

# APPENDIX I

## Ancient and Medieval Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions Relating to Southeast Asia and China

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### INTRODUCTION

We have assembled here sixteen Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions relating to Southeast Asia and China during the ancient and medieval periods. Out of the sixteen inscriptions, seven come from Southeast Asian countries and China, and the remaining nine from South India. We have given the full text and English translation for the inscriptions from Southeast Asia and China, except for one in Champassak, but we have given the text and translation of only the relevant parts of the inscriptions from South India and Champassak, as their references to Southeast Asian matters are very short and casual, though the inscriptions are long.

The sixteen inscriptions are divided into two broad categories: Nos. 1–9 come from South India and relate to Kadaram (Srivijaya) or Kamboja, and nos. 10–16 are all those discovered in Southeast Asia or China. In each category, we have arranged the inscriptions in chronological order. Most of the inscriptions are written in Tamil, but two copper-plates (nos. 1 and 3) are partly in Sanskrit, and the Champassak inscription (no. 9) is fully in Sanskrit.

Except for nos. 2–4 (Nagapattinam), no. 6 (Tirukkadayur), and no. 16 (Neusu Aceh), the text and translations of all the inscriptions have been published in some epigraphical journals or books that we have given for reference at the beginning of each section, or in footnotes. However, we have made some alterations in the text and translations wherever necessary. Texts and/or translations of nos. 2–4, 6, and 16 are prepared here by us for the first time.

Though the date of the Kadaram expedition made by Rajendra I has been controversial,<sup>1</sup> we may suggest the date as sometime in 1026, since the first reference to the expedition in stone inscriptions appears only in those which have the date of the fourteenth regnal year of Rajendra I (1026). Its appearance in inscriptions of the thirteenth year is doubtful. Even in the fourteenth year, up to the seventieth day of that year, only the pre-Kadaram expedition is given (*South Indian Inscriptions*, V, No. 651).

## No. 1: Larger Leiden Copper-plate Inscription of Rajaraja I

*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXII, No. 34.

Referring to the construction of a Buddhist temple by a Kadaram king and the grant of a village by Rajaraja I. Dated in the twenty-first year of Rajaraja I (c.1006) [the Sanskrit *prasasti* having been added posthumously early in the reign of his son Rajendra I, about 1019 — See nos. 2–4].

### *Text of the Sanskrit Section*

[lines 73–86]

sō=yam=akhila-kalā-kalāpa-pārāvāra-pārādriśv=āśēsha-nripa-cakra-cāru-  
cāmikara-kirīṭa-kōṭi-  
ghaṭit-ānēka-māṇikya-marīci-puñcarīkrita-pāda-pīṭhō rājarājō rājakēcarivarmmā  
sva-sāmrajya-varshē ēkavimśatitamē nikhila-dharaṇi-tilakāyamānē  
kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭu-nāmni mahati janapada-nivahē paṭṭana-kkūr-  
nāmni  
janapadē=nēka-sura-sadana-satra-prap-ārām-ābhirāmē vividha-savudha rāji-  
rājamānē  
nāgīpattanē nija-mati-vibhava-vijīta-suraguruṇā  
budha-jana-kamala-vana-marīcimālīn-ārthi-jana-kalpapādapēṇa  
śailēndra-vamśa-sambhūṭēṇa śrīviśay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāha-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā  
makara-ddhvajēṇ-ādhiḡata-sakala-rājavidyasya cūḷāmaṇivarmmaṇah putrēṇa  
śrī-māra-vijayōttumgavarmmaṇā sva-pitur=nnāmṇā  
nirmmāpitam=adharīkrita-kanakagīrī-samunnati-vibhavam=atīramaṇīyañ=  
cūḷāmaṇivarmma-v  
ihāramadhivasatē buddhāya tasminn=ēva janapada-nivahē paṭṭana-kkūr-  
nāmni janapadē  
karīṇī-parīkramaṇa-vispashṭa-sīmā-catusṭayam=āṇaimaṅgal-ābhidhānam  
grāmam=adāt.  
itthan=dēvēna dattasya sva-pitrā cakravarttinā grāmasy=āśya gatē

tasmin=dēvabhūyam=mahaujasi [v.35] tat-simāhsanam=ārūḍhas=tat-putrō  
madhurāntakah

śāsanam śāsvatan=dhīmān kārayitv=ādiśa[n\*]=nripah [v.36] śēshō=śēshām=  
mahīm

yāvad=dhattē=śēsh-ōrag-ēsvarah sthēyāt=tāvaṅ=vihārō=yam vibhavēna sah=  
āvanau [v.37]

sō=yam kaṭāh-ādhipatir=gguṇānān=nivāsa-bhūmir=mmahita-prabhāvah  
āgāminah

prārthayatē narēndrān dharmmam sad=ēmam=mama rakshat=ēti [v.38]

### *Translation of the Sanskrit Section*

[lines 73 to 86]

He, this Rājakēcarivarmaṅ Rājarāja, who had seen the other shore of the ocean of the collection of all sciences, whose foot-stool was made yellow by the cluster of rays [emanating] from many a gem set on the borders of the beautiful gold diadems worn by the entire circle of kings, gave, in the twenty-first year of his universal sovereignty —

to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful Cūlāmaṇivarma-vihārā of [such] high loftiness [as had] belittled the Kanakagiri (that is, Mēru), which had been built in the name of his father, by the glorious Māra-vijayōttuṅavarmaṅ, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus-forest [viz.] the learned men, who was the kalpa-tree to supplicants, who was born in the Śailēndrā family, who was the lord of the Śrī-vishaya (country), who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha, who had the makara crest, [and] who was the son of Cūlāmaṇivarmaṅ that had mastered all the state-craft — at Nāgīpattana, delightful [on account of] many a temple, rest-house, water-sheds, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, [situated] in the division called Paṭṭana-kūrṛa [included] in the bigger district Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭu, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth, —

the village Ānaimaṅgalam [which had its] four boundaries defined by the circumambulation of the female elephant and [which was situated] in the said division.

