. मह-(10)र्षिभवनम् वलहाजिरिभ्यः ॥ [4II]  
पूर्वैः कृताम् तु छरदारुमयी['] (II) समीक्ष्य  
कीर्त्तिप्रियः तल<sup>4</sup>गतप्रतिमां मनस्वी<sup>5</sup> [1]  
आज्ञा-(12)प्य शिल्पिनमरम् सः<sup>6</sup> च दीर्घदर्शी<sup>7</sup>  
कृष्णाङ्ग तोपलम-(13)यीम् नृपतिः चकार<sup>8</sup> ॥ [5II]  
राज्ञागस्तः शकाब्दे नयनघसु-(14) रसे मार्गशीर्षे च मासे  
आद्ग<sup>9</sup> त्थे शुक्रवारे प्रतिप-(15)ददिवसे<sup>9</sup> पक्षसन्धौ ध्रुवे-<sup>10</sup> [1]  
ऋत्विग्भिः वेदविद्भिः यतिवर<sup>11</sup>-(16) सहितैः स्थापकाद्यैः समौमैः<sup>12</sup>  
कर्मज्ञैः कुम्भलगने सुदृढ-17)मतिमता स्थापितः कुम्भयोनिः ॥ [6II]  
क्षेत्रम् गावः सुपुष्पाः महिष-(18) गणायुताः दासदासीपुरोगाः<sup>13</sup>  
दत्ता राज्ञा महर्षिप्रवरचरुह-(19) विस्नानसम्बर्धनादि [1]

1 Rd. भूपतेरुत्तेजनेति.

2 Rd. भगवत्यगस्त्ये.

3 Rd. भक्तो.

4 Rd. कीर्त्तिप्रियस्तल.

5 Bosch reads मनस्वि

6 Rd. स.

7 Bosch reads अदीर्घ which would convey the wrong meaning. The first letter is to be read as च and not अ

8 Rd. नृपतिश्चकार.

9 Grammatically प्रतिपददिवसे but here प्रतिपद is required for the sake of metre.

10 Bosch suggests Dhruveśe but I am not sure of its meaning. Have we to read *dhruve cha* ?

11 Rd. ऋत्विग्भिर्वेदविद्भिर्यति.

12 Perhaps समौमैः cf. l. 9. Bosch suggests समौनैः.

13 Rd. पुष्पा, -युता and -पुरोगा. Bosch reads दासि.

व्यापाराथम् द्विजानाम् भवनमपि गृहमु(20)त्तरम् च अङ्गुतम् च<sup>1</sup>

विश्वम्भाय अतिथिनाम्<sup>2</sup> यवयवि(21) कण्ठ्या<sup>3</sup>च्छादनै सुप्रयुक्तम् ॥[7॥]

ये बान्धवाः नृपसुताः च (22) समन्त्रिसुख्याः

दत्तौ नृपस्य यदि ते प्रतिकूलाचित्तोः [1]

नास्ति-(23)क्यदोषकुटिलाः नरके पतेयुः

न अमूत्र<sup>4</sup> च नेह च गतिम् (24) ~<sup>5</sup> लभन्ते ॥ [8॥]

वंश्याः नृपस्य रुचिताः यदि दत्तिवृद्धौ

आस्तिक्य-(25) शुद्धमतयः ~ ~ ~ पूजाः ।

दानाद्य<sup>6</sup>पुराययजनाद्भययनादिशीलाः

(25) रक्षन्तु राज्यम् [ अखिलं ] नृपतिः यथा एषम्<sup>7</sup> ॥ [9॥]

#### TRANSLATION

Hail! (In) the Saka year 682 having elapsed:

(v. 1) There was the wise and mighty king Devasimha, protected by whom shines all round (the shrine) purified by Putikesvara.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rd. गृहमुत्तरञ्चाङ्गुतम्च. Bosch is doubtful about the reading गृहमुत्तर. Metre requires a long syllable in ह. I would prefer to read गृहादुत्तर-

<sup>2</sup> Bosch reads अतिथिनाम्. <sup>3</sup>Bosch reads शय्य and corrects it as शय but the reading शय्या is certain.

<sup>4</sup> In this verse rd. बान्धवा नृपसुताश्च, -सुख्या, -चित्ता, कुटिला and पतेयुर्नामूत्र.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps we have to read परं लभेरन् or लभन्ताम्. The second syllable in गति should be short,

<sup>6</sup> Rd. दानादि.

<sup>7</sup> In verse 9 read वंश्या, रुचिता, दानादिपुराय-, शीला and राज्यमखिलं नृपतियथैवम्. Bosch wrongly reads रुचिता for रुचिता.

<sup>8</sup> The meaning of the last quarter of the verse is uncertain. The word *Īsvara* at the end shows that an image of Siva might have been intended here. The reading Putakeśvara would give us some sense, but neither this nor Pūtakeśvara is found amongst the 1008 names of Mahādeva mentioned in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata or elsewhere. A probable explanation of Pūtakeśvara may however be found in the following: Pūti in Sanskrit besides meaning a putrid smell may also denote a *devadāru* tree. It is quite likely that the image was called Pūtakeśvara because of its being originally made of *devadāru* wood

(v. 2) His son, the great Limva, known as Gajayana, also protected (the people as if they were his own sons), when his father had gone to heaven.

(v. 3) Limva had a daughter born unto him who was the consort of the wise king Jananiya (?), the son of Prada and was known by the name of Uttejana.<sup>1</sup>

(v. 4) That one of the name of Gajajana, who was devoted and did good to the twice-born (Brahmans), who was (?)..... to Lord Agastya, born of a pitcher (*Kalasa*)—had with (the help of) his ministers and leaders of army (?) caused to be built the charming abode (*i. e.* temple) of the sage.....<sup>2</sup>

(v. 5) The high-minded and foresighted (king), the lover of fame, having seen the established image, founded by his ancestors, to be made of *devadaru* wood, ordered the sculptor and had a wonderful image of black marble prepared.<sup>3</sup>

as we find in verse 5. I am not sure of the meaning of *pāvītā* either. Grammar would not allow its being connected with *guptah*. Mr. Bosch thus translates the second half of the verse, "Under whose protection the flame of Pūṭikeśvara, diffused its light all around." But *pāvītā* in the sense of 'flame' is not found in Sanskrit. It appears to be derived from the root *pū* 'to purify' and has been used in a causative sense. Thus *pavitā* seems to me to be an error for *pāvītaḥ*. In that case *Pūṭikeśvara pāvītaḥ* could refer to a place which is purified by Pūṭikeśvara and most probably to the shrine which contained the image of Pūṭikeśvara.

<sup>1</sup> This verse may also be translated thus: Limva had a daughter born unto him; the mother of the wise (king *i. e.* Limva) was Uttejānā, the chief queen of the king (*i. e.* Devasiṃha), the son of Prada. But the difficulty of this explanation is, that the inscription opens with the Devasiṃha and not with Prada, which according to this interpretation would be the name of the father of Devasiṃha.

<sup>2</sup> Bosch connects *bhaktah* with *Agastya* and translates as 'devoted to Agastya.' But it appears that the word at the beginning of the verse, the reading of which is not certain, is to be connected with the locative in the first *pāda*. moreover Bosch reads *maunaiḥ* and thinks that it has been used by the poet for *munibhiḥ* or *maunibhiḥ*. But the reading is *maulaiḥ*. *Maula* is used in the sense of hereditary servants or ministers of the king ( *मूलादागतं मौलम्* ). *Nāyaka* I have taken in the sense of *Senāpati*. I can not explain the word *Balahājiri*. It may be a Javanese word and I do not know if it has any connection with Balayin, which is the Javanese name for Agastya.

<sup>3</sup> Bosch is not certain of the reading of *talagata* which he has taken in the sense of 'crumbling.' Thus according to him the King had the image of stone made when he found that the wooden image was crumbling to pieces. But the root *tal* is found in the sense of 'foundation' or establishment of some sacred object. Again, Bosch takes *aram* in the sense of 'forthwith.' I have preferred to connect it with *cakāra*. *Aram-kr* is used in Sanskrit in the sense of 'to prepare.'

(v. 6) In the Saka year 682, in the month of Margasirsha, on Friday, in Ardra (*naksatra*), on the first day of the of the bright fortnight, at the juncture of the (two) Pakshas (fortnights), in the Dhruva (*yoga*) and in Kumbha *lagna* was established by the king, of firm intellect, (the image of) Agastya, whose source was a pitcher, with (the assistance of) the officiating priests, versed in the Vedas, together with the best of ascetics, architects, ministers and experts.

(V. 7) Land, cows decorated with flowers, together with herds of buffaloes and preceded by male and female servants— (all these) were given by the king to provide for objects like *caru* (oblation of boiled rice), *havis* (oblation of melted butter), ablutions and others, as well as a house for the twice-born and further, a wonderful abode for the accomodation of guests, well furnished with beds (*i. e.* mattresses) made of barley straw and together with other paraphernalia (literally, covers).<sup>1</sup>

(V. 8) The (future) relations and sons of kings, together with their chief ministers, if they shall be opposed to this gift of the king, may these, perverted by the sin of non-believing, fall into hell and neither in this world nor in the next may they attain the best course.

(V. 9) In case the descendants of the king are inclined to the angmentation of the gift, may they with their intellect purified by faith . . . . . and accustomed to meritorious deeds like (making) gifts, (performance of) sacrifices and study (of the sacred texts)—protect the whole kingdom in the same way as the (present) king.

#### (4) THE INSCRIPTION OF VIENG SA

(SAKA YEAR 697)

This inscription does not belong to Java but as it deals with the Srivijaya kings (of Sumatra), who were at this time ruling in Central Java, we have included it in our collection. Vieng-Sa is in the Malay Peninsula south of the Bay of Bandon. M. Finot first gave an account of it in the Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-chine (1910, p. 153). But he was not quite clear about Srivijaya. In the Bulletin d'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, 1918 (no. 6), M. Cœdes pointed out for the first time that Srivijaya was the name of a powerful maritime kingdom in south-east Sumatra (the place is now called Palembang). In

<sup>1</sup> Bosy translates *Yavayavika etc.* as 'thatched with straw of barley.'

the 2nd half of the 8th century A. D. the kings of the Sailendra dynasty of Srivijaya ruled not only over the greater part of Sumatra but also in Central Java, portions of the Malay Peninsula, and in numerous islands of the Archipelago. There is a tradition (mentioned by Arab travellers) of their over-running Cambodia. They maintained friendly relations with the Pala kings of Bengal and with the Chola kings of South India. As the rulers of Srivijaya were devout Mahayanists, they constructed a Buddhist monastery at Nalanda with the permission of Devapala of Bengal and a Buddhist temple at Negapatan with the consent of Rajaraja Chola. Later on there was war between the two maritime powers Chola and Srivijaya.\*

The inscription of Vieng Sa is fully dealt with in the B. E. F. E. O., 1918, by M. Coedes.

## TEXT

[Metres: Sikhariṇī, vv. 1, 2; Hariṇī, v. 3; Pushpitarā, v. 4; Upendravajra, v. 5; Āryā, vv. 8, 9; Sragdharā, v. 10.]

## A

- (1) विसारिया कीच्यां नयविनयशौर्यश्रुतगम-  
 न्नमा-(2) धैर्यत्यागद्य तिमतिदयाद्यन्नयभुवा [1]  
 परं यस्या-(3) क्रान्ता भुवनकुभुजां कीर्तिविसरा  
 मयूखास्ताराणां शरदि (4) तुहिनाङ्गशोरिव रा<sup>1</sup>चा ॥ [1॥]  
 गुणानामाधारस्तुहिनगिरि-(5) कूटाधिकरूचा  
 गुणाढ्यानां पुंसामपि जगति यस्तुङ्ग-(6) यशसाम् [1]  
 मशीनाम् भूरीणां दुरितिभिदुदन्वानिव महा-  
 (7) मशिज्यातिल्लेखावलयशिरसाञ्चापि कशीनाम् ॥ [2॥]  
 (8) धनविकलतावद्विज्वालावलिन्नपिताशया  
 यम-(9) भिपतिता ये ते स्वाम्यम् परं समुपागताः [1]  
 हृदमि-(10) व गजा नित्यातोष्यप्रसन्नशुभाम्भसं<sup>2</sup>  
 सवितरि त-(11) पत्यग्रे सेव्यं<sup>3</sup> सरोजरजोरुणम् ॥ [3॥]

\* See below nos. 7a and 7b.

<sup>1</sup> Read. रचा. Evidently रा has been written instead of र due to the fault of the engraver.

<sup>2</sup> Coedes reads; *nityā ko—v-panna*. But the third letter looks more like *to* than *ko* and the next letter is certainly *shya* (cf. *sh* of *shma* in B. I. 3). The fifth letter is not certain, but it must be a short syllable and I have suggested *pra*. The sixth letter may either be *pa* or *sa* with the hook missing. I have preferred to read *prasanna* as it would give a better sense than *prapanna*.

<sup>3</sup> Coedes reads *sevyum*, but *sevyam* is certain.

- गुणभृतमुप-(12) गम्यं यं गुणाढ्या  
 ~ ~ ~ रा मनुना समं समन्तात् [1]
- (13) मधुमयमिवाञ्जकेसराद्याशु-  
 श्रियमधिकान्दधते म-(4)हीरुहेन्द्राः ॥ [4॥]  
 जयत्ययं श्रीविजयेन्द्रराजा<sup>1</sup>
- (15) समन्तराजाञ्चितशासनश्रोः<sup>2</sup> [1]  
 प्रशस्तधर्मस्थिरतोन्मुखेन
- (16) विनिर्मितो विश्वसृजेव यत्नात् ॥ [5॥]  
 श्रीविजयेश्वरभूपति-(17) रेमगुणो  
 धनक्षितितलसर्वसमन्तनृपोत्तम एकः [1]
- (18) स्थापित ऐष्टिकोहवरत्रयमेत-  
 त्कजकरमारनि-(19) सुदनवज्जिनिवासम् ॥ [6॥]  
 अद्भु(?)तमेतत्रिसमयचैत्यनिकेत-  
 न्दशदिगवस्थितसर्वजिनोत्तमदत्तम् [1]  
 सर्वजगत्मलभू-(21) धरकुलिशवर-  
 न्त्रिभवविभूतिविशेषदममरपदम् ॥ [7॥]
- (22) पुनरपि जयन्तनामा राजस्थविरो नृपेन छिनियुक्तः [1]  
 स्तू-(23) पत्रयमसि<sup>3</sup> कुर्वित्यतस्स तदिदन्तथा कृतवान् ॥ [८॥]  
 स्वारते-(24) स्मिंस्तच्छिष्योधिमुक्तिरभूच्च नामत स्थविरः [1]  
 इष्टिकचै-(25) त्यद्वितयं चैत्यत्रितयान्तिके कृतवान् ॥ [9॥]  
 वृद्ध्या-(26)प्ते शाकराजे मुनिनवरसकैर्माधवैकादशाहे  
 शुक्ले को-(27)लीरलग्ने<sup>4</sup> भृगुसुतसहिते चार्थमञ्जुयोतिरायं<sup>5</sup> [1]  
 देवे-(28)न्द्राभेन च श्रीविजयनृपतिनान्यज्जितीशोत्तमेन  
 त्रै-(29) लोक्यैकाग्रचिन्तामणिवपुष ई[ह स्था-]पिता स्तूप- ॥10॥

1 Rd. राजः

2 Coedes reads—*tigmāśanaśrīh* but that would make *ti* long and the metre would be faulty, I however, find no sign of medial *i* in *t* and what is read as *gma* is *śa* partially obliterated (cf. *śā* in *śāka*, l. 26).

