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SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOUTH INDIA
TO INDIAN CULTURE

Calcutta University Readership *Sectures*

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOUTH INDIA TO INDIAN CULTURE

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UNIVERSITY

'ANCIENT INDIA', 'BEGINNINGS OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY*.

'SOUTH INDIA AND HER MUHAMMADAN INVADERS' ETC.



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Sarasvati, Sastra-Vachaspati, Sambuddhagama-

Chakravarti,

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University,

President of the

Council of Post-Graduate Teaching,

Calcutta University.

PREFACE

The following pages contain the substance of the Readership Lectures that I originally intended to deliver at the Calcutta University early in 1920. The honour of a Readership at the University was bestowed upon me, in distinguished company, at the instance of the ever watchful President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching at the time, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, whose exertions in the cause of Indian History and Culture are too well-known and too well-founded to require any commendation from me. Owing to official exigencies and ill-health it was impossible that I could carry out my engagement as originally intended, although I was able later to discharge the responsibilities involved in the honour by delivering a shorter course of lectures on the same subject. Among a certain number of subjects 'Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture' was selected as likely to be more attractive to the Calcutta University, and hence the effort in the following pages to lay before the public some of the main contributions

to Indian culture which South India could be credited with having made in the course of her history.

Any estimate of the contributions made by South India to Indian culture involves, as a necessary preliminary, an elaborate study of the history of India as a whole, in all its cultural aspects. An attempt at such a study in a systematic way has but recently been inaugurated in the University of Calcutta by the institution of a Master's Degree in "Indian Culture" with provision for teaching the subject as a part of the scheme for post-graduate teaching at the University. It is a happy sign of the times that the need has been recognised in Calcutta, but Calcutta will need the co-operation of the other Indian Universities to study the subject in all its vast and varied ramifications. South Indian history and culture has a character of its own notwithstanding the fact that the interaction of cultural forces between the north and the south is very much more full and frequent than has hitherto been recognised. Despite this constant and almost continuous influence, it is possible to distinguish the special features in the course of cultural development which are ascribable to South Indian influence. An attempt is made here to describe a few of the main contributions, and for obvious reasons the treatment has to be historical in character.

The first question, therefore, that attracts attention, is the peculiar position the Brahman has occupied in the South* so much so that, to "an outside observer, South India presents to-day Brahmanical orthodoxy almost in its *Vaidic* form though not unmodified in essential particulars. The position of the Brahman in South Indian society has been very much to the fore latterly, and a historical investigation of his position may not be uninteresting. His position in the Indian society of the age of the *Brahmanas* is clearly indicated in the *Satapatha Brahmana* passage, an extract from which is quoted, and that seems to be the identical position that he occupied in South India to which he emigrated from the north. That position involved the double responsibility of performing the elaborate ritualistic sacrifices for the benefit of society, and the conservation and cultivation of learning that is involved as a necessary corollary. This conservation and cultivation of learning implied its propagation as well. From a careful investigation of the subject, as far as the material accessible to us enables us to do so, the Brahman has striven to discharge these responsibilities to the best of his ability and opportunities, setting up such a high example in actual life as to invariably exert influence in the direction of uplift which has been felt throughout. The tendency has always been for those below him in the

social organisation to imitate him and come up to his level. It was a characteristic feature of the Brahmanical organisation that the least developed communities in the vast and varied population of India had a recognised place in society moving upwards slowly, it may be too slowly for enthusiastic social reformers, but none the less surely in the direction of rise. In the sphere of conservation of learning through ages when the material agencies for its preservation were so ill-developed and so easily capable of destruction, the success he achieved is nothing short of marvellous. It was not exactly that he enjoyed the monopoly, but it was undoubtedly his influence that gave it the form, and cast it in a mould, to enable its preservation notwithstanding the destructive hand of time itself, and other historical agencies which contributed towards that end. In the sphere of propagation of learning he may have fallen short of the modern compulsory universal education, but his achievements in the sphere both in Sanskrit, and the Sanskritic and other vernaculars of the country, were magnificent. One has only to examine the names of eminent contributors to the literature of Tamil to confirm this statement. The manuscript imperfections of to-day are largely capable of rectification by the traditional handing down of this learning; but this traditional handing down is primarily

responsible for the preservation of much that must otherwise have been irrecoverably lost. It may be said with truth that the Brahmanical organisation of society was mainly responsible for this.

The transformation of the ritualistic Brahmanism into the much more widely acceptable Hinduism of modern times is due to the increasing infusion of the theistic element into the religious system of the day. In this new development South India played an important part. It probably borrowed the elements of *bhakti* from the rising schools of *Viśṇuism* and *Śaivism* in the north, and gave it a special realistic development by infusing into it features characteristic perhaps of the Tamil land and its literary development, making thereby religious experience fall in line with life itself. This development worked itself to its full in the age of the Pallavas so that about the end of the first millennium after Christ the religion of *bhakti* got to be so associated with South India that the reputation as a land of *bhakti*, stuck to it ever afterwards. Along with this notion of *bhakti*, or devotion to a personal God, runs another stream which is perhaps best described as *Tantrism*, worship offered by means of mystic signs and formulae of various character. The same influences seem responsible for the transformation of Hinayanist Buddhism into the Mahayana.

Even in this latter transformation India south of the Vindhyas bore, an important part, but it does not appear to be the Tamil country, or South India proper, that really played the most important part. The honour of it perhaps must be ascribed to a region farther north than the Tamil country—the country of the Andhras. Bhakti that transformed Brahmanism into Hinduism may therefore be regarded as an important contribution of South India to Indian culture, not in reference to its origin but in regard to the important features of its further development.

Another important contribution of South India consists in the spread of Indian culture and the expansion of Indian Commerce. In both of these important departments South India played a prominent part. South India is primarily responsible for the spread of Hindu culture to the islands of the East and the Indo-Chinese peninsula, reaching even as far east as China. The outspread of Southern Buddhistic culture into the islands belongs to a later period of South Indian history. In commercial enterprise, articles of trade from South India were carried in great quantity to the west. In this commerce the commodities of the Eastern Archipelago formed a considerable part of the exports. The import of the eastern commodities into India seems to have been managed as a thoroughly

Indian business though their transportation across to the west might have been in part, or even as a whole, in the hands of others. The expansion towards the east seems to have been in full and self-contained colonies of Hindus, including Brahmans, as the Koetei epigraphs and the statement of Ea-hien together will indicate. In overseas enterprise therefore, South India comes in for comparatively, perhaps the most important share.

In administration, particularly in local administration, which is a characteristic feature of Indian administration generally, South India has its own characteristics which appear to have developed early and been carried to the fullest fruition under the great Cholas A.D. 850-1350. The local part of it seems to have been developed on the indigenous system such as it was, and even in respect to central administration South India shows characteristics which may justify giving it a distinct character though the prevalent general notions and admitted general principles were the same both in the north and in the south. This has been carried to such perfection that it continued undisturbed down to the end of the period of Vijayanagar Empire. Even after, much of it has been carried down intact so that the revenue and fiscal organisation of a considerable part of the Madras Presidency under the East India Company is derived

from the system that obtained at the commencement of the nineteenth century, as a lineal descendant of the ancient Chola administration. It was this continuity that gave South India its distinct character, and made a separate treatment necessary even in the now famous "Fifth Report" which was submitted to Parliament on the eve of the renewal of the charter of the East India Company in 1813.

These are some of the main features of the contributions that South India made to Indian civilisation and culture generally, and much more could be said by way of details both in the preservation of Indian religions and Indian learning when they were subject to great pressure and unavoidable modifications by the impact of Islam which came with the Muhammadan invasions. The conservation of both was due, as was pointed out, to the Empire of Vijayanagar, the supersession of which empire by the Muhammadans being a short parenthesis in the history of the general development of religion and culture in South India.

The whole of this investigation rests upon the Chronology of Tamil literature and history which I have adopted as the result of a long series of researches by a band of South Indian scholars, and my own. The main features of this, setting aside details which are not of much moment, are that that portion of Tamil literature, generally

called Sangam literature, is of a pre-Pallava character and as such referable to the early centuries of the Christian Era; that the literature, the typical representatives of which are the Tevaram and Tiruvoymoli of the saints of the Saivas and Vaishnavas, belongs to the age of the Pallavas and, as a whole, is assignable to the period A.D. 300 to 900. Then follow the works of the later writers who gave form and shape to the teachings of these saints, and those marked the third age beginning from very near the end of the first millennium and going on to about the end of the seventeenth century. There is not much difference of opinion among scholars in regard to the third of these periods. The main lines of the second are also more or less agreed upon though there is a certain amount of difference of opinion in regard to details which however do not affect the general position. In regard to the first however there continues to be an acute difference of opinion yet. Even in regard to this the chronological difference will not affect the general position except in the case of one school of scholars who base their conclusions upon astronomical considerations and thus claim for their investigations a finality which an exact science like mathematical astronomy would give them a title to. It therefore becomes a matter of some necessity that the position should be examined, however imperfectly, so

as not to lay one-self open to the charge of neglect of an important line of investigation bearing vitally upon this question. This astronomical position so called, falls into two divisions ; one of these concerns itself with the collection of such details as are found in literature of an astronomical character and their investigation from the point of view of astronomy with a view to arrive at a chronological conclusion. The second is of a more general character and has reference more or less to a knowledge of the zodiac that the Hindus had generally, and the use of the week days in Indian literature. The two are connected more or less closely, but can for the purpose of this investigation be treated separately.

The first of these questions has assumed great prominence, as it naturally should, in the data provided in a poem included in one of the ancient collections, called Paripadal, generally regarded as a *Sangam* collection. This has reference to an eclipse of the moon of which the author gives some details. These partake of the character of fixing the position of the planets leading to the casting of a horoscope of the occurrence of this eclipse, thus making it possible for calculations to be made as to the particular eclipse of the moon to which this has reference. My esteemed friend, Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, in his valuable work on the Indian Ephemeris, published by the

Government of Madras, has investigated this question with sufficient elaboration and has offered his conclusion that the actual date of the eclipse is June 17, A.D. 634. If this conclusion should be acceptable without question, it will make a fundamental change in the angle of vision in regard to the literary and cultural development of South India, and therefore has to be examined with care. In this examination I do not propose to go into the mathematical part of his work for which I have none of the qualifications that my friend has. But the data upon which he bases his conclusions seem capable of re-examination with a view to considering whether the available data would justify his inference.