[verses 35–36] When that powerful [Rājarāja] had obtained divinity, his wise son, king Maturāntaka, who ascended on his throne, caused an enduring

edict [to be made] for this village, which had thus been granted by his father, the king-emperor, and ordered thus:- [verse 37] As long as Sēsha, the lord of all serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this Vihāra last in [this] world with its endowment. [verse 38] This lord of Kaṭāha of great valour, the abode of virtues, thus prays to all future kings: “Protect (ye) for ever this my charity”.

### *Text of the Tamil Section*

[lines 1–18]

svasti śrī kōṇēriṇmaikoṇṭāṇ kshattiriyasikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭup paṭṭaṇa-kkūrattu  
nāṭṭārkkuṁ brahmadēya-kkiḷavarkkuṁ tēvatāṇap palliccanta-kkaṇi-murrūṭṭu-  
veṭṭappēr-ūrkaḷilārkkuṁ nakaraṅkaḷilārkkuṁ

namakku yāṇṭu irupatt-onṛāvatu nāl tonṇūr-iraṇṭināl tañcāvūrp puṛampaṭi  
māḷikai  
rājāśrayanil teṛkkil maṇṭapattu nām irukka=kkiṭārat-araiyaṇ cūḷāmaṇipaṇmaṇ  
kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=ppaṭṭaṇa-kkūrattu nākapāṭṭaṇattu  
eṭuppikkiṇra  
cūḷāmaṇipaṇma-vihāratu=ppalḷikku vēṇṭum nivantattukku

kshatri[ya] śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=ppaṭṭaṇa-kkūrattu āṇaimaṅkalam palliccantam  
iraṅkal=ulpaṭa aḷantapaṭi nīṅkal nīkki nilaṇ tonṇūrēḷē-iraṇṭu-mā  
mukkāṇiy=araikkāṇi  
muntirikai=kkīḷ-mūṇru-mā mukkāṇi muntirikai=kīḷ araiyē=iraṇṭu-māviṇāl  
iraḷ-kaṭṭiṇa  
kāṇikkaṭaṇ nellu eṇṇāyirattu=ttolḷāyirattu nārpattu mu-kkalanē iru-  
tūṇi=kkuṇi oru-nāḷiyum

kaṭārat-araiyaṇ kshatriyacikāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=ppaṭṭaṇa-kkūrattu nākapāṭṭaṇattu  
eṭuppikkiṇra  
cūḷāmaṇipaṇma-vihāratu=ppalḷikku iruppataka yāṇṭu irupatt-onṛāvatu-mutal  
palliccanta-iraḷ-iliy-āka variyil=iṭṭu-kkuṭukkav=eṇṇu nām colla

### *Translation of the Tamil Section*

Hail! Prosperity! [this is the order of] the matchless king (*kōṇēriṇmaiko  
ṇṭāṇ*) to the *nāṭṭār* (i.e., the chief landholders of the *nāḍu*) of Paṭṭaṇa-  
kūrāṁ, a sub-division in Kshatriyaśikhmaṇi-vaḷanāṭu, the headmen of



### Translation

[Section I, *lines* 1–6]

Hail, Prosperity. In the year ... of Srī Rājēndrachōlar ... Srī Mūlan Agattīśvaran, who is an agent (*kanmi*) of the king of Śrīvishayam (Śrīvishayattarayar) arranged to erect a gateway to the compound wall of Tirukkārōṇamuḍaiya Mahādēvar (temple) in Nāgapaṭṭinam ... This charity [should remain] as long as the moon and sun exist. Under the instructions of Puttamaṅgalamuḍaiyān Nakkan Kumaran of Aḷanāḍu, who is the officer of temple affairs (*srī kāriyam*) this year, and the temple functionaries (*pañchāchāriya dēvakanmigaḷ*) I, Eran Chaḍayan *alias* Dēvarkaṇḍa Āchāri, carpenter of this village, have engraved this charity on stone. This is my signature.

(The rest [Section I, *lines* 6–7, Section II, III, and IV] which is omitted refers to a number of other gifts such as silver vessels and brass lamps, most probably by the same agent.)

### No. 3: Nagapattinam inscription (2)

ARE 1956–57, No. 164. (Karonasvamin temple, Nagapattinam, Thanjavur District)

Referring to the grant made by an agent of the Srivijaya (Kidaram) king. Dated in the third year of Rajendra I (1015 CE).

### Text

1. Svasti śri kopparakēcari paṇmarāṇa śri rājēntira cōlatēvarkku  
yāṇṭu 3-āvatu kshatriyacikāmaṇiḷaṇāṭṭu . . . . . paṭṭiṇak. . . . .  
rōṇa . . . . . vellitti-
2. rumēni nākaiyaḷakarḷku śrīvijaiyattaraiyar kaṇmi rājarājamaṇṭalattu  
kiṭcempināṭṭu
3. mēṇrōṇri paṭṭiṇat. . . . . yvitta kshe . . . . . ca. . . . . nirai[po]ṇ  
patināḷk kalañcarai  
iṭil vīrapaṭṭattuk kaṭṭiṇa cātimāṇikkam paṭiṇoṇru naṭuvil makarattu naṭuvu  
kaṭṭiṇa  
marakata. . . . . ṇa māṇik. . . . . [upāya]
4. ṭiṇa māṇikkam mūṇru itinmēlvāyk kaṭṭiṇa paccai makarattiṇ kiḷvāyk. . .  
. . . . . ṇa māṇikkam aṅcu itin kiḷvāyk kaṭṭiṇa carṇpamotti valapakkat[  
vaṭṭappūvil] kaṭṭiṇa mara. . . .
5. ēḷu iṭappakkattu vaṭṭappūvil kaṭṭiṇa māṇikkam ēḷu piṇṇil paruttakkuṇṇiḷ

