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Summary

These plates were discovered in 1911 by the late Rai Bahadur V.Venkayya, M.A., in the village **Vēlūrpaḷaiyam**, about 7 miles north-west of Arkonam in the North Arcot district. They have since been purchased by the Government for deposit in the Madras Museum. A detailed description of the plates and their contents has appeared in the Epigraphical Report for 1911, Part II, paragraphs 5 to 12. Mr. Venkayya also, has published a valuable note on them in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1911, pp. 521 ff.

The plates are five in number and consist of eight written sides, the outer faces of the first and last being completely blank. They vary in length from $9\frac{5}{8}$ " to $9\frac{3}{4}$ ", and are slightly convex on their right and left sides. The breadth of each plate is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ring which holds the plates together is oval-shaped, and measures 7" x $6\frac{1}{4}$ ", while the circular seal in whose massive bottom the edges of the ring are firmly fixed, is $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal bears on a depressed surface an elongated figure of a **Pallava** bull in a recumbent posture facing the proper right with an ornamental lamp-stand on either side of it. The bull and the lamp-stands are placed on a straight line which is perhaps to be taken for the surface of a pedestal. Below this latter, there

appear the faint traces of an expanded lotus flower. Above the bull are engraved in one row, eight symbols of which a goddess (perhaps Lakshmi), flanked by two lamp-stands occupies the centre. Another symbol which is recognisable is the *svastika*. The remaining four are indistinct. Above these again are the insignia of royalty, viz., two *chauris* mounted on handles and a parasol between them. Right round the margin of the seal is a defaced legend in Pallava-Grantha characters of which the syllables *va-nāthasya Nan[tipa]nmas[ya] bhū[pa*]tēh [] viśva-[vi]śva[m]bharāpāla śrīh*, are visible. The plates including ring and seal weigh 394 tolas.

The inscription on the plates is engraved partly in **Grantha** and partly in **Tamil** characters. The writing discloses two different scripts, the first of which (ll. 1 to 28) is somewhat less deeply cut and slanting. The *virāma* or the *puḷḷi* in the Tamil portion of the inscription is marked almost regularly throughout, by a zigzag line resembling the final *m* of Grantha or by the usual dot. The grant consists of 31 **Sanskrit** verses intercepted in the middle by a prose passage in Tamil from lines 47 to 63, and including at the end a short Tamil sentence in lines 68 and 69. Verses 1 and 2 are invocations addressed to the Supreme Being and to **Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva)**. The two next supply the legendary origin of the **Pallavas** from **Vishṇu**, down to the eponymous king **Pallava**, through **Brahmā**, **Aṅgiras**, **Bṛihaspati**, **Śaṁyu**, **Bharadvāja**, **Drōṇa**, and **Aśvatthāman**, and eulogise the family as being very powerful. From verses 5 to 8, we learn the names of some probably historical kings. One of them was **Aśōkavarman** in whose family was born **Kāḷabharṭri**. His son was **Chūtapallava**; his son, **Vīrakūrcha**; from him came **Skandaśishya**; from him, **Kumāravishṇu** and after him, **Buddhavarman**. It is evident, as Professor Hultzsich has remarked, (above, p. 342), that **Aśōkavarman** “can scarcely be considered a historical person, but appears to be a modification of the ancient **Maurya** king **Aśōka**.” **Kāḷabharṭri** is a possible synonym of **Kāṇagōpa**, who is mentioned in the **Kāśākuḍi** plates, in the group of kings that ruled after **Aśōkavarman**. **Vīrakūrcha**, the grandson of **Kāḷabharṭri (Kāṇagōpa)**, must be the **Vīrakōrchavarman** whose name occurs as that of the great grandfather (of the donor) in an odd **Pallava** plate published by Professor Hultzsich in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. I, p. 397 f.) and the same as **Vīravarman** of the **Pikira**, **Māṅgaḷūr**, **Uruvupalli** and the **Chendalūr** grants, all of which belong practically to the same period. **Vīrakūrcha** is stated to have married the daughter of a **Nāga** chief¹ and through her, to have acquired the insignia of royalty. Their son **Skandaśishya** seized from king **Satyasēna** the *ghaṭikā* of the **Brāhmaṇas**.

¹The account of the Pallava connection with a **Nāga** princess, here attributed to **Vīrakūrcha**, is already mentioned of the progenitor **Aśvatthāman** himself, in the **Rāyakōṭa** plates of **Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman** (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 52). A similar story of the early **Chōla** king **Kiḷḷi** having taken to wife a **Nāga** princess, is related in the *Perumbāṇāruppaḍai*. The mythical account given in the *Mahābhārata*, of the epic hero **Arjuna** marrying a **Nāga** queen, combined with what is stated of the **Nāga** connections in inscriptions and literature, confirms the accepted belief, that the **Nāgas** were the original indigenous rulers of Southern India and that

The reference to a *ghaṭikā* at this early period is very interesting. It occurs also in the Tālagunda inscription of Kakusthavarman which is ascribed by Professor Kielhorn to about the first half of the 6th century A.D.² **Skandaśishya** is perhaps identical with the Pallava king of the same name, who is referred to in one of the **Tirukkaṟukkuṇṇam** inscriptions³, as having made a gift to the holy temple of **Mūlasthāna** at that village. If **Skandaśishya** is synonymous with **Skandavarman** as suggested by Mr. Venkayya in his article on the Tirukkaṟukkuṇṇam inscription, we shall have to identify him with Skandavarman II, particularly because the two generations after him supplied by the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates would, in this case, be the same as those found in the **Chendalūr** plates of Kumāravishṇu II.⁴ Satyasēna, the king from whom **Skandaśishya** seized the *ghaṭikā*, remains unidentified. Kumāravishṇu, the son of **Skandaśishya**, is next stated to have captured **Kāñchī**, and his son **Buddhavarman** to have been the conqueror of the **Chōḷas**.

Mr. Venkayya mentions two distinct periods in early **Pallava** history, viz. (1) the period in which their grants are recorded in the **Prākṛit** language and (2) that in which the grants are in **Sanskṛit**.⁵ The first has been tentatively assigned to the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Evidently, the break suggested at the beginning of verse 5 in the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates with the words “**Aśōkavarman** and others,” included this earlier period of the **Prākṛit** charters, and counted within it such names as **Śivaskandavarman**, **Vijayaskandavarman**, **Vijayabuddhavarman**, **Buddhyaṅkura** and **Vishṇugōpa**. The **Sanskṛit** charters, which are to be referred probably to the 5th and the 6th centuries of the Christian era, supply the names of a number of **Pallava** kings who may now be arranged in order of succession, with the help of the information given in the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates. The capture, or rather the re-capture of **Kāñchī** attributed to **Kumāravishṇu** in these plates confirms Mr. Venkayya’s suggestion that that town was not the **Pallava** capital for some time during the interval between the **Prākṛit** period and the later **Sanskṛit** period. **Kālabhartri** (**Kāṇagōpa**) may have been the first of the kings of the second period which lasted down to (**Kāṇagōpa**) may have been the first of the kings of the second period which lasted down to **Buddhavarman** according to our plates, or down to his son **Kumāravishṇu** II according to the **Chendalūr**

they were subdued in course of time by foreign invaders from the North, eventually losing their individuality by intermarriages with them.

²*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 26. According to the Kāñchī inscription of Vikramāditya II, Conjeeveram continued to be the seat of a *ghaṭikā* in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 360, note 4). The hill at Sholinghur in the North Arcot district is known as Ghaṭikāchala, perhaps on account of its having also been the seat of a *ghaṭikā*.

³*Ibid.* Vol., III, p. 277 f.

⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 233 f.