Poem 11 of the collection, generally described as a *Sangam* collection, Paripadal, is a work by the author Nallanduvanar, a *Sangam* celebrity, by all known literary tradition. The object of the poem is to celebrate the river Vaigai which flows by Madura, and the poet chooses two annual features of the river for special description. The one is a description of the river when the monsoon bursts on the Western Ghats and the river is in full freshes when people go to it in large numbers to take a bath in the fresh water. The other has reference to the river in low water in the cold weather when people, particularly unmarried women folk,

go to bathe in it in the month of Margaji (Margasiras), December-January, in celebration of a bathing festival' generally described as *Tai-Nir*, the bath of *Tai* (the month of Pushya). The second does not concern us at present. The first part of it is what actually does describe the eclipse. In the first three lines the poet describes that the starry heaven has a road falling into three divisions beginning with *Krttika*, *Ardra*, and *Bharani*, standing respectively as the commentator explains, for *Rishabha*, *Mithuna*, and *Mesha*. This kind of division is described also in the Tamil Nighantu *Pingalandai*. Then follows the position of the planets. Sukra was in Bishabha, Ansraraka was in Mesha, Budha was in Mithuna, Guru was in Mina, Sanaischara was in Makara, when Rahu appeared and shut off the moon from view. So far the statements of the poet are direct and may be taken not to admit of any doubt. The position of the Sun and the Moon, and of Rahu and Ketu are so far not indicated; but there is an expression after fixing the position of Budha which merely states that at dawn or break of day "Krttika was on high." This statement, the commentator takes to mean that Krttika was at the zenith at daybreak, and explains it as having been put in there to indicate that the sun was in the

house of the zodiac, Simha or Leo, at daybreak. The fixing of the position of the Sun in Leo would naturally give us the position of the Moon, and since Rahu is described as being with the Moon, Ketu will naturally occupy the house opposite. Thus the poet would have supplied the position of all the planets in the zodiac. Objection is taken to this interpretation of the commentator, and the expression equivalent to 'on high' is rendered somewhat more loosely so as to indicate that the commentator was responsible for giving it the interpretation to fix the position of the Sun, thus releasing the author from that responsibility. If the expression could be interpreted as the Krttika being merely high up in the heavens, not necessarily at or near the zenith, the position of the Sun could be fixed elsewhere and the position of the Moon, Rahu, and Ketu would therefore be altered also.

Proceeding on these data and rejecting such of the lunar eclipses as are necessarily to be rejected as not satisfying these, there seem to be two possible dates which satisfy the conditions more or less. The first, according to Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai, is the lunar eclipse on the 27th July, A.D. 17, and the other is that on the 17th June, A.D. 634. As against the first date there are two objections: it necessitates, first of all, the complete abandonment of the position of

Mercury (Budha) as given by the poet, and the position of Venus (Sukra) is only approximate. The second and perhaps a still more valid objection is that the eclipse took place an hour after sunset, whereas the poem requires an eclipse in the early morning of the day. Rejecting this on these grounds the other alternative is considered, and that alternative falls short of the data in the poem in that it makes the position of Saturn fall 130 short of Makara, the position ostensibly given to the planet in the poem, and the eclipse is in the month of Ashada instead of Sravana as the commentator takes it. To explain the first inaccuracy, Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai has recourse to finding the commentator wrong in his explanation of the phrase describing the position of Saturn, and giving a new explanation suggested to him by another Tamil scholar Mr. Manikka Nayagar. The text has in regard to Saturn, '*villirkadai Makaram meva,*' reaching Makaram adjacent to the house of the bow (*vil*). The first term '*villirku*' breaks into, *vil il ka*. The last of these is the dative affix, the second means house, the first means a bow, to the house of the bow. That would make the commentator quite correct; while the interpretation actually given by my friend takes the whole of the first part of the term to mean "from the end of the bow passing on to Makara," taking the second part *il* meaning

house and the third *kadai* meaning end. It seems unusual to express in this fashion the transit of Saturn from Dhanus to Makara. It would make no difference in meaning if *il*, the middle word be omitted. The inaccuracy of statement in regard to Saturn according to calculation will still remain. The second point of defect in this date is that it rejects the commentator's position of the Sun in Leo. This would make the poet give a horoscope without indicating the position of the Sun, Moon, Bahu and Ketu. This is hardly satisfactory if the data are to be gives a chronological interpretation. It may be that the commentator is wrong as the poem leaves the matter open to differences of interpretation. What we feel bound to consider is that each of the two dates, the two most satisfactory ones, according to my friend, falls short of being satisfactory from the point of view of the poem itself. It seems open therefore to question whether the author had astronomy enough in him either of the practical observational kind, or of the more scientific, to give us astronomical data for chronological purposes. Since an elaborate investigation does not yield correct results, it would be quite justifiable if we consider that the horoscopic details in the poem had other objects in view than the chronological. The point that the author wishes to indicate seems to be the commencement of the rains-

He seems merely to be projecting in the poem such a position for the planets, etc., as would be propitious for a copious rainfall. The month of Simha seems therefore necessary to be postulated in that connection.

Then there is one statement in the poem itself, that the star Agastya (Canopus) abandons his position on high (in the zenith) and enters Mithuna when "scorching summer gives place to the rains."¹ According to Hindu Astrology, the heliacal setting of Agastya begins at the commencement of the rainy season and his heliacal rising is a general indication of the cessation of the rains. In some parts of the country there are ceremonies performed in propitiation of Agastya for rains at the commencement of the rainy season. The authorities for this are fully described by Mr. R. Ganapati Ayyar, B.A., B.L., in the Tamil Journal, *Sen-Tamil*, in Vol. XIX, No. 11, October 1921. Hence it is open to us to make the inference that the poet had no other object in view in giving these astronomical details in the poem than to describe the coming of the rainy season with the planets in such position as to produce an abundant rainfall. Strict astronomy perhaps is not to be expected here, and perhaps, false astronomy from the scientific point of view, may even be possible.

¹ Vide Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference at Poona, pp. 448-9 for another movement of Canopus.

That I am not alone in this view will become clear from the following extracts from the letters of Professor Jacobi (to 'whom I acknowledge my obligations with gratitude) who was so good as to put himself to the trouble of investigating the matter on my account and giving me the results of his investigations.

Letter dated 4th May 1922.

* * * * *

" After having looked at the matter from all points of view imaginable, I have arrived at the persuasion that the horoscope has been invented by the author, because it is astronomically *impossible*"

* * * * *

" Now, it is not difficult to guess what prompted the author to assign to the planets and the Sun the positions stated in the horoscope under discussion. For he places the Sun and the five planets in those Rasis of which they are the *Adiphas* {cf. Laghu Jataka I. 8) where they are the most powerful (*ib.* I I . 4). Only the Moon is not in his dominion, because in an eclipse, which is a very *auspicious* moment, he stands opposite the Sun. The author had the dominions of the planets before his mind; for describing the place of Jupiter he mentions that he was next to the two signs belonging to Saturn; and the latter was in the sign next to that belonging to the former. So I think we can account for the places which the author assigned to the several planets. Now, if the horoscope is, as I believe to have proved, altogether Active, it may not be used for chronological purposes, and the Age of Early Tamil Literature must be proved by literary and historical arguments as you have tried to do."

Letter dated 15th October 1922.

" I beg to thank on for your kind letter of 20th September about the horoscope in the Paripadal and the date to be assigned to it. You refer to Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai who kindly visited and discussed the whole question with me. The divergence of our results was caused by the difference of interpretation of the passage in the ParipaVal. Mr. Swamikkannu has given his interpretation in Indian Ephemeris, I, Part I, p. 109 ; I went on your interpretation which is also that of the commentator Parimela agar. The points of difference are: (1) The commentator understands the passage, 'at first dawn, when Krttika stood high up' to mean that Krttika was *culminating* just before sunrise, thus indicating the place of the Sun and implicitly that of the Moon and Rahu ; but Mr. Swamikkannu denies to the statement any astronomical signification assigning it only this meaning that the Krttikas were high up in the sky, *i.e.*, at a good altitude above the horizon. (2) The commentator places Saturn in Makara, Mr. Swamikkannu at the end of Dhanus. The point is of less importance.

Now, if the commentator is right regarding (1), then as I told you in my last letter and has also been pointed out by Mr. Swamikkannu 1. c. p. 101, the positions of Mercury and Venus are *impossible*. Nor can we avoid this difficulty by assuming that not the *true* planets, but *mean* planets are intended; because the place of mean Mercury and mean Venus always coincides with that of the Sun (*cf.* Surya Siddhanta, I, £9). My conclusion, therefore, was that the horoscope in question is not a real one, but has been freely invented by the author as in the horoscopes of Rama, Yudhishtira, Buddha, etc., the idea of the poet being that the planets should have been in the signs which

are their own houses as the commentator puts it. Such a horoscope is, of course, without any value for chronological purposes. If, on the other hand, Mr. Swamikkannu's interpretation, is admitted, then his chronological conclusions must also be accepted; for it goes without saying that his calculations can be relied on without reserve. The whole question, therefore, depends on the right interpretation of the original passage, and as I am ignorant of Tamil, I must leave the decision of the question to those who know it and are well versed in its old literature. I may, however, call attention to one point. The statement that " Krttika stood high up " occurs in the midst of entirely astrological items; hence it was very likely also intended to convey an astrological information, viz., that suggested by the commentator. Besides, as the whole passage no doubt states a horoscope, it would be strange indeed, if it contained no explicit hint about the place of the Sun, the Moon, and Rahu. But whether this course of reasoning is borne out by the mental habits of ancient Tamil writers, is beyond my ken. I have stated the case and my way of looking at it; now it is for you to decide the matter."