- kaṭṭiṇa māṇikkam nālu makāmaṇiyākak kaṭṭiṇa māṇikkam cāti mākkallu  
nāṟpa. . . . . verri.....
6. māka niṟai āru mañcāti kalluṭṭaṭa kācu niṟai patināṟkkaḷaṅcē mukkālē  
m. . . .cāti  
ipparicu kalveṭṭuka veṇru ivāṇṭu śrīkāriyañ ceykiṇṟa arumolī. . . . . nāṭṭu.  
. . . . .
7. ka . . . . . rattu kaṇṭiyūruṭayār cēntaṅ ca. . . . . ittēvakaṇmikaḷum collak,  
kalveṭṭiṇēṅ  
nākaṭṭiṇattu ērañcaṭaiyaṅāna
8. kaṇṭarā[cā]riyaṅēṅ.

### Translation

[lines 1–2]

Hail, Prosperity. In the third year of [the reign of] Kōpparakēsarivarmar *alias* Sri Rājēndarachōḷadēvar ... (Nāga)pattinam (in) Kshatriyasikāmaṇi-vaḷaṅaḍu, ... for the purpose of [decorating] a silver image of Nāgaiyaḷagar, an agent (*kanmi*) of the king of Śrīvijaya (Śrīvijaiyattaraiyar) (whose personal name is lost) hailing from Mēnrōṅriṭṭinam<sup>2</sup> in Kīṭ-chembināḍu in Rājarāja-maṅḍalam, gifted a collection of jewel-stones, like ruby, emerald, etc. weighing 14 and 1/2 *kaḷaṅju*.

[The middle part [lines 2–6] is omitted]

[lines 6–8]

By the instructions of Kaṇṭiyūruḍaiyār Chēndan ... of ... Arumolī[dēvavaḷa] nāḍu, the *śrīkāriyam* officer and the temple functionaries, I, Erañ Chaḍaiyan *alias* Kaṇḍarāchāriyan of Nagapattinam have engraved this on stone.

### No. 4: Nagapattinam inscription (3)

ARE 1956–57, No. 166. (Karonasvamin temple, Nagapattinam, Thanjavur District)

Referring to the grant made by an agent of the Srivijaya (Kidaram) king. Dated in the seventh year of Rajendra I (1019 CE)

### Text

[lines 1–15, *pra[asti]* in Tamil]

16. kōpparakēca

17. ripaṅmarāṅa śrī rājēntira cōḷatēvarṅku yāṅṭu [7]

18. avatu kshatriyacikāmaṇi vaḷanāṭṭu paṭ
19. ṭiṇak kūṛṛattu nākaṭṭiṇattu tirukkāroṇa
20. . . ṭaiya mahādēvar kōyilil kiṭāṛattaraiyar kanmi
21. śrī kuruttaṇ kēcuvannāṇa agralēkai eḷuntaru
22. ḷivitta arttanārikaḷukku avibali arccaṇaikku
23. eṇṇu mēṭṭaiyāṇ varakkāṭṭiṇa cīnakkanakam e
24. ṇṭattēḷu kaḷaṅcē mukkālum merṭṭaiyā[ṇ]
25. ittēvar kōyilil uttamākram iraṇṭu kala
26. muṇṇa pōkattukku eṇṇu varakkāṭṭiṇa cī
27. ṇak kaṇakam eṇṭattēḷu kaḷaṅcē mukkālum
28. merṭṭaiyāṇ tēvarkkum brāmaṇarkkum
29. . . . . tayiru. . . . . eṇṇu varakkāṭṭiṇa uṇṭikaippon
30. [a]rupatiṇ kaḷaṅcē mukkālum āka ippon
31. irunūṛṛu muppattaru kaḷaṅcē kālum tiruk
32. kārōṇamuṭaiyārkkku veṇṭum tiruvāpara
33. ṇam ulliṭṭaṇa ceyyak koṇṭu ittēvar
34. paṇṭāṛattai ... ..

### Translation

[The praśasti [lines 1–16] omitted]

[lines 16–31]

In the seventh year of [the reign of] Kōpparakērsaripanmar *alias* Sri Rājēndirachōḷadēvar, for the purpose of offering food (*avibali*) to (the image of) Arttanāriḡaḷ set up by Śrī Kuruttan Kēsuvan *alias* Agralēkai, an agent (*kanmi*) of the king of Kiḍāram (Kiḍrattaraiyar), in Tirukkārōṇamuḍaiya Mahādēvar temple in Nagapaṭṭinam in Paṭṭiṇa-kūṛram in Kshatriyaśikhā maṇi-vaḷanāḍu, Chinese gold (*chīnakkanakam*) weighing 87 and 3/4 *kaḷaṅju* was sent by the aforesaid agent; for the purpose of providing good meals to two persons in this temple, Chinese gold weighing 87 and 3/4 *kaḷaṅju* was sent by the aforesaid man; and for the purpose of ... [feeding] the deity and Brāhmaṇas, stamped gold weighing 60 and 3/4 *kaḷaṅju* was also sent by the same person. Together, the total weight of the gold (sent by Śrī Kuruttan Kēsuvan *alias* Agralēkai), therefore, amounts to 236 and 1/4 *kaḷaṅju*.