⁵*Archaeological Survey Report* for 1906-7, pp. 217-43.

plates. The question however arises whether **Kumāravishṇu** (I) of the **Chendalūr** and the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates has to be identified with **Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman** or to be treated as still another son of **Skandaśishya** (**Skandavarman** II). The former alternative was suggested by Mr. Venkayya together with the further supposition that **Buddhavarman** and **Siṃhavarman** II may have been brothers.⁶ But as the names **Vishṇugōpa** and **Kumāravishṇu** are mentioned simultaneously together among **Pallava** ancestors, as for instance, in the **Vāyalūr** pillar inscription of the time of **Rājasimha**,⁷ we may presume, perhaps tentatively, **Kumāravishṇu** I to be a third son of **Skandavarman** II. The following revised pedigree of the **Pallava** kings based on the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates and the **Sanskṛit** charters of **Pikira**, **Māṅgaḷūr**, **Uruvupalli** and **Chendalūr**, is given provisionally, subject to the identifications and suggestions made above:—

[C1]Kālabhartri (Kāṇagōpa) [C1]Chūtapallava (perhaps, a surname of Skandavarman I mentioned in the Uruvupalli grant) [C1]Vīrakūrcha (Vīrakōrchavarman or Vīravarman) [C1]Skandaśishya (Skandavarman II) [C1]Siṃhavarman I [C2]Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa or Vishṇugōpavarman [C3]Kumāravishṇu I [C1]Skandavarman III [C2]Siṃhavarman II [C3]Buddhavarman [C1]Nandivarman⁸ [C2]Kumāravishṇu II

After v. 8 we are again introduced to another gap in the succession in which were included a host of kings such as **Vishṇugōpa**⁹ and others. Then appeared a king named **Nandivarman** I who brought under his control a powerful snake apparently called *Dṛiṣṭivisha*.¹⁰ In verse 10, **Siṃhavarman**, the father of **Siṃhavishṇu**, is introduced,—no connection being specified between himself and the **Nandivarman** just mentioned. **Siṃhavishṇu** was the conqueror of the **Chōḷa** country which was fertilized by the river Cauvery.

What follows of the **Pallava** genealogy is not new. It is a repetition of the account already supplied by the **Kāśākuḍi**, **Kūram** and the **Udayēndiram** plates. Stone inscriptions written in the **Pallava-Grantha** characters commence from this period,—a

⁶*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 284, foot-note 48.

⁷Madras Epigraphical Report for 1909, Part II, paragraph 17.

⁸The names Nandivarman, Skandavarman III, and Siṃhavarman I are taken from a grant published by Professor Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 142 ff.) and suspected by him to be a spurious document.

⁹A Pallava copper-plate grant from the Guntur district recently examined, belongs to the time of a certain Vishṇugōpavarman II whose father was Siṃhavarman, a son of Vishṇugōpavarman I and grandson of Skandavarman. I have assigned this to the period subsequent to Kumāravishṇu II of the Chendalūr plates (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1914, p. 82).

¹⁰The influence of the Nāgas who, as already suggested, must have been the original rulers of Southern India apparently continued down to the time of Nandivarman of about the 6th century A.D. In later times the Sindas of Yelburga (Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*, p. 572) and the Chhindas of Bastar traced their origin to the serpents (*nāga*).

fact which suggests that, with the conquest of **Siṃhavishṇu**, the **Pallavas** must have extended their dominion further south of Kāñchi into the **Chōḷa** country and adopted the Dravidian language generally found mixed up with Sanskrit in the later stone inscriptions. From **Siṃhavishṇu**'s son **Mahēndravarman I** was born **Narasimhavarman I**. This King whose conquest of **Vātāpi** (**Bādāmi**) and the Western Chalukya **Pulakēśin II** has frequently been described, is stated in verse 11 to have defeated his enemies and to have taken from them the pillar of victory standing at **Vātāpi**.¹¹ Then came **Paramēśvaravarman I**, an enemy of the Western Chalukya king **Vikramāditya I**, whom, according to the **Kūram** and the **Udayēndiram** plates, he defeated at **Peruvaḷanallūr**. **Paramēśvara**'s "son's son" was **Narasimhavarman II**, who re-organised the *ghaṭikā* of the Brāhmaṇas, and built a temple for Śiva "comparable with the mountain **Kailāsa**". This is a clear reference to the building of the **Kailāsanātha** temple at Conjeevaram by **Narasimhavarman II**.¹² The latter's son was **Paramēśvara II**. The usurpation of the **Pallava** throne by **Nandivarman II**, subsequent to the death of **Paramēśvara II**, is clearly stated in verse 15. The distant relation that existed between the usurper **Nandivarman II** and **Paramēśvara II** is described in the **Kāśākuḍi** plates.

Two points in the account given above are worthy of note: (1) the omission of the name **Mahēndravarman II** after **Narasimhavarman I** and (2) the statement that **Narasimhavarman II** was the "son's son"¹³ of **Paramēśvara I**. The latter is probably an error, since all the three published **Pallava** accounts agree in saying that **Narasimhavarman II** was the son, not the grandson, of **Paramēśvara I**. The former, however, may be different. For although the **Kūram** plates call **Paramēśvaravarman I**, the grandson of **Narasimhavarman I**, still the doubtful way in which this relationship is expressed in the **Kāśākuḍi** and the **Udayēndiram** plates, taken together with the statement of the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates, makes it appear as if **Mahēndravarman II** and **Paramēśvaravarman I** were both sons of **Narasimhavarman I**, thus reducing the seven generations between **Siṃhavishṇu** and **Paramēśvaravarman II**, to six. The usurper **Nandivarman II** who, according to the **Kāśākuḍi** plates, was sixth in descent from a brother of **Siṃhavishṇu** could not at the time of his usurpation be a generation older than **Paramēśvaravarman II** whose kingdom he usurped. Indeed, as hinted in the **Udayēndi-**

¹¹It is not unlikely that this pillar of victory had been set up there by one of the ancestors of **Narasimhavarman** himself. The fragmentary rock inscription at **Bādāmi** published by Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 99f.) refers to **Vātāpi**, [**Narasim**]havishṇu and to a pillar of victory (*jayastambha*). Dr. Fleet is of opinion that **Bādāmi** (**Vātāpi**) "was originally the Western India stronghold of the **Pallavas** and that it was from them that the **Chalukyas** wrested it. It is probable that **Vātāpi** was temporarily recovered by the **Pallavas** from the Western **Chalukyas** after the reign of **Pulakēśin II**".

¹²Recorded in an inscription round the central shrine of the temple; above, Vol. I, No. 24.

¹³The actual word *putra-sūnu* though used, very peculiarly, in place of the more common *pautra*, leaves no doubt that the composer could not have intended any other term of relationship.

ram plates, he must have been much younger to justify his being called there the son of **Paramēśvaravarman**. Consequently it appears probable that **Mahēndravarmān** II and **Paramēśvaravarman** I were actually brothers and that the succession after **Narasimhavarman** I passed on directly to the latter, the former having, perhaps, died before him. Two successions after the usurper **Nandivarman (Pallavamalla)** are further supplied for the first time by the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates. **Nandivarman** II's son by **Rēvā** was the **Pallava-Mahārāja Dantivarman** (verse 18). His queen was the **Kadamba** princess **Aggaḷanimmaṭṭi**; from these, was born king **Nandivarman** III, or according to the Tamil portion of the inscription, **Vijaya-Nandivarman**, in the sixth year of whose reign the subjoined grant was made. No specific historical facts are mentioned in connection with these kings. **Nandivarman** III is stated to have "acquired the prosperity of the **Pallava** kingdom by the prowess of his (own) arms" (verse 20). From this we may infer that the sovereignty over the **Pallava** kingdom had now been keenly contested either by outsiders or by some direct descendents of the **Siṃhaviṣṇu** line.