3 Perhaps we have to read त्रयमपि

4 Rd. कौलीर

5 Should we read ज्योतिषा-?

## TRANSLATION

(v. 1) By the splendour of whose spreading fame, which is the imperishable abode of (qualities like) policy, discipline, valour, learning, tranquility, forbearance, patience, liberality, beauty, intelligence, mercy, *etc.*, has been highly surpassed the rays given out by the fame of the rulers of the earth as the rays of moon surpass in splendour those of the stars.

(v. 2) Who by his splendour surpassing the summit of the snowy mountains (*i. e.* the Himalayas) is in this world the receptacle of (all the good) qualities of men with high fame and rich in virtues, who wards off evil (like) many gems, who is great like the sea and who is the gem of snakes whose heads are encircled with a lustrous glow.

(v. 3) Those who take resort to him with their hopes destroyed by the flames of the fire of disaster (lit. loss of wealth) find in him the best property (also lord). As the elephants coming to a lake always (full of) pleasant, clear and good water, reddish with pollens of lotuses find it congenial while the sun is shining on (them).

(v. 4) Coming into contact with him, who bears all the (good) qualities and is like Manu, men rich in virtues... shine with a greater lustre as the lords of trees like the mango, Bakula and others look more beautiful coming into contact with the spring season.

(v. 5) Victory be to this king of Srivijaya, the glory of whose rule is worshipped by the neighbouring rulers, and who has been created by the creator of the universe as if intent on making firm the best of religions.

(v. 6) The king, the lord of Srivijaya, who has virtues fit to be acquired (by others) and who alone is the best of all the neighbouring kings, who exist on the face of this firm earth, built with brick this group of three excellent houses which are the abode of the wielder of thunderbolt, (*vajra*), the conqueror of Mara and the producer of joy.<sup>1</sup>

(v. 7) This wonderful chaitya house belonging to the three ages (?),<sup>2</sup> which was given to all the excellent Jinas dwelling in the ten quarters, is the best thunderbolt (for cleaving) the mountain of sin of the whole world, is the giver of the most excellent splendour of the three worlds and is the place (giving) immortality.

(v. 8) And again, Jayanta the *sthavira* of the King (was) well appointed by the ruler of men (saying) 'construct (ye)

<sup>1</sup> The Vajrapani Bodhisattva is supposed to be the wielder of the thunderbolt but here the reference seems to be to the Buddha himself. *Kajakara* I have taken in the sense of 'producing joy.'

<sup>2</sup> I am not certain about the meaning of त्रिसमय.

also three *stupas*'—Thus (following the order) he did the same.

(v. 9) When he went to heaven, his pupil Adhimukti by name, became the *sthavira*. He built two *chaityas* of brick in the vicinity of the three *chaityas*, (already built).

(v. 10) When the king of the Sakas had grown to 697 years, on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra, in *karkata lagna* on an auspicious Friday, by the lord of Srivijaya, who is the best of all the kings, who is like the lord of devas (*i.e.* Indra) and who has the glory of the sun—was established the . . . *stupas* of (one) who has the body (made of) the wish-giving stone—the best in the three worlds.

#### (5) KALASAN INSCRIPTION OF THE SAKA YEAR 700.

The following inscription, found in a temple in Central Java, is the earliest Javanese Inscription written in a North-Indian Script. It was published by Dr. Brandes (without plate) in *Tijdschrift voor Indische, Taal-Land-en-Volkenkunde*, Deel XXXI (1886) pp. 245 ff. and by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *JBBRAS* 1889 pp. 1 ff. Dr. Bhandarkar made use of a photograph copy sent to him from Batavia by Mr. Baum Garten.

The record opens with salutations to the Buddhist goddess Tara. Then we are told that the **शैलेन्द्रराजगुरु** caused a splendid temple of Tara to be constructed in the flourishing kingdom of the king of the Sailendra dynasty. The temple was built out of respect for the *guru* after 700 years of the era of the Saka king had elapsed. This temple and also a monastery for the mendicant priests of the Mahayana school were erected after a royal mandate had been issued in the names of Pankura, Tavana and Tirisha who were the *desadhyakshys* or local governors.

Bhandarkar however, mistook Sailendra as the name of a king. Now we know that there was a Sailendra dynasty which originally belonged to the Srivijaya kingdom of Sumatra but about this period they had also conquered Central Java.

According to Bhandarkar the characters of this inscription resemble those of the North-Indian inscriptions of the period between the 8th and 11th centuries ; while the execution is almost exactly like that of an inscription found at Ghosravan, near the old city of Nalanda in Magadha which can be relegated to the middle of the 9th century. "The Hindu

settlements of Java” continues Dr. Bhandarkar, “were not made once for all; but there must have been a constant communication between the island and India. Fa-Hian tells us that in Yavadvipa Brahmans flourished but the Law of Buddha is not known. The Buddhists referred to in our inscription must have emigrated in large numbers later on. . . . . The “Yavadvipa adorned with the seven kingdoms” and Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra) have been mentioned in the Kiskindhya kanda of the Ramayana ; and in the Kathasarit-sagara Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarnadvipa and other islands of the name of Narikela, Karpura and Kataha (Kedu, near Penang). The Kathasarit-sagara is professedly a translation of or a compilation based on Gunadhya’s Brihatkatha which has not yet been recovered and which must have been composed in the first or second century A. D. Thus the connection of India with these islands must have begun very early.”

The traditional accounts of the Javanese refer the foundation of the first Indian colony to a person whom they call Adisaka—the founder of the Saka era which is used in Java. Dr. Bhandarkar thought that this tradition means that some princes of the Saka race (which had established itself in Western India about the beginning of the Saka era and had adopted Indian civilization, as is evident from the coins and inscriptions of the Satraps of Ujjayini and Kathiawar) established the first Indian colony in Java a short time after the foundation of the era in India. Contemporary evidence from the early Javanese inscriptions do not, however, bear out this theory. The early colonists must have come from South India. Later on, as in this inscription, Magadha influence seems to have been predominant. This North-Indian influence is to be specially noticed in the Mahayana inscriptions of Srivijaya rulers in Java as well as in Sumatra. Indeed the first appearance of Mahayana doctrines in the Archipelago and the use of a North-Indian script go hand in hand. Both appear to have come from the Palas of Bengal and Magadha. (*vide* Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by Dr. B. R. Chatterji pp. 253 ff.).

#### TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : Vasantatilaka, v. 1 : Udgiti, y. 2 ; Ārya, Vv. 3-8, 12 ; Salinī, v. 10 ; and Upendravajra, v. 11.]

(1) नमो भगवत्यै श्रार्य्यताराय ॥

या तारयत्यमितदुःखभवाब्धिमग्नं लोकं विलोक्य विधिवत्त्रिविधैः (2) पायैः ।

सा वः सुरेन्द्रनरलोकविभूतिस[1]रं तारा दिशत्वभिमतं जगदेकतारा ॥ [11]

1. As no facsimile of this inscription has been published I have mostly followed Bhandarkar’s reading of the text.

अनावर्ज्य महाराजं (3) पण<sup>1</sup> पणंकरणं ।  
 शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं हि कारितं श्रीमत् ॥ [2॥]  
 गुर्वाज्ञया कृतज्ञैस्तारा देवी (4) कृतापि तद्भवनम् ।  
 विनयमहाथानविदां भवनं चाप्यार्थ्यभिन्नूणाम् ॥ [3॥]  
 पङ्कुरतवानतीरिष<sup>2</sup>(5) नामभिरादेशशस्तिभी राज्ञः ।  
 ताराभवनं कारितमिदमपि चाप्यार्थ्यभिन्नूणां ॥ [4॥]  
 राज्ये प्रवर्द्धमा (6) ने राज्ञः शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलकस्य<sup>3</sup> .  
 शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं कृतं कृतिभिः ॥ [5॥]  
 शकनृपकालासीतै (7) वर्षशतैः सप्तभिर्महाराजः ।  
 अकरोद्गुरुपूजार्थं ताराभवनं पणंकरणः ॥ [6॥]  
 ग्रामः कालसना<sup>4</sup>मा(8)दत्तः संघाय सान्निः कृत्वा ।  
 पङ्कुरतवानतीरिषदेशाध्यज्ञ्यान्महापुरुषान् ॥ [7॥]  
 भूद(9)ज्ञिणोयमतुला दत्ता संघाय राजसिंहेन ।  
 शैलेन्द्रवमंभूपैरनुपरिपालयार्थं सन्तत्या ॥ [8॥]  
 (10)सुन्न<sup>5</sup>पङ्कुरादिभिः भक्त<sup>6</sup>वानकादिभिः ।  
 सुन्नसीरिषादिभिः पत्तिभिश्च साधुभिः ॥ [9॥]

अपिच ॥

(11) सर्वांनेवागामिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिंहः ।  
 सामान्योयन्धर्मसेतुनं (12) राणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [10॥]  
 अनेन पुण्येन विहारजेन प्रतीत्य जातार्थविभागकि(वि) (13) ज्ञाः ।  
 भवन्तु सर्वे विभञ्जोपपन्ना जना जिनानामनुशासनस्थाः ॥ [11॥]  
 करि(ल ?)यानपणंकरणं श्री (14) मानभियाचते भाविनृपान् ।  
 भूयो भूयो विधिवद्विहारपरिपालनार्थमिति । [12॥]

- 
1. Brandes reads (पञ्च)पणं
  2. These are Javanese names.
  3. Bhandarkar reads शैलेन्द्रवमंसनुजस्य
  4. Bhandarkar reads कोलग(श?)
  5. Brandes reads सण्ण. Bhandarkar is wrong in connecting it with Skt. Sat. It is equivalent to the old Javanese title sang.
  6. Perhaps we have to read सन्तवान.
  7. Brandes reads पत्तिभि.

## TRANSLATION.

Salutations to the divine and venerable Tara.

(V. 1.) May Tara, the only saviour of the Universe, who, seeing the world sunk in the sea of existence full of immeasurable misery, duly delivers it through the three means<sup>1</sup>, grant you the desire consisting of the essence of the glory of the worlds of men and the Lord of the gods.

(V. 2) Having prevailed over the *Maharaja* Panamkarana,<sup>2</sup> the . . . , a splendid temple of Tara was caused to be built by the preceptor of the Sailendra kings.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 3) At the command of the *guru* by the grateful ones was made (an image of) the goddess Tara as well as a temple for her and also a dwelling place (*i.e.* monastery) for the venerable *bhikshus*, knowing the great vehicle of discipline.

(V. 4) By the king's mandate (?) issued in the names of Pankura, Tavana and Tirisha, the temple of Tara as well as the house for the venerable *bhikshus* were caused to be built.

(V. 5) In the prosperous reign of the king, the best (tilaka) of the Sailendra dynasty,<sup>4</sup> the temple of Tara was constructed by the pious *guru* of the Sailendra kings.

(V. 6) When seven centuries in the era of the Saka king had elapsed the *Maharaja* Panamkarana built the temple of Tara in honour of his *guru*.

(V. 7) He also granted to the community the village Kalasana by name after making the eminent Pankura, Tavana and Tirisha, the heads of the province, as the witnesses.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 8-9) By the lion of kings was also granted to the community, an incomparable gift of land which should be protected by future noble kings of the Sailendra dynasty and also by the noble heroic *sang* Pankura, *sang* Tavana and *sang* Tirisha.

(V. 10) The lion among kings begs again and again of all the future kings that this bridge of religion, which is common to all men, should be protected by you at all times-

(V. 11) Through the merit resulting from (the construction of) this monastery, may all people following the Law of the Jin<sup>2</sup> (*i.e.* Buddha) have a knowledge of the division and

1. The three *upayas* mentioned in the *Dharmasangraha* CXI (Anecdota Oxoniensis, Aryan Series, Vol. I-Pt.v) are: **सर्वसत्त्वावबोधकः**, **सत्त्वार्थाभावकः** and **क्षिप्रसुखाभिसंबोधि**.

2. Brandes takes *Panamkarana* as an epithet of the king *viz.* 'one who has taken a vow.'

3. Bhandarkar wrongly took Sailendra to be the name of the king,

4. Bhandarkar translates 'the son of Sailendrarvarman'.

5. "The eminent men and leaders of the country"—Bhandarkar.

meaning of the causal chain of causation<sup>1</sup> and be endowed with prosperity.

(V. 12) The illustrious Kariyana<sup>2</sup> Panamkarana here begs again and again of future kings for the preservation of the monastery in a proper way.

### (6) THE MINTO-STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE SAKA YEAR 876.<sup>3</sup>

The following couplet in Sanskrit forms the opening verse of the Kavi inscription on the Minto stone which was found in Java-Pasuruhan. It is so called because it was sent by Raffles, who was the governor of Java, during the temporary British possession of that island, as a present to Lord Minto in Scotland. This record is a royal order to the village Sangguram which was to be fenced off into a rent free holding for the Bhatara (ie High priest) of the Kabhatyan temple.

It is the most important inscription which we have got of King Vává of Central and East Java. In this inscription Mpu Sindok, the successor of Vává, is mentioned as *Mahapati* (minister?). With King Vává the history of Central Java comes to an end.

#### TEXT.

.....शिवमस्तु सर्व्वजगतः परहितरतः<sup>4</sup> भवान्तु<sup>5</sup> मूत<sup>6</sup> [I]

दोषप्रघातनाशात्सर्व्वत्र सुखी भवतु लोकः [II]<sup>6</sup>

(I) अविघ्नमस्तु ॥ शिवमस्तु सर्व्वजगतः परहितरता भवन्तु (2) भूतगयाः ।

दोषाः प्रयान्तु नाश [ ] (II) सर्व्वत्र सुखी भवतु लोकः ॥

1. The reference here is to the प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद or the doctrine of cause and effect of the Baddhists. They are twelve in number each subsequent one being produced by the preceding one, viz. अविद्या (ignorance), संस्कार (predisposition), विज्ञान (consciousness), नामरूप (mind and body), षडायतन (6 organs of sense), स्पर्श (contact), वेदना (feeling), तृष्णा (craving), उपादान (attachment), भव (action), जाति (rebirth) and जरामरण (old age and death).