[The rest [lines 31–84] omitted]

### No. 5: Karandai Copper-plate Inscription of Rajendra I

K.G. Krishnan, *Karandai Tamil Sangam Plates of Rajendrachola I*, (Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 79, New Delhi, 1984.)

Referring to the present of a chariot to Rajendra I by a Kamboja king. Dated in the eighth year of Rajendra I (1020 CE).

*Text*

[verse 48]

kāmbōja-rājō ripu-rāja-sēnā=jaitrēṇa yēn=ājayad=āhavēshu tam prāhiṇōt  
prārthita-mitra-bhāvō yasmai ratham ratshitum=ātma-lakshmīm.

*Translation*

The Kāmbōja king, aspiring for his (Rajendra's) friendship and in order to save his own fortunes sent him a triumphant chariot, with which he had conquered the armies of the enemy kings in the battles.

**No. 6: Tirukkadaiyur Inscription of Rajendra I**

*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XXII, No. 20. (Thanjavur [old] District, Amritaghatেশvara memple — On the north base of the Central Shrine)  
Describing the Kadaram expedition conducted by the Chola army sent by Rajendra I. Dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Rajendra Chola I (c. 1027).

*Text*

(lines 4–5)

— alaikaṭal naṭuvuṭ pa[la] kalañ celutti cañkirāma vicaiyōttuñkavanmanā  
kiya kaṭāraracaṇai<sup>3</sup> vākaiyam porukaṭal kumpakkariy[ōṭu]m  
akappaṭutt=urimaiyil piṛakkiya peruneti piṛakkamum ārttavana[ka]nakar  
pōrttoḷiṛ vācalil viccātiratōraṇamum moyttoḷiṛ puṇaimaṇip putavamum  
kanamaṇikkatavamum niṛai śrīvijaiyamum tuṛainiṛ paṇnaiyum panmalaiyū  
reyiṛ ṛonmalaiyūrum āḷkaṭalakaḷ cūḷ māyiruṭiñkāmmum kalañkāvalviṇai  
ilañkācōkamum<sup>4</sup> kāppuru ni[rai]puṇal māppappālamum kāvalam puricai mē  
vilimpañkamum viḷaiṇpantūruṭai vaḷaiṇpantūrum kalaittakkōr pukaḷ  
talai[ttakkōlamum] titamāvalviṇai mā[tamā]liñkamum kalāmutir kaṭuntīṛal  
ilāmuri[tē]camum tēnakkalar poḷil mānakkavāramum toṭukaṭa[ṛ] kāval  
kaṭumuraṭ kaṭāramum māperuntaṇṭār koṇṭa kōparakēcaripanmarāna uṭaiyār  
śrīrājēntiracōḷatēvaṛku yāṇṭu 15-āvatu

*Translation*<sup>5</sup>

In the 15th year [of the reign] of king Parakesarivarman, alias the lord Sri-Rajendrachōḷadēva, who — conquered with [his] great and warlike army .... [after recounting the king's several victories ending with the conquest of the Ganga region] — having dispatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṅgāma Vijayōttuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍāram (or

Kaṭāram), along with [his] rutting elephants, [which were as impetuous as] the sea in fighting, — [took] [1] Śrīvijayam overflown with large heap of treasures, which [that king] had rightfully accumulated, and possessing the [arch called] Vidhyādhara-tōraṇa at the “war gate” of his extensive city, the “jewel gate”, adorned with great splendour, and the “gate of large jewels”; [2] Paṇṇai with landing ghats; the ancient Malaiyur with the strong mountain for its rampart; [3] the great Yīruḍiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea as moat; [4] Ilaṅkāsōkam (or Laṅkāsōka) that is undaunted in fierce battles; [5] the great Pappālam, having abundant high waters as defence; the upper (or Western) Ilimbaṅgam, having fine walls as defence; [6] Vaḷaiappandūru, possessing *vilaiappandūru* (cultivated land and jungle ?); [7] the premier or chief Takkōlam, praised by the learned men; [8] the great Tamāliṅgam (or Tamaliṅgam), firm in great and fierce battles; [9] Ilāmuridēsam, of fierce strength and tempestuous nature; [10] the great Nakkavāram, full of flower-gardens having much honey; and [11] Kaḍāram (or Kaṭāram), of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea; —

### No. 7: Perumber Inscription of Virarajendra

*South Indian Inscriptions*, III, No. 84. (Chengalpat District)

Referring to the conquest of Kadaram by Virarajendra. Dated to the seventh year (c. 1070).

*Text*

[line 4]

kaḷalaṭi paṇinta maṇṇarkkuk kaṭāram eṇintu kuṭuttaruḷi

*Translation*

[Virarajendradevar] who conquered Kaṭāram and was pleased to bestow it on the king who sought his help. (A different interpretation could be that he was pleased to give it back to the king who surrendered at his feet.)

### No. 8: Smaller Leiden Copper-plate Inscription of Kulottunga Chola I

*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, No. 35.

Referring to the grant of villages to the Buddhist temple constructed by the Kadaram king. Dated in the twentieth year of Kulottunga I (c. 1090).