In the light of these remarks of the veteran scholar, and Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai's own, " Horoscopes are liable to all the failings to which human compositions are subject and unless one was certain of all the elements in a horoscope having been recorded, the time inference drawn therefrom may turn out to be widely discrepant from the truth," I may be excused if I hesitate to accept the conclusion of my friend in regard to the date indicated by the horoscopic

details such as they are in Paripadal 11. The acceptance of this date would make the Paripadal, at least Nallaftduvanar, the author of the particular poem, an author who lived in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Nallanduvananar would then be contemporary with the great Pallava king Narasimhavarman Mahamalla of Kanchi and of the two most prominent of the Tevaram hymners, viz., Samhandar and Appar. If this conclusion regarding poem 11 of Paripadal should be made to apply to the Paripadal itself as a whole and to the whole of the so-called Sangam Literature as a consequence, the position becomes far less acceptable from considerations, literary, historical, and linguistic.

One influencing consideration that led to the preference of this date by my friend is the general position that he has taken in regard to the borrowing of the week days by the Hindus from the Roman week after Constantine had changed the Sabbath from the seventh day of the Jews to the first day of the week. In regard to the naming of the week days the following quotation may be appropriate. " The Semitic peoples gave no names to the days of the week, and Babylonians had apparently no week, their sabbath being the 15th of the month, the Arabs named it Yom el Jumah or day of congregation and the Yom es Sebt or sabbath. The Aryans, on the other hand, dedicated one week-day to a God, apparently

under Roman influence in the West, while the Hindus and Tamils alike have such names in India. . * * * * All alike, place the Sun first and the Moon second. Tuesday is sacred to Mars and Siva, Wednesday to Mercury or Budha, Thursday to Jove or (Brhaspati), Friday to Venus or Sukra, being also the sacred day of the Arabs who worshipped the Venus of Makka. Saturday belonged to Saturn, originally the God of Agriculture." * * * The Greek week days are those of Christian times. The Tibetan planets are connected respectively with light, water, flame, copper, wood, gold, and earth. The Semitic names only mean first, second, etc., excepting those above stated—Friday and Saturday.¹

It will be seen from a comparison of the names that there is no connection between the one set of names and the other except that they indicate the same object. The Hindu notion of Budha is perhaps something quite different from Mercury as also Jove or Jupiter and Brhaspati. It would be very difficult to trace any connection between the names Venus and Sukra except that they stand as the names of the same day. Unless it be that the Hindus borrowed the week days from the Greeks and invented their own names for the presiding deities, these differences can hardly be accounted for.

PREFACE

Apart from these considerations it is open to doubt whether the week originated from the astronomical considerations that are held to have brought the week day into existence. It is generally taken that, for the constitution of the week, the division of the day into the nychthemeron or of twenty-four hours is absolutely necessary. As another consideration, the planets are supposed to be taken in the order of diminishing distances beginning with Saturn, appointing each of these planets to be the presiding deity of a particular hour of the day in rotation. At any particular date when the week got to be originated, reversing of the order with a view to bringing it in line with the twenty-four hours division would perhaps imply very much more knowledge of scientific astronomy than could have been possessed by the originators. Hence it would bear the conclusion that this probably is a later astronomical adjustment of an already existing week system. It would seem more reasonable to ascribe the origin of the week to causes other than astronomical, for which there is a considerable volume of evidence in Hindu literature. The week seems actually to have originated in a division of the month into quarters, and each quarter is taken roughly to be seven days, necessary adjustments following when the error got to be discovered. There were several

such divisions known from Vedic times, as Dr. Shamasastri demonstrates ¹ clearly. That the week arises naturally from a division of the day into sixty periods as the Hindus have, comes out clearly from the following remarks of Professor Rawlinson.² 'There is further no evidence to show that the Medes, or even the Babylonians were acquainted with the order of the planets which regulated the nomenclature of the days of the week. The series in question, indeed, must have originated with a people who divided the day and night into sixty hours instead of twenty-four ; and so far as we know at present, this system of horary division was peculiar in ancient times to the Hindu calendar ; the method by which the order is eliminated is simply as follows :—The planets in due succession from Moon to Saturn were supposed to rule the hours of the day in a recurring series of sevens, and the day was named after the planet which happened to be the regent of the first hour. If we assign then the first hour of the first day to the Moon we find that the 61st hour which commences the second day belongs to the fifth planet or Mars; the 121st hour to the second or Mercury, 181st to the sixth or Jupiter, the 241st to the third or Venus, 301st to the seventh or Saturn, 361st to the fourth or the Sun. The popular

¹ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, for July, 1922, pp. 1-31.

² *Herodotus*, I. 226.

belief (which first appears in Dion Cassius) that the series in question refers to a horary division of twenty-four is incorrect; for in that case, although the order is the same, *the succession is inverted*. One thing indeed seems to be certain, that if the Chaldeans were the inventors of the hebdomadal nomenclature, they must have borrowed their earliest astronomical science from the same source which supplied the Hindus; for it could not have been by an accident that a horary division of sixty was adopted by both races.' Dr. Shama Sastri has attempted to prove that this division originated with the Hindus, while a school of Assyriologists would give the credit to the Babylonians.

Without labouring the point further we might proceed to the consideration whether we have any evidence of the Hindus having had any knowledge of the planets either generally, or in the week day order. It is now generally admitted that the division of the ecliptic into 27 constellations was known to the Hindus from Vedic times. It is not quite clear that they knew its division into the twelve houses of the zodiac. It seems inferable from the mention of the term Sauramasa of thirty¹ days and a half, and a few other details like Uttarayanam and Dakshinayanam, that some kind of division answering to the division of the zodiac existed among the Hindus

¹ Chapter XX of the Artha Sastra, Shama Sastri's translation.

in the fourth century B.C. The mention of the planets in the week day order in the Baudhayana Dharma Sutra is equally significant in this direction. This happens to occur in the first two books (actually in I I . 5.9) of the Sutra which are regarded by the late Dr. Biihler as not having been tampered with to the extent that the later books are, and these Sutras, at least the genuine parts of them, are referable to the fourth century B. C. according to the same authority.¹ The Sardula Karnavadana, which was translated into Chinese in the third century A.D. and 'the framework of (which) *avadana* itself must be of great antiquity' according to its learned editors Go well and Neil, not merely contains reference to the planets including Rahu and Ketu, but even a division headed *Dvadasa-rasika*, the twelve signs of the zodiac. This *avadana* contains a; volume of astrological information which would warrant great astrological knowledge among the Hindus. In *avadana* 19 of the same work, called *Jyotishka-avadana*, there is a reference to an astrologer named Bhurika as having made a calculation and verified a prediction of the Buddha.² It is hardly necessary to multiply references. In the face of these, it would be too much to postulate that the Hindus had no knowledge of astrology, or of the signs of the

¹ Sacred Books of the East, I I , pp. xxiv and xliii.

² *ib.*, p. 263.

zodiac, or that they borrowed the week day from the Christian week in the age of the Guptas. It would be safer to hold with Biihler, ' I do not think it has been proved that every work that enumerates the rasis must be later than the period when Ptolemy's astronomy and astrology were introduced into India.'¹ From the point of view of mere historical considerations, parts of India were very much more in contact with the Greek world of Asia from the time when Selucus I became king of Asia down to the end of the Kushans, and cultural elements like astrology or the week days, if they came from the West of India, had ample opportunities of coming into the country before the days of Paulus Alexandrinus, or even before the days of Ptolemy. In the present state of our knowledge of the cultural histories of India and of Western Asia respectively, it is too much to build on the available evidence to state categorically that any reference to a week day in any work of literature *ipso facto* condemns it to a period posterior to the age Aryabhatta. Aryabhatta was born, according to his own statement, in A.D. 472-73 and composed his principal work in his 23rd year, *i.e.*, A.D. 496-97. But the inscription of Budhagupta mentions the week day, Thursday, more than ten years before this. In the light of the evidence cited above, and

¹ Buhler's *Manu*, p cxvii,

having regard to the uncertain character of the evidence offered I may be excused if I show myself to be somewhat sceptical, however regretfully, in regard to the conclusions of my esteemed friends Messrs. Swamikkannu Pillai and Kameswara Ayyar, who have committed themselves, each in his own particular way, to the view that the Hindu knowledge of astronomy is post-Alexandrian in all its details. I do not exclude the possibility that Hindu astronomy, such as it was, was wrong in details and adopted corrections from the Greeks when Greek astronomy came to be fully known to them in the age of Aryabhatta, or somewhat later in that of Varahamihira. If I still persist in relying more upon historical considerations in my classification of 'Jamil literature, I hope I have demonstrated above, that I have good reason to support me in my position.

In concluding this introduction I must acknowledge my gratitude to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching at the Calcutta University, and, to the University as a whole, for the honour they have done me in nominating me Reader. My acknowledgments are also due to my friend Professor D. R. Bhandarkar and several other members of the Calcutta University. My debt of obligation to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is so great that I could hardly dream of acknowledging it adequately. I have dedicated

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S. K. AIYANGAR.

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CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY.