2. See Vogel's note on this word.

3. See Kern, V. G. Vol. VII, p. 225,

4. Read निरताः

5. Rd. भवन्तु

6. An inscription of King Daksha (circa 915 A. D.) from Singasari which is now preserved in the Batavia museum, has a similar beginning (See Brandes in Oud-Java ansche Oorkonde, XXX):

7a EXTRACTS FROM THE NALANDA COPPER-PLATE  
OF DEVAPALADEVA

This copper-plate was unearthed by Dr. Hirananda Shastri at the well-known Buddhist site at Nalanda in 1921.<sup>1</sup> The charter was issued by the *Paramasaugata P. M. P.* Sriman Devapaladeva, the son and successor of the *Paramasaugata P. M. P.* sri-Dharmapaladeva both belonging to the well known Pala dynasty of Bengal and Magadha. The document is dated on the 21st day of Kartika of the (regnal) year 39 of Devapala and records that this ruler, at the request of sri-Balaputradeva, the ruler of Suvarnadvipa (modern Sumatra), conveyed through an ambassador, granted five villages, "for the increase of merit and fame of his parents and himself, for the sake of income towards the blessed Lord Buddha, for various comforts of the revered *bhikshus* of the four quarters and for writing the *dharma-ratnas* and for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda at the instance of the said king of *Suvarnadvipa*."<sup>2</sup> The villages granted were Nandivanaka, Manivataka, Natika, Hastigrama and Palamaka, the first four of which were situated in the Rajagriha

1. This inscription has been fully dealt with by Dr. H. Shastri in *Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII pp. 310ff.*

2. The original passage in the inscription runs thus :

- Ll. 33-36..... विदितमस्तु भवताम् पथोपरिलिखितस्वसम्ब(म्ब)द्वाविच्छिन्न-  
कलोपेतनन्दिवनकग्राम । मण्डीवाटकग्राम । गटिकाग्राम । इस्त्रिग्राम ।  
पाह्लामकग्रामाः.....मया
- L. 37. मातापित्तोरात्मन[श्च]पुण्ययथोभिवृद्धये ॥ सुव[र्ण]द्वीवाधिपम[दा]राज-  
भीवा(वा)लपुत्रदेवेन दूतकमुत्वेन वयम्बिज्ञापिताः यथा मया
- L. 34. श्रीनालन्दायाम्बिहारः कारितस्तत्र भगवतो बु(बु)द्धभट्टारकस्य प्रज्ञापा-  
रमितादिसकलधर्मनेत्रीस्थानस्यायार्थं तांत्र(लि)-
- L. 39. कवो(वो)चिसत्त्वगणस्याहमहापुरुषपुद्गलस्य चतुर्विंशत्यर्थं भिक्षुसङ्घस्य (ब)-  
लिचरुसत्रचीवरपिण्डपातशयनासनगलानप्रत्ययभे-
- L. 40. वज्रपाद्यर्थं धर्मरत्नस्य लेखनाद्यथ विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटितसमाधानाय  
शासनीकस्य प्रविपादित [1:\*

Dr. Shastri explains *dharma-ratna* as Buddhist texts (i. e. for the three jewels) but the proper meaning is 'jewel of doctrine' i. e. texts containing Buddhist doctrine and has no reference to the 'three jewels.'

(Rajgir) and the fifth in the Gaya *vishaya* (district) of the sri-Nagarabhukti (Patna division).

The importance of this inscription lies not only in the fact that it records the construction of a monastery at Nalanda by a king of Java but also because it gives some new information about the rulers of the Sailendra dynasty. Thus from the latter part of the inscription, which has been quoted in the foot-note, we know that there was a ruler of Yavabhumi (Java), who was the ornament of the Sailendra dynasty and whose name was conformable to the illustrious crusher of his brave enemies' (*Sri-vira-vairi-mathana*). He had a son whose name is not mentioned but whose queen consort was Tara, the daughter of the illustrious king Dharmasetu, born in the lunar family. From her was born sri-Balaputradeva, the overlord of Suvarnavipa who was the donor of a monastery at Nalanda.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT

[Metres: Vasantatilaka vv. 24, 25, 27, 28; Praharshini, v. 26; Anushtubh. v. 29; Sardulavikridita, v. 30-33; Sragdhara, v. 34].

L.52. आसीदशेषनरपालविलोलमौलिमालामण्डितिविवो(बो)धितपादपशः ।

शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलको यवभूमिपालः श्रीवीरवैरिमथना(59)नुगताभिधानः ॥ [24॥]

हर्म्यस्थलेषु कुमुदेषु मृणालिनीषु शङ्खेन्दुकुन्दतुहिनेषु पदन्दधाना ।

निःशेषद्विमुखनिरन्तरलब्ध(ब्ध)गीतिः (54) मूर्त्तव यस्य भुवनानि जगाम  
कीर्त्तिः ॥ [25॥]

अ भङ्गे भवति नृपस्य यस्य कोपाङ्गि[र्भि]न्नाः सह हृदयैर्द्विषां श्रियोपि ।

वक्रायामि(55)ह हि परोपघातदत्ता जायन्ते जगति भृष(श)ङ्गतिप्रकाराः ॥

[26॥]

तस्याभवन्नयपराक्रमशीलशाली राजेन्द्रमौलिशतदुर्ललिताङ्घ्रि (56) युग्मः ।

सुनुर्युधिष्ठिरपराशरभोमसेनकरणाङ्गुर्जुनार्जितयशाः समराग्रवीरः । [127॥]

उद्धतमम्बर(म्ब)रतलाघ(द्यु)धि सञ्चरन्त्या यत्सेनयावनिरजःप (57) दलं-  
पदोत्थम् ।

करणाङ्गिनिलेन करिष्यां शनकम्बितीर्याङ्गणहस्थलीमदजलैः शमयाम्ब(म्ब)भूव ।

[128॥]

अकृष्णपद्ममेवेदमभूद् वनमराडलं ।

(48) कुलन्दैत्याधिपस्येव यद्यशोभिरनारतम् ॥ [29॥]

पौलमीव सुराधिपस्य विदिता सङ्कल्पयोभेरिव

[प्रीतिः] शैलस्यतेव मन्मथरि(59)पोल्लर्लक्ष्मीर्मूरारेरिव ।

राज्ञः सोमकुलान्वयस्य महतः श्रीघर्म्मसेतोः सुता

तस्याभूद्वनीभूजोऽग्रमहिषी तारेव ताराह्वया ॥ [30॥]

माया(60)यामिव कामदेवविजयी शुद्धोदनस्यात्मजः

स्कन्दो नन्दितदेववृन्दहृदयः शम्भोरुमायामिव ।

तस्यान्तस्य नरेन्द्रवृन्दविनमत्पादारवि(61)न्दासनः

सर्वोर्व्वीपतिगर्गल्लवर्गण्यचण्यः श्रीवा(वा)लपुत्रोऽभवत् ॥ [31॥]

नाल्लन्दागुणवृन्दलुब्ध(ब्ध)मनसा भक्त्या च शौद्धदने-

वु(वु)ध्वा शैलसरित्तरंगतरलां (62) लक्ष्मीमिमां क्षोभनाम् ।

यस्तेनोन्नतसौघधामधवलः सङ्घार्थमित्रश्रिया

नानासङ्गुणभिन्नुसङ्घवसतिस्तस्याम्बिहारः कृतः ॥ [32॥]

भक्त्या (63) तत्र समस्तशत्रुवनितावैधव्यदीक्षागुहं

कृत्वा शासनमाहितादरतया सम्प्रार्थ्य दूतैरसौ ।

ग्रामान् पञ्च विपञ्चितोपरि यथोद्देशा (64) निमानात्मनः

पित्रो [ल्लो] कहितोदयाय च ददौ श्रीदेवपालं नृपं ॥ [33॥]

यावत्सिन्धोः प्रव(व)न्धः पृथुलहरजटाक्षोभिताङ्गा च गङ्गा

गुर्व्वी (65) घत्ते फणीन्द्रः प्रतिदिनमचलो हेलया यावदुर्व्वी ।

यावच्चास्तोदयाद्री रवितुरगलुरोद्घृष्टचूडामयी स्त-

स्तावत्सत्कीर्तिरेषा प्रभव(66)तु जगताम्सत्क्रिया रोपयती ॥ [34॥]

### TRANSLATION\*

(V. 24) "There was a King of Yavabhumi (or Java), who was the ornament of the Sailendra dynasty, whose lotus-feet bloomed by the lustre of the jewels in the row of trembling diadems on the heads of all the princes, and whose name was conformable to the illustrious tormentor of brave foes (*vira-vairi-mathana*).

\* See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII pp. 326-27

(V. 25) "His fame, incarnate as it were, by setting its foot on the regions of (white) palaces, in white water-lilies, in lotus plants, conches, moon, jasmine and snow and, being incessantly sung in all the quarters, pervaded the whole universe.

(V. 26) "At the time when that king frowned in anger, the fortunes of the enemies also broke down simultaneously with their hearts. Indeed the crooked ones in the world have got ways of moving which are very ingenious in striking others.

(V. 27). "He had a son, who possessed prudence, prowess, and good conduct, whose two feet fondled too much with hundreds of diadems of mighty kings (bowing down). He was the foremost warrior in battle-fields and his fame was equal to that earned by Yudhishtira, Parasara, Bhimasena, and Arjuna.

(V. 28). "The multitude of the dust of the earth, raised by the feet of his army, moving in the field of battle, was first blown up to the sky by the wind, produced by the (moving) ears of the elephants, and, then slowly settled down on the earth (again) by the ichor, poured forth from the cheeks of the elephants.

(V. 29). "By the continuous existence of whose fame the world was altogether without the dark fortnight, just like the family of the lord of the *daityas* (demons) was without the partisanship of Krishna.

(V. 30), "As Paulomi was known to be (the wife of) the lord of the *suras* (*i. e.* Indra), Rati the wife of the mind-born (Cupid), the daughter of the mountain (Parvati) of the enemy of Cupid (*i. e.* Siva) and Lakshmi of the enemy of Mura (*i. e.* Vishnu) so Tara was the queen consort of that king, and was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmasetu of the lunar race and resembled Tara (the Buddhist goddess of this name) herself.

(V. 31). "As the son of Suddhodana (*i. e.* the Buddha), the conqueror of Kamadeva, was born of Maya and Skanda, who delighted the heart of the host of gods, was born of Uma by Siva, so was born of her by that king, the illustrious Balaputra, who was expert in crushing the pride of all the rulers of the world, and before whose foot-stool (the seat where his lotus-feet rested) the groups of princes bowed.

(V. 32). "With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda and through devotion to the son of Suddhodana (*i. e.* the Buddha) and having realised that riches are fickle like the waves of a mountain stream, he whose fame was like that of Sangharthamitra, built there (at Nalanda) a monastery which was the abode of the

assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty dwellings.

(V. 33). "Having requested, King Devapaladeva, who was the preceptor for initiating into widowhood the wives of all the enemies, through envoys, very respectfully and out of devotion and issuing a charter, (he) granted these five villages, whose purpose has been noticed above for the welfare of himself, his parents and the world.

(V. 34). "As long as there is the continuance of the ocean, or the Ganges has her limbs (the currents of water) agitated by the extensive plaited hair of Hara (Siva), as long as the immovable king of snakes (Sesha) lightly bears the heavy and extensive earth every day and as long as the (*Udaya*) Eastern and (*Asta*) Western mountains have their crest jewels scratched by the hoofs of the horses of the Sun so long may this meritorious act, setting up virtues over the world, endure."

## 7b, LEYDEN COPPER-PLATES OF RAJARAJA CHOLA\*

This grant in twenty-one copper-plates, the first five of which are written in Sanskrit and the remaining sixteen in Tamil, is now preserved in the Leyden Museum in Holland. The Sanskrit portion records the grant, in the 21st year of the reign of the Chola king Rajaraja-Rajakesarivarman (985-1013 A. D.), of the village of Anaimangalam to the Buddhist *vihara* of Chudamanivarman in Nagpattana (Negapatam). This *vihara* as the inscription informs us, was caused to be built by the 'illustrious Maravijayottungavarman of the Sailendra dynasty and the Lord of Srivishaya (*i. e.* Srivijaya) and was endowed by the Chola king Rajaraja which was confirmed by his son Rajendra Chola. The grant was executed by order of the prime-minister (*mahadhikarin*) Tillayali *alias* Rajarajamuvendavelan. The *prasasti* was composed by a Brahman named Nandanarayana and it was engraved by five engravers of Kanchipura *viz.* Krishna-Vasudeva *alias* Rajarajavairacharya, Krishna-Tiruvarangam, Krishna-Damodara, Vasudeva-Krishna and Aravamirtu-Purushottama. Thus the Leyden plates not only furnish us with an exact parallel to the facts mentioned in the Nalanda grant† but also show the friendly relation

\* Text and translation published in Burgess and Natesa Sastri in *Arch. Surv. of Southern India* Vol. IV, pp. 207 ff.

† Examples of foreign Buddhist rulers and even laymen building monasteries at important Buddhist centres for the use of

that the Sailendra king had with the Chola kings at the time of Rajaraja. But for some reason or other this relation must have been estranged at the time of Rajendrachola for in several of his inscriptions<sup>1</sup> we find that he led an expedition against Samgramavijayot tungavarman, the king of Kadaram. As the inscriptions are in Tamil I am giving below for the interest of general readers the English translation of the extract under reference from the Tirukkalar inscription :

He *i. e.* Rajendrachola—"having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Samgramavijayottungavarman, the king of Kadaram, along with (his) rutting elephants which put up rare fight and brought victory,—(took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated, the (arch called) Vidyadhara-torana put up at the 'gate' of his wide inland city provided with accoutrements of war ; the 'jewel gate' adorned with great splendour ; the 'gate of large jewels' the prosperous Sri-Vishaya ; Pannai with a *ghat* of (bathing) water ; the ancient Malaiyur (with) a fort situated on a fine hill ; Mayirudingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat ; Ilangasogam (*i. e.* Laikasoka) undaunted (in) fierce battles ; Mappappalam having abundant high waters as defence ; Mevilimbangam, having fine walls as defence ; Valaippanduru, possessing (both) cultivated land (?) and jungle ; the principal city of Takkolam, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences ; the island of Madamalingam, of strong battlements ; Ilamuri-desam, provided with scientifically ripe excessive strength ; the great Nakkovaram, whose gardens (abounded in) flowers dribbling honey ; and Kadaram of fierce strength, protected by foot-soldiers weaving *kalal*."<sup>2</sup>

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their own people and others are found at a time much earlier than this and the Nalanda grants. It is well known that king Meghavanna of Ceylon had a splendid monastery built at Bodh-Gaya with the permission of Sailendra Gupta. A similar instance is found in one inscription from Nagarjunikonda (*Ep. Ind. XX* pp. 21 f.) where a female lay-worshipper (*Upasika*) Bodhisiri by name and particulars about whom are wanting in the inscription built during the reign of a king Mathariputa (probably Siri-Virapurisadata) of the Ikkhaku dynasty, a shrine which was dedicated to the fraternities of monks from Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> See the following inscriptions of Rajendrachola (I) : (1) Copper Plates belonging to the Parijatavanesvara temple of Tirukkalar in the Tanjore district, of the 18th regnal year—*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pt. IV pp. 466 ff. (2) Tanjore temple inscription of the 19th regnal year—*Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 105 ff. No. 20. (3) Sutturu (Somesvara temple) Kanarese inscription of the 31st (actually 21st) year—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III p, 208, No. 164. Tiruvalangadu Plates, *S. I. I.* Vol. III Pt. III.

<sup>2</sup> Among the places mentioned in this campaign Sri-Vishaya is the same as Sri-Vijaya, identified by M. Coedes with the residency of Palambang in Sumatra. Nakkavaram [and Pappalam have been

Usually this account of the conquest of Kataha is found only in Tamil inscriptions of the 16th and later years of Rajendrachola I. The Tirumalai inscription dated in the 13th regnal year of the king does not mention this conquest. It may be concluded therefrom that Rajendrachola must have led his naval expedition some time between the 13th and 16th year of his reign.<sup>1</sup> Samgramavijayottungavarman, the king of Kataha with whom Rajendrachola fought is presumed to be the successor of Maravijayottungavarman of the Sailendra dynasty who is mentioned in the Leyden grant. We do not know the reason which led to the expedition and how far the Sailendra king submitted to the Chola king. But there is nothing to show that the Sailendra kings were feudatories to the Cholas, at least before the above mentioned expedition, as Mr. Venkayya appears to have thought.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the above Leyden grant there is another grant written in Tamil which also is now preserved in the Leyden museum.<sup>3</sup> It was issued in the 20th year of Kaviraja Kesarivarman Sri Kullottunga-chola and records an exemption of certain taxes in connection with the villages granted to the Sri Sailendra-chudamani Vihara. This exemption was allowed at the request of the king of Kidara, conveyed through the latter's messengers Rajavidyadhara Samanta and Abhimanottunga Samanta.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT

LI. 73-76. सोयम्.....राजराजो राजकेसरि (76) वम्मां स्वसाम्राज्यवर्षे एकविंश-  
 तितमे निखिलधरणि तिलकायमाने क्ष-(77)त्रियशिसामशिवसनाडु-  
 (Valanadu)नान्नि महति जनपदनिवहे पाट्टनक्कूर (Pattanakkurra)-

identified respectively with the Nicobar islands and a port of that name in Burma. Takkolam is taken to be the same as Takopa on the western part of the Malay Peninsula. Kadaram has been located in lower Burma by Mr. Venkayya (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99* p. 17; cf. *S. I. I.* Vol. III p.194f.) but perhaps it should be identified with Kedu or Kidap in the Malay Peninsula.