*Text*

[lines 3–5]

kōv-irājakēcari paṇmarāṇa cakkaravartikaḷ śrī-kulōttuṅka-cōlatēvarkku yāṇṭu  
 irupatāvatu  
 āyirattaliyāṇa ākavamallakulakāla-purattu kōyiliṅ=ullāl=ttirumañcaṇa-cālaiyil  
 paḷḷippīṭam  
 kāliṅkarājaṇil eḷuntaruḷi irukka

[lines 6–8]

kiṭāratтарыайаṅ gēyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭup paṭṭāna-kkūrṛattu cōlakulavallip-  
 paṭṭanattu eṭuppitta  
 rājentiracōḷa-pperum-paḷḷikkum rājarāja-pperum-paḷḷikkum (p)paḷḷiccantam-  
 āṇa ūrkaḷ  
 paḷampaṭi-antarāyamum vīraśēshaiyum paṇmai-paṇṭai-veṭṭiyum kuntāliyum  
 cuṅka-mērāmum  
 ulliṭṭaṇavellām tavirntamaikkum

[lines 9–13]

muṇṭu paḷḷiccantaṅkaḷ kāṇiyuṭaiya kāṇiāḷarai=ttavira ippaḷḷi-ccaṅkattārkkē  
 kāṇiyāka=pperammaikkum tāmraśāṇam paṇṇittara vēṇṭum eṇṇu  
 kiṭāratтарыайаṅ tūtaṅ rājavidyādharma-śrī-sāmantāṇum abhimānōttuṅka-śrīsā  
 mantaṇum  
 viṇṇappam ceyya ippaṭi cantivigrahi  
 rājavallabha-ppallavaraiyaṅōṭuṅ kūṭa iruntu tāmraśāṇam paṇṇi-  
 kkuṭukkaveṇṇu adhikārikaḷ  
 rājentiraciṅka-mūvēntavēḷārkkku-ttirumukam piracātaṅ=ceytaruḷi varat  
 tāmra-śāṇaṅ=ceyṭapaṭi

[lines 39–46]

kēyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭup paṭṭānak-kūrṛattuc cōlakulavallipaṭṭanattu  
 Śrī-Śailēndra-cūḍamaṇivarmma-vihāramāṇa rājarājapperumpalḷikkup paḷḷi-  
 nilaiyum  
 paḷḷi-viḷakamum uṭpaṭa ellai  
 kīḷpār-ellai kaṭarṅkaraiyil maṇar-kunṇuṭpaṭa mēṅkum teṇpārkk-ellai  
 pukaiyuṇi-kkiṇarṅrukku vaṭakkum itaṅ mēṅku tiruvīraṭṭāṇamuṭaiya-mahādē  
 var nilattukku  
 vaṭakkum itaṅ mēṅku= pparavaikkulaḷattu-mārāyaṅ kalluvitta kuḷattil vaṭakarai  
 mēṅku nōkki  
 kāraikkār-pperuvaḷiyuṇa vaṭakkum mēḷpārku-ellai kāraikkār-peruvaḷikkuk  
 kiḷakkum

vaṭapār̥k-ellai cōlakulavallipaṭṭanattu nilam vaṭa-kāṭaṇpāṭi ellaikku=ter̥kum  
āka  
i-ṇṇānkellaikku uṭpaṭṭa nilam muppatt-onṇē mukkālē iraṇṭu-mā

### Translation

[lines 1–13]

In the 20th year of [the reign of] king rājakēcarivarmaṇ *alias* the emperor Śri-kulōttuṅga cōladēvar, who was pleased to be seated along with (his queen) puvaṇamuḷutuṭaiyāḷ on his lion throne, — —

When he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch called Kāliṅgarājaṇ in the bathing hall within the palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulakāla-puram, on the representation made by the ambassadors of the king of Kaṭāram named Rājavidyādharma-śrīsāmantan and Abhimānōtuṅga-śrī-sāmantan that [all] the villages which were the *palliccantams* of Rājēntiracōḷapperumpaḷli and Rājarājapperumpaḷli constructed by the king of Kaṭāram at Cōlakkulavallipaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇak-kūr̥ram in Gēyamaṇikka-vaḷanāṭu be exempted from the payment of *antarāyam*, etc. and the *kāṇi* rights of the villages be given to the Saṅgha of the Paḷlis themselves after freeing them from the old *kāṇi* holders (*kāṇiyāḷar*), the king issued an oral order to that effect through the *adikāri* Rājēndraciṅga-mūvēntavēḷār and the *sandhivigrahi* Rājavallabha-pallavaraiyaṇ and this is the copper-plate charter drawn up in pursuance of this order —

[lines 39–46]

The boundaries of the site and the surrounding ground of the glorious Śailēndra-cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra *alias* Rājarājapperumpaḷli at Cōlakulavallipaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūr̥ram, (a subdivision) of Gēyamaṇikka-vaḷanāṭu are:-

[lines 40–46]

the eastern boundary is to the west of Sand-hill on the sea-shore. The southern boundary is to the north of the well called pukaiyuṇṇi and also to the north of the land belonging to the Tiruvīraṭṭānamuṭaiya-mahādēva situated to the west of this as well as to the high road to Kāraikkāl which proceeds westward from the north bank of the tank dug out by Mārāyaṇ at paṇavaikkulam. The western boundary is to the east of the high road to Kāraikkāl. The northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of the land called Vaṭa-kāṭaṇpāṭi in Cōlakulavallipaṭṭaṇam. The land situated within these four boundaries measures thirty-one and three-fourths vēli, two mā and one muntirikai, etc. in extent.

## No. 9: Chidambaram Inscription of Kulottunga I

*Epigraphia Indica*, V, No. 13C, p. 106.

Referring to a gemstone present by a Kamboja king. Dated in the forty-fourth year (c. 1114).