In the Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts, there have been discovered a number of stone records (more or less of the same age as the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates) which refer themselves to the reigns of **Dantivarman**, **Dantivarman-Mahārāja**, **Dantippōttaraśar** or **Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman**, and also of **Nandivarman** with similar variations in the name. Again, the **Bāhūr** plates¹⁴ supply the names **Dantivarman**, (his son) **Nandivarman** and (his son) **Nṛipatuṅgadēva** or **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavarman**, as members of the **Pallava** family, among whose ancestors were **Vimala**, **Koṅkaṇika** and others. From this latter statement Professor Hultzsch concluded that the kings mentioned in the **Bāhūr** plates were different from the **Pallavas** of **Kāñchī** and were only "Pallava by name but **Western Gaṅga** by descent." It is now, therefore, difficult to say if the **Dantivarmans** and the **Nandivarmans** of the stone records mentioned above, are to be identified with those mentioned in the **Bāhūr** plates, or with those of the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates or with both. Mr. Venkayya is inclined to connect the names in the **Bāhūr** plates with those of the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** plates, and suggests that **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavarman** of the former was apparently the son of **Nandivarman** III of the latter. Against this the only objection is the ancestry which, in the one case includes the clear **Western Gaṅga** name (or surname) **Koṅkaṇika**, while in the other it does not. If, however, Mr. Venkayya's suggestion is accepted, we must presume two facts to arrive at a concurrent genealogy, and to connect the kings of stone records with those mentioned in the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** and the **Bāhūr** plates. The prefix *kō-vijaya* and the suffix *vikramavarman* which are invariably found appended to the names of the kings in this series must have been introduced for the first time by

¹⁴See Postscript.

the usurper **Nandivarman Pallavamalla**, who, we know, literally won the kingdom by victory (*vijaya*) and by prowess (*vikrama*)¹⁵, and that **Nṛipatuṅgavarman** who was decidedly the most powerful¹⁶ of this last branch of the **Pallavas**, and a son of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** princess Śāṅkhā, must have contracted new relations with the **Western Gaṅgas** to justify the insertion of one or more of the names of that dynasty among his **Pallava** ancestors. Even with these suppositions granted, the identification of kings mentioned in stone records with the **Nandivarman**s and **Dantivarman**s of the copper-plate grants presents peculiar difficulties. The script of the copper-plates, though of the same age with that of the stone inscriptions often differs from it,¹⁷ and the information supplied by the latter is so meagre that hardly any points of contemporaneous nature that could help us in such identification, are forthcoming. In the present state of our knowledge therefore, it may be hypothetically presumed that kings of names **Nandivarman** and **Dantivarman** with or without the prefix *kō-vijaya* and the suffix *vikramavarman*, may be taken to be one or the other of the immediate ancestors of **Nṛipatuṅga-Vikramavarman**; while kings described as **Dantivarman-Mahārāja** of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*,¹⁸ **Dantivarman** and **Nandivarman** of the *Pallava-tilaka-kula*,¹⁹ and **Nandivarman** “who conquered [his enemies] at **Tellāru**,”²⁰ have to be kept distinct.

In conclusion it may be stated, by way of a resumé, that the **Pallava** history covers four separate periods extending from about the 4th to the 9th century A.D. with three gaps which remain yet to be filled up satisfactorily by later researches. These are (1) the period of the **Prākṛit** charters; (2) after a gap of a little more than a century, the period of the **Sanskṛit** charters; (3) after another gap (or rather two gaps) of about the same length the period of stone inscriptions when, the **Siṃhavishṇu** line was predominant; and (4) the last period when the **Nandivarman** line (developing later, into what has been called the **Gaṅga-Pallava** line) was powerful until it was completely crushed by the **Chōḷas**. A table of the kings of the **Siṃhavishṇu** line and of the collateral branch of **Nandivarman Pallavamalla** down to **Nṛipatuṅgavarman** of the **Bāhūr** plates is appended below:—

[C1]Nandivarman I [C1]Siṃhavarman [C1]Siṃhavishṇu [C2]Bhīmavarman [C1]Mahēndravarman I [C2]Buddhavarman [C1]Narasimhavarman I [C2]Ādityavarman [C1]Mahēndravarman II [C2]Paramēśvaravarman I [C3]Gōvindavarman [C1]Narasimhavarman II

¹⁵ *Vijaya* and *vikrama* as prefixes and suffixes of Pallava names occur in much earlier records e.g. in names like *Vijaya-Buddhavarman*, *Vijaya-Īśvaravarman* and *Mahēndravikramavarman*; but here they do not signify any distinct branch of kings.

¹⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 293 and foot-note 3.

¹⁷ See the remarks of Professor Hultzsch on the alphabet of the *Rāyakōṭa* plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 49.

¹⁸ See below, p. 513, footnote 1.

¹⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

²⁰ This was the hero of the Tamil work *Nandikkalambagam*; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 171.

[C2]Hiraṇya (I) [C1]Paramēśvaravarman II [C2]Mahēndravarmā III [C3]Nandivarman II Pallavamalla [C1]Dantivarman or Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (Hiraṇyavarman II)²¹ [C1]Nandivarman III, Vijaya-Nandivarman or Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman [C1]Nṛipatuṅgavarman or Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavarman

The object of the **Vēlūrpālaiyam** grant was the gift of the village **Śrīkaṭṭuppaḷḷi** or **Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi** to a temple of Śiva built at that village by a certain **Yajñabhaṭṭa** or **Śaṇṇakkurī Yajñabhaṭṭa**, surnamed **Bappa-Bhaṭṭāraka**,²² in the sixth year of the reign of king **Nandivarman III**. The request (*viñṇapti*) was made by the **Chōḷa-Mahārāja**²³ **Kumārāṅkuśa**, while the executor (*āñṇapti* or *āṇatti*) was the minister **Namba** (in Tamil, **Iraiyūr-uḍaiyān-Namban**) of the **Agradatta** family. The donee was the **Mahādēva** (Śiva) temple of **Yajñēśvara** at **Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi**. Verse 28 informs us that the composer of the *praśasti*²⁴ was the **Māhēśvara Manōdhīra**. Verse 31 and the **Tamil** sentence following it, supply the name of **Pēraya**, a clever carpenter of **Maṇaichchēri** in **Kachchippēḍu** (Conjeeveram), who engraved the writing on these plates.

One point of great interest in the Tamil portion of the grant is the long list of exemptions (*parihāra*) and the written declaration (*vyavasthā*) with which **Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi** was made over to the temple assembly (*paraḍai*, Skt. *parishad*). The former included items of collection whose significance is not quite clear, but which, as the inscription says, the king “could receive and enjoy.” It appears as though most of the items here mentioned were not necessarily sources of revenue to the State, as now understood, but only obligatory services which the king could enforce on the people for the benefit of the community. By the written declaration the donee was permitted to build (without any special license) mansions of burnt brick; to grow *Artimissia*, *Andropogon Muricatum*, red lilies and *uḷḷi* in gardens; to plant cocoanut trees in groves; to sink reservoirs and wells; to use large oil-presses; and to prohibit toddy-drawers from tapping for toddy, the cocoanut and the palmyra trees planted within the four boundaries of the village.

The village **Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi** is identical with **Kāṭṭuppaḷḷi** in the **Ponṇēri tāluk** of the **Chingleput district**; **Nāyaru-nāḍu** of **Puṇar-kōṭṭam**, in which the village is stated to

²¹See below, p. 518.

²²This surname occurs in early Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas and has been translated “lordfather”. Perhaps the term was one of high respect applied to spiritual preceptors, and it is not unlikely that Yajñabhaṭṭa stood in this relation to king Nandivarman III. The spiritual preceptor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla is also called Bappa-Bhaṭṭāraka in the Kāśākuḍi plates (text, 1. 78).

²³The Chōḷas at this period must have been occupying a subordinate position. Neither literature nor inscriptions afford any clue to the identification of this Chōḷa-Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa, who was evidently a feudatory of king Nandivarman III. The name Kumārāṅkuśa-Gāvunḍa occurs among the signatories in a record of Parāntaka I (No. 457 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1911).

²⁴Strangely enough this series of the latest Pallava grants have all been registered as *praśasti*; see above, p. 345.

have been situated, takes its name from the village Nāyar of the same tāluk, about 8(1/2) miles south-west of Kāṭṭuppalli. In the British Museum plates of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśivarāya of the 16th century A.D., Nāyattu-nāḍu (*i.e.*, Nāyaṟu-nāḍu) is described as being a sub-division of Puḷali-kōṭaka (*i.e.*, Puṟar-kōṭṭam).²⁵