<sup>1</sup> Though the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvalangadu plates which like the Tamil portion is dated in the 5th year of Rajendrachola's reign, mentions his conquest of Kataha Mr. Venkayya is of opinion that the Sanskrit portion was subsequently composed and added to the Tamil document (see *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06* p. 66)

<sup>2</sup> See *Arch. Survey Report, 1911-12* p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> See *Arch. Surv. of Southern India* Vol. IV. pp. 224ff.

नाञ्चि जनप-(78)देऽनेकसुरसदमसत्रप्रपारामाभिरामे विविधसौधराजी-  
 राजमाने ना-(79)गीपत्तने निजमतिविभवसुरगुरुणा बुधजनकमलवन-  
 मरोचिमालिना-(80)र्थिजनकल्पपादपेन शैलेन्द्रवंशसम्भूतेन श्रीविषया-  
 धिपति-(81)ना कटाहाधिपत्यमातन्वता मकरध्वजेनाधिगतसकलराज-  
 विद्यस्य चूडा-(82)मणिवर्म्माणाः पुत्रेण श्रीमारविजयोत्तुङ्गवर्म्माणा स्व-  
 पितृनाम्ना निम्मापितमघ-(83)रीकृतकनकगिरिसमुत्ततिविभवमतिरम-  
 शीयञ्चूडामणिवर्म्मविहारमधिष-(84)सते बुद्धाय तस्मिन्नेव जनपद-  
 निवहे Pattanakkurra नाञ्चि जनप(85)दे करियापरिक्रमणविस्पष्ट-  
 सीमाचतुष्टयमणोमंगलाभिका(86)धानं ग्राममदात् ॥

इत्थन्देवेन दत्तस्य स्वपित्रा षक्रवर्तिना [1]

ग्रामस्यास्य गते (87) तस्मिन्देशभूमम्महौजसि ॥

तत्सिहासनमारूढस्तपुत्रो मथुरान्तकः [1]

(88) शासनम् शाश्वतन्धीमान् कारयित्वादिशन्पुः ॥

शेषोशेषाम्मर्ही याव-(89)दत्ते शेषोरगेश्वरः [1]

स्थेयात्तावद्विहारोयम् विभवेन स-(90)हावनौ ॥

सोयं कटाहाधिपतिर्गुणानाञ्चिवासभूमिर्महितप्र-(91)भावः [1]

आगामिनः प्रार्थयते नरेन्द्रान्धम्मं सदेमम्मम रत्ततेति ॥

"He, . . . Rajaraja Rajakesarivarman, the crest jewel of Kshatriyas in the twenty-first year of his own universal rule, in the great country named Valanadu, thickly inhabited and shining as an ornament to the whole world in the division of Pattanakkurru, in the town resplendent with many temples, choultries, water-places, and groves, and shining with manifold rows of mansions—Nagapattana : by Sri Maravijayottungavarman, son of Chudamanivarman, possessed of the entire science of royal polity, who, by virtue of his own wisdom, was a *guru* to the gods, who was the ray-garlanded (*sun*) to the lotus groves of the wise and a *kalpavriksha* to the needy, sprung from the Sailendra family and the lord of the Srivishaya country, who possessed of the Makaradhvaja, assumed the lordship over Kataha (by Maravijayottunga), he (the king) gave—to the Buddha dwelling in the exceedingly beautiful Chudamanivarman vihara, so named, after his own father, whose greatness and loftiness surpasses Kanakagiri (*Meru*)—the village Anaimangalam, in that same populous district named Pattanakkurru, whose four boundaries were clearly traced by the circuit of a female elephant.

"To the village thus given by his majesty the emperor (*eakravartin*) his father, he of great glory having gone to

divine glory, his son, the wise king Mathurantaka, having ascended his throne, and having caused a perpetual grant to be made, thus ordered: so long as Sessa, the king of all the serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this Vihara stand with power on the earth. This same lord of the Kataha country, the abode of virtues and of renowned power, thus represents the kings yet to come: Protect ye for ever this edict of mine."

## APPENDIX

Did Java and Srivijaya get the Mahayana cult from Pala Bengal ?

(A)—Comments on the inscriptions of Canggal, Kedu, Kalasan and Nalanda by Dr. Stutterheim in the *Tijdschrift*, 1927, and in 'A Javanese period in Sumatran History,' 1929.

A Kavi inscription found at Kedu (in Central Java) gives us a list of the kings of Mataram (Central Java) beginning with Sanjaya—the hero of the Canggal inscription, the immediate successor of Sanjaya, according to this list, is Maharaja Panangaran whom Dr. Stutterheim identifies with the Maharaja Panankaran of the inscription of Kalasan.

But Panankaran of the Kalasan inscription is a Sailendra—i. e. a prince supposed to belong to the royal family of Srivijaya (in Sumatra). We know nothing however as to how the Sailendras got a footing in Java. There is nothing to suggest conquest by force of arms.

Stutterheim's theory is that Sanjaya of Mataram (in Central Java), whose panegyric we read in the Canggal inscription, was himself a Sailendra. This dynasty then, according to Stutterheim, originated not in Srivijaya but in Java. Stutterheim quotes a Kavi Work Carita Parahyangan in which Sanjaya is described as having won victories in Khmer, Malayu, Keling and in the country last named Sang Srivijaya is defeated by him. Probably these conquests took place after the dedication of the linga mentioned in the Canggal inscription (732 A. D.). Dr. Stutterheim then proceeds to interpret the Nalanda inscription (c. 850 A. D.) in a daring manner in the new light thrown on it by the Kedu list of kings. Maharaja Balaputra of Sumatra, the donor of the monastery at Nalanda, refers to his grandfather, a king of Java, not by name but by the meaning of his name—which is **वीरवेरिमथन**

(he who has crushed the valiant enemy). Then Balaputra's father is described as **समराय** (foremost in war) and his (Balaputra's) mother is mentioned by the name of Tara. Tara is said to be the daughter of a king Dharmasetu. Now Stutterheim proposes to identify Sanjaya, a famous conqueror, with the grandfather of Balaputra. In this case Sanjaya's successor Panangkaran would be the father of Balaputra and Tara would be the queen of Panangkaran. This seems to receive some confirmation from the Kalasan inscription (778 A. D.) in which we find Panangkaran dedicating a temple to Tara. The queen on her death might have been identified with the goddess Tara and the Kalasan temple might have been built to commemorate her memory. Again in the inscriptions of Kalasan and Kelurak (782 A. D.) we come across the word Dharmasetu and in the Nalanda inscription Dharmasetu is mentioned as a king whose daughter is Tara—the mother of Balaputra. Dr. Stutterheim is bold enough to identify Dharmasetu with Dharmapala—the famous Pala ruler of Bengal. So his theory is that it was after the marriage of Dharmapala's daughter Tara, a Bengali princess, with king Panangkaran of Java that Mahayana elements began to be mixed up with the Saiva doctrines already existing in Java. Dharmapala, according to Stutterheim, was the guru as well as the father-in-law of Panangkaran.

Finally Dr. Stutterheim points out that there was no embassy from Srivijaya to China during the period 750-904 A. D. It was after 904 A. D. that ambassadors from Srivijaya began to visit again the Chinese Court. Therefore Dr. Stutterheim believes that Javanese rule over Sumatra ended in 904 A. D. Thus by supposing that the Sailendra monarchs belonged to Mataram (Central Java) and not to Srivijaya, Dr. Stutterheim rejects the hitherto accepted designation of the period (750-904 A. D.) as a Sumatran period of Javanese history and would replace it by a new designation—a Javanese period of Sumatran history.

(B)—The Inscription of Kelurak and the visit to Java of the Mahayanist Raja-guru from Bengal (From the article by Dr. Bosch in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Laand en Volkenkunde*, LXVIII, 1928).

This inscription of Kelurak (near Prambanan in Central Java) is in the Nagari script like some other Mahayana records, as for e. g. that of Kalasan, which bear the names of the Sailendra monarchs. It is dated 704 (Saka era i. e. 782 A. D.). Portions of it are badly damaged. Just as in the Kalasan inscription (778 A. D.) we are told that it was due to the persuasion of the guru that the temple

and image of Tara were constructed by the Sailendra monarch—similarly in the Kelurak inscription it is the Rajaguru, coming from Gaudidvipa (Bengal) to 'purify with the holy dust of his feet' the Sailendra ruler of Central Java, who consecrates the image of Manjusri. Dr. Stutterheim believes that the guru mentioned in the Kalasan inscription was no other than Dharmmapala, the celebrated Pala ruler of Bengal. In the Kelurak inscription the name of the Raja-guru seems to be Kumaraghosa. He is then not the king of Bengal but a very holy personage who has come all the way from Bengal to teach Mahayana doctrines in Java. There must have been many such visitors from overseas. Dr. Bosch quotes the Nagarakritagama (83,4); "Continuously people of all kinds came by sea to Java, numerous merchants, monks and distinguished Brahmans."

Another passage in the Kelurak inscription raises some interesting points. We have seen that in the Nalanda inscription the Sailendra monarch Balaputra (the donor of the monastery at Nalanda mentioned in the inscription) refers to his grandfather a king of Java (not Sumatra), not by name but by the meaning of his name which is वीरवैरिमथन. Now, the king of the Kelurak inscription is extolled as वैरिवरवीर-विमह ग and therefore it would not be unreasonable to identify him with the grandfather of Balaputra. Balaputra, a contemporary of Devapala of Bengal, may be assigned a date c. 850 A.D. and the date of the Kelurak inscription is 782 A.D.

Dr. Bosch agrees with Dr. Stutterheim in accepting Panangkaran, the second prince of the list of Kedu, as the same person as the Maharaja Panankaran of the Kalasan inscription. But further than this they do not agree at all. Dr. Bosch believes that Panangkaran did not belong to an indigenous dynasty of Java, but was one of the younger Sailendra princes of Sumatra, who, by his marriage with a Javanese princess, became the legitimate successor of Sanjaya. The restoration of the Javanese dynasty might also have taken place by another marriage c. 904 A. D. So Dr. Bosch sticks to the older theory of the Sumatran period of Javanese history, through in a recent lecture delivered by him at the Societe Asiatique, Paris, he seems to appreciate the importance of the points raised by Dr. Stutterheim.

To sum up, Dr. Stutterheim's identification of Dharmapala (of Bengal) with Dharmasetu, whom he supposes to be the father-in-law of king Panangkaran, is far-fetched. Prof. Coedes shows us from an old Malay inscription of Srivijaya dated 606 saka era—(i. e. 684 A. D.) that the Vajrayana was already known in Sumatra at that early date. The far reaching influence of Nalanda is also well known. In

the Kelurak inscription we actually find a Mahayanist guru from Bengal visiting Java. Thus, without dragging in Dharmapala, we can point to Bengal as the source of the Mahayana and Tantrayana cults in Java and Sumatra. In my 'Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia' (vide the conclusion) written in 1926 I had tried to show that Pala-Bengal might well be given the credit for having spread Mahayana and Tantrayana teachings in Indo-China and Insulindia. Now this point is well established.

Text of the Kelurak  
Inscription (dated 704 saka era)

This inscription is in Nagari script and was found near Prambanan in Central Java. It is badly damaged but luckily the important portions are decipherable.

नमो रत्नत्रयाय

जयलोकेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर जयभद्रेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर ।

जयविश्वेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर जय...श्वरसुगतपदाक्षर ॥ (१)

धर्षति यो लोकेश...धर्तुं मूर्ध्नामिताभम् अषि लोकेश्वरम् ।

प्रणामत तम् लोकेशम् सकलदिगन्तावभासनालोकेशम् ॥ (२)

.....

.....(३)

सामन्तमन्त्रिपतिसंस्कृतसत्क्रमेण दिक्चक्रराजविजयार्जितविक्रमेण ।

...रवैरिवरवीरविमर्दनेण नित्यं परार्थकर(णा)...मेन ॥ (४)

शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलकेन महोदयेन यस्य क्रमाम्बुजरजैः शिरसाप्रणाम्य ।

सम्पूज्यते प्रवररत्नसरोरुहाद्यै राज्ञा धृता धृतिमतां धरणीन्द्रनाम्ना ॥ (५)

.....

.....(६)

गौडिद्वीपगुरुक्रमाम्बुजरजःपूतोत्तमाङ्गात्मन...ार्थविदामहाद्विसहदासंवेद ।

...प्राप्ताभिषेकं श्रिया श्रेयः कार...विद्वान्द्रिया ॥ (७)

.....

मञ्जुश्रीरयं अप्रमेयसुगतप्रख्यात...कीर्तिमहा...राजगुह्या लोकार्थसंस्था-

पितः ॥ (८)

.....

.....(९)

...त्रेलोक्यार्चितसंक्रमस्य जगतः त्रातुर्विधातुः श्रियः ।

कृत्वेमाम् प्रतिमां मया यदमितं प्राप्तं गुहं भक्तितं  
सेवा.....स्मरजितः.....मञ्जुश्री-यम् ॥ (१०)

शकनृपकालातीतै वर्षशतैः सप्तभिचतुर्भिरपि ।

वर्षैः कुमारघोषः स्थापितवान् मञ्जुघोषं इमम् ॥ (११)

.....

..... (१२)

कीर्तिस्तम्भोऽयं अतुलो घर्मसेतुः अनुत्तमः ।

रक्षार्थं ० ० सर्वसत्त्वानां मञ्जुश्रीप्रतिमाकृतिः ॥ (१३)

.....

..... (१४)

अयं स वज्रघट्क श्रीमान् ब्रह्मा विष्णुम्महेश्वरः ।

सर्वदेवमय स्वामी मञ्जुवागितिगीयते ॥ (१५)

Summary :—After the invocation to Lokesvara there begins the eulogy of the king—one of whose qualifications is that of वैशिवरवीरविमर्दन. Then comes the important passage (7th stanza-1st line)—“his (the king’s) head purified with the dust of the lotus-like feet of the guru from Gaudidvipa (Bengal).” The rest of the stanza is unhappily badly damaged. In the 8th stanza we read that the image of Manjusri has been consecrated by the Rajaguru. In the 11th stanza we get the date of the inscription—704 saka era and we are told that in that year Kumaraghosa (probably the name of the Rajaguru) has consecrated the image of Manjusri. In the 15th stanza we find Manjusri identified with Brahma, Visnu and Mahesvara.