*Text*

[lines 9–14]

śrī rājēntira-cōlatēvarkku kām̄pōca-rājan̄ kāt̄ciy-ākak kāt̄ṭiṇa kallu itu uṭaiyār  
rājēntira-cōḷa-tēvar tiruvāy moḷintaruḷi uṭaiyār tirucciṙṙampalam-uṭaiyār  
kōyilil muṇ vaittatu.  
intak kallu tiruv-etir-ampalattu tirukkal-carattil tiru-muṇ-pattikku mēlaiṇ  
pattiyilē vaittatu.

*Translation*

This stone that had been presented to king Rājēndrachōḷadēvar by the king of Kām̄bōja was placed, as per the instructions of the king, in the front portion of Tiruchchiṙṙambalamuḷaiyār temple and subsequently fixed in the upper front row of the stone wall of the front hall (or shrine).

## No. 10: Goldsmith's Touchstone Inscription at Wat Khlong Thom

Noboru Karashima, ed., *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds*, Taisho University, Tokyo, 2002 (afterwards abbreviated as *AMCAIO*), p. 10.

The Tamil name of a goldsmith is inscribed on a small oblong stone in the collection of Phra Kru Athon Sangarakit Museum, Khum Luk Pat, Khlong Thom District, Thailand. The date is assigned to the third or fourth century palaeographically.

*Text*

*perumpataṅkal*

*Translation*

The stone of the great Pataṅ or goldsmith.

## No. 11: Champassak Inscription of Devanika

*AMCAIO*, pp. 150–51.<sup>6</sup>

On a stone pillar set up within the compound of the residence of the erstwhile prince of Champassak at Champassak, Laos. Dated palaeographically to the fifth or sixth century.

### *Explanation*

This long Sanskrit inscription relates to the praise of a prince called Dēvānīka in high terms, comparing him to various Puranic heroes. In the course of this narration, he is said to be like Kanaka Pāṇḍya in upholding justice (*kanaka-pāṇḍya iva nyāya-rakṣhaṇē*). The name Kanaka Pāṇḍya immediately recalls to one's mind the name Porḱai-Pāṇḍya (*porḱai* means golden hand) of the Pandya king who figures in the Tamil epic *Silappatikāram* of about the fifth century CE as cutting off his own hand in order to safeguard justice.

## No. 12: Takua Pa Tamil inscription<sup>7</sup>

*AMCAIO*, p. 11.

The stone was originally discovered in a small hill along the Takua Pa river of Southern Thailand together with a stone Vishnu and other statues of Pallava style. Presently kept at the Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum, Southern Thailand. Dated palaeographically to c. ninth century CE.

### *Text*

- 1 ... [ya]ravarmakku
- 2 ... māṇ tāṇ naṅ[kuruṭaiya]
- 3 [ṇ] toṭṭa kuḷam pēr Śrī a[vani]
- 4 nāraṇam maṇikkirāmattārḱ
- 5 kum cēṇāmukattārkkum
- 6 ... apatārkkum aṭaikkalam

### *Translation*

[In the reign of ...varman?] Nang[u]r-[u]ḍai[yan] dug this tank called Śrī-[Avani]-Nāraṇam. [This is] put under the protection of the bodies Maṇikkirāmam (Maṇigrāmam), Sēṇāmukam<sup>8</sup> and ...apatār.

### No. 13: Barus inscription of a Merchant Guild

*AMCAIO*, pp. 19–26.<sup>9</sup>

This Tamil inscription was found in Lubo Tua (Loboe Toewa) near Barus (Baros) in north-western Sumatra. The date in Saka 1010, corresponding to 1088 CE, of the text falls within the reign of Kulottunga Chola I of Tamil Nadu. This stone is presently housed at the Museum Nasional in Jakarta, Indonesia. A preliminary notice of this inscription was made by E. Hultzsch in *Madras Epigraphy Report 1891–92*, p. 11 and the same was discussed in detail in K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, “A Tamil Merchant-Guild in Sumatra”, *TBJ*, LXXII, 2 (1932), pp. 314–27.

#### Text

- 1 svasti śrī cakarai
- 2 āṇṭu āyirattu[p pa]-
- 3 ttuc cellāni[n]-
- 4 ra mācit tiṅgaḷ
- 5 vārōcāna mātañ-
- 6 kari vallavat tēci u-
- 7 yyak koṇṭa paṭ-
- 8 ṭinattu vēḷāpurattu
- 9 kūṭi niranta tē[ci ticai]
- 10 viḷaṅgu ticai āyira-
- 11 ttaiññūruvarō-
- 12 m nammakanār nakara sēnāpa-
- 13 ti nāṭṭuceṭṭi
- 14 yārkkum patineṅpūmi
- 15 tēci apparkku mā[ve]t-
- 16 tukaḷukkum nā vaittuk
- 17 kuṭutta paricāvatu marak[ka]
- 18 la... ..
- 19 la marakkala nāyanuñ kēvi-
- 20 kaḷum kastū[ri] vilai mu[tala]kappa[ṭa]
- 21 añcu tuṅ[ṭā]yam poṇṇum ku[ṭu]
- 22 ttup pāvāṭai ērakkaṭavatākavum
- 23 ippaṭikku [i]kkal eḷuti nāṭṭi
- 24 k kuṭuttōm patineṅpūmi tēcit ticai viḷa
- 25 ṅku ticai āyirattainnūruvarōm a
- 26 ramaṭaverka aṇamēy tuṅai.