Edition

<Page 1v> <1> svasti śrīḥ namaśśivāya ||~nityam vyāpi nirāmayam paramayā
bhaktyādhigamyam śivam vācāndūramaci<2>ntyamakṣayamiti prodgīyamānam
budhaiḥ [[] samyamendriyavāhinīm yativairiyyanmṛ(gya)te santa<3>ta(m)
tejastatparamārtthasaccirataranniśreyasāyāstu va<h> ||~<1> śarvvāṇiku-
cakurṁkumāmka(śu)bhakasubha<4>gāḥ proddāmadarppāmaradveṣivṛtavad-
hūprasādhanaaparāmṛṣṭiprasaṁgocitāḥ [[] yuṣmānpāntu yu<5>gāntavahnivilasat-
dīprāstracakraściraṁ śrīkaṇṭhasya śikhaṇḍaratnaruciravyāḷāṁgadā bāha<6>vaḥ
<|| 2> Āsīdambujanābhanābhikamalā(dbra)hmā tatopyaṁgirā(sta)smāddevagurus-
tataśśubhamatiśśaṁyu<7>stataśśām(yava)ḥ [[] {s}tasmātku(m)bhasamudbhava<h>
smararipo(rdrau)ṇistatomaśaḥ kramādasamādvismayanīyakīrttira<8>khila(kṣmā)val-
labhaḥ pallavaḥ <|| 3> vaṁśastatova<r>ttata pallavānām rakṣāvidhidhvas-
tavipalla(vā)nā(m) [[] bhū<Page 2r><9>bhārakhedālasapannagendrasāhāyāniṣṇātab-
hujārggaḷānām <|| 4> Aśokavarmamādiṣu devabhūyaṁ ga<10>te(ṣu vaṁśye)ṣvatha
pārththiveṣu [[] vaṁśasyacū<1>?<d>āmaṇirāvirāsīdbharttendirāyā Iva kālābharttā
||~<5><11> tatsutādajani cūtapallavādvīrakūrcca Iti viśrutāhvayaḥ [[] yaḥ phaṇin-
drasutayā sahāgrahīdrāja<12>cihnamakhilam yaśodhanaḥ <|| 6> Anvavāyan-
abhaścandra<h> skandaśiṣyastatobhava<t?<t | d>vijānām ghaṭikām rājñas-
satya<13>senā<t?<j>jahāra yaḥ |< 7> grhītakāñcīnagarastatobhūtkumāraviṣṇu-
samareṣu ji(ṣṇu)ḥ [[] bharttā bhuvo<14>bhūdatha buddhava<r>mmā yaścolā-
sainyārṇṇava<v?ādabāgñiḥ <|| 8> saviṣṇugope ca narendrabṛnde gate<15>
tatojāyata nandivarṁmā [[] Anugrahādyena pinākapāṇeḥ pranarttito dṛṣṭiṣaḥ
phaṇīndraḥ <|| 9> Atha prathitavikra<16>mo jagati śimhavarṁmāhvayānnṛpātpara-
madāpahādajani śimhaviṣṇu<r>jayī{h} [[] lasatkramukamaṇḍalāḥ ka<1>?<l>ama<17>kā-
nanālaṁkṛtāḥ kavīratanaṣcitāssapadi yena colā hṛtāḥ <|| 10> tadā<n?<t>ma-
jādāvirabhūnmahendrādupe<Page 2v><18>ndrakīrtti<r>nnarasimhavarṁmā
[] vātāpimaddhye vijitāriva(rgga)<h> sthitañjayastambhamalambhayadyaḥ <||
11> tataḥ paramadaddhvaṁ<19>sī babhūva parameśvaraḥ [[] cālukyakṣitib-

²⁵Ep. Ind, Vol. IV., p. 8f.

²⁶The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.

hr̥tsainyadhvāntadhvaṁsativākaraḥ <|| 12> tatputrasūnurnnarasir̥mhavarmmā
 pu<20>nar;̣y?<v>yadhādyo ghaṭikāṁ dvijānām [] śilāmayam veśma-śaśāṁkamauleḥ
 kailāsaka;̣t?<l>pañca mahendra<21>;̣t?<l>paḥ <|| 13> tatsūnurbhūbhṛtām
 (m)ānyo babhūva parameśvaraḥ [] mānavena krameṇorvvīmaśādyāḥ kaliśāsanāḥ
 <|| 14> tada<22>nantaramanvayasya lakṣmīncatura(mbho)nidhivāsasā sahorvvyā
 [] samavāpadaśeṣapūrvva(bhū)<23>bhr̥dguṇasaṁmelanadhāma nandivarmmā
 <|| 15> tasyāmburāseriva vāhinīnānnāthasya nānāguṇara(tna)<24>dhāmnāḥ
 [] dhīrasya bhūbhṛdvaralabdhajanmā reveva revā mahiṣi babhūva <|| 16> ta-
 syāmāvirabhū<t>trilokaparira<25>(kṣā)<r>tthaḥ kṣamānandana;̣h?<s> sāksādambu-
 ruheḥṣaṇassvayamiha śrīdantivarmmā nr̥paḥ [] śauryatyāgākṛtajña<26>tādi-
 ramalo yasminguṇānām gaṇaḥ pr(ā)pt(ā)nyonyasamāgamotsava Iva prāpat-
 pra<ti>ṣṭhāñci<Page 3r><27>rāt <|| 17> prakhyātasya kada(mba)vaṁ<śa>tilakasy-
 orvvīpaterātmajā vīrāṇām prathamasya pallavamahārāja<28>sya tejasvinaḥ [] Ākhyā-
 maggaḷanimmaṭṭi <da>dhatī śuddhānvavāyocitā (bha)rttustasya bhuvo<29> babhūva
 mahiṣi gaurīva jetuḥ pur;̣a?<ā>m |~ <18> śrīnandivarmmāṇamasūta seyaṁ sand-
 hyeva te<30>jasvinamambikeva [] kumāramatyadbhutaśaktiyuktaṁ yathā jayantaṁ
 jayinaṁ śacīva |~ <19> Utkhāta<31>khaḍganihatadvipakumbhamuktamuktāpha-
 laprapāsite samarāṁgaṇe yaḥ (l) śatrū<32>n̥nihatya samavāpadananyala;̣v?<bh>yām
 rājyaśśriyaṁ svabhujavikramadarppaśālī |~ <20> U(dya)ānaṁ ma<33>dhunā
 guṇaiḥ kulabh;̣u?<ū>va;̣h?<s> śīlena vāme;̣rt?<k>ṣaṇā tyāgenārtthapatiśśrutena
 vinaya<34>ssūryyeṇa pa;̣t?<d>mākaraḥ [] prāleyadyutinā payodasamayāpāye
 nabhaḥprāṁgaṇannai<35>vaṁ (bhā)ti tathā yathā jagadidaṁ yena ;̣t?<k>ṣamāband-
 hunā <| 21> pṛthvipālasya tasya pra;̣dh?<th>itagu<Page 3v><36>ṇaga(no) bappab-
 haṭṭārakā;̣g?<kh>yaśśāstre vede ca sām̥khye prakāṭitamahimā yajña<37>bhaṭṭāb-
 hidhāna;̣ś ś?<h | ś>rikatṭuppallīnāmni śrutavina<ya>dharastumgakailāsakalpaṁ
 grā<38>mebālendumauler{bh}bhavanamakṛta yadbhaktiyogapra(ti)taḥ |~ <22> pitāb-
 havadyasya<39> viśuddhabuddhirggirāmiveśaśśivadāsanāmā [] mātābhavadyasya
 guṇaissama;̣ś?<g>rai<40>rggarīyāsi (dre)ṇamaṇirmmahīva |~ <23> pitāmaho yasya
 viśuddhavṛttirdvijāgragaṇya<41>stamasānni;̣pā?<ha>ntā [] nidhiḥ kalānāmi(va)
 yajñanāmā babhūva vikhyātayaśaḥprakāśaḥ <|| 24> tasmai<42> devāya śarvvāya
 pūjāsatrādikarmaṇe [] sodā;̣g?<d>grāmāntirukkātṭuppallīnāmāna<43>mīśvaraḥ []~
 <25> vijñaptimatṛākṛta coḷavaṁśacū;̣l?<d>āmaṇirvviśrutavikramaśrīḥ [] dhīraḥ
 kumā<44>rāṁkuśanāmādheyastyāgena rādheyasamaḥ kṛtajñāḥ |~ <26> Atrājñap-
 tirabhūnmantri na<Page 4r><45>mpanāmā mahīpateḥ [] Agradattānvayavyomaśaran-
 nihārādihiti<h> |~ <27> vāgmanaḥ(ka)ā<46>yakarmmāṇi parārtthānyeva yasya saḥ
 [] māheśvaro manodhīraḥ praśastiṁ kṛta<47>vānim(ām) |~ <28>

puḷar̥koṭṭattu nāyaṛunāṭṭuttirukkātṭuppallippaṇcavaram Āirakkā<48>ti Itu kovi-
 caiya nan=tivarmmaṛku yaṇṭu Ārāvatu coḷamahārājar viṇṇappattā<49>I Iraiyūr