B. R. C.



## INSCRIPTION OF ERLANGGA FROM PENANG- GUNGEN (SURABAYA)

(SAKA YEAR 963)

This inscription which was formerly preserved in the Indian Museum,<sup>1</sup> Calcutta, was found on a stone inscribed on both sides. It must have been taken to Calcutta from Java in Sir Stamford Raffle's time.<sup>2</sup> As it was written in an old Javanese script it had been neglected in the Calcutta Museum. No one suspected that the language of one of these inscriptions was pure Sanskrit while the other was in Kavi. When K. F. Halle heard of the stone he got estampages of both the inscriptions and sent them to Prof. Kern. On decipherment the latter found that on account of the person celebrated in it, the Sanskrit inscription was a very important historical record. The middle portion of the inscription has been partly effaced by the action of the weather and the characters are too indistinct.

There is a remarkable peculiarity that between the lines there are faint traces visible of something like letters. There are examples in India where new inscriptions have been engraved on old ones. But for a record of this kind in honour of the king Erlangga one would not expect an old inscribed stone to be used.

The height of the stone is 1'24 metres, and breadth 0.95 at the top and 0'86 at the bottom. The inscription consists of 37 lines of writing. With the exception of the word *Svasti* at the beginning the whole is in Sanskrit verse and contains 34 stanzas of different metres. The letters which betray a skilled hand, are the usual old Javanese (Kavi). The consonants are sometimes doubled after and sometimes not (*e. g. kirti* or *kirtti* : *purva* or *purvva*). There is no *anusvara* visible on the stone and the same sign has been used for the medial *o* and *au*.

In judging the quite creditable verses found in this inscription we should remember that their author was composing a panegyric on Er-langga and not writing a chronicle. He recounts the king's deeds in a manner which is quite sufficient to remind his contemporaries of facts

<sup>1</sup> I do not know where the inscription is now preserved. On enquiry from the Museum authorities I was told that the stone was sent back to Java (?) at the request of the Dutch Government.

<sup>2</sup> We know that the Minto stone was sent by Raffles as a present to Lord Minto. In a letter, dated 23 June, 1813 Lord Minto, writes—"I am very grateful for the great stone from the interior of your island. I shall be very much tempted to mount this Java rock upon our Minto crags that it may tell Eastern tales of us, long after our heads are under smother stones."

which they knew but which is not enough for later generations, The events of Er-langga's reign remain obscure for us. But it is still extremely important and it is not surpassed in value by any other record we possess.

The memory of Er-langga has long since been effaced among the Javanese. There is not a single chronicle which mentions him. But the Balinese have still a tradition that Er-langga ruled in Kediri and that under him Kavi literature blossomed out. Some of the most renowned Kavi poems—Arjuna-vivaha, Smaradahana, Sumanasantaka—were composed during his reign. The old Javanese translation of the Mahabharata should also be assigned to the same epoch. The Virataparvan was written in the Saka era 918 during the reign of Dharmavamsa Anantavikrama (a predecessor of Er-langga).

The period of Er-langga was already known from one of his grants dated in 945 of the Saka era. This date falls between the two dates found in our inscription. There are also other grants of this king which have not yet been published.

Neither of the two inscriptions tells us how far the kingdom of Er-langga extended. But they do not contradict the Balinese tradition that he was the ruler of Kediri. The Sanskrit inscription mentions that he was highly honoured by the king of East Java. After he had punished his enemies in the East, South and West, he was enthroned as the overlord of Yavadvipa in the Saka year 957 (1035 A.D.). To commemorate this event he constructed a hermitage for monks near mount Pugavat which on account of its magnificent design became so renowned that people came from distant places to admire it.

From our inscription we find that Er-langga was descended on his mother's side from Sri-Isanatunga, a Javanese ruler and that Er-langga's mother was Mahendradatta, the daughter of king Sri-Makuta-vamsa-vardhana whose mother was the daughter of Sri Isana-tunga. In Mpu Sindok we then recognise the great-great-grand-father of Er-langga. Saka year 913 is now accepted as the date of birth of Er-langga. In the year 957 of the same era he reached the pinnacle of power and of fame.

The royal adventures are rather indicated in the inscription than told in detail. There are descriptive passages but the descriptions are concerned with matters of no particular importance. Important matters are only hinted at. Then the author of the inscription seems to avoid Javanese words. Even the name of Er-langga is sometimes Sanskritised as Jala-langga or Nira-langga.<sup>1</sup>

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1 *Er* is the Javanese word for water and *langga* means 'to sip'.

Er-langga was the son of Udayana and Mahendradatta. He was treated with great distinction by Sri Dharmavamsa, prince of East Java and obtained much honour when he visited the latter. Not much later his capital was burnt (according to Krom it was not the capital of Er-langga but that of Dharmavamsa). With some faithful retainers he sought refuge in jungle. In the Saka year 932 in the month of Magha, he was implored by the Brahmins to reduce the whole country to submission. He made wars with the neighbouring princes and in the Saka year 954 he slew a queen who was like a giantess in strength. From the South he returned laden with booty. He overthrew the king of the West whose name was Vijaya, in the month of Bhadra of the Saka year 957. Vijaya was treacherously murdered by his own troops, and in the month of Kartika of the same year Er-langga assumed the title of the overlord of Java. In the fulness of success he decided to construct a magnificent hermitage near mount Pugavat which was equal in splendour to Indra's palace. The poem ends with the prayer that the King's reign may continue to be prosperous.

On the other side of the stone is the Kavi rendering which gives us a few additional points.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres :—vv. 1-3 and 9—Arya ; vv. 4, 5, 8, 15, 17-19, 21, 28, 32 and 34—Sardulavikridita ; vv. 6, 7, 10-13, 16, 20, 22-27 and 31—Vasantatilaka ; v. 14—Manjubhashini ; vv. 29 and 30—Malini ; v. 33—Sragdhara.]

॥ स्वस्ति ॥

त्रिमिरवि गुणैरुपेतो नृशाम्बिधाने<sup>2</sup> स्थितौ तथा प्रलये [1\*]

अगुण्य इति यः प्रसिद्धस्तस्मै धात्रे नमस्तत्ततम् ॥ [11\*]

अगणितविक्रमगुण्य प्रशम्यमानस्सुराधिपेन सदा [1\*]

But इरा in Sanskrit also means 'water'. The name Iralangga then would mean he who drinks water i. e. he who drinks up the sea. Can it be possible that it is reminiscent of the tradition of Agastya sipping up the sea? N. P. C.

<sup>1</sup> This inscription which was published by Kern as far back as 1885 was not attended by a complete facsimile. The inscription having been removed from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, it was not possible to examine the original stone. In the present text, therefore, I have depended on Kern's reading in general, excepting the portion of which a facsimile has been published. The verses are not numbered, but there is a mark after each verse to denote its end. Portion of the inscription is badly damaged and the syllables restored have been put within brackets. N. P. C.

<sup>2</sup> Kern reads नृशाम्बिधाने but श्मि is clear on the plate.

(अ)पि यच्च विक्रम इति प्रथितो लोके नमस्तस्मै ॥ [2॥❖]  
यस्य स्थानुरप्यतित्वर्य्य<sup>1</sup> थेप्सितार्थप्रदो गुणैर्जगताम् [1❖]  
कल्पद्रुममतनुमधःकरोति तस्मै शिवाय नमः ॥ [3॥❖]  
कीर्त्याल्लिङितया धिया करुणया यस्त्रीपरत्वन्दध-  
च्चापाकर्षयात्तश्च यः प्रथि हितन्तीब्रह्मसङ्कुरे [1❖]  
यश्चासत्परिते पराङ्मुखातया शूरो रणे भीस्तां  
स्वैर्दोषान्भजते गुणैस्स जयतादेर्लङ्गनामा नृपः ॥ [4॥❖]  
आसोच्चिर्जितभूरिभूधरगणो भूपालचूडामणिः  
प्रख्यातो भुवनत्रयेऽपि महता शौर्य्येण सिंहोपमः [1❖]  
येनोर्वी छचिरन्धृतामितफला लक्ष्मी<sup>2</sup>न्दधौ गत्वरी(म्)<sup>3</sup>  
स श्रीकीर्त्तिबलान्वितो यवपतिरश्रीज्ञानतुङ्गाह्वयः ॥ [5॥❖]  
तस्यात्मजाकल्पमानसवासरम्या  
इसो यथा छगतपक्षसहाभवद् या [1❖]  
सा राजहंसमुदमेव विवर्द्धयन्ती  
श्रीज्ञानतुङ्गविजयेति रराज राशी ॥ [6॥❖]  
मन्दाकिनीमिव तदात्मसमां समृद्ध्या  
क्षीरार्धवः प्रथितशुद्धिगुणान्तरात्मा [1❖]  
ताञ्चाकरोत्प्रथिनीभयनामिनन्दी  
श्रीलोकपालनृपतिर्नरनाथनागः ॥ [7॥❖]  
तस्मात्प्रा<sup>4</sup>दुरभूत्प्रभाववि(श)दो भूभूषणोद्भूतये  
भूतानाम्भवभावनोद्यतधिया त्माम्भावयन्भूतिभिः [1❖]  
शौरिश्चाप्रतिमप्रभाभिरभयो भास्वानिधाम्युद्यत-  
शत्रूणांमिभकुम्भकुम्भदलने पुत्रः प्रभुभूजाम् ॥ [8॥❖]  
श्रीमकुटवङ्गशवर्द्धन इति प्रतीतो नृणामनुपमेन्द्रः [1❖]  
श्रीज्ञानवङ्गशतपनस्तताप शुभ्रप्रतापेन ॥ [9॥❖]

1 The plate shows-तराय्य as Kern reads but this reading would spoil the metre.

2 The plate shows up to ल only.

3 Kern reads गत्वरी but I prefer to read गत्वरीम् as adjective to लक्ष्मी. This is common in Sanskrit literature and gives a better meaning. Cf. Kirata XI. 12.

4 Kern reads *pradu*—but this reading gives no meaning and renders the metre faulty.

तस्याधिपस्य दुहितातिमनोज्ञरूपा  
 मूर्तेव भाव(?)गुणतो यवराजलक्ष्मीः [1०] ❀  
 द्वीपान्तरेपि सुभगेन बभूव पित्रा  
 नाम्ना कृता खलु गुणप्रियधर्मपत्नी ॥ [10] ❀  
 आसीदसावपि विशिष्टविशुद्धजन्मा  
 राजान्वयादुदयनः प्रथितात्प्रजातः [1०] ❀  
 तां श्रीमतीं त्रिविधवदेव महेन्द्रदत्ता-  
 म्यक्ताह्वयो<sup>1</sup> नृपसुतामुपयच्छते स्म ॥ [11] \*  
 श्रेष्ठः प्रजासु सकलासु कलाभिरामो  
 रामो यथा दशरथात्स्वगुणैर्गरीया-[1०] ❀  
 न्सम्भावितोऽततगतिर्महसा मुनीन्द्रै-  
 रेलङ्गदेव इति दिव्यसुतस्ततोभूत् ॥ [12] ❀  
 श्रीधर्मवंश इति पूर्वयवाधिपेन  
 सम्बन्धिना गुणगणश्रवणोत्सुकेन [1०] ❀  
 आहूय सादरमसौ स्वसुताविवाह-  
 न्द्राक् सर्वथा प्रथितकीर्तिरभून्महात्मा ॥ [13] ❀  
 अथ भस्मसादभवदाशु तत्पुर-  
 म्पुरुहूतराष्ट्रमिव चोद्यतं चिरं<sup>2</sup> (?) [1०] ❀  
 तलिना<sup>3</sup> लेनखलु किङ्करैर्विशा  
 स नरोत्तमैरुपहितो वनान्यगात् ॥ [14] ❀  
 शाकेन्द्रेथ (वि)<sup>4</sup> लोचनाग्निवदने याते महावत्सरे  
 माघे मासि सितत्रयोदशतिथौ वारे शशिन्युत्सुकैः [1०] ❀  
 आगत्य प्रणतैर्जनैर्द्विजवरैस्साश्रासमभ्यर्थितः  
 श्रीलोकेश्वरनीरसज्जनृपतिः पाहीत्युदन्ता<sup>5</sup> क्षितिम् ॥ [15] ❀

1 Kern reads त्रिविधवदेव and व्यक्ताह्वयो which do not give the proper meaning.

2 Kern reads मुद्यतं शिरं (?), which is not only grammatically wrong but does not give any sense either.

3 Kern remarks that the letter in the gap looks like a ग or श and thinks that it was originally श्च on the stone.

4 Kern leaves a gap here.

5 Kern reads पाहीत्युदन्ताम् which does not give any sense.

सात्राज्यदीक्षितमिमन्पुतिक्षिण्य  
 यस्या जितारिनिकरजिवहो रिपूयाम् [16]

अद्यापि तद्भुजभुजङ्गतसस्य विभ्य-  
 दभ्यस्यतीव (चप)सत्वमभूतपूर्वम् ॥ [16]

भूयांसो यवभूभुजो बुभुजिरे पृथ्वी<sup>1</sup> न्विपक्षार्थिन-  
 ससामर्थ्यान्नपजनमनोनु (?) बुभुजुस्त दा,<sup>2</sup> नरेन्द्रासने [16]

तिक्तं श्रीजललङ्गदेवृपतिवशयोधि नाथा)ग्रही-  
 भो अङ्गे स भुनक्ति केवलमरिन्द्वन्द्वभ्रमन्भूतले ॥ [17]

भूभृन्मस्तक(स)कपाद्युगलस्त्रिहासने सन्धितो  
 मन्त्रालोचनतपरैरहरहस्सम्भाषितो मन्त्रिभिः [16]

भास्वद्भिर्ललनान्वितो निधिगते धीरैः परीक्षो भृशं  
 ज्योतिस्तस्य पराजये विजयवच्चित्रीयते सन्ततम् ॥ [18]

पुत्रान्मामतिवत्सलोपि सहसा त्यक्त्वा मदीयः पति-  
 त्स्वर्गाङ्गीगमनो— — — — — अज्ञाविधेयस्तव [16]

ख्यातस्त्वम्भुवने दयालुहृदयस्तेन्या प्रवृत्तिः कथम्  
 हा राजन् क कृपेत्यरेव नितया— — — या लप्यते ॥ [19]

कश्चिन्मुसुबु — — — — —  
 —वासये धनमस्तानि महानरातिः [16]

कश्चित्त्रिविष्टपक्ष्णा<sup>3</sup> नृवरस्य मन्त्रा-  
 न्स्वम्प्राप्य शिष्य इव तेन कृतस्स आसीत् ॥ [20]

तुङ्गा—भुवनत्रयस्य मह — — — — —  
 किं बन्धा न चिकीर्षया ज — — किं तद्यु तस्ते रसः [16]

किं क्रीडारसलिप्सया रभसबा<sup>4</sup> यस्यो(द्ध)तिः कीर्तिता  
 कीर्तिः शुद्धिकरी—दा धवल— — मान्यातेहर्निशम् ॥ [21]

हन्द्रामरेषु — — वाकचरितेषु दृष्टो  
 वशेषु (भा)गकृ<sup>5</sup>दसौ धनदोर्यिसार्थे [16]