History begins for India with the coming of the Aryans into the country. It may be said with almost equal truth that the history of South India, of India south of the Krishna-Tungabhadra frontier, begins with the coming of the Aryans into the South. In this particular context the term "Aryan" seems to stand for the Brahman. The coming of the Aryan therefore would be the coming of the Brahman as a settler in this remote and sequestered region of India from the point of view of the northern Aryan. As far as we could trace the term Aryan in early Tamil literature, it is used in a broad and narrower sense. In the broader sense, it means the *northerner* with the northern culture ; the typical representative of the latter was, so far as the southerners were concerned, the Brahman. But there is a sense in which the term is used synonymously with the Tamil "Vadavar" (northerner). There is specific reference to a class known by this name, whose profession seems to have been elephant-training. They are referred

to as men who were expert in capturing wild elephants by trained female ones.¹ In the general sense there are references to Aryans, who were defeated in the battle-field of Vallam by the Cholas.² These Aryas are also said to have been defeated in a northern invasion by a Chera king who is said to have imprinted his bow emblem on the face of the Himalayas and brought some of the Aryan kings captive to his capital Vanji. These are associated with the Himalayas.³ They come in for another reference as laying siege to the hill fortress of Muljur, the citadel of the Malayaman chieftain Tirumudik-Kari.⁴ A people therefore other than Brahmans were known under the name "Arya" in the south. That this is synonymous with the northern Aryans is in evidence in the title assumed by the Pandyan Nedum-Seliyan "who overthrew the forces of the Aryas."⁵ Among the synonyms given to the term in the Divakaram, the oldest Tamil Lexicon, occurs the term Mlechcha. This term seems to be used in the sense in which it is explained in the Satapatha Brahmana,⁶ and not meaning a foreign barbarian as in later times.

¹ Parinar in Aham 296, 11. 9 and 10, and Mullaipattai, 11. 35-30.

² Pavaik-Kotfilar in Aham 336, II 20-22.

³ Padirrupattu. Poem I, 11. 23-26, and II, Padigam.

⁴ Narrinai, 170 of an unknown author.

⁵ Silappadhikaram, canto XXIII. Epilogue, 11. 14 to 18.

⁶ III. 2. 1. 23 and 24, Manu X. 45. Sacred Books of the East, XXVI, pp. 31 and 32. Cf. Mrchchakatika, p. 255, speech of Chandanaks: (Bo: Nirn: Edn. of 1916).

These Aryas are known to **the Tamils** by the general name Vadavar, literally northerners. They seem also to carefully distinguish those that were immediately to the north of their frontier as Vadukar. This word seems to be formed on the analogy of perhaps the later Kanarese word Badaga, which, in its origin, had the sense northerner also. But the use of the word seems confined to those immediately to the north of the regular Tamil frontier. This frontier was marked by Pulikat, the northern extremity of the Tamil country proper, on the east coast, and possibly Karwar point on the west coast. These people the Vadukar, are described as robbers by profession habitually engaged in cattle-lifting. The chieftain Erumai of Kudanadu is referred to as a Vaduka.¹ The corresponding chieftain on the eastern side with his capital at Tirupati² was also possibly a yaduka^r by name Pulli who is described as the chieftain of robbers, Kalvarkoman. Entering this region from the Tamil country, the language changed.³ They are described by one poet as *Vadukas* who kept cruel dogs and the words of whose language were "long and unlearned," as much as to say "barbarous," in the original sense of the **term**.⁴

¹ Narkirar in Ahara 253, 11. 16-19.

² Mamulanar in Aham, 11. 15-17.

³ Mamular in Aham, 31, 127, **211** and 295.

⁴ Kank-Kannan of Kaveripattanam in Aham 107, 1.11.

Another poet of this group refers to the sacrifices that these people offered in thanksgiving for the capture of herds of cattle. In this connection the hill Vengadam (Tirupati) is described as belonging to Tondaiyar on the borders of the country of the Vadukas. These are some of the references to the Aryas or the northern people in the earliest extant literature of the Tamils.

KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTH INDIA IN SANSKRIT AND PALI LITERATURE.

Looking from the other side it is a well known fact that the grammarian Panini has little or nothing to say about South India. We have to come to the time of Katyayana for some knowledge of places in South India. Katyayana had heard of the Pandya and the Chola Kingdoms. Contemporary Buddhist literature does not mention anything beyond Dandaka lying south of Asmaka on the Godaveri, so that down to the middle of the 4th century, comparatively little was known of the South, as far, at any rate, as our knowledge of it goes at present. This is in a way confirmed by the dramatist Bhasa whose political vision seems to be bounded by the Vindhya and the Himalayas for the south and north, and the seas for the west

¹ Sarabhanga Jataka (522) and cf. Arthasastra, p. 11, ed. 1911.

and east.¹ Megasthenes had however heard of the Pandya country. It was under the rule of a woman and her territory extended from sea to sea in the south. It was, according to him, composed of 365 villages. He gives a queer story that one village or township brought in its revenue every day. This arrangement, according to him, was intended to give the queen the assistance of the escort carrying the tribute to compel others who may not be so readily inclined to pay. He gives the precise information that the Pandyan army was composed of 500 elephants, 4,000 cavalry and 130,000 infantry. He also refers to the possession of the rich fishery for pearls which the later Greek writer Arrian says were sought for by the Greeks and the Eomans. Coming to the Arthasastra of Chanakya, referable almost to the same time as Megasthenes himself, we gain a few details which exhibit a certain amount of definite knowledge. He speaks of two classes of pearls which must be referred to this country. One is called Tamraparnika, apparently pearls fished for near the mouth of the Tamraparii, namely, the Gulf of Mannar ; and then Pandya *Kavataka* that which is obtained in Pandya *Kavata*, which would mean literally the door of the Pandya. The commentator, however, renders this expression by " Malayakoti." That could

¹ Imam sagaraparyantam Himavad-Vindhyakun<Jaia mahira
ekatapatrakam Rajasimha prasastu nah.

only mean the pearls fished for in the Pandya country where the promontory of Malaya, the southern portion of the Western Ghats, dips into the sea; in other words, the sea very near Cape Comorin. Speaking of cotton cloth he refers to the fabrics of Madhura noted then as now, for the fine textures produced in the town or district. When we come down to the age of Patanjali a little more knowledge of South India is exhibited. He knew Mahishmati and Vidarbha¹ both of which might be referred to the Dakhan, and Kanchipuram and Kerala in the south. One point of some importance in his references is where he says that the word "*Sarasi*" is used in the South to denote large lakes, giving us a hint that he knew not only the geography of the country, but had noted even some of the peculiarities of the language of the south. That is so far only from literature.

EVIDENCE OF EPIGRAPHY.

Coming to inscriptions there are no South Indian inscriptions, as far as is known at present, anterior to the Christian era excepting copies of the Asoka edicts that have been found in two localities, one in the North-Eastern corner of Mysore and the other in the South-Western

¹ Already known to Brahmana literature: Ait. Br. vii, 14 and Jaimini Up. Br. ii, 640.

corner of Hyderabad. There are a few cave-inscriptions in Brahmi character which may be referable to the first century B. C. or even somewhat earlier, but they await interpretation. Lastly there is just one Satavahana inscription in Talgunda in the state of Mysore. Beyond these, inscriptions that throw light upon the history of South India are to our knowledge up to the present, non-existent. We are therefore driven necessarily to a body of literature referable to the century on either side of the Christian era most of them, and which contain embedded in them glimpses of an earlier time. But turning to the northern inscriptions, the inscriptions of Asoka give us some definite knowledge of the political condition even of the remote south, and provide the earliest reliable information on the political condition of South India. Such of Asoka's edicts as do mention these Southern kingdoms mention them as outside the pale of the empire of the great Buddhist ruler liable only to be influenced by the emperor regarding the teaching of "the law of piety." The Chola, the Pandya, Kerajaputra and Satiyaputra are mentioned as among "those nations and princes that are his neighbours,"⁵⁵ and therefore outside of his empire. Coming down to the next century the Hathigumpha inscription of the Kalinga King, Kharavela refers to the arrival of a tribute of jewels and

elephants from the Pandya King to the Kalinga ruler thereby confirming, what is inferable from the word *kalingam* used in Tamil for cloth of a particular kind, that there was trade connection with the country of Kalinga. Even these inscriptional sources do not advance our knowledge of South India very much ; but they do give us to understand that there was a certain degree of communication and a certain amount of knowledge of each other between the two parts of the country. Asoka's edicts themselves make it clear that his empire stopped short of South India, and such communication as did exist was of the peaceful neighbourly kind without giving us any hint of any warlike effort either on his own part or on that of his predecessors. What is wanted in detail in these edicts is supplied to us in Tamil Literature to which we shall now turn.

THE MAURYAN PERIOD.

From what has been said above it is clear that any definite knowledge of South India does not reach back beyond the Mauryan period. What we do learn from the scanty sources of information accessible to us gives us but a glimpse into the political condition of India in the age of the Mauryas. Such glimpses as we get warrant the presumption that the states of the

south must have had an anterior history of some length. Our knowledge of that history however does not carry us back beyond the period of the Mauryas. Thus the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon which pretend to carry us back to the age of the Buddha himself are so meagre in point of that history before the age of Asoka that the conclusion seems inevitable that there was in Ceylon itself no real knowledge of its history anterior to the age of the great Buddhist emperor. We shall presently see that such information as we get from Tamil Literature does not take us any further back than this, and we are driven round again to the same conclusion that our knowledge of the history of the south dates back to the age of the Mauryas and no farther, although absence of information available to us does not inevitably mean absence of history in the region concerned.

THE MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION, TAMIL LITERATURE.

The main source of information for the period previous to the rise of the Pallavas into importance is Tamil Literature, of which we have a body with a character all its own. This body of works is known among Tamil Scholars by the collective designation, "Sangam works." This designation assumes the existence of a **body**

or an academy of scholars and critics, whose imprimatur was necessary for the publication Of any work of literature in Tamil. The Tamil word "*Sangam*" is the Sanskrit "*Sangha*" and means ordinarily no more than an assembly. In this particular application, however it means a body of scholars, of recognised worth and standing in the world of letters, who were maintained by the contemporary kings and constituted themselves a board before whom every work seeking recognition had to be read. It is only when this body as a whole signified its approval that the work could go forth into the world as a Sangam work. It does not, however, mean that other works were not written and published. There are some which have come down to us, which do not appear to have gone before the Sangam. The function of this body seems therefore to be merely to set up a standard of excellence for works which aspire to the dignity of Sangam works. Tamil Scholars recognise a body of works that are acknowledged to have passed this gauntlet of criticism among the Sangam works. Some others also are included in this group apparently as belonging to the same age and partaking of the same character. This is not done by scholars of to-day, nor is it a matter purely of present-day opinion. The commentators who lived five or six centuries before us, and more, also make

this classification and treat the works accordingly. It is the tradition of the commentators that has come down to us and the whole position in respect of this classification rests upon the authority generally of these commentators.