Uṭaiyāṇ nampanāṇattiyākattirukkāṭṭuppalliccanna<50>kkuri yajñabhātṭa(r)eṭuppitta
 yajñeśvarattu mahādevarkku nāṭṭu nīṅkalā<51>y Uṭpuravāy tevardāṇamākap
 perratarakup perra parihāram nāṭṭaiyū<52> Ūrāṭciyū puravupōṇṇum tiru-
 mukkāṇamum vaṭṭināliyū putāliyū taṭṭu<53>kāyamum Īlampūṭciyū Īṭaip-
 pūṭciyū maṇrupāṭum{t} tarakum tarikkū(r)ai<Page 4v><54>yum kūlamum nal-
 lāvum nallerutum nallāṭum nāṭukāvalum Ūṭupokkum<55> kallāṇakkāṇamum ku-
 cakkāṇamum pārāikkāṇam paṭṭinaceriyū marṛumivvū<56>r_{ai}?<e>ll_{ai}?<e>
 U<I>ḷakappaṭṭatu kottotṭuṇṇappālatellām Ev(vak)aippaṭṭa<57>tum kok(k)olḷapperāte
 Ivyajñeśvarattu mahādeva_{reyi}?<rēy> kolḷappe<58>rṛatarakupperra vyavasthai[[
 cutṭotṭāl māṭamālikai Eṭukkapperuvatā<59>kavum tamaṇakamum Iruveliyū
 ceṅkaḷunīrum Uḷliyū naṭapperuvatākavum kāvute<60>ṅkiṭapperuvatākavum
 turavukiṇarilittapperuvatākavum peruṇcekkiṭapperu<61>vatākavum Ivvūrellai
 U<I>ḷiṭṭa teṅkum paṇaiyū Ivarkaḷ maṇaminṛi Īlavareṇap<62>perātārākavum
 Ivvaikaippaṭṭa vyavasthaiyīṇ_ū?<ō>ṭu yajñeśvarattu mahādevark<Page 5r><63>kut-
 tevatāṇamāy sarvvaparihāramāka paraṭatti cenṛatu |~

sukṛtamidamajasraṁ ra_t?<k>ṣate<64>ti _t?<k>ṣitīśāssakalanṛpatiketussōy-
 amāgāmino vaḥ [[haracaraṇasaro(jo)<65>ttaṁsacihnena mūrddhnā mukuḷi-
 takara(pa)_t?<d>mo vandate nandivarmā |~ <29> sarvvānetānbhāvinaḥ<66>
 pā(rtthi)vendrānbhūyo bhūyaḥ prārtthayatyēṣa rāmaḥ [[sāmānyoyandharm-
 masetu<r>nṇpāṇām kā<67>lekāle p(ā)lanīyo bhav_{an}?<id>bh_i?<a>ḥ (l)~ <30>
 karakauśalakṛtayaśasā cīṛṛayaputre<68>ṇa patrasaṁghoyam [[likhita_m?<h>
 perayanāmnā sthapatikulavyomacandreṇa (l)~ <31>

kaccip<69>peṭṭaimmaṇaiccerikkāṣṭhakārimakaṇ perayan Eḷuttu |~

Apparatus

<3> °(śu)bhaka° • The three letters (śu)bhaka, which were evidently written by mistake, are to be cancelled.

<15> pranarttito • Read *praṇātato*.

<23> °sarīmeḷana° • Read °*semalana*°.

<31> °prapāsīte • Read °*prahasīte*.

Translation

Hail! Prosperity! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1.) May that effulgence which is the existence absolute, which is sung by the wise to be eternal, universal, infallible, accessible (*only*) to highest devotion, benevolent, beyond the reach of words and thoughts, and endless and which, the best of sages ever strive to attain by putting a restraint upon the currents of (*their*) sense-perceptions,—grant you permanent bliss !

(V. 2.) May (*they*) always protect you, the arms of **Śrīkaṇṭha** (*i.e.* **Śiva**), which are lovely by bearing on them the marks of saffron from the breasts of **Śarvāṇī** (*i.e.* **Pārvatī**), which delight themselves in the work of removing the ornaments (*from the body*) of the wives of the highly conceited hoards of the enemies of gods,²⁷ which (hold) a number of weapons that shine with the brilliance of the fire at the end of the world and wear armlets of serpents radiant with gems in (*their*) crests !

(V. 3.) From the lotus-(like) navel of the lotus-navelled (**Vishṇu**), was (*produced*) **Brahmā**; from him (*was born*) **Aṅgiras**; from him, the preceptor of the gods (**Bṛihaspati**); from him, the good-natured **Śaṁyu**; from him **Śaṁyava** (*i.e.* Bharadvāja); from him the pitcher-born (**Drōṇa**); from him **Drauṇi** (*i.e.* **Aśvatthāman**), who is of the essence of (**Śiva**), the enemy of Cupid; and from him in (*the same*) order (*came*) **Pallava**, the lord of the whole earth, whose fame was bewildering.

(V. 4.) Thence, came into existence the race of the **Pallavas**, who by the law of protection (*which they adopted*) removed (*even*) the slightest distress (*of their subjects*); and whose bar-like arms were skilled in rendering assistance to the lord of serpents who was fatigued by the labour of (*carrying on his head*) the burden of the earth.

(V. 5.) After kings, such as **Aśōkavarman** (*and others*), born in that family, had attained god-hood (*i.e.* *died*), was born **Kālabhartṛi**, the head-jewel of (*his*) family, like (**Vishṇu**) the husband of **Indirā** (*i.e.* **Lakshmi**).

(V. 6.) From his son **Chūtapallava**, was produced **Vīrakūrcha**, of celebrated name, who simultaneously with (*the hand of*) the daughter of the chief of serpents grasped also the complete insignia of royalty and became famous.

(V. 7.) From him came **Skandaśishya**, the moon in the sky of (*his*) family, who seized from king **Satyasēna** the *ghaṭikā* of the twice-born (*i.e.* **Brāhmaṇas**).

(V. 8.) From him came **Kumāravishṇu** who captured the city of **Kāñchī** and was victorious in battles. Then became king, **Buddhavarman**, the submarine fire to the ocean-like army of the **Chōḷas**.

²⁷This is an elegant expression for saying that the enemies of gods (*i.e.*, the demons) were destroyed by Śiva. It is usual with Hindu women to remove their ornaments and to give up their toilet after the death of their husbands.

(V. 9.) And after a host of kings including **Vishṇugōpa** had passed away, was born **Nandivarman**, who with the favour of (*the god*) **Pinākapāṇi** (**Śiva**) caused to dance a powerful snake whose poison was in (*its*) eyes (*Dṛiṣṭivisha*).

(V. 10.) Then from the king named **Śimhavarman**, who wiped off the pride of (*his*) enemies, was born the victorious **Simhavishṇu** whose prowess was widely known on earth. He quickly seized the country of the **Chōḷas**, embellished by the daughter of **Kavīra** (*i.e.* the river Kāvērī), whose ornaments are the forests of paddy (*fields*) and where (*are found*) brilliant groves of areca (*palms*).

(V. 11.) From his son **Mahēndra** was born **Narasimhavarman** (I), famous (*like*) **Upēndra** (*i.e.* Vishṇu), who, defeating the host of (*his*) enemies, took (*from them*) the pillar of victory standing in the centre of (*the town of*) **Vātāpi**.

(V. 12.) From him came **Paramēśvara** (I) who crushed the conceit of (*his*) enemies, (*and was*) a sun in destroying the darkness which was the army of the **Chālūkyā** king.

(V. 13.) His son's son (*was*) **Narasimhavarman** (II) who, equal to Mahēndra, once again organised the *ghaṭikā* of the twice-born (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas) and built of stone a house for the moon-crested (**Śiva**) which was comparable with the (*mountain*) **Kailāsa**.

(V. 14.) His son who was respected by kings, was **Paramēśvara** (II). This chastiser of the dark age (*Kali*) governed the earth according to the rules laid down by **Manu**.

(V. 15.) After him, **Nandivarman**, the repository of the aggregate (*good*) qualities of all ancient kings, got possession of the prosperity of the family together with the earth whose garments are the four oceans.

(V. 16.) Of this heroic lord of battalions (*or, of rivers*), and the home of many virtues (*or, of gems*), as of the ocean, the chief queen was **Rēvā** who, like (*the river*) Rēvā, had (*her*) birth from a great king (*or, from a high mountain*).