1 Kern reads पृथ्वि

2 Kern reads (a) nububhujas which is grammatically incorrect.

3 Kern reads मुखा.

4 Kern reads सूया.

5 Should we read भाग्य ?

संहत्य हन्तु—रराडिति<sup>1</sup> लोकपाला-  
 नेको बहुम्प्र——म्त्रियते<sup>2</sup>स्म घात्रा ॥ [22॥❖]  
 आसीन्तु———प्रस—  
 भीष्मप्रभाव इति तस्य सुतो महात्मा [1❖]  
 — — — — — ज वर्ष  
 — — — — — लोकात् ॥ [23॥❖]  
 अन्यश्च कश्चिदधमापनुदाभिधान-  
 स्पाज्ञाद्वशानन इवाध्यधमाङ्गसन्तिः [1❖]  
 — — — — —स्य———नगेन्द्रे  
 — — — — —न्यवधीत्तमाहु ॥ [24॥❖]  
 ततश्च तदनन्तरन्तृपद्यतञ्जिगीषुर्भुव-<sup>3</sup>  
 स्तदालयमशेषमेव सहस्राभ्यघात्कीन्तृपः [1❖]  
 पुनः पुनरथाम्निभूतवदने शकाब्दे गते  
 धरो नरपतिस्तदोयनगरायदन्दद्व्यत ॥ [25॥❖]  
 अभवदपि भुवि स्त्री राज्ञसोवोप्रवीर्या-  
 व्यपगतभयमस्वास्वङ्कटाङ्गामयासीत् [1❖]  
 जलनिधिगररन्ध्रे शाक्यसम्बत्सरेस्मिन्  
 नृपतिरभिनदेतल्लक्ष्मणकन्यासकीर्तिः ॥ [26॥❖]  
 ज्यस्रन इव नगेन्द्रो लेलिहानोदहत्ता-  
 न्दक्षमधिकमनाध्यान्दक्षिणान्दक्षिण्यत्वात् [1❖]  
 धनमतिबहुसुयठं तच्च दत्त्वात्मभृत्ये  
 द्विजपत्तिमुनिमध्ये कीर्तिमेवाहरत्सः ॥ [27॥❖]  
 मानित्वाद्यथ शैलभूतसपने शाकेन्द्रवर्षे गते  
 भद्रे<sup>4</sup>मासि सितप्रयोदशतिथौ वारे बुधे पावने [1❖]  
 उद्य कर्षलिभिर्बलैरगणितैर्गत्वा दिशम्परिचमां  
 राजानम्बि<sup>5</sup> जयाह्वयं समजयद्राजा जगत्पूजितः ॥ [28॥❖]

1 Restore as मरराडिति.

2 Kern reads म्त्रि.

3 Kern reads भुवास which is grammatically incorrect.

4 Kern reads भद्रे and corrects as भाद्रे

5 Kern reads म्बि which is evidently an error for म्बि

अथ मुनिशररन्ध्रे शाकवर्षेष्टमाख्ये  
 छगुरुसित्पिप्ले कार्तिके मासि तस्मिन् [1७]  
 निजबलनिगृहीतो वैष्णुगुप्तैरुपायै-  
 स्सपदि विजयनामा पार्थिवो द्यामगच्छत् ॥ [29॥७]  
 मुख<sup>1</sup>शरविवराख्ये शाकराजस्य वर्षे  
 हतशशिगुरुवारे कार्तिके पञ्चदश्यां  
 रिपुशिरसि महारमा श्रीयवद्वीपराजो  
 जयति निहितपादो रत्नसिंहासनस्थः ॥ [30॥७]  
 पूर्वदिदिग्विजयिनं हतसर्वशत्रु-  
 मेकातपत्रमवनेर्जललङ्गदेवम् [1७]  
 नान्यस्त्रिरीक्षितुमलं छभुजोपपीड-  
 ङ्गादम्परिष्वजति सम्प्रति राजलक्ष्मीः ॥ [31॥७]  
 निर्जित्याथ रिपून्पराक्रमघनाञ्छ्रौट्यै<sup>2</sup>रुपायैरपि  
 शक्त्याखण्डितया खलु व्रतितया वा देवताराधने- [1७]  
 रन्तुञ्जातमहानृपस्स कुरुते पुण्याश्रमं श्रीमतः  
 पार्श्वे पूगवतो गिरेर्नरपतिश्श्रीनीरलङ्गाह्वयः ॥ [32॥७]  
 श्रयवन्तो राजकीयाश्रमसममिमन्नन्दनोद्यानदेश्य-  
 ङ्गच्छन्तस्सन्ततन्तेऽप्यहमहमिक्रया विस्मयालोलनेत्राः [1७]  
 माह्लादिप्रोतिकारास्स्तुतिमुखरमुक्त्वा मुख्यमेतन्तुपाया-  
 म्मानीना<sup>3</sup>म्मन्यमाना मनुमिध महसा माननीयम्ब्रुवन्ति ॥ [33॥७]  
 साधूनाम्पथि यातु पौरसमितिर्धर्म्यां गतिर्मन्त्रिणा-  
 म्भूयाद्भूतहितैषिणो मुनिजना इत्थन्नुपे प्रार्थना [1७]  
 यस्मिञ्जीवति राज्ञि रक्षति भुवन्धर्मण्य सिद्धयन्ति ते  
 तस्माच्छ्रीजललङ्गदेवपतिर्दीर्घं स जीव्यादिति ॥ [34॥७]

1 According to Kern's reading the inscription has मक which does not give any sense. Kern also suggests मुख as the probable reading.

2 Kern reads घनाञ्छ्रौट्यै but the ablative does not give the proper sense. Evidently we have to read as घनान् qualifying रिपून्

3 Kern reads म्मानीनम्मन्यमाना; but मानीनम् is grammatically incorrect and the correction would spoil the metre.

## TRANSLATION

Hail!

Verse 1. May honour be always given to the Creator who in his creation and preservation, is endowed with all the three qualities (*gunas*), but is without any (*aguna*) at the time of destruction.

V. 2. Honour be also to Him who is well known in the world as Trivikrama (Vishnu) and who is at all times saluted by the lord of the Devas (*i. e.* Indra) who is great on account of his immense prowess.

V. 3. Honour to Siva who (in bounty) surpasses the wish-giving tree, who though called *Sthanu* (lit. motionless) moves with great speed and who through his qualities satisfies the desires of the living beings.

V. 4. Victory be to king Erlanga who through his perfectly good reputation, intellect and merciful disposition follows the womankind, who through grasping the bow has got a deep stain in his hand, and who though a hero in battle is guilty of cowardice in that he turns his back to immorality and in that way only is his virtue modified.

V. 5. There was a king who was the crest-jewel of the protectors of the earth (*i. e.* kings), who had overcome a great number of kings and was renowned in the three worlds, who was likened to a lion in great courage, supported by whom for a long time the earth produced in immeasurable quantity and (thus) got a fast hold of the goddess of wealth who is transient (by nature)—he was the ruler of Yava (Java) endowed with splendour, renown and power and bore the name of the illustrious Isanatunga.

V. 6. His daughter, lovely an account of the purity of her mind and devoted to Sugata (Buddha) like unto a female swan which is lovely through its dwelling in the pure Manasa lake and possesses beautiful wings, was the princess Sri Isanatunga-vijaya who increased the joy of the king as the female swan does to the male swan.

V. 7. Then king Sri Lokapala who was an excellent prince and was a delight to the eyes, whose mind displayed (only) pure qualities made her, who equalled him in splendour, his beloved (queen) even as the milk-ocean (*Kshirasamudra*) made Mandakini equalling in splendour its beloved.

V. 8. From him there sprang a son excelling in power and (destined to be) an ornament of the earth. He for the welfare of the people filled the earth with splendour with his mind directed to the meditation of Bhava. He was like Vishnu in incomparable brilliance, was fearless, and rising

like the sun was ever ready to smash the foreheads of the elephants of his enemies as if they were (merely) earthen pitchers, and was the lord of kings.

V. 9. This incomparable lord of men was known by the name of Sri Makutavardhana, who was the sun of the family of Sri Isana and shone out brightly in valour.

V. 10. The very charming daughter of this prince, who through her excellence was like the Fortune incarnate of the ruler of Yava, received from her illustrious father the name of (?) *Guna-priya-dharma-patni* (*lit.* the lawful wife of one to whom virtue is dear) which name was known even beyond this island.<sup>1</sup>

V. 11. There was one Udayana born of an exceedingly pure race and sprung from a renowned royal family. It was he who lawfully married the illustrious princess Mahendradatta.

V. 12. From them there sprang as Rama sprang from Dasaratha a beautiful son whose name was Erlangadeva. He was the best of all the people, was graceful in the practice of fine arts, and like Rama<sup>p</sup> surpassing Dasaratha was greater (than his father) through his excellent qualities and whose brilliant future was imagined by sages through his greatness.

V. 13. He being respectfully invited by his kinsman Sri Dharmavamsa, the lord of East Java, who was anxious to hear of his various virtues, was given in marriage to his (Dharmavamsa's) own daughter. Thus forthwith the high-souled one became famous in every way.

V. 14. Soon after that his (Dharmavamsa's) capital, where so long joyousness had ruled (?) even as in Indra's kingdom, was burnt to ashes. Then accompanied by a small band of horsemen (?) and best of servants he betook himself to the forest.

V. 15. Then in the great year 932 according to (the era of) the lord of Sakas, in the month of Magha on the thirteenth day of the bright half on Monday, there came to the monarch Erlanga the subjects and principal Brahmins and bowing respectfully addressed this prayer to him: 'Rule (ye) the earth to the extreme borders.'

V. 16. When his numerous opponents heard that this prince who had been anointed as the (future) emperor, had by his might, overcome the hosts of enemies, they also being frightened of the grasp of his serpent-like arms, display even to this date, an irresolute spirit which was formerly unknown to them.

V. 17. Numerous princes of Java enjoyed the earth because they were suppliants of their (?) rival and by virtue

<sup>1</sup> The sense of this verse is not quite clear to me. Does *dvīpāntara* here refer to *Jamrudvīpa* ?

of their royal birth their sons enjoyed (succession?). But the prince Erlanga, born of a good family, and a leader among the potentates, while roaming about on this earth bears in his body only a couple of bitter enemies (which are the opposite conditions such as heat and cold, joy and sorrow, etc.).

V. 18. Installed on his throne with his feet placed on the head of his vassals, consulted daily by his ministers who were devoted to the affairs of the state, he often takes his seat (in the court) with the ladies and surrounded by heroes (with) shining (arms). Even when a cause was lost it was always regarded as being won through his lustre (*i. e.* clear insight).

V. 19. The widow of his enemy thus laments: My husband has, all on a sudden, abandoned my children and myself, though he loved us dearly, in order to visit the nymphs of heaven. . .obedient to your order. You are renowned in the world and are of pitying heart, how could you then act so differently? Oh king! where is your mercy?

V. 20. Some great enemy (of this king) being desirous of emancipation. . . in order to obtain (?) the dirt of riches . . . Another having obtained from this best of kings charm (or counsel) which should secure the happiness of heaven for himself, became as it were his (*i. e.* the king's) disciple.

V. 21. . . . .  
 . . . . . What is the use of ardent desire for sexual passion? His high mind is praised and (his) glory which causes purification and which is pure is always held in honour.

V. 22. (He was) like Indra among the gods, was bold (?) among the . . . . . was the giver of fortune to his servants, was like Kubera to the hosts of supplicants and in killing was like Yama. Verily the Creator chose him as one who had in himself (the qualities of all) the guardians of the quarters.

V. 23. There was a king. . . . His noble son was called Bhishmaprabhava. . . .

V. 24. And another of the name of Adhamapanuda who like Ravana possessed good many feet (?). . . .

V. 25. Then the king (Erlanga) desirous of overcoming this prince suddenly burnt his capital so that nothing remained of it. Then again when 953 years in the Saka era had passed, this excellent monarch burnt over and again many of his cities.

V. 26. There was also in this country a woman of great power like a demoness. Undismayed he (*i. e.* Erlanga) drew near her perilous country. It was in the Saka year 954 that this king of great fame, pierced this target.

V. 27. Like a fiery serpent frequently darting out its

tongue, he, through his ability, burnt the utterly uncivilised southern region. After having obtained much booty and distributed it among his servants, he only took away the glory for himself in the midst of the best of Brahmins and ascetics.

V. 28. Thereafter imbued with ambition, when the year 954 of the Saka era had passed, in the month of Bhadra, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight on an auspicious Wednesday, this prince who is honoured in the world, departed westwards with a vast army of heroic men who were ready for the fight and gained a complete victory over a prince named Vijaya.

V. 29. There in the Saka year 957 on the eighth day of the dark half of Kartika on Thursday, the king Vijaya was seized by his own troops through the application of the means (of statecraft) as taught by Vishnugupta (Canakya) and died soon afterwards.

V. 30. In the year 959, of (the era of) the lord of the Sakas, on the new moon day of Kartika on Thursday, the noble and illustrious king of the island of Yava set himself on his jewelled throne with his feet placed on the heads of his enemies, and is now rejoicing in his victory.

V. 31. And now the Royal Fortune unable to find anybody else, pressing with her fair armies, deeply embraces Erlangadeva, who has conquered all the directions, East and others, who has destroyed all his enemies, and who has now become the paramount ruler of the whole earth.

V. 32. Then having subdued his enemies who were rich in valour by means of his prowess and statecraft, the king Erlanga, a great ruler by birth, in order to take pleasure in the worship of gods has now caused to be built through his devotion or (to give an exhibition of his) unimpaired power, a holy hermitage on the slope of the excellent hill Pugavat.

V. 33. Hearing of this incomparable royal hermitage which was almost like the pleasure garden of Indra, men vied with one another in going there without ceasing and looking with eyes expanded with wonder. They brought garlands, etc., as friendly presents and their mouths were full of praise. They considered this king as the foremost of all the princes deserving honour and as honourable as Manu through his eminence.

V. 34. May the community of citizens wander along the path of the virtuous. May the course of the ministers be just. May the ascetics strive after the good of all beings. With regard to the king this is the prayer: since all these (mentioned above) are possible when the king has a (long) life and governs the earth with justice. Therefore, may the king, the illustrious Erlangadeva, live long.

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## 2. THE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION ON THE IMAGE OF MAHAKSHOBYA AT SIMPANG (SURABAYA):

SAKA, 1211.

(Kern, V G., Vol. VII. pp. 190ff)

The present inscription which has been fully discussed by Brandes in Notulen Bat. Gen. (1898) and in some of his other papers, begins with a salutation to Tathagata. Then in verse 3 we find a reference to the sage Bharad̥ who finding two princes bent on hostility for the kingdom, divided the kingdom of Java into two parts by means of *kumbha*, *vajra* and *udak̄*. The *Nagarakritagama* also mentions the division of Java by Bharad̄, a contemporary of Erlanga, with the water-pot, *vajra* and water. Verses 8 and 9 inform us that when Sri-Jaya-Vishnuvardhana was the ruler of Jangala, he re-united the country to the joy of the people. We know from the *Pararaton* and the *Nagarakritagama* that in 1144 Saka Ken Arok (*alias* Rajasa) conquered Kediri (to the west) and united it to Jangala (which was to the east) and thus founded the Singasari Kingdom. We are not sure if we find an allusion to this fact here but Vishnuvardhana or Harivardhana is sufficiently known from the Pararaton. When the poet refers to him as uniting the country it can not be reconciled with former statements. He had, however, to fight against a certain Lingapati. With verse 10 begins the panegyric of Kritanagara who is named here as Sri-Jnana-Sivavajra, the son of Harivardhana and Jayavardhani. From the subsequent verses it appears that Nadajna, the minister in charge of religious endowments, established an image of the king in the form of Mahakshobhya. We know from the *Nagarakritagama* that king Kritanagara (1268-1292 A. D.) was an adept in Tantric practices and as the present inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a statue of Kritanagara in the garb of a monk it is likely that the king received divine honours even in his life-time. We doubt if this honour was merited at all.

