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TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS
AND FIVE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS
IN A ROCK-TEMPLE AT
MAHABALIPURAM

BY

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II. Right side—Sīhavishṇu and his two queens.
Left side—Mahendravarman and his two queens.
TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS AND
FIVE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS IN A ROCK-
TEMPLE AT MAHABALIPURAM.

In November, 1922, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., while acting as
Assistant Archeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, paid an official visit
to Mahabalipuram (Mamallapuram as stated in its inscriptions or Mavallivaram
as it is popularly called) to make a further search for inscriptions and images in
the rock-cut temple of Adivaraha-Perumal at that historic village. Steps had no
doubt been taken in the year 1912-1913 to remove the many modern mud walls that
hide from view the fine old sculptures in the several cellars of the spacious rock-
cut verandah in front of the central shrine of this temple. But the Madras Gov-
ernment decided (G.O. No. 175 Public, dated the 9th February 1914) not to interfere
in the matter, on the advice of the Collector of Chingleput. Consequently, the old
sculptures of the temple, so far as they were then available, including only one of
the royal groups now published, could be photographed by flash light. The label
explaining the latter was not then visible, although a strong suspicion as to
its existence was not altogether given up. The fresh attempt of Mr. Subrah-
manya Aiyar has been more than successful, since another similar group of
a king with two queens has also been discovered and the labels explaining both
groups of images uncovered and copied. Besides these two label-inscriptions
two other Pallava inscriptions in the rock-cut verandah, and an inscribed slab
of the Pallava King Nandivarman Pallavamalla built into the floor outside
the temple, were also secured. I have thus received, in all, from Mr. K. V.
Subrahmanya Aiyar, 9 photographs of sculptures including that of the chief
image of Varaha-Perumal of the central shrine, the ground plan of the cave
showing the rock-cut portions, modern additions, the positions of the images,
the inscriptions and the rock-cut pillars, together with triplicate ink-impressions
of the five new Pallava inscriptions mentioned above.1 Photographs of the two
royal groups and the five inscriptions alone are reproduced in the accompanying
plates and the rest are described below.

1 Two other inscriptions of this temple, hereina called Varahasvamin, are already known, viz., one on the front
inner wall (S.I, Vol. i, p. 130, No. 90) and another in a niche (ibid. p. 134 and Carr's Seven Pagodas, pp. 132 ff).
The rock-cut verandah of the temple is supported in the front row by four lion-based octagonal pillars and by two similar half-pillars standing against each side of the rock at its ends, and, in the back row, again, by two lion-based octagonal pillars of the type common to Pallava architecture of the period of Rājasimha-Narasiṁhavarman II in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The images represented in the niches are those of—(1) Durgā with 8 arms, standing in the tribhanga posture wearing a high crown and treading with her left foot the severed head of the buffalo-demon—a beautiful group and a true copy of that given at page 200 of my 'South-Indian Gods and Goddesses'; (2) Sāmānya-Lakshmi, with her feet resting one on the other, on a seat decorated with fruits and creepers. The maids carrying water-pots and unguents by the side of this Goddess, are beautifully carved, and may, judging from their head-dresses, represent the Pallava royal ladies described in the sequel. These figures are also the same as those represented in figure 118 in 'South-Indian Gods and Goddesses' at page 188, but more clear and elegant; (3) Gāṅa gāhara—a form of Śiva of the type described at page 132 and shown in figure 86 of the same work, supporting with his right upper arm a braid of his locks on which the river Gangā is supposed to descend; (4) Brāhma, the standing four-faced figure of the usual Pallava type (see fig. 6 in 'South-Indian Gods and Goddesses') and (5) and (6) Viṣṇu1 and Śaṅkara-Nārāyana,2 each attended by two kneeling and worshipping figures at their feet and flanked by devāropālas. One of the devāropālas to the right of the Viṣṇu figure has a five-hooded serpent shadowing his head. This may be the serpent-God Ādiśeṣa who is always connected with the Boar-Incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The most interesting discoveries, however, are the historical statues,—the two groups of Pallava royal personages found in the two cellars of the front verandah, facing each other, on its right and left sides (Plate II). The first of these on the right side near the Sāmānya-Lakshmi group consists of a king seated on a three-legged (f) cushioned stool, in the sukhāsana posture, flanked by his two standing queens whose prominent jewels are the huge earrings and bracelets of the usual Pallava type. Both the queens wear crowns fashioned in the style known as the karanūja-mukuta, while the king himself wears the simple cap-like high crown, ear-rings, and an under-garment (dhōta) tucked up at the waist as even in modern times. His right hand shows the chinmudrā or the contemplative posture indicating the right perception of truth.3 The legs of the seat on which the king is seated are shaped artistically like those of a lion, and it looks as if the seat was a true representation of the Pallava-simhāsana. Whether the ladies wear sāris or not, cannot be exactly made out. The second group opposite to this is in a cellar near the Durgā group of images.