*Translation*<sup>10</sup>

In the Saka year 1010 current, month Masi, we, the Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions, having met at the *Vēlāpuram* in Vārōsu (Barus), also called Mātaṅkari vallavat tēci uyyak koṅṭa paṭṭinam (literally “the paṭṭinam (commercial town) for the welfare of the merchant body blessed by Mātaṅkari, that is, Durgā”), decided to grant as follows to ‘our sons’, the nagara-sēnāpati Nāṭṭu-ceṭṭiyār, to Patineṅ-būmi-dēsi-appar, and to the *māvettu-s* (elephant-trainers?): [On each of the] ships’ [cargoes?], the ship’s captain and crew (*kēvi*) will pay the fee *aṅjutuṅḍāyam* in gold, pegged to the price of *kasturi* (musk), and [then only] may ‘step on the cloth spread’ (that is, enter the settlement to trade). Thus we, the Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions, known in every direction in all the Eighteen Lands, had the stone inscribed and planted. Do not forget charity; charity alone will help you.

**No. 14: Pagan Inscription of a Kerala Merchant**

*AMCAIO*, p. 15.

Dated palaeographically to c. thirteenth century CE. Originally part of a Vishnu temple in Pagan in Myanmar, now preserved at the National Museum in Pagan. The Vishnu temple referred to in this inscription was called Nānādēsi-ṅṅaṅgar, obviously after the merchant guild Nānādēsi, a synonym for Ayyāvoḷe-aiṅṅūruvar, the well-known south Indian merchant guild. Magōdayar-paṭṭaṅam, the town from which the merchant came is the medieval Chera capital town on the Kerala coast, presently known as Koḍuṅgallūr.

*Text*

[lines 4–9]

svasti śrī tirucelvam peruka. pukkamaṅṅa arivattaṅṅapurattu nāṅṅātēci ṅṅaṅkar  
 āṅṅvār kōyil tiru maṅṅapamuṅ ceytu tirukkatavumiṅṅtu inta maṅṅapattukku  
 niṅṅerikaikku nilai  
 viḷakkōṅṅumiṅṅṅēṅ malaimaṅṅalannu makōṅṅayar paṅṅaṅattu irāyiraṅ ciṅṅiyāṅṅa  
 ci kulacēkara rampiyēṅ itu śrī itaṅṅmam malaimaṅṅalattāṅ

*Translation*

Let there be prosperity. I, Irāyiran Chiriyān *alias* Kulacēkara Nambi, of

Magōdayar-paṭṭaṇam in Malai-maṇḍalam, erected the front hall in the (Vishnu) temple, called Nānādēsi Viṇṇagar at Pukkam alias Arivattanapuram, fixed the gate and gifted a lamp to burn in this hall continuously. This charity is to be known as “Malaimaṇḍalattān”. (Preceding this Tamil text, there is a Sanskrit verse from *Mukundamāla*, referring to the intense devotion of the *bhakta* towards Vishnu.)

## No. 15: Quanzhou Tamil inscription

*AMCAIO*, p. 16. (Found in Quanzhou, China)

Dated in Saka 1203 corresponding to c. 1281 CE. This inscription was discovered in 1956 in a private house in Quanzhou, the famous medieval port in southern China. The inscription is engraved on a single stone (now broken into two pieces), Some Chinese characters are visible below the Tamil section, but this Chinese inscription does not seem to be related to the present Tamil inscription. The inscription opens with a Sanskrit invocation to Hara (Siva). The entire text is associated with the remains of a Siva temple of Quanzhou. This was possibly one of two South Indian style Hindu temples that must have been built in the south-eastern sector of the old port, where the foreign traders’ enclave was formerly located. The title *Tavaccakkarvartikaḷ* taken by Sambandapperumāl, the builder of the temple, suggests that he might have been a Saiva religious leader. The text also refers to the Mongol ruler Chekachai Khan (perhaps Kublai Khan), in whose name the temple is named as Tiru-k-Kāṇīśvaram. T. N. Subramanian first edited this inscription and commented elaborately on its importance in “A Tamil Colony in Medieval China”, *South Indian Studies*, I, edited by R. Nagaswamy (Madras, 1978), pp. 1–52. His reading of the temple’s name as Tirukkatalisvaram was a mistake due to the incomplete photo of the stone available to him at that time.<sup>11</sup>

### Text

- 1 haraḥ svasti śrī śagāptam 1203vatu cittirai
- 2 ccittirai nāl śrī cekacekāṇ tirumēnikku naṇ-
- 3 rāka uṭaiyār tirukkāṇīccuramuṭaiya nāyaṇārai
- 4 ēriyaruḷap paṇṇiṇār campantap perumāl
- 5 āṇa tavaccakkaravattikaḷ cekacaikāṇ parmāṇ
- 6 paṭi

### Translation

Obeisance to Hara (Siva)! Let there be prosperity! On the day Chitra in the month of Chittirai in the Saka year 1203, the Tavachchakkarvarttikaḷ Sambandapperumāḷ graciously caused, in accordance with the *firman* (written permission) of Chekachai Khan (the Mongol ruler), the installation of the God Uḍaiyar Tiruk-kāniśvaram Uḍaiya-nāyanār (Siva), for the welfare of the king Chekachai Khan.

### No. 16: Neusu Aceh Tamil Inscription<sup>12</sup>

This inscription is written on both sides of a tall stone found in a mosque of Neusu Aceh in the suburbs of present Banda Aceh, North Sumatra, in 1990. The original stone is presently housed at the Provincial Museum of Nanggroe Aceh, Banda Aceh, Indonesia. The inscription written on one side of the stone is completely worn away. The second side is also worn away, but some lines on this side can be deciphered to some extent. This side contains the second half of the inscription. Palaeographically this inscription can be dated to c. thirteenth century CE. The decipherment was done by Subbarayalu.