The date of the establishment of the statue as given in verse 14 is Wednesday the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Aṣvina of the Saka year 1211 which according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 21st September, 1289 A. D. when the *Nakshatra* was *Anuradha*.

## TEXT.

आदौ नमामि सर्वज्ञ<sup>1</sup> ज्ञानकायन्तथागतं ।  
 सर्व्वकृष्णातिगुह्यत्वं मदसत्पज्ञवर्जितं<sup>2</sup> ॥ १ ॥  
 अन्वतस्सर्वसिद्धिम्वा वन्दे इङ्गौरवात्सदा ।  
 शककालमिदं वञ्चे राजकीत्तिप्रकाशनं ॥ २ ॥  
 यो ( यः ) पुरा पण्डितश्रेष्ठ आर्य्यो भराद्भित्तः ॥ (1)  
 ज्ञानसिद्धिं यमागम्याभिज्ञालाभो मुनीश्वरः ॥ ३ ॥  
 महायोगीश्वरो वीरः सत्त्वेषु कृष्णात्मकः ।  
 सिद्धाचार्यो महावीरो रागादिक्लेशवर्जितः ॥ ४ ॥  
 रत्नाकरप्रमाणान्तु द्वैधीकृत्य यवावर्णो ।  
 ज्ञितिभेदनसामर्थ्यकुम्भवज्रोदकेन वै ॥ ५ ॥  
 परस्परविगेधेन नृपयो र्यद्धकाङ्क्षिनोः ।  
 अतथा)स्माज्जाङ्गलेत्येषा पंजलुविषया स्मृता ॥ ६ ॥  
 दिनयस्मत्<sup>3</sup> ररत्नेमां जयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनः ।  
 श्रीजयवर्द्धनीभार्य्यो जगन्नाथोत्तमः प्रभुः ॥ ७ ॥  
 आजन्मपरिशुद्धाङ्गः कृपालुः ध(लुर्ध)मंतत्परः ।  
 पार्थिवानन्दनङ्कृत्वा शुद्धकीर्तिपराक्रमात् ॥  
 एकीकृत्य पुनर्मूर्धो प्रीत्यर्थञ्जगतांः सदा ।  
 धर्मसंरक्षणार्थमत्रा पित्रादिस्थापनाय च ॥ ८ ॥  
 यथैव ज्ञितिराजेन्द्रश्रीहरिवर्द्धनात्मजः ।  
 श्रीजयवर्द्धनीपुत्रः चतुर्द्वीपेश्वरो मुनिः ॥ १० ॥  
 अशेषतत्त्वसम्पूर्णो धर्मशास्त्रविदाम्बरः ।  
 जीयार्थोद्धारक्रियोद्युक्तो धर्मशासनदेशकः ॥ ११ ॥  
 श्रीज्ञानशिवब(व)्राक्य ख्य)श्रित्तरत्नभिभूषणः ।  
 प्रज्ञारश्मिविशुद्धाङ्गस्सम्बोधिज्ञानपारगः ॥ १२ ॥  
 सुभक्त्या तं प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्वयम्पूर्व्वम्प्रतिष्ठितं ।  
 श्मशाने वूररेनान्नि महान्नोभ्यानु रूपतः ॥ १३ ॥

1 There is a mark of punctuation after each *pāda* which is not necessary.

2 The metre of this verse and the rest is *Anuṣṭubh*.

3 Krom reads *kintu yasmāt*. The second is certainly a conjunct letter.

भवचक्रे शकेन्द्राब्दे मासे चाद्यजिंसंज्ञके ।  
 पञ्चम्यां शुक्लपक्षे च वारे पञ्चसुसंज्ञके ॥ १४ ॥  
 सिन्तनान्नि च षष्ठे च करणे विष्टिर्लसकृते ।  
 अनुगधेपि नक्षत्रे मित्रे महेन्द्रमण्डले ॥ १५ ॥  
 सौभाग्ययोगसम्बन्धे सो सौ म्यं चैव मुहूर्त्तके ।  
 हिताय सर्व(र्व)सत्त्वानां प्रागेव नृपतेस्सदा ।  
 सपुत्रपो पौ त्रदारस्य क्षित्येकीभावकारणात् ॥ १७ ॥ .  
 अथास्य दासभूतोहं नादज्ञो नामकीर्त्तितः ।  
 विद्याहीनोपि सम्भूदो घर्म्मक्रियास्वतत्परः ॥ १८ ॥  
 घर्म्मार्थ्यक्षत्वमासाद्य कृपयंवास्य तत्त्वतः ।  
 स(श)ककालं समुद्भूय ब.व.)त्रज्ञान.ना)ज्ञयापद्ः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(v. 1.) First of all I revere the Tathagata, the omniscient and the embodiment of all knowledge, who lies hidden in all the elements (*skandhas*) and who is devoid of association with things existing or non-existent.

(v. 2.) Next do I honour, respectfully, the universal success and shall (then) narrate (the following history connected with) the Saka era describing the glory of kings.

(v. 3.) The venerable Bharad, the lord amongst sages and the best of learned men, who, in ancient times, through his experience, obtained (perfection in) knowledge and thus acquired the supernatural faculties (*abhijna*).<sup>2</sup>

(v. 4.) Who was the lord of the great *yogins*, calm and compassionate towards living beings, who was a Siddha teacher, a great hero and who was devoid of the stains of attachment, etc.

(vv. 5-6) Who divided into two the land of Java which was as extensive as the sea, by means of the water pot

1 This is the reading I can make out from the facsimile. Kern reads *sakakālasambandha vjrajñānaśiva* and suggests the restoration *sakakālas sambandheyam vjrajñānaśivāśrayah*. But according to this reading the metre would be faulty in the 3rd *pāda*.

2 *Abhijñā* is the supernatural faculty of a *Buddha* of which five are mentioned: (1) taking any form at will, (2) hearing to any distance, (3) seeing to any distance (4) penetrating men's thoughts and (5) knowing their state and antecedents.

(*kumbha*), *vajra* and water<sup>1</sup>(?) which had the power of breaking up the earth and (gave them to) the two princes who out of hostility, were bent on strife—therefore this Jangala is known as the Pamjalu *rishaya*.

(vv. 7-9) But, hereafter the lord Jayasrivisnuvardhana who had as his spouse Sri Jayavardhani, who was the best among the rulers of the earth, who was pure in body from his (very) birth, who was compassionate and exclusively devoted to the Law, who caused delight to (other) rulers through his pure fame and valour—again united this land to the delight of the people in order to maintain the Law and to establish his ancestors<sup>2</sup> and ruled it (with justice).

(vv. 10-12) The sage of a king named Sri Jnanasivavajra, the son of Sri Harivardhana and Sri Jayavardhani was the lord of the four islands, was full of boundless knowledge, was the best of those knowing the Law and was the instructor in the code of laws, whose mind was his jewel-ornament and who was eager to do the work of repairing (religious institutions), whose body was purified by the rays of wisdom and who was fully versed in the knowledge of *sambodhi*—was like Indra among the rulers of the earth.

(vv. 13-17) Having set up with due devotion the statue of him (*i.e.*, the king ?) who was already consecrated (as such ?) in the shape of Mahakshobhya, in the year 1211 of the Saka era in the month of Asuji (Aśvina), on the day known as Pa-ka-bu, the 5th day of the bright half (of the month), in the *parvan* named Sinta and the *karana* visṭi, when the *nakshatra* Anuradha was in the orb of Indra, during Saubhagya *yoga* and Saumya *muhūrta* and in Tulâ *râsi*— for the good of all beings, and foremost of all, for that of the king with his wife, son and grandson owing to his bringing about the union of the kingdom.

(vv. 18-19) I his (*i.e.* king's) humble servant, who is known by the name of Nâdajña, and though ignorant, devoid of learning and little inclined to pious deeds, was made through his grace alone the superintendent of religious rites, have prepared this description by order of Vajrajnana(?)<sup>3</sup>

1 This point is not quite clear to me. Kern takes *vajra* in the sense of 'diamond.' But *vajra* is also a kind of *kuśa* grass. Does it mean that the sage divided the land with a sacred libation of water and *darbha* which is in keeping with the Dharmasūtras?

2 *sthāpana* may mean erecting (an image etc.). Is this a reference to the custom of establishing images of ancestors and preceptors as found in the Pratinā Nāṭaka of Bhāsa and the Mathura pillar inscription of Chandragupta II? Kern suggests the correction into *mītrādī* and translates as 'to establish his friends (in security).'

3 The translation of the last *pāda* is only conjectural. Kern translates 'I have prepared this poem in honour of Vajrajñānāsiva.'

## VI. INSCRIPTIONS FROM SUMATRA

### 1. INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK OF THE STATUE OF AMOGHAPASA (at Padang Chandi in middle Sumatra)—Śaka year 1269 (Kern V. G. Vol. VII. pp. 163 ff.)

Prof. Blagden thinks that the letters of this inscription are very similar to those in Burmese inscriptions. The language is an impossible sort of Sanskrit and the meaning has to be guessed in many places. Amoghapāśa is here represented with his 13 male and female followers. The poet has no regard for rules of Sanskrit grammar and syntax. His spelling is often incorrect though metrically the verses are all right. The inscription consists of 27 lines of writing and is partly in verse and partly in prose. There are altogether 12 verses.

The principal point in connection with this inscription is however clear. It celebrates the establishment of the statue of Amoghapāśa by the *āhārya* Dharmasēkhara at the instance of Adityavarman, the same Sumatran prince who, in the inscription of Batu Beragung, presents a statue of Mañjuśrī to Java. Kern thinks that most probably the poet and author of the Batu Beragung inscription is identical with that of the present inscription as same kind of Sanskrit appears in both. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the same kind of barbarous Sanskrit is found often in India also in some works of the Buddhist Tantric literature. A note on this inscription by Dr. B. R. Chatterji is appended herewith.

[The Tantric character of these inscriptions has already been referred to in my article 'Tantrism in Cambodia, Sumatra and Java'<sup>1</sup> in Part I. There are four inscriptions of Ādityavarman of Sumatra. From the first (Mañjuśrī statue inscription of 1265 Śaka era—T. L. en V. Ned. Ind. 1921 p. 199-200) we learn that Ādityavarman's Buddhism was not of the orthodox type. The Mañjuśrī statue was consecrated by a priest belonging to the Bhairava sect which worshipped Mañjuśrī as the peaceful aspect of Bhairava. The second inscription (dated 1269 s. e.—Kern V. G. VII. p. 165) describes the consecration of a group of Amoghapāśa with his companions and at the same time glorifies a god Mātangiṇīśa and a goddess Tārā. Here again we are in a Śiva-Buddha environment. The third inscription (of Buket Gombak dated 1278 s. e.—Kern Transcriptie in Oudh. Versl., 1912, p. 51-2) contains a nāmābhisheka of the prince, suta'hāgata vajradhairya—the noble Buddha of the unswerving steadfastness.

1 First published in the *Modern Review*, January, 1930.

Further on Prince Ādityavarman is also styled *ekāṅgavīra* (hero with one aim) which refers to the same steadfastness. Then again the Prince is styled *Kāmarāja-adhimukti-sadāsmṛitiñña* (Kama whose endeavours are continuously directed towards mukti) and *Agamajña pañcha-shaḍaohijñā-supūrṇayātrā* (known of the āgamas, known of the pancha-makāras and the six transcendental knowledges and whose conduct is perfect. In this inscription is mentioned the dance of the conquest of wisdom). Here also we are not on the familiar ground of orthodox Buddhism. The fourth inscription (of Suruwaṣo dated 1297 ś. e. Kern V. G. VI, p. 257) describes the Bhairava consecration of the prince. The fifth and the last (Kubur Raja inscription of 1300 ś. e.—Kern V. G. VI p. 257) is a funeral inscription. It sums up the Buddhistic virtues and makes the prince the incarnation of *Lokeśvara*.

No one will question that as in the case of Kritanagara here, too, we have to do with a prince whose Buddhism could have been no other than *Kālachakra* Buddhism—the only school which paves the way for a syncretism with Saivism in its Bhairava aspect.

Coming back again to the *Mātaṅginīśa* inscription (of 1269 ś. e.) it must be, as Kern remarks, that *Mātaṅginīśa* and *Tārā* are *Amoghapāśa* and his *Sakti* and presumably they are Buddhistically titted aspects of *Siva* and *Durgā*.

*Mātaṅginī* occurs in the Tantras as one of the *Daśa-mahā-vidyās*. This word also means a girl of low caste who acts as *Yoginī* in the *chakra*. *Ādityavarman's* queen was the daughter of a tribal headman. As M. Moens supposes, it is probably *Ādityavarman's* queen who is the *Mātaṅginī* of this inscription and *Ādityavarman* the *Mātaṅginīśa* and the amorous scene depicted in such glowing terms may be a *Tāntric chakra* ceremony.

In several Tantras, and even in Buddhist Tantras (as shown by M. Blonay in his *Materiaux pour servir a l'histoire de Tārā*), we come across such voluptuous dancing scenes.

We now pass on to a really horrible scene. The Suruwaṣo inscription (1297 ś. e.) at first sight seems to be merely the description of a picnic in which the Prince is represented as "seated on a high seat, eating, ...drinking, laughing..." with an indescribable perfume rising all around him. But, as M. Moens interprets, there is much hidden behind these apparently innocent words. If we read this inscription in the light of the '*Guhya-samājantra*' (a *Kālachakra* work) or of the career of *Padmasambhava* in Tibet, the 'high seat' would be corpses piled up high, 'eating' would be eating of human flesh, 'drinking' would be drinking blood and the 'perfume' would represent the smell of burning funeral pyres in the *śmaśāna*. The whole scene would be then the Bhairava consecration of *Ādityavarman*.

In my book '*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*' (pp. 258-263) I have said that, it was only in *Pāla Bengal* that such a blend of Buddhism and Saivism took place in the melting pot of *Tāntrism* and it must have been from Bengal that such rites were imported into the Java of Kritanagara and the Sumatra of *Ādityavarman*.<sup>1</sup>—B.R.C.

1 This 'introduction to the inscription of *Ādityavarman*' is based upon M. Moens article in *Tijd. Bat. Gen.*, LXIV, 1924.

## TEXT

[Metres :—*Sārdūlavikridita* vv. 1,5,8,9 ; *Mālini*, vv. 2,7,11. *Anushtubh* vv. 3,4,10 : *Upajati*, v. 6, *Drutavilamvita*, v. 12.]