1 See 'South-Indian Gods and Goddesses', p. 29, where, however, the attendant worshippers and devāropālas are not seen.
2 Ibid. p. 128. It is very doubtful if this is a figure of Śaṅkara-Nārāyana. In his right hand Śaṅkara-Nārāyana has to hold an axe or trident, the mark of Śiva, and in his left the conch, the mark of Viṣṇu. Here, in the left hand is the disc instead of the conch and in the right a rosary (?) instead of the axe.
3 This posture of the hand is shown, generally, in the case of gods like Dakṣaīśvarī and of highly sacred ages and religious teachers.
and consists of a king and two queens, all standing, the king with his left hand holding the right hand of one of his queens—perhaps the senior—and with his right, pointing his forefinger towards the image in the central shrine. The crowns worn by the king and the queens are similar to those described in the first group, but the robe of the king and the sāris of the queens are quite royal in their appearance, the former hanging in folds and showing the inner lining (?) of the robe. Besides, from the way in which the dress fits the arms, waist and breast of the figure wearing it, one is led to infer that the robe must have been cut, sewn and fitted as at the present day. In addition to the large earrings and pendants, the jewels worn by both the king and the queens include necklaces. The breast cloth is absent in the case of the ladies.

These two groups of royal personages bear, as already stated, labels at their tops. Above the group on the north side of the verandah is the following inscription in Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, D):

नीविविध्यवाचविराजन्

"The glorious athirāja (adhīrāja) Sinhavippa-Pōtra (i.e., Sinhavishnu-Pōta)."

Above the second is the following inscription also in similar Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, E):

सोमविविध्यवाचविराजन्

"The glorious athirāja (adhīrāja) Mahendra-Pōtra."

From these labels it is evident that the groups represent the Pallava kings Sinhavishnu and Mahendra. But who were these Sinhavishnu and Mahendra? Sinhavishnu, the father of Mahendra I, was the founder of the last ruling line of Pallavas and the first conqueror of the Chōla country about the end of the 7th century A.D., as described in the Velurplaiyam plates. Narasimhavarman I and II—the grandson and the great-grandson respectively of Sinhavishnu—were also known by the name Narasimhavishnu (or briefly Sinhavishnu). Similarly Mahendravarman I, the son of Sinhavishnu, was the first great Pallava king, the inventor of rock-cut temples in Southern India. In the Pallava genealogy of this Sinhavishnu line there are, two other kings bearing the name Mahendravarman. It is therefore difficult to say which of these groups of three similar names the representations in the niches of the Varāha-Perumāl temple exactly signify. Palleography may, however, help us in settling the question, although the differences in writing separated by less than a century do not count for much. The characters of these records when examined carefully and compared with the remarks of Dr. Vogel given in his valuable article on the Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarmar at Koeti in East Borneo, show that (1) the syllable śī with its rectangular shape