### Text

#### 1st Face

[Completely effaced but for a few letters]

#### 2nd Face

- 01 ... ..
- 02 vum pōvā ..
- 03 kavum pōkkavu-
- 04 ḷḷatu kaik-
- 05 koḷḷak kaṭa-
- 06 vatallatāka-
- 07 vum itukku
- 08 urayva[run ta]-
- 09 ṅkallai [vā]-
- 10 kal kammayalā-
- 11 r uḷḷittu [ca-
- 12 vattuṭaya]var
- 13 kaḷ vantu ko-
- 14 ṭu pōka kaṭavar-
- 15 kaḷākavum po-

- 16 licai kollak  
 17 kaṭavarkaḷal-  
 18 lavākavum piṛa-  
 19 kum nammakka-  
 20 ḷikkalve-  
 21 ṭṭukkukok-  
 22 kac ceyyak  
 23 kaṭavarkaḷ  
 24 subhamastu.

### Translation

[lines 2–7]

... the remaining shall not be collected;

[lines 7–15]

the concerned persons including the *vākal-kammayalār* shall come here and take [with them] their (or your) rubbing stone used for this.

[lines 15–18]

interest shall not be collected;

[lines 18–24]

Even hereafter “our men” shall carry on [their duties] according to this stone inscription. Let good things prevail.

### Explanation

As the first portion (on the first face) is completely illegible, the exact purport of the record is not clear. In the available text on the second face, first some stipulations are mentioned. Something is mentioned “as not to be collected”. Lines 7–13 seem to refer to gold testers and testing stone (*urayvarum taṇ kal*). The compound term *vākal-kammayalār* in lines 9–10 must be traced to a local language; it does not seem to be Tamil. In the context it may denote some officials or royal goldsmiths as they are the ones who are entrusted with the testing stone.

It may be inferred from the term *nam-makkaḷ* (literally “our men”) in lines 19–20 that the record relates to the merchant guild called Ainūr̥ruvar (*Ayyāvoḷe*-500 or *Nānādēsi*), similar to that mentioned in the Barus inscription, as that term is the usual designation of the agents/servants of the merchant guild.

## Notes

1. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Madras, 1955, p. 211; Majumdar, R.C., “The Overseas Expeditions of King Rajendra Chola”, *Artibus Asiae* XXIV, 1961; K.G. Krishnan, “Chola Rajendra’s Expedition to South-East Asia”, in K.G. Krishnan, *Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy*, Madras, 1981. For the date of the expedition, Sastri suggests 1026 (Rajendra’s fourteenth regnal year) and Krishnan 1025 (thirteenth regnal year), but the reading of the regnal year of the inscription (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. IX, Cp 84) on which Krishnan depends is doubtful, and in another inscription (*SI*, viii, 683), which is also referred to by Krishnan, there is no mention of the Kadaram expedition. However, Majumdar’s suggestion of 1018 comes from his taking of the Sanskrit part of the Tiruvalangadu copper-plate inscription, dated in the sixth year of Rajendra I, as coeval with the Tamil part. But the Sanskrit *prasasti* of this copper-plate inscription must be a later addition, as in the case of other copper-plate inscriptions and, therefore, cannot be dated in 1018, for which see the Krishnan’s paper mentioned above.
2. Mēṅrōṅṛipaṭṭinam the place of the agent, was most probably the port town of Periyapaṭṭinam, near Ramesvaram Island.
3. A variant reading is “kaḍāṛattarayaṅ”.
4. A variant reading is “ilaṅkācōpam”
5. The translation is a slightly modified version of the one given in Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, 2nd ed., 1955, pp. 211–12. The attributes “mā” (meaning great or big) to the place names are left untranslated by him, following the pioneer Epigraphist Hultzsch in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 20, pp. 104–09.
6. The inscription was first edited by G. Coedès in “Nouvelles données sur les origines du royaume Khmer: La stele de Vat Luong Kau pres de Vat Ph’u”, *BEFEO*, XLVIII, 1956, pp. 209–20. The text and translation published in *AMCIAO* was made by K.V. Ramesh.
7. Edited and discussed by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, “The Takuapa (Siam) Tamil Inscription”, *Journal of Oriental Research*, VI, 1932, pp. 299–310; Idem., “Takuapa and Its Tamil Inscription”, *JMBRAS*, XXII, 1949, pp. 25–30.
8. The earlier treatment of Sēnāmukam as a military body is not correct. The context of its occurrence in a few ninth century Tamil inscriptions along with Maṅṅṅrānam and its association with several mercantile bodies in a few early Javanese inscriptions (H.B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, Vol. I, p. 53; Vol. II, p. 276) would suggest that it was also a body of traders.
9. The text was first published in Subbarayalu, Y., “The Merchant-Guild Inscription at Barus, Sumatra, Indonesia — a Rediscovery”, in Claude Guillot, ed., *Histoire de Barus: Le Site de Lobu Tua I: Etudes et Documents* (Cahiers d’Archipel 30) (Paris, 1998), pp. 25–33.
10. This is a slightly modified version of Subbarayalu’s original translation in light of the suggestions made by Jan Wissemann Christie in “The Medieval Tamil-

- language Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 29 (1998), pp. 239–68.
11. The importance of this inscription is discussed also by N. Karashima in his paper, “Trade Relations Between South India and China During the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries”, *Journal of East–West Maritime Relations*, Vol. 1, 1989, pp. 59–81.
  12. The text of this inscription was made by Subbarayalu using some photographs of the inscriptions provided by Dr Claude Guillot of Ecole de Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, and some recent photos exhibited in the Kaala Chakra exhibition in Singapore, 2007. A partially deciphered text of this inscription is used by Jan Wissemann Christie in “The Medieval Tamil-language Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 29 (1998), pp. 239–68.