## (I) छ(शु)भमस्तु ।

श(स ऋम्मश्च सुवर्द्धनात्ममहिमा सो(सौ)भाग्यवान् सो शी)सवान्<sup>1</sup>

(2) सा(शा)स्रज्ञा सुविष्ठ(शु)द्धयोगलहरीशोभा प्रवृद्धासते ।

सौन्दर्ये गिरिक(3)न्दरान्वितगजे सन्दोहवाशी प्र-

मा(?)यावैरिति(त)मिश्र(स्र)धिककृतमहा<sup>1</sup>(4)नादित्यवम्मोदयः ॥

[1\*] ॥

तदनु गुणसमृद्धिःस्स(श)स्रसा शा स्रप्रवृद्धिः

(5) जिनपमयगुणाब्धिः कार्यसंरम्भबुद्धिः ।

तनुमदनविष्ठ(शु)द्धिः अत्यता (6) सर्वसिद्धिः

धनकनकसमाप्तिः<sup>1</sup> देवतूहन् प्रपातिः ॥ [2\*] ॥

प्रतिष्ठो ष्टे यं (7) सुगातानं(नां) आचार्यन्धर्मसे शेषः ।

नाम्ना क ग)गण(न)गण्यस्य मञ्जु(8)श्रीरिव सौहृदि ॥ [3\*] ॥

प्रतिस्थो ष्टे)यं हिता(त त्वाय सव्वंस्व 9)त्वा(त्व)स्रका(स्रा)श्रय(यः) ।

देवैरमोघगसेषः(शेषः) श्रीमदादित्यवर्मणाः ॥ [4\*] ॥

(10) मूलद्वौ शरणे पतङ्गचरणे नदा(न्दा)न्तसा(शा के छ(शु)भो

भास्म(स्व त्कक्कटके दिने(11)रपि तथा पूरण्न्दु योगायते ।

तारैरुत्तरसिद्धियोगघटिकाकास्यायमूर्त्तस्वरा(12)त्

जीर्णैरुद्धरिता समाहितसत्सम्बोधमार्गास्थिभिः ॥ [5\*] ॥

स्वस्ति समस्तभुवना(13)धारहाटक(कः)भावाश्रमगृहा ह)बि(वि)शा-

रद(दः) । अपरमहायानयोगविज्ञानविनोद(दः) । अपि च ध-(14)

राधिपप्रतिराजबि(वि)कटसंकटक्रीटकोटिसङ्घनि(नी)तकमण्डिद्वयनाट-

ककारण(णः) । श्रीमत्(15)श्रीउदयादित्यवर्मन्(र्मा) प्रतापराक्रम-

राजेन्द्रभौलिमणि<sup>2</sup>वर्मन्देवमहाराजाधिराज(जः) । स बि(वि)ज्ञे-

या(16)माज्ञाङ्करोति ।

1 There is an additional mark of punctuation here as well as at the end of each *pāda*.

2 Kern reads *mauli-māli*

बि(वि)हङ्गमातङ्गबि(वि)लाससो(शो भिते  
 कान्तारसौगन्धो(न्धि, छरद् रद् )माकुले ।  
 . छराङ्गना 17 साखितकाञ्चनालये  
 मातङ्गिनीसा(श)छरदोर्घिकागते ॥ [ 6॥\* ]  
 अनुभवधिबि(वि)शेषोन्मादपन्दोहहाहा  
 (18) अकि(खि)लदितिसुतानान्देवबि(वि)द्याघरेसः(शः) ।  
 अपि मधुकरगोतेर्न्न र्थभोगासितीनाम  
 अचलति चलति(19)र्त्तसो श्यो)भमातङ्गिनीसो(शः) ॥ [ 7\*॥ ]  
 हाहाहूहू ऋ(ग)णेन सम्भ्रमलसत् लोकार्थभूम्यागतः  
 सौन्दर्यं ससि शशि 20 पूर्यावत् कुप श)लभे हृत्सो त्सो)भतालंकृते  
 नाम्ना उद्ध(द यधर्मगुप्तसकलज्ञोष्णीपतिनायकः  
 सः त्यक्त्वा जिनरू 21)पसम्भ्रमगतो मातङ्गिनीसू(शू)न्यहा ॥[8\*॥]  
 रत्नज्ञः क्षयता बसुन्धरमिदम्मातङ्गिनीपात्रय  
 भक्षेत्सन्धियवैरिमार्गच-(22 रितासर्वस्वसंहारकृत् ।  
 सक्षेत् ज्ञान्तिबलाबि(वि)लासिदमने संभ्रान्तकुलो ल)स्सद(दा)  
 पातिः प्रत्यदलालने प्रकटि(23 तक्रूरै रैः) पलाशक्षति ॥ [ 9॥\* ]  
 ब(व)ज्रप्र प्रा)कारमद्धयस्था प्रतिमायं जिनालयः ।  
 श्रीमाज्ञ(न)मोघपासेसः(शेशः) ह-(24)रिः उदयसुन्दरः ॥ [10\*] ॥  
 छरु(र तरुदितपायिस्सत्यसङ्गीतबाणिः  
 रिपुनृ गजितकीर्त्तिः पुष्पधन्वास्त्रमूर्तिः ।  
 म-(25)लयपुरहितार्थः सर्वकार्यस्स स)मन्थः  
 गुणशिलविभातिः देवतूङ्गपातिः ॥ [ 11\* ] ॥  
 उदयपर्वत (26)सो(शो)भितरूपतिः ।  
 उदयद्भि(भूति ?) नरेश्वरनायकः ।  
 उदयवैरिबलोन्नत[मृ]द्धयते  
 उदयसुन्दरकी(27)र्त्तिमहीतले ॥ [ 12\* ] ॥

TRANSLATION,<sup>1</sup>

Let there be prosperity !

V. 1. Great is the rise of (king) Adityavarman which has set at naught the enemy which is darkness in shape

1 The sense is very obscure in many places, hence the translation is only tentative.

of attachment (*māyā*)—Adityavarman, who is versed in the true faith, who possesses the increasing glory of his own self, who is fortunate, virtuous and acquainted with the scriptures, who by a series of very pure *yoga* exercises exists in increased splendour, who in beauty. . . .

V. 2. Endowed with an abundance of virtues, versed in the use of weapons and sciences, an ocean of the laws proclaimed by Jina (*i.e.* Buddha), knowing how to begin a work, with body free from sensual pleasures, reaching perfection<sup>1</sup> in universal success and acquiring an abundance of gold and wealth—is the minister (*patih*) Deve Tuhan<sup>2</sup>.

V. 2. This consecration of the (statue of) Buddha under the name of Gaganaganja<sup>3</sup> is performed by the *āchārya* Dharmasekhara, who is, as it were, a Mañjuśrī in friendliness.

V. 4. This statue of Amoghapaśā which is conducive to the welfare of all beings has been consecrated by the *devas* for the well being of Adityavarman.

V. 5. In the auspicious Saka year 1269<sup>4</sup> when the sun was in the Karkāṭa (*rāśi*), on a fullmoon day when the position of the stars was towards the north, in Siddhi *yoga*, Kāruṇya *ghatikā* and Svarāt muhūrta (?)—repairs were made by people who wanted the path of enlightenment (?)

Ll. 12-16. Hail! He who is the gold (filling up) the space of the entire earth, who is expert in social and ascetic life, who takes delight in thoroughly understanding the *yoga* of the boundless Mahayana (philosophy)—Again, who is the source of a dramatic rendering of two jewels (?) gained by the collection of a million jewels from the large mass of diadems of the enemy kings—the illustrious Udayadityavarman, the gem in the crowns of the best of kings, a *maharajadhiraja*. He gives this order to be known.

V. 6. In the golden residence adorned (*lakhita*) by the heavenly damsels, in the midst of *devadaru* trees having the scent of lotus (*kantara*), rendered beautiful with

1 I have taken *atyatā* in the sense of *atyanta*.

2 Deva is the title used in Bali for Kshatriyas. *Patih* is a Javanese and Malaya word while *tuhan* is the Malaya word for master. It may be assumed that the minister whose panegyric follows that of the prince, presided at the function of the consecration of the statue at the instance of the prince while the actual ritual was performed by the Acharya.

3 Gaganaganja is a special epithet of Amoghapāśa. In some books it is given as the name of a Bodhisattva, not of a Dhyāni Buddha.

4 This verse is bewildering. I have taken Nanda=9, *patanḡa*-(bee) *charaṇa*=6, *dvau*=2, and *mūla* (source ?)=1.

the pastimes of birds and elephants, while Matanginisa<sup>1</sup> was (sporting) in the divine lake.

V. 7. Matanginisa, who is the lord of all the sons of Diti (*i. e. Daityas*), gods and Vidyadharas and also that of the heavenly damsels<sup>2</sup> enjoying dancing to the to the accompaniment of the humming of bees, is in the enjoyment of particular exuberance of spirits (?) and moves gracefully.

V. 8. He, who removes the loneliness of Matangini, who keeps the company of (*gandharvas* like) Haha, Huhu, who in beauty, prosperity and goodness of heart is like full-moon, has, after putting off the form of Jina, come down on this earth for (the benefit of) the world under the name of Udayavarmagupta,<sup>3</sup> the leader of all the rulers on this earth.

V. 9. May the protector (? *pātra*)<sup>4</sup> of Matangini preserve us and the earth from ruin, may he enjoy the treasures which he collected for those who followed the conduct of an enemy *kshatriya* (?), may he, who is born of a noble lineage and is radiant (in force of forbearance, show his superiority<sup>5</sup> in restraining those who have displayed wickedness and in protecting the good (?)—he is the Pati (Prime minister).

V. 10. The charming statue established inside the diamond wall of the abode of Jina(?) is (that of) the lord Amoghapasa Udayasundara.

V. 11. He, who puts his hand on the heavenly tree, whose speech is verily like music, who has acquired fame (by conquering) the enemy kings, whose form is like that of the god of love, who is able to perform all deeds, who is bent on the welfare of Malayapura and who excels in a great number of virtues (?)—is the minister Deva Tuhan.

V. 12. Whose beauty adorns the Udaya mountain, who is the leader (minister?) of the prosperous ruler (?), who disdains the prosperity of the rising enemy (?)—fine is the glory of Udaya on this earth.

1 This is according to Kern the demoniac form of Amoghapāśa.

2 Asitā is the name of an *apsaras*.

3 This may be another name of Ādityavarman.

4 *Pātra* may mean also a 'Minister.'

5 Kern suggest *palāśonnati*. According to him the prince is represented as an incarnation of Mātangiśa. Cases of such deification are not rare in Java and Kamboj. In the *Nagarakṛitāgama* Hayam Wuruk is represented as identical with Siva-Buddha. This stanza seems to be a panegyric of the minister.

## 2. TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SUMATRA.

(Kern, V. G. Vol. VII pp. 139 ff.)

(i) The Rock Inscription at Pasir Panjang—*circa.* 900 A. D.

This inscription was found on a rock at Pasir Panjang in the island of the great Karimun. It consists of three lines of writing in very big Nagari letters of the 9th or 10th century A. D. It was in 1873 that K. F. Holle heard of this inscription. Brandes (in Notulen, 1887) gave the following reading :

1 महायानिक

० गोलयगिट्सभो

3 गौतमभ्रीपादा(ः)

and translated as "The brilliant feet of the glorious Gautama, the Mahayanist, were a Golayantra here." Kern thinks that Gautama was regarded by the Mahayana school in the Golayantra (the universe?). Golayantra, however, is an astronomical instrument and I would prefer to translate the text as—"The venerable Sri Gautamasri, the Mahayanist (who was) a mechanist." In that case, however, one would expect the reading *Golayantrika*. But as there is no facsimile given by Kern, I can not say if there is any error in reading. Kern's objection that the name Gautama is very unusual for a Buddhist is not well founded. In the Pali Canon we find Gautami as the name of a nun, but here probably the name was Gautamasri.

(ii) The Gunung Tua statue inscription—Saka year 946.

This inscription is incised on the base of a bronze statue of Avalokitesvara, represented with four arms and standing between two Saktis. It was originally kept in the house of the Raja of Gunung Tua (East Tapanuli) and is at present preserved in the Batavia Muscum.

Brandes first deciphered it in Notulen Bat. Gen. 1887.

It runs as follows :

स्वस्ति [ 1\* ] शक्रवर्षातीत ६४६ चैत्रमास-तिथि त्रि(त्)तीय(या)  
 छ(शु)क्र—शुक्रवार—सत्कल (सत्काले) जुह पाण्डे छ(सु)र्य्य बर्बत्  
 भदार लोकनाथ [ 1\* ] इमानि कुशलमूलानि सर्व्वसत्त्वसाधारणीकृत्वा  
 (त्य) अत्रुत्तराया ( ' ) सम्यक्सम्बोधौ परिष्णाम ( ' ) यामि ॥

The three underlined words are Malay words. The inscription may be translated thus : Hail ! In the Saka year 946 on Friday, the third day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra at this date Surya the master-smith constructed the lord Lokanatha. Through making these good works the common property of all creatures I become ripe for the highest perfect wisdom.

The latter part of the inscription forms the regular invocation of a Bodhisatva. We may compare with this the usual Mahayanist formula found inscribed on statues dedicated by Buddhists, *viz.* यद्ग्नं पुण्यं तद्गन्तवाचार्योपाध्यायमातापितृपूर्वज्जमं कृत्वा सकलसत्त्वराशेरनुत्तरज्ञानावासये.

The date given in the inscription is not regular. According to Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris the third day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in Saka 946 (A.D. 1224) fell on a Sunday (15th March.) In Saka 947 (A.D. 1025) however Chaitra sudi 3 fell on a Friday.

### 3. THE KUBUR RAJA INSCRIPTION OF ADITYAVARMAN—

CIRCA SAKA 1300  
Kern V. G., Vol. VII, pp. 217 ff.)

The following inscription belongs to the well-known prince Adityavarman of Sumatra. The text is written in a sort of barbarous Sanskrit and the sense is not always very clear. The inscription has suffered a little towards the end of the first six lines and also at the end. The text as given by Kern is the following :

- (1) ॐ माल विरादर- (2) अ-द्वयवर्म (3) म्पू(पु) ब्रकण (न)क-  
(4) मेदिनीन्द्र- (5) शु(छ)कृता आ<sup>2</sup>विल (6) षधकुस(श)लप्रस-  
(7) ॥ ध्रु ॥ मैत्रीक (8) या आ मुदित उ (9) पेक्षा आ ॥ याचक  
(क) (10) जया(न)कल्पतरु[प] (11) म्मदान ॥ अ ॥ आदि (11)  
त्यवर्मम्भू(भू)पकुलिस(श) (13) धरवङ्ग ॥ प्र (14) तीक्ष्ण अवतारं  
(15) श्रीलोकेश्वर (19) देव ॥ मै — —

1 The last letter is uncertain.

2 This letter here and elsewhere below may simply be a mark of punctuation.

## APPENDIX

THE SANSKRIT PORTION OF THE PERENG STONE INSCRIPTION  
(Kern, V. G., Vol. IV, pp. 279 ff)

This inscription to which we have referred on p. 36th II consists of 22 lines of writing and contains five Sanskrit verses in Arya metre. The text of these verses which cover ll. 1-6 and ll. 17-20 are given below. It will be observed that this is a Saiva inscription and refers to Agastya under the name of Valaing. It is dated 785 Saka.

- 1 यत् उत्पन्नं विश्वं यत्र च जातं विलीनमपि यत्र ।
- 2 तस्मै नमो भगवते शिवाय शिवकारणे तुभ्यं ॥ [1\*]
- 3 पथगापि दूरदूरिता शून्यापि हितप्रदा निमिषपूराणां ।
- 4 शिविरवृताण्यतिपूता शिला यतो जन्मिभिः पूज्या ॥ [2\*]
- 5 यावत्क्षेत्रविश्वशिनौ यावद्धाम्नी चतुस्समुद्रवृता ।
- 6 यावद्दशदिशि वायुस्तावद्भक्तिर्वलैङ्गनाम्नः ॥ [3\*]
- 17 विहिते कलराजनान्ना भद्रालोकाह्वये चिवधगेहे ।
- 18 तस्यार्थं पुत्रपौत्राः भवन्तु लब्धेष्टपदजीवाः ॥ [4\*]

अन्य

- 19 च ॥ जगतां शिवमस्तु सदा गोद्विजराज्ञां तथा शिवस्तानां ।
- 20 श्रुतिभक्तिदानधर्मा भवन्तु नारातिरागेष्याः ॥ [5\*]

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“आत्मानम् विद्धि”

**KNOW THYSELF**

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