1 Pōtra, pōttadhirāja, pōttara, or pōtaraśa was a family title of the Pallava kings and was perhaps, as suggested by Prof. Hultsch, connected with the Tamil pōṭu or Skt. pāḷa 'the spear' from which this line of kings is supposed to have sprung; see S. I. L. Vol. II, p. 341 n. Adhirāja as defined in ancient Sanskrit works, was a rank obtainable among kings; see the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's notes on "Kings. Crowns etc." in the Modern Review for February 1917, pp. 150 ff.
is closely allied to what appears in the Koeti inscriptions and in the Dharmaśāja-Ratha inscriptions at Mahābalipuram; that ma, though without its characteristic indenture (or as Bühler terms it, the notching of the base line) at the bottom, is like the one found in some of the inscriptions of Mahendravarman I, (e.g., see plate facing p. 12 in Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII and plate facing p. 152 in ibid. Vol. IV); that ka is exactly similar to what we find in the Maṇḍagapattu inscription of Vichitrachitta (Mahendravarman I); and (4) that so also is the letter ṣa. The letter ra is more archaic. In Pallava records, generally, ra is a vertical line with a tube, long or short, curving to the left and attached to the bottom of the letter. In the records under publication, it shows only the vertical shaft as in the early Brāhmī script without the characteristic tube or hook of the Pallava age. The Koeti (East Borneo) Yōpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarmman of about the 5th century A.D. as determined by Dr. Vogel, sometimes show a ra without a hook (see e.g., in inscription A, end of line 7). The Campā inscription of Bhadravarman does not show the hook in the letter ra. The letters ja and sa, however, of the present records are the same as those used in the inscription of Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II in the Atirāpanchādeśvara cave temple at Sālāvakuppa, Dr. Bühler, remarking on these two letters under the head 'the middle variety of the Grantha alphabet' says that an innovation in the case of the former is "the transposition of the vertical of ja to the right end of the top bar and the conversion of the central bar into a loop connected with the lowest bar". So also in the case of sa he says that an innovation introduced is "the combination of the left hand vertical of sa with the left end of the old side limb and of the right end of the side limb with the base stroke." These forms of ja and sa occur for the first time in the Kūram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, the grandson of Mahendravarman I (C. 650 A.D.), and may therefore be supposed to have been invented in the time of that king. The ra of the records under discussion must be ascribed to the time of Mahendravarman I.

Thus it appears that these label inscriptions were engraved at a time when the characteristics of the script of the time of Mahendravarman I had not altogether been forgotten and yet when some innovations were being introduced in the Pallava-Grantha characters. Consequently, I am of opinion that the characters of these labels must belong to the time of Paramēśvaravarman I and that the sculptures too, on which the records are engraved, must have been contemporaneous with them. It may not be far from the truth, therefore, if it is stated that the royal groups represent Mahendravarman I, the originator of rock-cut temples in Southern India and his son Narasimhavarman-Siṇhaviṣhnu I, the inveterate foe of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655 to 680), and distinguished in history by the title Vāṭāpikonda.

The two other inscriptions copied from the rock-cut verandah of the Varāha-Pernāl temple confirm the above date for these writings, and throw light

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2 The little hook attached to the long vertical of letters is considered to be a characteristic of the southern alphabets by Dr. J. F. Vogel in his pamphlet on the Yōpa Inscriptions from Koeti, p. 223.
on the non-sectarian creed of the early Pallava kings. The one on the lintel above the figure of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa contains the following well-known Paurāṇic verse on the ten Avatāras of Vishnu with a slight variation and is inscribed in the very same Pallava-Grantha characters1 (Plate I, C) as described above:—

2. *श्याम नारियल वामन रामो रामका रामका रामका

The verse mentions the ten avatāras of Vishnu, viz., the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-Lion, the Dwarf, Rāma (i.e., Paraśurāma), Rāma (i.e., Dāsarathī Rāma), Rāma (i.e., Balarāma), Buddha and Kālkin. It may be observed that sometimes this well-known verse is recited with Krishna substituted for Buddha.