Of these Sangams, tradition knows of three. The numbers of scholars in the first and the second, and the numbers of Pandya kings that took an active part in the work of these bodies, were according to this tradition very large. Although some of the works referred to as belonging to these Sangams, and mentioned as such, have come down to us in isolated quotations the actual existence of these bodies as stated in tradition would be difficult to postulate with the evidence accessible to us. It rather seems to be that this body of scholars was a permanently existing body, and did exist for a certain number of centuries continuously. In the work of these bodies there were periods of great output and periods of comparative barrenness. We have no means of ascertaining what exactly might have been the cause of this alternation. But such brilliant periods seem marked as the period of the first Sangam and of the second Sangam, not very far behind their historical successor, the third Sangam. What actually does make the tradition look very suspicious, is the extraordinary length of time that is given to each one of

these periods. It is this impossible longevity in the traditional account that stamps the whole tradition connected with these two bodies as entirely false in the estimation of modern scholarship. The third Sangam counts among its scholar members 49, and 3 Pandya rulers, who bore an honourable part in the work of the academy. The bulk of the works that have come down to us may be ascribed actually to this body, in our present state of knowledge of these three academies, as a whole. It would perhaps be better to assume that they refer to three brilliant epochs in the active work of a single academy which might have existed for a number of centuries. This body of *antique* literature contains embedded in it various details reminiscent of what to them must have been contemporary or other history, as also a considerable amount of information very interesting to us in regard to their own times.

ITS CHARACTER AND CHRONOLOGY.

The bulk of this body of works in Tamil partakes of the character of heroic pieces celebrating incidents in the lives of particular patrons, or illustrative of various modes of composition according to the canons of Tamil rhetoric. Several of these fugitive pieces are **like the** heroic tales from out of which sprang

Homer's Iliad, and, according to modern criticism, the Ramayana and the Maljabharata of our own country. As such therefore they are of great value historically. Most of these are short poems relating to some particular kind of emotion, or to the exploits of an individual hero, and fall into two classes which might be labelled for convenience "erotic" and "heroic." As a rule these are short poems in various styles of composition, and should have been collected and thrown into the form in which they have come down to us, at a particular period. In collecting them, this classification into two is the main principle of division. There are various cross divisions which are of minor importance for our purposes. The feature that makes them all common to a particular period of activity of this body of learned men, is that a very large number of these collections receives poems in invocation from one poet Perum-Devanar who is distinguished from others of the name by the qualifying designation "who rendered the Bharata in Tamil." There are *i* celebrities of this name Perum-Devanar, in Tamil literature and the attribute is absolutely necessary to mark out the particular individual. The Bharatam that he composed in Tamil has not come down to us, and is quite different from the portion of the Tamil Bharata that is available as the work of another Perum-Devan. The rendering of

the Bharatam in Tamil, the establishment of the Sangam in Madura and the winning of a victory over the forces of the other Tamil kings and chiefs at a place called Talai-Alanganam are described as the achievements of an ancient Pandyan in the Sinnamanur-grant of the 10th century.¹ This ancient Pandya is treated as distinct from and as having preceded by a stretch of time, the dynasty to which the donor of the Velvikudi-grant, who is the seventh in succession from the first member of this particular dynasty, belonged according to the genealogy of the Pandyas accepted by the Epigraphists.

One of the most important of these collections which is known to Tamil scholars under two names Ahananuru, which means the 400 relating to "erotics," or Nedum-togai, meaning collection of longer poems, was made by a Brahman Rudrasarman, the son of Uppurikudi-Kilan of Madura at the instance of the Pandyan Ugrapperuvaludi. This by itself would not lead us very far; but this Rudrasarman comes in contact with a well known poet and president of the Sangam by name Narkirar who wrote the accepted commentary on an abridged work on the vast department of rhetoric relative to this particular section of Tamil poetry. This poet Narkirar was the contemporary of the Pandyan

¹ Madras Epigraphist's Report, 1907, pp. 62-67,

victor at Talai-Alanganam. Hence this great Pandyan, Narkirar, Rudrasarman, and Perurh-Devan all belonged apparently to the same generation, and that is the generation when the Sangam activity was at its height under this Pandya, and Narkirar, when the Bharata was rendered into Tamil verse by Perum-Devanar and the Ahananuru was collected into its present form by Rudrasarman. The works therefore which are thus collected relate to the generations preceding, several of them proximate, some of them, it might even be remote. It would be impossible in this context, to deal in sufficient fulness with all the arguments that would enable us to fix the age of this Sangam activity. But some of the more salient arguments that lead to the conclusion that the age of the Sangam is the first and the second century of the Christian era may be indicated :—

(1) The whole body of the Sangam works taken collectively give us a picture of the Tamil country in a period of great prosperity.

(2) There are a considerable number of references direct and indirect to active trade both internal and oversea.

(3) This commercial prosperity and the prevalence of comparative peace is reflected in the writings of the classical authors from whom we gain a considerable amount of knowledge of the commercial prosperity of the land.

(4) There is no indication in this vast body of literature of the existence of various dynasties of the Pallavas known to history. The rulers of Kanchi appear as viceroys of the Cholas, and often-times princes of the blood-royal of the Cholas. The only chieftain who is called in Tamil "Tondaman" is "Tondaman Ilam-Tirayan" said to be the son of a Chola ruler by a Naga princess. His designation IJam-Tirayan presumes another Tirayan, and there is one such not associated necessarily with Kanchi. The name Tondiayar is given to the people inhabiting the country round Kanchi; and the hill of Tirupati, the northern limit of the Tamil country, is said to have been in the country of Tondiayar or the Pallavas, thus establishing the equation that the people called Tondiayar in Tamil are the Pallavas of Sanskrit.¹

The inference is clear that the age of the Sangam activity must be regarded pre-Pallava in character.

(5) An epic work composed of the twin *kavya* Silappadhikaram and Manimekhalai, not a Sangam work in the sense that it received the Sangam imprimatur, is the work of two authors. The first was written by a Chera prince, a younger brother of the great Chera ruler Sem-Kuttuvan, who adopted the life of an

¹ Old poem quoted by Nachchinarkiniyar in his comment on Sutra 54 of Porujadhikaram.

ascetic; and the second by his friend Sittalai-Sattan of Madura, who was one among the 49 who composed *the* third Sangam and a friend both of the King Sem-Kuttuvan and his ascetic brother IJamko-Adikal. Sem-Kuttuvan undoubtedly was a Sangam celebrity having been celebrated in several poems by poets like Paranaar, which poems are found in the collections known as the Sangam collection. Without going into fuller detail we might say at once that he was the exact contemporary of Gajabahu of Ceylon, undoubtedly the earlier of the two Gajabahus in the Ceylon list.

The name Gajabahu occurs as among those who congratulated Sem-Kuttuvan on the successful celebration of the establishment of the temple to the goddess Pattini (chaste-lady) in his capital of Vanji. Attempts have been made to get round this by saying that this reference occurs outside the body of the work and by arguments based thereon. Except betraying the ignorance which often adds emphasis to an opinion, the objection is not worth consideration. It may be pointed out that this reference to Gajabahu among those that were present, occurs in the body of the poem in line 160 of canto thirty, not in the epilogue that comes at the end of it; although the statement in regard to the establishment of a temple to this same goddess in Ceylon by this Gajabahu occurs in the

prologue which might be the composition of another author and possibly of a later time even. Without labouring the point further it is clear that this particular period of activity of the Sangam must be referred to the second century A.D. The works collected during this period have undoubtedly a range of a few generations which may amount at least to a century, possibly to a period much longer.

This body of literature relating to the two sections already indicated contain embedded in them many expressions by way of compliment or some otherwise to actual patrons. They give a number of ethnographical and geographical details of an important character relating to various parts of the country, and various other details from which important inferences could be drawn if they should be sorted and arranged with sufficient knowledge of the general background in which to set these small details. In dealing with the whole matter the classical grammarians recognise two modes which, for convenience, may be described as the conventional and the real. The first of these they call *nadaha valakku* (the dramatic usage) in which it is open to them to introduce creations of pure imagination. It seems nevertheless to be an understanding that as the purpose of these works is the general impression that these produce upon the people for

didactic purposes, they must still have a realistic colour. To achieve this they make use of even real historical material somewhat idealised to produce the correct impression according to their notions. This mode is applicable generally to subjects that come under the classification "erotics." In regard to the really dramatic part of the subjects treated, viz., those which relate to action, the mode adopted is that of what actually obtained in the world around them, *ulak-iyal-valakku* (the usage of actual life). This section having mainly to do with the doings of kings and chiefs, both principal and subsidiary, are admittedly of a historical character.¹ In the use, therefore, of the mass of material which, with labour, one could collect from this literature, a considerable degree of discrimination and judgment is required. Carefully studied and properly selected one could obtain a very considerable knowledge of the history of the times to which this body of literature relates.

For an examination of this literature the standard work of grammar and rhetoric is the *Tolkappiyam* though its original, *Agattiyam* comes in for large application, though the work itself is not extant. The traditional belief among Pandits is that the text of the *Tolkappiyam*,

¹ *Tolkappiyam* Ponil 58 and comment thereon by **Nachchinarkkiniyar** and **Ilam Puranar**,

as we have it at present, is anterior to the great bulk of this class of literature now extant. Reading through the various commentators on this vast grammatical work one often comes across statements which would imply the existence of a body of this kind of literature before a systematic work like the *Tolkappiyam* could have been written. That, however, is matter which it is hardly necessary to labour in this connection. What is to the point here is that the literature available contains a considerable mass of material which with judgment could be made to yield very good material for history. Such as it is, it does not take us back beyond Mauryan times.

GLIMPSES OF MAURYAN INVASION IN IT.

