

interpretation, owing to the distance of this country from Gujarāt, which admittedly included the territory of the Lāṭās and Gurjaras. Thus Dr. Fleet writes¹:—“Though Pulikesin II claims to have subdued the Mālavas, there are no indications that their territory ever became part of his dominions; and the allusion must be to some successful resistance of an attempted invasion of his kingdom by them.” The difficulty disappears, however, if the interpretation proposed by Mr. Smith is accepted. It was pointed out by the late Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indraji² that the modern country of Mālwa was known as Avanti up to the second century A.D., but the Mālavas were a tribe in India probably as early as 300 B.C. The Aivalli inscription confirms the statement of Hiuen Tsang that early in the seventh century a tract of country in the area now known as Gujarāt was called Mālwa or Mālava, or at any rate was occupied by the Mālava tribe. There are later references to Mālwa in the inscriptions of the dynasties of western India, some of which appear more applicable to the tract in Gujarāt than to the modern country. Thus the Elura Daśāvatāra inscription of Dantidurga states that he held Lāṭa and Mālava (750 A.D.).³ Govinda III (800–808) ruled the Ghāt country and the Gujarāt coast. He was opposed by a combination of kings, among whom was a Mālava.³ Karka I (812–821) was bidden by his over-lord (? Govinda III) to protect a king of Mālava against a Gurjara king.³

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“DVIPATĀMRA-DEŚA.”

In his very interesting paper on “The Nāgarakretāgama List of Countries on the Indo-Chinese Mainland,” printed in the July number of the Journal, Colonel Gerini says, in a footnote on p. 503 :—

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 2, p. 312.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, p. 28.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, pp. 122–3.

“The Sanskrit inscription on the Bân Thāt (Dhātu) stele near Bassac (Campāsak, Upper Kamboja), erected by the warlike king Sūryavarman II (A.D. 1112–1152 *circa*), and published by Professor Kern (*Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. iii, pp. 65–76), mentions an expedition undertaken by that famous potentate to the ‘Land of Elephants and Copper,’ *Dvipatāmra-dēśa*, by which ‘he eclipsed the glory of victorious Rāghava (Rāma)’ :—

‘*So’ yaṁ prayāya Dvipatāmrade[śam]
Raghuṇ jayantam laghayaṅcakāra*’ (v. 35).

Professor Kern thinks the island of Ceylon is meant, which is not altogether unlikely in view of the allusion to Rāma’s exploit in the above lines, and also of the fact that a few years afterwards (*circa* 1170–80) the Ceylon king Parakkama Bāhu sent a princess as a gift (or tribute?) to the ruler of Kamboja, the son or other successor of Sūryavarman II (cf. ‘Mahāvamsa,’ ch. 76, v. 35).

“I would point out, nevertheless, that it is not impossible that Singapore Island be meant, in which case *Tāmra* should be taken as a *lapsus*, whether intentional or not, for *Tamara*. Singapore Island is much nearer to Kamboja than Ceylon, and has doubtless been at some time or other under Kambojan sway; whereas, in respect to Ceylon, no such expedition is recorded in local chronicles, and no such name as *Dvipatāmra*, the nearest one to it being *Tāmra-parṇī* or *Tamba-panṇī*, unless we take the term *Nāgadvipa*, applied to one portion of that island, to mean ‘Elephant Isle’ (or District; Ptolemy mentions, by the way, feeding-grounds for elephants on its territory).

“I am, notwithstanding this, under the impression that the *Dvipatāmra-dēśa* of the inscription above cited may, after all, mean *Lān-c’hāng* (‘Elephant plains’), i.e. Eastern Lāos, which, besides being the traditional land of elephants, is also that of copper.”

Though, in the absence of corroborative evidence, it is unsafe to express a decided opinion on the question, I venture to think that Professor Kern is right in regarding Ceylon as the country referred to by the descriptive term *Dvipatāmra-dēśa*. It is true that the expedition from Kamboja is not mentioned in the Mahāvamsa; but this chronicle also ignores the Chinese invasion of Ceylon in *circa* 1410 (the Rājāvaliya alone recording it). Then, again, as Colonel Gerini points out, *Dvipatāmra-dēśa* as a name for Ceylon is found nowhere else. This, however, need not prove a stumbling-block,

since king Sūryavarman (or his scribe) may have invented a new name for the occasion. On the other hand, the “allusion to Rāma’s exploit” is certainly an argument in favour of the Ceylon theory; though it must not be pressed too far. “But,” someone may fairly ask, “how can Ceylon be described as the ‘Land of Elephants and Copper,’ when the metal named is absolutely non-existent in that island?” In true Scottish fashion, I would reply by asking: “Does *tāmra* in the name under consideration mean *copper*?” (Colonel Gerini’s suggestion, that “*Tāmra* should be taken as a *lapsus* . . . for *Tamara* [= tin],” will not, I think, hold water.) If it does, in my opinion the Ceylon theory falls to the ground. But I would point out that in Pali not only does *dvīpo* mean an elephant, but *tambo* also means “a sort of elephant” (Childers’s Pali Dict., s.v.). As this masculine form *tambo* is evolved from the neuter *tambam*, no doubt an elephant of a reddish hue is intended. It is, therefore, possible (I will not say probable) that by *Dvipatāmra-dēsa* king Sūryavarman intended to describe Ceylon as “the land of elephants” *par excellence*. The elephants of Ceylon had a reputation for exceptional sagacity, and were much sought after in India and other countries; and it may be that when he invaded the island the Kambojan monarch came into contact with the war elephants of the Sinhalese king, and possibly carried some off with him. There may be a sort of punning allusion in *Dvipatāmra* to the ancient name of Ceylon, *Tāmaparṇī* (*Tambaparṇī*); for, if the component parts be reversed and the *i* lengthened, we get *Tāmradvīpa* = ‘the copper(-coloured) island.’

I offer the above as mere suggestions on an obscure subject.

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