Dr. Bloch writing on the subject of “the Vaishnava invasion of Bodh Gaya” remarked that the earliest literary reference to the ninth avatāra of Vishnu (viz. Buddha) is found in a work of the 12th century A.D. and that the Hindu notion of Buddha being an avatāra of Vishnu must have arisen out of the pipal tree with which Buddha’s ‘enlightenment’ is intimately connected, while the tree itself is worshipped by the Hindus as Vishnu3 from even pre-Buddhist times down to the present day. It is not impossible that this suggestion of the learned doctor is the apparent explanation for the Paurāṇic tradition which identifies Buddha with the ninth avatāra of Vishnu. No Paurāṇic account, however, in describing the descent of Buddha connects him with the pipal tree under which he attained his nirvāṇa. Invariably they accept him as an avatāra of Vishnu himself who purposely incarnated on Earth to mislead the asuras and thereby secure an easy victory for the suras. Here evidently, the term asuras refers to the followers of Buddha who did not accept the Vedic injunctions as regards the existence of God, the performance of sacrifices, etc., and suras, to the followers of the Vedas. This Paurāṇic theory of Buddha’s intentional mislead in matters of Vedic ritual was perhaps an interpolation inserted after the crushing defeat which the Buddhist doctrine must have received at the hands of the Advaita teacher Śaṅkarāchārya, whose date is placed somewhere about the 8th century A.D. In the small poem Daśāvatārastotra, which is attributed to him Śaṅkarāchārya describes Buddha—though the latter was his religious opponent—in very high terms as a great sage (yājñī) seated in the padmāsana posture in deep meditation, and indicates thereby that he recognised Buddha as an avatāra of Vishnu. The Saṁhitās for which Dr. Schrader in his Introduction to the Pancharātra Saṁhitā fixes the 8th century as the terminus ad quem, speak of the fallacious systems, the Buddhist Sāṃyavīda and the Ārhat-Śāstra of the Jainas, as those which were revealed by the Lord himself in his Buddha and Rishabha avatāras. At Sirpur, in the Central Provinces is a shrine of about the 8th century A.D. in which are found side by side, the images of Rāma and Buddha, the latter being

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1 The letter ० is somewhat carelessly engraved; ० also is ०; ० also is ०; ० is without a hook and so also is ०; ० is the same as the one employed in the Paramāśvavarman inscriptions.
2 The missing letters must be ००००; ००००; ०००० now hidden from view by a modern wall.
3 Read ००००.
4 A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 151
5 Avatāra-Nārāyaṇa as a name for the pipal tree is quite familiar in the South.
represented in his usual meditative attitude. The avatāra-verse in question in the Varāhā-Perumāl temple, written in characters also of about the 8th century A.D. supports the view that the inclusion of Buddha in the avatāras of Vishnu must have already become familiar in the 8th century. The Vishvakuṣaṇa-Samhitā actually mentions Buddha as a secondary avatāra of Vishnu. The Vishvusahasranāma includes the name. The Agni, Vishnu, Varāha and the Bhāgavata purāṇa include Buddha in the ten avatāras of Vishnu, but the Mahābhārata, Harivamśa and the Dēvi-Bhāgavata do not.1 In Hindu iconography we have a figure of Vishnu in meditative posture called Yogēvara-Vishnu (mentioned only by Hēnādri of the 13th century), which may be taken to represent the Buddha-avatāra of Vishnu.

The inclusion of Buddha in the list of the ten avatāras of Vishnu may not entirely be the result of a psychological connection established by the identification of Vishnu with the Aśvattha-tree first and thence with Buddha because of the enlightenment of the latter under the pāpal tree. It may, as well have been due to the broad principles which guided the Brahminical framers of the Hindu pantheon as clearly stated in the Śanhitā literature. An incarnation (āvatāra), says Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'acted sometimes like a human being or even a brute and at the same time had the miraculous powers of a God.' It is no wonder then, that Buddha, with the bewildering powers displayed by him,—though non-Vedic and agnostic in his teachings—was easily counted as an āvatāra, in the same manner as the sages Nārada, Sanatkumāra, Vēda-Vyāsa, Kapila, Dhanvantari, Dattārēya, and the kings Prithu, Māndhātṛi and Arjuna. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa includes in a similar way and for similar reasons the first Jaina Tirthaṅkara, Bīshabha (Rishabhanātha) among the avatāras of Vishnu. The reverence thus accorded to Buddha by the Brahmanic Hindus does not however indicate that he was actually worshipped in a temple or shrine dedicated to him, in the same way as the Vaishṇava avatāras Varāha, Nārasiṁha, Vāmanā (Trivikrama), Rāma and Kṛishṇa. This might have been so on account of Buddha's incarnation being considered to be either only a part (aṇāha) avatāra or to his teachings being, as stated above, agnostic and as such opposed to Vedic Hinduism.2 Without assigning any particular reason the Yatindramatadipikā—a Vaishṇava poem of about the 16th century—says that some avatāras of Vishnu are worshipped and some are not. Buddha may have been one of those avatāras who were not included in the category of gods worshipped for the sake of liberation. The reason why Buddha, in spite of his non-Vedic teaching, was at all included in the ten avatāras may have been because (1) the ahiṁsā-dharma which he preached was common to early Vaishnavism as it was to Buddhism and Jainism and (2) the Viṣṇudeva (Kṛishṇa) cult of the Bhagavad-Gītā flourished in the 4th century B.C. simultaneously with these two religions.3 It is now easy to understand also the Silpa-sāstras which prescribe the Śrīvatsa, a sacred mark of Vishnu as a special mark of Buddha images as well. The Sudarśana-chakra (discus) of Vishnu corresponds perhaps to Buddha's Dharma-chakra.