In this mass of literature we get some allusions to the Mauryas and Mauryan invasions of South India which throw a new light upon this particular period of history. Among the number of poets whose works are found collected in this volume of literature there are three authors that refer to the Mauryan invasions specifically. One of them is the Brahman poet, Mamulanar, the much respected Brahman poet of the *Agastya gotra* belonging to the south country, the other is one Param-Korranar and the third is Kallil. **Attirayanar.** Mamulanar has got **two references**

in respect of this particular matter, and the other two one each. The general character of these references is to a distant hill worn by the rolling cars of the Mauryas beyond which a young lover might have gone in quest of wealth. His love-lorn sweetheart at home, pining away in solitude for his return, is assured in various ways that even if he should have got past this hill he would keep his promise and return on the appointed day. That is the general purport of the passages¹ in the first two authors. This means that a particular hill marks the frontier limit of the Tamil land, going beyond which one gets into foreign land and unknown country, return from which in safety is problematical. The hill under reference marks therefore some well-known frontier hill a considerable distance from the Tamil land across which the war chariots of the Mauryas had to be taken at considerable labour. A tribe of people, foreigners apparently, specifically called Kosar, advanced southwards so far as the Podiyil Hill and defeated some enemy there when the chieftain of Mohur declined to submit. In consequence the Mauryas marched upon the territory. In regard to this the points to be noted are that the Kosar, of whom 4 divisions are known in this body of Tamil literature, were somehow connected with

¹ *Aham* 251.

the Mauryas. There is only one Mohur known to Tamil literature of which a chief of the name Palaiyan played an important part against various enemies, most conspicuous among them being Sem-Kuttuvan Sera. It is to subjugate this Mohur which is a place about 7 miles north-east of the town of Madura with a fortified temple and some remnants of a comparatively old chieftaincy, that the Mauryas are said to have advanced after the failure of the Kosar. The other poem of this author refers to the southern invasion of the Mauryas. This time the Mauryas came led forward by the Vadukar, or pushing them in front. In this connection there is the same reference to the hill worn by the war chariots of the Mauryas*¹ The second author merely refers to the Mauryas and the cutting down of the hill to make a roadway for the war chariots of the Mauryas. The third author refers similarly to the cutting down of the hill side to make way for the rolling cars. But the word Moriyar has a second reading Orivar which the learned commentator on the work has adopted as the reading. On this point it must be noted that a dispassionate and close examination of the passage shows clearly that the reading Moriyar would read very much better and would be very much more in

¹ Aham 281,

keeping with the general sense of the passage than the reading Oriyar. Having regard to the class of works -concerned, the other passages under reference in connection almost with the same matter ought to be the best commentary on this doubtful passage. It therefore leaves no room for doubt that there is a Mauryan invasion or invasions under reference, and that in the course of this invasion they had to get across a difficult hill making a roadway for themselves. That this hill was at some considerable distance, from the point of view of the Tamilian, and to a love-lorn damsel of the Tamil land going across the hill is as much as Shakespeare's " her husband is to Aleppo gone." The author Mamulanar refers in the first passage rather familiarly to the wealth of the Nandas. The same author, in another¹ passage refers to this wealth of the Nandas as having accumulated in Patali (Patna), but got hidden in the floods of the Ganges in times gone by. The point of the reference in these cases is, as is borne out by a corresponding passage² of the same author in* connection with the accumulated wealth of the Seras, that the Nandas had accumulated vast wealth and the accumulated wealth at one time came to be of no use to them having been hidden in the one case in the waters of the Ganges, in the other

¹ Aham 264²

Aham 127.

by being buried in the earth. We have then in Mamulanar an author who had heard of the wealth of the Nandas and who speaks of the southern invasions of the Mauryas. By way of confirmation, the two other authors speak of the invasions of the south by the Mauryas also in equally clear terms excepting for a difference of reading in one of the two cases. We shall now proceed to consider who the Vadukar and the Kosar are, the two people that are brought into connection with these Mauryan invasions.

VADUKAR.

Of these two sections of people referred to, the term Vadukar is used for those that lived across the Tamil frontier on the north for which Pulikat on the one side and the northern frontier of Nannan's territory, including in it both Tuju and Konkan, provide the limits. The Chief of Vengadam (Tirupati), Pulli by name, comes often in contact with the people who are described in various ways in these poems. The general trend of all this description is to make of them a class of hunters. Their chief occupation was cattle raiding and they are always said to be accompanied by cruel dogs.¹ Entering into their territory language changed.² This language is referred to by a poet Kari-Kannan of Kaveripattapam³

¹ Ahm 213 and 381. - Mamulanar, Ahm 295. ³ Ahm 107.

as unlearned in character and long in sound. The latter characterisation would apply to Telugu even now, if it is the Telugu of the northern districts, from the point of view of the Tamilian. The former characteristic, whatever foundation there was for it in the days of our author, has long since worn off, and Telugu is regarded now-a-days as specially musical among Indian languages. The Vadukar were found on the frontier across the hill of Tirupati. Narkirar speaks of Erumai of Kudanadu as the chief of the cattle-lifting tribe of Vadukar.¹ Another poet gives a Chola ruler a victory at Pali against the Vadukar.² Thus we find the Vadukar all along the northern frontier from sea to sea. When therefore Mamulanar³ says that the Mauryas came to the south, sending in front of them the Vadukar, the natural interpretation is that they came practically into occupation of the territory which was the natural habitat of these Vadukar, and pushed the Vadukar in front of them in their further march southward.

MALAVAR.

Another tribe of people are described almost in the same terms as these Vadukar. They are called Malavar in Tamil, who suffered a defeat at

¹ Aham 253. See Aham. 115, 1. 5, for Mamulanar's reference to Erumai as the chieftain of Kudanadu

³ Idaiyan Sendan Korran. in Aham 375.

² Aham 281.

the hands of Neduvel Avi at Podini (Palnis).¹ They were habitually resident in forests and lived by way-laying travellers. They worshipped Nadukal² (stones planted in honour of warriors that fell in battle), and offered sacrifices to them. These are again referred to as uneducated and with raised bows, and entering their country language changed.³ The forest ways infested by these Malavar, says Mamulanar, were safe as at the time they happened to be under the protection of Kuttuvan⁴ (Chera ruler). In another connection the same author refers to the subjugation of these Malavar by Pulli of Vengadam.⁵ This series of references to the Vadukar and Malavar, and their being described in almost identical terms would lead to the inference either that the Vadukar and the Malavar were the same tribe of people, or were at any rate of very similar habits and language. It was already pointed out that this term Vadukar, on the analogy of the Kanarese Badaga, might be interpreted as northerners. They were northerners to the Tamil in the purely geographical sense ; but in the sense of northern Aryas, the term used is Vadavar, the grammatically correct form in Tamil.

¹ Mamulanar in Aham. 1.

² Ammuvan in Aham 35; also Kural verse 771.

³ Mamulanar, Aham 127.

⁴ Aham 91. ⁵ Aham 61.

KOSAR.

Passing on to the Kosar they are referred to as entering the country of Tuju by defeating Nannan and killing his state elephant.¹ Nannan's territory included in it both Tulu² and Konkan (Konkanam).³ These Kosar are under reference in Aham 196 as having put out the eyes of the father of a lady Anni Gnimili, and to have been destroyed at her instance by two chieftains Kurumbian and Tidiyan.⁴ They are found mentioned as Kongijam-Kosar in the Silappadhikaram, and get themselves associated with the Kongu country (Salem and Coimbatore districts). One clan of them get associated with Podiyal Hill and the tribe that settled there is known as Nallur Kosar.⁵ In almost the same terms Mamulanar describes the Kosar winning a victory against their enemies at Podiyil hill, and as Mohur declined to submit to them the Mauryas advanced south.⁶ The other poets such as Marudan-IJanagan, Kalladanar, Narkirar and Aiyur Mudavanar make mention of these Kosar also. Of these the first and the

¹ Paranan in Knruratogai 73.

² Mamulanfir in Aham 15.

³ Paiai-padiya-Perum-Kadungo in Narrinai 491.

⁴ Paranan in Aham 196-262.

⁵ Kurumitogai ; Perum-Kadungo,

⁶ Aham 251.

fourth associate the Kosar with Sellur. It seems to have been a place in the Chola country.¹ Narkirar's reference is to a Chola having made an effort to conquer their territory. Kalladanar's reference is to their having protected on one occasion the chieftain Ahdeai. They therefore seem to have been a well-known tribe of people, foreigners to the Tamil country, who settled in various localities ultimately and came to be known as Nalur Kosar, meaning the Kosar that settled in four places, if the particular reading of the first word is correct. Who were these Kosar and what was their connection with the Mauryas? The suggestion was made elsewhere² that these may be a tribe of people the same as the Kosakara of the Ramayana, and possibly the Khasas who led the advanced part of the army that marched upon Patallpura in favour of Chandragupta according to Mudrarakshasa. They were a people who have had a great reputation in the south as warriors and are described invariably as people who kept their word. Kari-Kannan of Kaveripattanam refers to the practice of the younger members of this tribe learning the use of weapons by hurling them against a pillar made of the wood of the Murungai³ (*Erythrina Indica*) tree. The four places of their establishment, if the reading Nalur is not a

¹ Aham 90 and 220.

² Beginnings of South Indian History, pp. 92-95.

³ Puram., 169.

corruption for Nallur,¹ would be the Nallur near Podiyil hill, Sellur probably in the Chola Country on the east coast²; Pali in the Chera country wherefrom they were dislodged by the Cholas; and Kongu south east from this territory. The incidental details brought together from various authors in regard to this particular race of people make a Mauryan effort at the conquest of the south clearly a historical fact.

ASOKA'S SOUTHERN LIMIT OF EMPIRE.