(V. 17.) To her was born on this (*earth*) the glorious king **Dantivarman**, a manifestation of the lotus-eyed (**Vishṇu**) himself, who was the delight of the earth, whose (*sole*) object (*of life*) was the protection of the three worlds and in whom the group of pure qualities such as prowess, charity and gratitude attained eminence, as it were, after a long time (*enjoying*) the pleasure of each other's company.

(V. 18.) Just as **Gaurī** (*was the wife*) of the conqueror of the (*three*) cities (*i.e.* **Śiva**), the suitable chief queen of that lord of the earth, the foremost of heroes, the powerful **Pallava-Mahārāja**, was (*she*) of a spotless race, who bore the name **Aggaḷanimmaṭī** (*and was*) the daughter of the celebrated king—a crest-jewel of the **Kadamba** family.

(V. 19.) As the (*morning*) twilight (*gives birth to*) the resplendent one (*i.e.* the sun); as **Am-**

bikā (i.e. **Pārvatī**), (to the god) **Kumāra** (**Skanda**) possessed of the marvellous (weapon) **Śakti** (or, of strength); as **Śachī**, to the victorious Jayanta; so did this (**Aggaḷanimmaṭṭi**) give birth to (the glorious) **Nandivarman**.

(V. 20.) This (**Nandivarman**) puffed up with the prowess of his arms, acquired the prosperity of the (**Pallava**) kingdom, not easy for others to obtain, by killing (*his*) enemies on the battle-field which was laughing (*as it were*) with pearls dropping from the frontal globes of elephants slain by (*his*) unsheathed sword.

(V. 21.) Never shone so (*thoroughly*) a garden with (*the advent of*) spring, nor men of high birth with (*good*) qualities, nor women with morality, nor a millionaire with charity, nor humility with knowledge, nor a lotus-tank with the sun, nor the expanse of the sky with the moon at the end of the rainy season, as (*the people of*) this earth (*shone*), with that king.

(V. 22.) (A *subject*) of that king who was learned, modest and of established virtues, who was named **Yajñabhaṭṭa** and surnamed **Bappa-Bhaṭṭāraka**, was widely famous (*for his knowledge*) in the *Śāstra*, the *Vēda* and the *Sāṅkhya* and was celebrated for (*his*) persistent devotion to (*Śiva*), built in the village named **Śrīkaṭṭuppaḷli** a temple for *Śiva* similar to the high **Kailāsa** (*mountain*).

(V. 23.) His (*viz.* **Yajñabhaṭṭa's**) father was named **Śivadāsa**, who like the lord (*of the goddess*) of speech (i.e. *Brahmā*) was possessed of pure intelligence. His mother was [**Drē**]ṇamaṇi who like the (*goddess*) earth was great for the exuberance of her (*good*) qualities.²⁸

(V. 24.) His grandfather was named **Yajña** who, like the repository of the *kalās* (i.e. the moon), is the abode of sciences (*kalā*),²⁹ has spotless character³⁰ (*as the moon, a white disc*), is the best of the twice-born (*dvija*), the expeller of ignorance (*as the moon, of darkness*) and shines with wide-spread fame.

(V. 25.) To that god **Śarva** (**Śiva**), the king granted the village called **Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷli** for (*maintaining*) the services (*connected with*) worship, feeding, etc.

(V. 26.) The heroic head-jewel of the **Chōḷa** race named **Kumārāṅkuśa**, the glory of whose prowess was well-known, whose liberality was equal to that of **Rādhēya** (i.e. **Karṇa**) and whose conduct was upright, made the (*necessary*) request (*vijñapti*) for (*securing*) this (*grant*).

²⁸A pun on the words *guṇa* and *garīyasī* is intended. The earth has all the *guṇas* such as form, taste, etc. and is also heavy.

²⁹For a correct understanding of the sense, the phrase *nidhiḥ kalānām* has to be repeated twice.

³⁰*Viśuddha-vṛttaḥ* would have been more apt.

(V. 27.) The executor (*ājñapti*) here, was the king's minister named **Namba**, the autumnal moon in the firmament of the **Agradatta** family.

(V. 28.) The *Māhēśvara* **Manōdhira**, the act of whose words, thoughts and body were (*all*) for the benefit of others, composed this *praśasti*.

(Lines 47 to 63.) Whereas in the sixth year of **Kōvijaya-Nandivarman**, at the request (*made by*) Chōla-Mahārāja and the *āñatti* of **Iraiyūr-uḍaiyān Namban**, this (*village*) **Tirukkāṭṭuppalli** of *pañchavaram āyirakkāḍi*³¹, in **Nāyaṟu-nāḍu**, (*a sub-division*) of **Puṟar-kōṭṭam**, (*is*) excluded from the district (*nāṭṭu-niṅgal*) (*and*) has been assigned as an *uṭpuravu dēvadāna* in favour of (*the god*) **Mahādēva** of (*the temple of*) **Yajñēśvara** built by **Śannakkuri Yajñabhaṭṭa** at **Tirukkāṭṭuppalli**, the immunities (*parihāra*) secured (*therefor*) viz. *nāḍāṭchi*, *ūrāṭchi*, *puravu-poṇ*, *tirumukkāṇam*,³² *vaṭṭi-nāri*, *pudāri*, *taṭṭukāyam*, *īram-pūṭchi*, *iḍai-ppūṭchi*, *maṇrupāḍu*, brokerage, tax on looms, *kūlam*, good cow, good bull, good sheep, watch-fee of the district, *ūḍupōkku*, taxes on marriages, potters and quarries, *paṭṭina-śēri* and all other (*income*) of any kind which the king could receive and enjoy within the boundary of this village, shall not (*henceforth*) be collected by the king but by this Mahādēva of (*the temple of*) Yajñēśvara only. The (*following*) written declaration (*vyavasthā*) is (*also*) granted (*for the guidance of the donee*): Mansions of burnt tiles (*bricks* ?) may be built (*without special permission*); artimissia (*damanagam*), andropogan muricatum (*iruvēli*), red-lilies (*śeṅgaṟunīr*) and *uḷli* may be grown (*in gardens* ?); cocoanut (*trees*) may be planted in groves; reservoirs and wells may be sunk; large oil-presses may be used and the toddy-drawers (*īravars*) may not climb, without the consent of this (*i.e.* the Mahādēva of Yajñēśvara), the cocoanut and the palmyra (*trees*) planted within the boundaries of (*this village*). With the written declaration thus defined (*the village*) was placed in the (*hands of the*) assembly (*paraḍatti*), as a *dēvadāna*, with all immunities, to the (*god*) **Mahādēva** of the **Yajñēśvara** (*temple*).

(V. 29.) O ! Future rulers of earth ! He, **Nandivarman**, the banner among all kings, with (*his*) lotus-like hands folded, bows down to you with (*his*) head which is marked by the headjewel (*viz.*) the lotus-feet of Hara (**Śiva**) (*and requests you*) to protect this good deed always !

(V. 30.) Thus does **Rāma** request again and again, all the present and future lords of the

³¹*I.e.* whose yield under the head *pañchavaram*, was one thousand *kāḍi* of paddy. *Pañchavaram* may be a mistake for *pañchavāram* 'the five *vārams* or income in grain'; cp. the terms *mēl-vāram*, *kuḍi-vāram*, etc., which are still in use. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V., p. 138, foot-note 7.

³²This term corresponds to *tirumugakkāṇam* of the *Taṇḍantōṭṭam* plates; see below, page 531, note 2. The following other terms, viz., *vaṭṭi-nāri*, *pudāri*, *taṭṭukāyam*, *īram-pūṭchi* and *iḍai-ppūṭchi* also occur in the *Taṇḍantōṭṭam* plates.

earth: “This bridge of (*religious*) charity is common to (*all*) kings; you must (*therefore*) protect (*it*) at all times.”

(V. 31.) This set of (*copper*-)sheets was engraved by the moon in the sky of the family of carpenters, named **Pēraya**, the son of **Śīrraya**, who has won (*his*) reputation for skill in workman-ship.

(LI. 68 and 69.) The writing of **Pēraya** son of the carpenter (*kāshṭhakārin*) of **Maṇaichchēri** in **Kachchippēdu**.

Commentary

TEXT [[of Vēlūrpā]aiyam plates]]. From the original plates and a set of ink-impressions.