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1 The age of the Purāṇa is not yet finally settled. Mr. Pargiter places some of them which give the genealogical list of Kings in the post-Gupta period. Some are decidedly much earlier.
2 Buddha according to the Satishās was a secondary avatāra of Kṛishṇa and could be worshipped, insamuch as he was possessed of the quality of misleading the heretics to the great advantage of the faithful.
3 See Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Vaishnavism, Saivism, etc., p. 43.
It might be noted that the pāpal tree, which in the Vedic age and the Epic times was revered as the seat of Gods and the home of the Holy Mothers and known by the name Kēśavāvāsa⁰ seems to have become in the later Paurānic age, evidently on account of its connection with Buddha, the home of 'the goddess of ill-luck' (Jyeṣṭhā). Two ways of development, says the Liṅga-Purāṇa,² are created by the Lord for mankind. One is that of the Brāhmaṇas, the Vēdas, the Vedic rituals and the pure goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī) and the other that of her elder sister Jyeṣṭhā, the goddess of ill-luck and evil and low class people who are outside the pale of the Vēdas. The story of Jyeṣṭhā in the same Purāṇa states that she was married to a sage, who on that account was not admitted thenceforth into the houses of Brāhmaṇas that followed the Vedic ritual. Anxious for a place where he could dwell in peace with his wife, the sage asked the advice of Mārkandeya. This sage told him which places to avoid and which to adopt. Of these latter, the houses where images of Bhikṣu, Kṣapana or the Baudhā existed were stated to be the best places for Jyeṣṭhā, the goddess of ill-luck and her husband to stay. The Pādmapurāṇa giving a slightly different version of the same story states that the pāpal tree, which was another form of Vishnu himself was fixed by that god to be the permanent abode of Jyeṣṭhā or Alakshmi. This story divested of its paurānic ethics preferring the adoption of Vedic worship to the non-Vedic, seems to suggest the connection of the pāpal tree with Buddha and Buddhism and as such fit only for Jyeṣṭhā to live. Thus it appears that though the connection of Buddha with Vishnu as one of the latter's avatāras was accepted by the Purāṇas and Samhitas generally on account of his miraculous powers and his high position as a religious reformer, yet his non-Vedic teachings stood in the way of his being raised to the status of a worshipped god. Later on, perhaps after the time of Saṅkarāchāryya, he even came to be looked upon as the propagator of an āstir form of religion and his symbol the pāpal tree (Bōdhī-druma, Kēśavāvāsa) became the abode of ill-luck.

The other verse which is Śaiva is written on the floor of the verandah (right side), in front of the Durgā group of images, in florid Pallava-Grantha characters (Plate I, A) of exactly the same type and size as those of the Rāmānuja-manḍapa, reproduced on Plate II facing page 8 of Ep. Ind. Vol. X, and transcribed at page 11 of the same volume. The text runs:—

1 विशेषायम् विशेषायम् पुरारिपु विशेषायमस्तु विशेषायम् ["] रेषान्त रमणि
2 हद्वै कृपयमालिविवोधकों राष्ट्र: ["\n
If, as Professor Hultzsch says, the existence of this Śaiva verse in the so-called Rāmānuja-manḍapa at Mahābalipuram raises the presumption that the latter must have been a shrine of Siva excavated during the reign of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I, a similar conclusion is not impossible in the case of the Varāha-Perumāl shrine also. The present image of Varāha in the central shrine is entirely

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¹ See Dhanvantari quoted by Kēśavāsmin in his commentary on Amaraśīla, II, 4, 20.
² Bombay Vasūkāśvara Press Edition, Utpārabhāga, ch. VI.
covered with plaster and painted in colours and, so also are the walls of the central shrine completely plastered. Consequently, there is no possibility of clearing up the doubt as to whether the present rock-cut shrine of Varāha-Perumāl originally enshrined also an image of Śiva or not. But the occurrence of the name of the temple as that of Paramēśvara-Mahāvarāha-Viśnupriha in a record of the Chōla king Rājendra-Deva (A.D. 1052-1064) in the same temple, proves that it must have been primarily a Vaishnava shrine and that its founder was Paramēśvararavavarman I, as may be inferred from the first part of the name. This conclusion tallies with the result arrived at above, by an independent study of the paleography of the label-inscriptions.