Turning to the inscriptions of Asoka the southernmost limit reached by them is in the north-east corner of the Chitaldroog district of Mysore where Brahmagiri, Siddhapura and

¹ That the Kosar were known in four divisions is clearly stated in 11. 508-9 of the Maduraik-Kanji. The author there institutes a comparison between the appearance of the four groups of councillors, at the Pandyan Court (other than the ministers) to the coming of the four sections of the Kosar " *of unfailing word.*"

² There is a Sellur between the Railway station Koradcheri on to Tanjore-Negapatam line, and Kodaivfisal, a place of some importance now and of great repute in the age of the Sangam. The only objection to the identification is that it is not as near the sea as the texts would require. The local Aiyandar (Sasata) temple seems identifiable with the " sacrificial abode " of Parasurama. There is a Sellur, on the West-Coast associated with Parasurama, in the Keralolpetti. This work calls the place Parum-Sellur, great Sellur. This must have been near Cannanore. The coast near Mont D'Ely is called R5mandali = Tam. Raman and tali or Rama's temple, and must be regarded as a later settlement or a colony. It may seem farfetched to connect the Kdsar with the Oushites who were banished from their native land of Elam after the Assyrian conquest till we get more evidence of a definite character, or identify them with Satiyapatre of the Asoka edicts, taking the word as the Sanskrit Satyaputra.

Jatingaramesvara hill edicts were discovered. Rock edict II speaks of " his neighbours such as the Chodas, the Pandiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputra ; 'Tambapanni, the Yona king Anti-yoka as well as among those who are the vassal kings of that Antiyoka " in connection with the establishment of hospitals, etc. The Vth edict refers to the appointment of the overseers of the Law who were concerned with the " welfare and happiness of my loyal subjects, as also among the Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdharas, Rishtikas, Pitinikas and *all other* nations who are my neighbours." In respect of these overseers of the Law a distinction is clearly made between Asoka's loyal subjects forming one class; Yonas, Pitinikas and others forming another class, and his neighbours forming the third class. The second of these have therefore to be regarded as not his subjects, nor exactly his neighbours. The geographical position of these would make them his feudatories, the first three being on the north-western frontier, the last two Rishtikas and Pitinikas in the coast region set over against the Dakhan plateau, being respectively Rashtrikas and Pratishthanakas. In Rock edict XIII referring to conquests through the sacred law he claims having effected that conquest over his subjects , in his empire and over all his neighbours' for a distance of 600 *yojanas* of the country of Amtiyoka and the four Kings his

neighbours. Coming down to the south he refers to the Cholas, the Pandyas and Tambapanni or Ceylon. Then he proceeds to the second class in edict V of whom specific mention is made of Visas, Vajris, the Andhras, and Pulidas (Pulindas) apparently tributary communities in the neighbourhood of the emperor's regular territory, but politically tributary to him according to the notions of the Artha ^astra. Then follows the important statement " even those to whom the messengers of the ' Beloved of the gods ' do not go follow the sacred law, as soon as they have heard of the orders of the ' Beloved of the gods' issued in accordance with the sacred law, and his teaching of the sacred law, and they will follow it in future."¹ The corresponding portion of this last statement in Vincent Smith's version of rock edict XIII based on the Shabbasgarhi edicts, reads slightly differently, and the reading may be set down here for comparison "and here too, in the king's dominions, among Yonas, and Kambojas, among the Nabhapantis of Nabhaka, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Pulindas—everywhere men follow his sacred majesty's instruction in the law of piety. Even where the envoys of his sacred majesty do not penetrate, there all men hearing his sacred majesty's ordinance based on

¹ E. Ind., Vol. II. Buhler's edition of the edicts of Asoka.

the law of piety and his instruction in that law practise and will practise the law." This makes a considerable difference in respect of the recital of the tribes that are concerned. While Smith's version is certainly fuller and more correct than that of Buhler quoted above, the tribes Visas and Vajris are clearly mentioned in the Shabbasgarhi and Mansera edicts as Visha, Vajri. In the Kalsi version however, the reading¹ is Visa, Baji. Therefore the *Visha* of the one version is what exactly is *Visa* in the other, and the Baji of the other version is *Vajra* of the former. The point I am particularly concerned with here is that the Visas and Vajris are apparently tributary tribes of whom Tamil literature refers to the latter. One passage in the classical work *Silappadhikaram* referring to the northern invasion of the great Chola Karikala states that three kings made him presents which formed the ornaments of his capital Kaveripattanam. Of these three kings one was a friend, another an enemy recently compelled into treaty terms, and the third one was neither friend nor an ally, that is, a neutral. The king of Vajra is referred to as the neutral king who was neither his ally nor his enemy- His territory must have reached the sea-shore at any rate, and is explained by the

¹ Vide Ramavatora Sarma's Piyadasi Inscriptions, Variant readings, p. 20.

commentator as territory on the banks of the river Sone. If we make an inference from the general description given, it would mean the territory of Bengal between the Sone and the Ganges reaching down to the sea as it is clearly stated to be bordered by "great waters on all sides."⁵ The next king is the king of IVJagadha who having been an enemy submitted and became his friend. The next one is the king of Avanti who was his ally. The first one presented a canopy of pearls. The king of Magadha gave him what is called a Vidyamantapa,¹ apparently an ornamented platform pillared and roofed over. The king of Malva gave him a triumphal arch by way of a present.² The Vajras therefore as a people of considerable importance and holding the important territory of Bengal on this side of the Ganges, were known to the Tamils of the first century A.D.³ It was apparently a princess of this kingdom, which seems to have been powerful at the time, that Kharavela of Kalinga married.⁴ In such a case Simhapura would be the capital of the Gangetic Kalinga included

¹ For a description of this see-Bhijasekhara's Kavyamlmamsa.Ch, X.

² SilappadhikSram, Canto 5,11. 95-105.

³ Vajra was one of the two divisions of Ladha or Radha, the two divisions being Vajjabhumi and Subbabhiimi. Ayaranga Sutta and other references quoted in "The Ajivikas" by B. M. Barua, Pt. I, pp. 57-8. Calcutta University Publications.

⁴ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 378.

in the Kalinga¹ kingdom very often referred to as the capital of Kalinga as a whole.

Asoka's empire then may be regarded in three parts; the whole of Hindustan, the country between the Vindyas and the Himalayas, with an outstretch along the west coast to take in the Pitinikas, Bishtikas, and along the east coast to take in the whole of Kalinga, would have constituted his own kingdom. Then comes the borderland of the great forest of Dandaka. On the frontiers of the forest were situated the territory of the several of the semi-civilised tribes till we come to about 14° of north latitude roughly. These had been reduced to some kind of allegiance which apparently involved the responsibility of paying tribute and being in the kind of tribal subordination recognised in the Artha Sastra. Then follow naturally the territories of his southern neighbours. This disposition is what is actually reflected in Tamil literature which states in clear terms that Pulikat was the northern boundary in the east and that Tulu-Konkan the kingdom of Nannan was the western boundary, a whole belt of country across being occupied by tribes whom the Tamilians called Vadukar. These were border-tribes engaged in cattle-lifting and

¹ Referred along with Kapilapuram in the Silappadhikaram as the two capitals of Kalinga; Canto XXIII, 11. 140-41.

waylaying people as occasion offered. Referring to the achievements of a Chera ruler who is known to literature Adukotpattu-Seral-Adan, that is, the Chera who captured cattle, the poetess Kakkaipadiniyar Nachchellaiyar states in clear terms that he captured cattle in *Danda-ranyam*, distributed them in Tondi, among Brahmans, giving along with these one special kind of a cow classified as *kapilai* (a cow of a dark colour, the darkness spreading over even to the udder) and a village in Kuda-nadu (western hill country), and having defeated the other Mala var, in battle turned back the kings, apparently their kings. The term Dandaranya in this reference is explained by the old commentator as a nadu or division of country in Arya-Nadu thus confirming the statement in the Sarabhangā Jataka that Dandaka was a Bhoja-kingdom with capital Kumbhavatl. This means clearly that the forest of Danda or Dandaka was, according to the political divisions of those days, included in the territory of the Aryas as distinct from the Tamils, the semi-civilised tribe or tribes being interposed between the two frontiers across the whole of the Peninsula.

BUDDHIST PROPAGANDA STOPPED SHORT
OF THE TAMIL LAND.

This political southern limit of Asoka's empire marks also the limits of active Buddhist propaganda reflected in the last sentence quoted above from rock edict XIII. The meaning of this statement in the edict is that while people in the neighbouring kingdoms followed the teachings of the Buddha of their own motion the active propagation of the gospel that he actually organised stopped short of this limit. This inference is confirmed by what we find detailed in the Mahavamsa of Ceylon. Referring to the missions for the propagation of the faith sent to various localities for the purpose of spreading the teachings of "the enlightened one" the Mahavamsa has the following passage: "When the *thera* Moggaliputta, the illuminator of the religion of the conqueror had brought the (third) council to an end and when, looking into the future, he had beheld the founding of the religion in adjacent countries, (then) in the month of Kattika he sent forth *theras*, one here and one there. The *them* Majjhantika he sent to Kasmira and Gandhara, the *thera* Mahadeva he sent to Mahisamandala. To Vana-vasa he sent the *thera* named Rakkhita, and to Aparantaka the Yona named Dhammarakkhita,

but the *thera* Maharakkhita he sent into the country of the Yona. He sent the *thera* Majjhima to the Himalaya country, and to Suvannabhumi he sent the two *theras* Sona and Uttara. The great *thera* Mahinda, the *theras* Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddhasala his disciples, these five *theras* he sent forth with the charge: "Ye shall found in the lovely island of Lanka the lovely religion of the Conqueror."

In this recital the places referable to the country south of the Vindhya stopped short at Vanavasa, all the other places being obviously north of Vanavasa with the doubtful exception of Mahisamandala. This was hitherto identified with what is now the state of Mysore, but from Tamil literature we find the present state of Mysore occupied altogether otherwise, though undoubtedly one frontier chieftain of Kudanadu (western hill country) was known by the name Erumai (Sans. Mahisa) and apparently gave the name to the country in the following generations. It could hardly be regarded as the country to which Asoka's mission was sent as it is doubtful if it was known by that name in the days of Asoka. Mahismati the capital city of the Mahisakas has satisfactorily been identified with Mandhata on the Narbada round which there were a tribe of people called Mahimsakas. The Mahismandala of Asoka's mission has to be referred to that district. Hence Vanavasa,

Banavase in Dharwar the capital of the division of Banavase 12,000 was the southernmost limit of the missionary activity of Asoka.