POSTSCRIPT.

On pages 180 and 181 of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV., Professor Hultzsch gives an extract of a set of five copper-plates of **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavarman** which were discovered at **Bāhūr** near Pondicherry by M.J. de la Fon. The originals are not available but appear to be in the possession of some person at Paris. A transcript of the inscription prepared by a Tamil Paṇḍit was supplied by the discoverer to Professor Hultzsch some year ago. It is in many places defective. Still as the information conveyed appears to be important for the study of the collateral branch of the **Pallava** family, known as **Gaṅga-Pallavas**, I append below the **Sanskrit** and **Tamil** texts as transcribed by the Paṇḍit.

It may be added by way of supplementing Professor Hultzsch’s remarks that in V. 16 reference is made to a victory gained by a **Pāṇḍya** king with the help of **Nṛipatuṅga**. It is not stated who this **Pāṇḍya** was or where he fought the battle in which **Nṛipatuṅga** could have helped him. The **Ambāsamudram** inscription of **Varaguṇa-Mahārāja** (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 84 to 94) states that that king advanced as far north as **Araiśūr** on the Pennar in **Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam**. Mr. Venkayya distinguishes this **Varaguṇa-Mahārāja** from his grandson **Varaguṇavarman** who fought the battle of **Śrīpurambiyam** with **Prīthivīpati** I and his ally **Aparājītavarman**, the last of the **Gaṅga-Pallava** kings (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 21). It is not definitely known what relation existed between this **Aparājīta** and **Nṛipatuṅgavarman** of the **Bāhūr** plates. Anyhow **Varaguṇa-Mahārāja** who flourished two generations before **Varaguṇavarman**, about the beginning of the 9th century A.D., and who pushed his campaign in the north up to the bank of the river Pennar cannot be far distant in time from **Nṛipatuṅgavarman**. Consequently, the **Pāṇḍya** referred to in V. 16 of the **Bāhūr** plates may probably be **Varaguṇa-Mahārāja**. The enemy against whom **Nṛipatuṅga** fought to help his friend **Varaguṇa-Mahārāja** was very likely a king of the **Siṃhav-**

ishṇu line who was ruling simultaneously with Nṛipatuṅga in some portion of the **Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam**.³³

The object of the grant was the donation of the three villages **Chetṭuppākkam** **Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅkaḍuvaṇūr** and **Iraippuṇaichchēri** to the *vidyāsthāna* (V. 23) at **Bāhugrāma** (i.e., **Bāhūr**) (V. 25), by a member of the **Baśāli** family and a descendant of the **Kuru** race (V. 18). This chief was the minister of **Tuṅgavarman** (i.e. **Nṛipatuṅga**) (V. 28) who issued the necessary order for the grant of the villages (V. 21). The college (*vidyāsthāna*) at **Bāhūr** consisted of 14 *gaṇas*³⁴ and was controlled by the learned men of that village, being organised and maintained by them “as the **Ganges (Mandākinī)** descending from the sky with all the fury of its rushing waves is borne by the god Śiva on one of his matted locks” (Vv. 24 and 25). The composer of the *praśasti* was **Dāśaya** (V. 30). The Tamil portion of the grant refers to the 8th year of **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavarman** and states that at the request of **Baśāli-Pērarayan** and the *āṇatti* (*ājñapti*) of **Viḍōlaividugu** (i.e., **Viḍēlviḍugu**) **Kāḍupaṭṭi-Tamiṛappēraiyan**,³⁵ the grant of the three villages already mentioned was announced to the residents of **Bāhūr-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Aruvā-nāḍu**, on its eastern side. As usual, the villages were granted after excluding previous donations and expropriating former owners, for the sole benefit of the *vidyāsthāna* at **Bāhūr**. The order was communicated to the assembly of **Bāhūr-nāḍu** (*nāṭṭār*)³⁶ who on receiving it, obeyed it placing the order on their heads, circumambulated the village, planted stones and milk bush and drew up the necessary document (*aṛaiy-ōlai*).

Among the boundaries described occur the names **Teṇmalippākkam**, **Nelvāyēp-pākkam**, **Uṛattūr**, **Māmbākkam**, **Neriṇjikkurumbu** and **Śirimāṇpātti**. The land comprised within the described boundaries of the three villages was given away to the members of the *vidyāsthāna* for the advancement of learning, after including these in **Bāhūr** and giving them the same exemptions (*parihāra*) and written declarations

³³Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra mentioned in the Triplicane inscription is supposed to have been the first of a line of kings who “spoke of themselves as belonging to the family of *Pallava-tilaka* in order to distinguish themselves from the Gaṅga-Pallavas” (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 290-6). Nandippōttaraiyan was another king of the same family whose queen Mārambāvai figures as the donor in two inscriptions at Tiruchcheṇṇampūṇḍi, Tanjore district, which are dated in the 18th and 22nd years of the reign of Nṛipatuṅga (Nos. 303 and 300 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901). This subordinate position of Mārambāvai suggests evidently either the defeat or the death of her husband at the hands of Nṛipatuṅga. Consequently, Nandippōttaraiyan of the *Pallava-tilaka* family must have been the enemy against whom Varaguṇa-Mahārāja and Nṛipatuṅga jointly fought.

³⁴The Paṇḍit who supplied the transcript of the grant remarks that the 14 *gaṇas* were the fourteen divisions of learning and consisted of—the *Vēdas* (4), the *āṅgas* (6), *Mīmāṃsā* (1), *Nyāya* (1), *Purāṇa* (1) and the *Dharmaśāstra* (1).

³⁵See below Vol. III, p. 92.

³⁶See Madras Epigraphical Report for 1913, Part II, paragraph 23.

(vyavasthā) as in the case of **Bāhūr**. The goldsmith (*suvarṇakṛit*) **Nṛipatuṅga**, a jewel of the **Uditōdita** family and a faithful servant of the **Pallavas**, wrote the grant (V. 32). The Tamil passage at the end of the inscription states that this goldsmith's father was **Mādēvipperudaṭṭāṇ**, son of **Uditōdaya-Perudaṭṭāṇ**, a native of **Kachchippēḍu** (Conjeeveram).

Of the villages mentioned, **Bāhūr** is the only place that can be identified. It is the headquarters of a commune in the French territory and was the site of a battle between the French and the English troops in A.D. 1752.

TEXT [[of Bāhūr plates]]. From the transcript prepared by a Tamil Pandit.

svasti śrīḥ [[]]

dīśatu va<ḥ> śriyamambujalocanastridaśamaulinisṛṣṭapadāmbujaḥ [[]]

sakalalokabhayaṁkararākṣasaprasāmaheturajo madhusūdanaḥ <|| 1>

śrībhartuśśayanaparasya netre yatteja<ḥ> sthīlayasūtihetuḥ [[]]³⁷

tannābherajani samastabījamabjamātmayonistato[*]bhavat <|| 2>

Aṁgirāstata Utpanno lokanāthāccaturmukhāt [[]]

bṛhaspatistato mantri śakrasya valabhedinaḥ <|| 3>

tataśśamyustato jajñe bharadvājasamāhvayaḥ [[]]

tato droṇo maheṣvāsassamare śakravikramaḥ <|| 4>

tato droṇānmahābāhussarvāyudhaviśāradaḥ [[]]

Aśvatthāmā kilāṁśena sambabhūva pinākinaḥ <|| 5>

Aśvatthāmnastato rājā pallavākhyo babhūva ha [[]]

rarakṣa navakhaṇḍasthān· bhūpatīn· sakṛṣīvalān· <|| 6>

vimalakoṁkaṇikādi tadanvayāḍajani bṛndamaripramadānataṁ [[]]

nihitaśāsanamanyanṛpeṣvapi priyatamaṁ jayaghoṣamanārataṁ <|| 7>

bhutkvā bhuvaṁ svavīryeṇa catussāgaramekhalāṁ [[]]

tatassvargaṁ vimānena gateṣu vimalādiṣu <|| 8>

Asīt·

³⁷The metre is faulty. The three first feet are Praharṣiṇī with a long and a short missing. The last foot is Anuṣṭubh.