The Tamil inscription (Plate I. B) on a slab built into the floor in front of the temple, near the bāli-pāṭha, belongs to the time of Nandipōtavaram of the Pallava-dynasty and is dated in his 55th year. The characters resemble those of Nandipōtār, Nandipōtāmiyār, Nandipōtavaram or Nandivarman Pallavamalla (first half of the eighth century) to whom belong (1) the Kāśakudi Plates of his 22nd year, (2) the Udaiyendiram Plates of the 21st year, (3) the Mallam stone record of the 15th year, (4) the Paśōmānḍavaṇamaḷai record of the 50th year and the Guḍimallam Inscription of the 23rd year. The paleographic peculiarities show that in all these records—particularly the stone inscriptions (Nos. 3 and 4) and the Kāśakudi copper plates—the vocale ś added to the letters ṛ and ṇ is a tubelike curve as in the present inscription, sometimes turned more to the left in the copper-plate script; that the vocale ā is the downward bend invariably attached to the right side of the letter, being sometimes much smaller in size than the letter itself, e.g., in the case of ṛā; and that the letter ṇu is rounded at the bottom and has a narrow neck. The letter ṇu which in one case (I. 6) appears in its older form as in the Pallava-Grantha alphabet used in the Kaśchhipuram inscription of Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II, is found in the Kāśakudi Plates and again in the Kilmottugur record of Kō-Vijaya-Narasimhavarman whom Dr. Fleet places immediately after Nandivarman Pallavamalla (Ep. Ind. Vol. V, p. 160). In many other respects too, (e.g., the formation of the letter ē)a the Mahābalipuram inscription in its paleography corresponds to the Kilmottugur record quoted above and hence there can be no doubt as to its being a record of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

According to the genealogy given in the Kāśakudi Plates, Nandivarman Pallavamalla is known to have been a distant kinsman, from a collateral branch, of Paramēśvararavavarman II, the last king of the Simhavishnu line of the Pallavas. A full account of the circumstances under which Nandivarman Pallavamalla succeeded to the Pallava throne after the death of Paramēśvararavavarman II is depicted in twelve

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1 South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV, p. 113, No. 377.
2 Now removed from the floor by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar and kept standing in the premises of the temple.
3 S.I. Insers, Vol. II, No. 73.
4 Ibid., No. 74.
5 Nallur Inscriptions, p. 420 and Plate.
8 The Kāśakudi plates do not show any open space at all at the top of ṇu.
9 In his Udaiyendiram plates (S.I. I, Vol. II., p. 63) he calls himself the son of Paramēśvararavavarman II.
sculptured scenes with explanatory labels on the south wall of the verandah running round the central shrine of the Vaikunṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeevaram. It is stated therein: “The race of the Pallavas commenced with the creator Brahmā, and after the death of Paramēśvarapāṇṭāraiyar (i.e., Paramēśvararvarman II), the kingdom having become kingless, the ministers, senators and the assembly consulted together and approached Hiranyavarma-Mahārāja of the Kāḍavēśa family and asked him to grant them a king. Hiranyavarman communicated this to some of the capable members of his family, who, however, refused to go. Then calling his own sons Śrimallā, Banamallā, Samgrāmamallā and Pallavamallā, he enquired of them if any would accept. The first three having refused, the fourth, Pallavamallā-Paramēśvara consented. Though pleased with the noble resolve of this Kāṭhaka prince, the father was against sending this son who was then only twelve years old. At this stage, an old āgamiya (āgāmiya ?) of the court, called Taranikonda-Pōsār said: “this (prince) is one who is devoted to Mahā-Vishnu. He must become an emperor.” On this the required permission was granted and the prince started in a palanquin with Hiranyavarma-Mahārāja himself and Taranikonda-Pōsār leading the guarding armies. After going some distance the prince got down from the palanquin and taking leave of them, went on his way crossing several mountains, rivers and impassable forests. Hearing of his approach Pallavadi-Arayiyr received him with a vast army, placed the prince on an elephant, took him to Kāṇchipuram-Mahānagar (the capital), but himself died (?). The Mahāśāmantas, the merchants (nagarrattar)² and the assembly and Kāḍakka Muttaraiyar having heard of the prince’s arrival, met him with honours and entered the Palace with him. Then, under the name Nandivarman, the circle of ministers, the feudatory chiefs, the two assemblies of administrators and the senators, crowned him emperor and decorated him with the insignia of royalty such as the peacock (?) parasol, the couch Samudrajōsha, the Kṣatvāṇga banner, the Bull-crest, etc., and offered him the royal seal Viḍēvidugu.” This detailed description agrees, in the main, with what is hinted of him in the Kāḍakki plates. A recently discovered copper-plate record, to be soon published in the Epigraphia Indica, also confirms the very tender age of Nandivarman when installed on the Pallava throne. It says of him: भारत प्राचीनतमो हुवेव राज्ये i.e. “he of well-established strength, received the kingdom while he was yet a youth.”

The terms Kāḍavēśa, Kāṭhaka and Kāḍakka which occur in the inscription are of much interest. The former, as the name of the family in which Hiranyavarman was born, gives us a clue as to what the position was of the descendants of Simhavishnu’s younger brother Bhimaavarman, during the active rule at Kāṇchi of Simhavishnu’s son Mahēndravarman I and his successors. Kāḍavēśa means ‘the chief of the Kāḍava’ which, in the Tamil Periyapurāṇam occurs as a synonym for Pallava. The Tāṇḍalam inscription (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 25) uses Kāḍava and Pallava in identically the same sense. The term also occurs in the Vēyikūdu grant of the Pāṇḍya king Neḻujñādaiyān published in

¹ Pallavadi-Arayiyr was perhaps some distant kinsman of the king with, however, no right to succeed to the throne.
² The merchant community of the Nāṭṭukottai Chaṭṭies are even now known by the name nagarrattar.
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, No. 16, p. 308. Its interpretation as synonymous with Pallava was not hitherto based on any direct statement. Now we clearly see that the kings of the collateral line of Pallavas which descended from Bhimavarman, were actually called Kādavas and ruled simultaneously with the Pallavas of the main line, somewhere over a distant part of the Pallava country. This latter fact is inferred from the statement that Pallavamalla had to go a long distance “crossing several mountains and impassable forests” to reach Kāñchi. Perhaps, we can even conclude from the frequent occurrence of the name Kāduvetṭi and other allied forms of Kādava in records from the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and the Mysore State that the Kādavas of the Bhimavarman line ruled in those parts, though, later on, they claim to have ruled over Kāñchi also.¹ A Pallava ruler of the Telugu country at the time of the Chālukya invasion from the north under Satyāśraya of Ayodhyā was Trinayana of about the 6th century A.D. He is often mentioned in Telugu inscriptions as Trinayana-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi-Kāduvetṭi, (see Ep. Rep. for 1908, p. 70 and Ep. Ind. Vol. X, p. 58). The Nolamba-Pallavas of the Kanarese country also trace their origin to him. Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar who joined with the chiefs and merchants of Kāñchi in installing Pallavamalla on the throne must have been another near kinsman of the Pallavas and an ancestor of Kāduvattāi Muttarasa who about the end of the 9th century A.D. laid siege to Kōyatūr (Laddigam), a village included in the Punganur-Zamindari of the Chittoor district, in the time of the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya II (see Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII: p. 3). We learn further that the term Kāḍakka, through the Sanskritized Kāṭhaka, was also a form of Kādava (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 107, footnote 2).

The inscription records the gift of a pasture-land for calves (kaṇṭru-mēy-kaḷām) by one of the merchants (nagarattār) of Māmallapura, himself having purchased the land in question from a native of Kuṇrattūr in the district of Āmūr-nāḍu. Āmūr and Kuṇnattūr are villages in the Chingleput taluk of the Chingleput district in the Madras Presidency.

TEXT.

Front of slab.