purandarasamo rājā dṛḍhabhaktirmuradviṣi []
 ḷt?<d>antivarmā mahābāhuḥ kṣmāpālamakuṭīnataḥ <|| 9>
 dharmmeṇa pālanāḷt?<d>bhūmim kalāvapi yuge nṛpaḥ []
 varṣaṇādapi dānasya parjanya Iva nirbabhau <|| 10>
 Ātmano bandiyuktān tān yamālayadidrṣayā []
 pāḷdh?<th>eyamiva kṛtvārīn khaṇḍāni vi(sa)sarja yaḥ <|| 11>
 nandivarmā mahābāhussaṇjāto ḷt?<d>antivarmmaṇaḥ []
 samare vijitā bhūmīrasahāyena yena saḥ <|| 12>
 Āsīḷt?<d> ḷś?<ch>a<m>khāhvayā devī tanvaṁgī nandivarmaṇaḥ []
 rāṣṭrakūṭa(ku)le jātā lakṣmīriva muradviṣaḥ <|| 13>
 kṣamāvatī dharitrīva mātṛvajjagataḥ priyā []
 babhau śamkhāhvayā devī rājñā<h> śrīriva rūpiṇī <|| 14>
 tasyām babhūva matikāntikalādimatyām mānyaḥ kulena guṇavān bhuvanatrayeśaḥ
 []
 Utpadyamānatapanādhipatulyatejā jiṣṇuḥ kalāvān samare nṛpatuṁgadevaḥ <|| 15>³⁸
 yatprasādājjitā senā pāṇḍyena samare purā []
 pārericit³⁹ sarājyaśrīrdadāha ripusaṁhatim <|| 16>
 nṛpatuṁga Iti khyāto bālopi bhuvaneśvaraḥ []
 khyāto na kevalaṁ bhūmāvamuṣminnapī rāmavat <|| 17>
 tasyopakārasamyukto rājñāḥ kurukuloḷt?<d>bhavaḥ []
 baśālivamśamārttāṇḍaḥ prajānām śaraṇe rataḥ <|| 18>
 śaśivattilako loka gāmbhīryādessamudravat []
 sūryavadrakṣaṇāḷlokān lokānām nilayo nṛpaḥ <|| 19>
 tasmāttasyocitannāmni tulyatā bhāti devavat []
 Āthava sutarānnāma pratyakṣatvādvīśāmpateḥ <|| 20>

³⁸The last foot of this Vasantatilaka verse is faulty.

³⁹In the word *pārericit* must be found the reference to the place where the enemy was defeated by Nṛpatuṁga. Literally translated, it means 'on the other bank of Arichit.' I am not able to identify (the river ?) Arichit.

grātra yaṁ svarāṣṭre saḥ kuruvāṁśavivarddhanah []
 vijñāpya nṛpatumgeśāllabhamājñaptipūrvakaḥ? <|| 21>
 ceṭuppākkam phalādhāram grāmamekamathāparam []
 grāmaṁ⁴⁰ vidyādvilāṁgādirephāntapadanāmakam <|| 22>
 tasmādi raippunaiccērīnti? <|| 23>
 Evaṁ grāmatrayaṁ labdhvā vidyāsthānāya dattavān <|| 23>
 mandākinīm samāyāntīmūrmivaṁśasamākulām []
 sambabhāra yathā devo dhūrjaṭirjaṭayaikayā <|| 24>
 vidyānadi tathāgāthā caturdaśagaṇākulā []
 bāhugrāmajuṣām sthānam vyāpya yasmādvavasthitā <|| 25>
 tatsthānamevaṁ viduṣām vidyāsthānam pracakṣate []
 tebhyaḥ datvā sa bhūpālo grāmānājñaptipūrvakān <|| 26>
 hastisañcārisīmāntānātmānam bahumanyate []
 yuktān sarvaparīhārairākaratvena rakṣitān <|| 27>
 Ājñābhīrurddharmmaśīlastrailokyeśvarapūjitaḥ []
 mantrī brhaspatiprakhyāḥ rājñā <|| 28>
 Āgāmināḥ prajāpālān yācate kurunandanāḥ []
 dharmmasya tasya sāmānyāt pālaniya Iti svayaṁ <|| 29>
 dāsa <|| 30>
 kṛtavān śāstratatvajñāḥ praśastindāśayassvataḥ <|| 30>

koviciaya nirupatoṅkavarumaṅku yāṇṭu Eṭṭāvatu bacālipperarayan viṇṇappattāl
 viṭōlaiviṭuku kāṭupaṭṭittamiḷapperarayan Āṇattiyāka Aruvānāṭṭukkiḷvali vākūrnāṭṭu
 nāṭṭār kāṇka <||> tannāṭṭu ceṭṭuppākkamum viḷāṅkāṭṭaṅkaṭuvaṇūrum Iraippunaic-
 ceriyumāka immūṇrūrum paḷayavaṇamum piramateyamum nikki muṇperrārai māṇṇi
 yāṇṭu Eṭṭāvatu pākūr vittiyāstāṇattārkkū vittiyāṇupokamākappaṇittom <||> tāṅkaḷum
 paṭākai naṭantu kallaṅkaḷliyum nāṭṭi Araiyolai ceytu viṭutakaveṇṇu nāṭṭārkkut-
 tirumukam viṭa nāṭṭār tirumukaṅkaṇṭu toḷutu talaikku vaittu paṭākai naṭantu
 kallaṅkaḷliyum nāṭṭi Araiyōlai ceytu nāṭṭārviṭutta Araiyōlaippaṭi nilattukkellai

⁴⁰In the Tamil portion this village is called Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅkaḍuvaṇūr. I cannot explain how this full name could be got out of the Sanskrit verse.

<||> viḷāṅkāṭṭaṅkaṭuvaṅṛkkum ceṭṭuppākkattukkumāka Iraṇṭūrukkuṁ kiḷpārkellai
kāṭṭu Ellai Onṛum teṇmalipākkattu yellaiyiṅ meṛkum teṇpārkellai teṇmalipākkat-
tellai Onṛum nelvāyēppākkattellai Onṛum urattūrellaikku vaṭakkum melpārkellai
māmpākkattellai Onṛum Ivviḷāṅkāṭṭaṅkaṭuvaṅṛ(p)pār piramateyamāyiṅa Arupatu
ceruvukkukkilakkum vaṭapārkellai vākūrellaiyiṅṛerṛkum <||> Iraippuṇaicerikkellai
kiḷpārkellai nattamuḷḷiṭṭa kāṭṭukku meṛkum teṇpārkellai neriṇcikkurumpiṅ Ellaiyiṅ
vaṭakkum melpārkellai vākūrellaiyiṅ kiḷakkum vaṭapārkellai ciṛimāṇpāṭṭi Ellaiyiṅ
ṛerṛkumāka Ivvicaitta perunāṅkellaikaḷilumakappaṭṭa nilaṅ nirnilaṅum puṇceyūm
Ūrum Ūrirukkaiyūm maṇaiyūm maṇaippaṭappum māṭuṅkaṅṛumēypālūm kuḷamum
kōṭṭakaramum kiṭaṅkum kēṇiyūm kāṭuṅkaḷarum Ōṭaiyūm Uṭaippum Uḷḷiṭṭu nīr-
pūci neṭumparamapeṛintu Uṭumpōṭi Āmaitavaḷntatellām Uṇṇilaṅoliviṇṇi vākūr
vittiyāstāṇattārkku vittiyāṇupokamāy pākūrōṭē Ēṛri vākūrperṛa parikāramum
vyavastaiyūm perṛu carvaparikāramāy piramateyamāy piracitti⁴¹ ceṇṛatu <||>

puṇyaṅ samāṅ kṛtavatāṅ parirakṣatāṅcet· tadrakṣateti nṛpatirnnṛpatuṅgavarummā
[]

Āgāmiṇaḷ kṣitipatīṅ praṇamatyajasraṅ mūrdhnā mukundacaraṇāṅmbujaśekharena
<|| 31>

Uditoditakulatilakaḷ suvarṇakṛtsarvaśāstraniṣṇātaḷ []

Alikhannṛpatuṅgākhyāḷ pallavakulamūlabhṛtyotra <|| 32>

kaccippēṭṭukkiḷppaicāratu Utitotayapperutattāṅ makaṅ mātevipperutattāṅ makaṅ
nirupatoṅkaṅ Eluttu <||>

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See also revised edition by Emmanuel Francis (INSPallava00121).

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⁴¹This word was perhaps *paraṭatti* in the original as in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, text, l. 63.