1 Svasti śrī-Palla[va*]-varṇasasya||[Nai]nti]-³
2 būdhuvarmmaku⁴ rāj]jyāvibhidhhyā.-⁵
3 n-çheḷānimṛdu⁶ ārupattu-
4 'and-āvadu Māmalla[pu]-
5 rattu nagarattār Īsiva[a][h]-
6 chāṇa Kaṇḍaṇ kaṇṭru-mē[kaḷa]-
7 niy-āga koṇḍa nilam ||[A]-
8 mūr-nāṭṭu Kuṇrattūr-i[du]

¹ The Vēṭrana-Selag-Old refers to a Kādava ruler of Seējī (Ginge) in the South Arcot District.
² Read rājajja-vibhidhāya-
³ Read Nandi
⁴ Read pathvarmakya
⁵ Read āldīgajjyā-
⁶ Read aind
9 vàjum Kûrtattûr-[ki]-
10 r Ilan-Paduvûñär magaŋ . .
11 ŋ Kândan-[i]dai ka[k]ûr-mê-kâ[la]-
12 [nily-šga vi]rûkônda nilatt[u]-
14 lâr-tôtte[t^[²]bi[ŋ] mël[k]um [te]-

Back of slab.

15 [ŋ]pâll-ellai[^[³] kônê-
16 [ri]-iñ vadal[k]um mêl[pal-
17 l-[e]llai[^[³] Mândai-talaiva[u]-
18 [øj]rîkkum peru-valî-iñ [kl]-
19 [lak]kum vadâpâl-ellai[^[³] Pa-
20 nappâdi-ellai-[u]-4 te-
21 [r][k]um i-pâng-ellai
22 [a]gâpattha[^[⁵] nilamum Kândan[i]-
23 dâi vi[rûk]ônda po-
24 ŋ Ka[k]ûr-mê-kâlaniy-
25 [kk]u peyidâ[^[²] Idu a-
26 [li]yâmai kättâ[u]-[a]dijâ e-
27 [ŋ]lallai[^[⁶] méladui[^[²]]

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1). Hail to the glorious Pallava dynasty! In the sixty-fifth year which is current in the increasing reign of Nandipōta varman, Idaivañjan Kândan (one of) the nagarattûr (merchants?) of Mânâlîpuram purchased (the following) land as ka[k]ûr-mê-kâlani.

(L. 8). (The following are) the boundaries of the land purchased for the purpose of a ka[k]ûr-mê-kâlani from [Kô]ñ Kândan, son of Ilan Paduvûñär the headman (ki[ðr]r) of Kûrtattûr, who lives in Kûrattûr (a village) of Amûr-nâdu.

(L. 13). [The Eastern boundary] (is) to the west of the garden of Maliùnai Nallûlar; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the square tank (kônêrî); the western boundary (is) to the east of the tank (built by) the chief of Mândai and of the big road; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the Panâppâdi boundary.

(L. 20). The land included in these four boundaries was purchased from Kândan and gold was given with libation (of water) for the ka[k]ûr-mê-kâlani.

(L. 24). The feet of him who protects this (charity) without diminution, shall be on my head.

¹ Possibly the missing letter is Kô.
² The word śkîl[-]lai seems to have been omitted here.
³ Read pâl-ellai.
⁴ Read -ellai.
⁵ Read agappatû.
⁶ Read gâbi.
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[N.B.—The figures refer to pages; a after figures to footnotes and the figure following s, to the number of the footnote. Other abbreviations used are:—co.=country; di.=district; div.=division; dy.=dynasty; k.=king; m.=man; o.s.=offic. str.; o.t.=outname; o.t.=temple; o.t.=village, town.]

Adisheha, serpent-god, 26, 2.
Adivaraha-Penumal, rock-cut temple at Mavalivaram, 26, 1.
Agamika (āgañika), 26, 9.
Agni-Purana, 26, 6.
Ahuṃsā-dharma, creed, 26, 6.
Alakshmi, s.a. Jyēsštā, 26, 7.
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Arhatuśāstra, 26, 5.
Arjuna, Epic hero, 26, 6.
Asura, 26, 5.
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Athirāja (āthirāja), tide of kings, 26, 3 and n.
Atrapauchandāvāra, cave temple (at Śūluvaṅkappam), 26, 4.
Avaśā, on incarnation, 26, 6, 7.
Avaśā, the ten—of Vishnu enumerated, 26, 5.
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dvārapāla, image, 26, 2.
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Gaṅgā, river and goddess, 26, 2.
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