The great centres of Buddhist activity get enumerated in another context in the Mahavamsa. The Ceylon ruler Duttagamani Abhaya held a great congregation on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Great Stupa (Maha Vihara) that he constructed. To this congregation he invited the priestly communities from the various well-known Buddhist centres. This invitation was responded to by brethren of the holy order in as many as fourteen centres, the centres being:—Rajagrha, the ancient capital of Magadha, Isitapatana, the deer park in Benares, Jetarama-Vihara in Sravasti in Nepal-Tarai, Mahavana in Vaisall (North Bengal), Ghositarama in Kausambi not far from Allahabad, Dakkhinagiri-Vihara in Tjjain in Malva, Asokarama in Pupphapura (Patallputra or Patna), Kashmir, Pallava-bhogga, probably somewhere in the region of the Indus, Alasanda of the Yonas, probably the Alexandria represented by the modern Uch in the north of Sindh, " the road through the Vindhyan forest mountains " possibly the centre Mahismati of the Mahisamandala, Bodhimanda-vihara (Bodh-Gaya), the Vanavasa country and lastly the great Kelasa-vihara." This Kailasa-vihara may refer to Amaravati in the Guntur district while it is barely

possible it may refer to Ellora in the Nizam's dominions; but the trend of the description would indicate the former rather than the latter. This detailed list of Buddhist centres excludes the Tamil country altogether. Whether the representatives actually came or no is a different matter. But these were centres of holy reputation at the time in the estimation of the author. He apparently had recourse to older chronicles kept in the Mahavihara, the construction of which is under discussion. If the Tamil country did contain any vihara of similar reputation it is not likely that that would be omitted in the narration. Hence the inference seems quite warranted that active Buddhist propaganda stopped short of the Tamil land both in the days of Asoka and in the centuries following almost to the middle of the century before Christ. Remembering that there was nothing to prevent individual Buddhists, or even bodies of them, following the bent of their mind in matters of religion even in the Tamil country, it is clear that the active propaganda under the imperial impulse of Asoka might still have stopped short of the Tamil country. That seems the state of things in respect of Buddhism reflected in this body of Tamil literature referring to the times under discussion.

THE NORTHERN LIMIT OF TAMIL LAND.

In the previous sections the limits of Tamil land were marked by a belt of country beginning with Pulikat on the east coast and terminating with the Kalyanpuri river, the northern limit of Kanara on the west coast. On the farther side of this frontier were the class of people regarded as robbers by profession and described in Tamil literature as Vadukar, who extended even southward of this frontier line in certain localities. This is just exactly the limit indicated in the Periplus for the Tamil country as all the Dakhan further north fell into a distinct category which the author of the Periplus¹ called Daehinabades (Sans. Daksbinapatha). According to this author "beyond Baryagaza (Broach) the adjoining coast extends in a highland from north to south; and so this region is called ftachinabades, for Dachinos in the language of the natives means "south," *the inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains and all kinds of wild beasts—leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas and baboons of many sorts and many populous nations as far as the Ganges.*" The work further states that all the muslins, etc., of the east coast of this

¹ Edn. by W. Shoff, p. 43.

country had to be brought across " great tracts without roads " to the two marts of Paethana (Paithan) on the Godaveri and Tagara (Ter, in the Nizam's dominions). The limit of this region is marked at "White island" on the west coast, an island situate a little to the north-west of Mangalore with which according to this author Damirica (Dramidaka or Tamiyakam) began. This description of the country set against the west coast from Broach to Mangalore almost, will answer to the description of the Tamils who called the whole region, a little more or less, Dandaranyam. According to the information that could be gathered from Tamil literature of this period the western boundary of this forest region would stop short somewhere near Goa on the west coast. Next the frontier on this side came the Tulu-Konkan territory of the Tamil Chief Nannan. To the south of this territory was the territory of Kerala, the land of the Cheras. One Chera ruler of this time went by the name, rather a distinguishing epithet, " Adu-kotpattu-Seral-Adan," *i.e.*, the Chera king who carried off cattle. This Chera is celebrated in the sixth "ten" of the classical collection called "ten¹ tens " by a poetess by name Kakkaipadiniyar Nachchellaiyar; in other words "the poetess the good Sellai who sang of the

¹ Pandit Maha. Swaminatha Aiyar's edn., 98-99,

crow." In the epilogue he is said to have taken these cattle in Dandaraiiyam which the commentator explains as a division of country in Aryanadu or Aryadesa. Thus then it is clear that across the northern frontier of the Tamil country was a belt of land occupied by various tribes, and behind them was the great forest country of Dandaka, the far-famed Dandaka of the Ramayana and the Mahakantara perhaps of a later time.

CHAPTER II.

BRAHMANISM IN THE TAMIL LAND.

Tamil tradition of comparatively late age describes the Tamil country as mainly composed of forests and practically uninhabited till Agastya came from the far north. In a solemn conclave on the Himalayas the Devas and the Rishis had assembled on one occasion. Finding the earth sinking from the weight of the august assembly and much exercised about this phenomenon, they hit upon the device of sending somebody to the south to balance the assembled weight of the north, and pitched upon Agastya, who alone of all those assembled was capable of balancing the rest of them all together. When the request was made to him he readily agreed to proceed on such a great errand of benefit to this divine humanity. Starting southwards therefore on this beneficent mission Agastya went first to the Ganges and obtained from her the river Kaveri. Then he went to the Rishi Jamadagni and took from him his son Trnadhmagani, and from Rishi Pulastya his virgin sister Lopamudra. Going further onward

in his journey he came to Dvaraka, and took from there 18 of the ruling family of Vishnu (Vrsnis), and 18 crores of two classes of people Velir and Aruvalar. With such a following he proceeded south destroying the forests, and transforming the forest-region into inhabited country till he made his home in the hill of Podiyil in the southern part of the Western Ghats keeping Havana and his Rakshasas away from that part of the country. It was then that he ordered his disciple, the son of Jamadagni to go and fetch his wife, keeping a distance of four rods' length on all sides of her in the course of their journey. As they were crossing the river Vaigai a sudden flood carried her off. Going forward to her assistance, and, putting forward a bamboo stick for her to take hold of, the dutiful pupil brought her successfully out of the water, and then took her to his master. For this transgression of instructions Agastya pronounced both of them ineligible for entry into heaven. Protest- ing their innocence they in turn said that he might have a similar fate also for his inconsiderate anger. It was on account of this anger of the master that he directed his disciple's grammar Tolkappiyam, as the disciple assumed the name Tolkappiyar, since his advent into the Tamil country, be not heard. The point in this story is that the reclamation of the forest

tracts in this region is somehow associated with a southern migration led by Agastya, and among the tribes that came with him are found mentioned Velir and Aruvalar, two well-known peoples of Tamil India. For this Tamil land the most accepted boundary given is the Tirupati hill in the north (Vidavengadam), Cape Comorin (Kanyakumarl) in the south, and the two seas on either side. Whenever this great migration took place, and whether such a migration was historical or no, there is something like the march of civilisation from the north into the south, and under northern guidance and influence. Agastya himself came and brought a disciple along with him, the son of another sage. Along with him came presumably the northern culture especially associated with the Brahman.

Leaving tradition aside we have evidence, in the earliest extant literature of the Tamil land, of the very high position ascribed to the Brahman in the literature of the south. In one of the earliest of the Tamil classics recently made available a king is described as following the path of the "Andanar" (Brahmans) who follow the Dharma by doing the six duties imposed upon them by immemorial prescription. These are described as learning and teaching, sacrificing and conducting sacrifices, receiving gifts made to them and making gifts to

others.¹ In the same collection comes later on a reference to another monarch of the same dynasty where he is spoken of as "not knowing obedience except to Brahmans." The authors in these two cases happen to be themselves Brahmans. In the one, the author was a Brahman by name Gautama who was distinguished for composing poems in a particular mode in Tamil. He celebrated the father of Sem-Kuttuvan and requested as a favour that he and his Brahman wife should go to heaven. This Chera consulted other elderly Brahmans how this could be done to Gautama. Under their advice he celebrated ten *Vedic* sacrifices on the completion of the tenth of which the Brahman and his wife ceased to be visible. The other one is the famous poet by name Kapilar. This Brahman was regarded as a model of a virtuous man and spoken of in such terms by poets who were not themselves Brahmans. He celebrates another Chera by name Selvak-Kadungo. The same description of the ordinary occupation of the Brahman is given in the classical grammar *Tolkappiyam* where the Grammarian lays down what were the customary occupations of the Brahmans. The same six occupations are there given as those to which they generally devoted themselves.² Almost the

¹ Padirrupattu, Poem 24, 11. 6 to 8.

* Porul, Sutra, 75.

same language is used in referring to the Brahman by Buddhist and Jain writers in similar connections. The *Silappadhikaram*, a work of the Chera prince-ascetic Ilango, refers to what happened to Gautama above referred to in the account that is given of a Brahman Parasara of the Chola country who went on a visit to the Chera "who gave heaven itself to the Brahman Gautama," having heard of his great liberality. In describing this Brahman this author¹ speaks of him as one devoted to the attainment of heaven, of two births, whose wealth consisted in the three fires, whose learning embraced the four *Vedas*, who had special charge of the celebration of the five sacrifices and whose chief occupation consisted of the six items: learning and teaching, sacrificing and conducting sacrifices for others, receiving in gift and giving, brought in under the same epic category as the grammatical enumeration referred to in *Tolkappiyam* above "of the victorious Brahman" (*parppana-vakai*). Strangely enough on his return journey he came to a Buddha Vihara² at a Brahman village Tangal in the Pandya country and halted there in the course of his journey. In the companion work *Manimekhalai*³ also we come upon references almost exactly the same

¹ Canto XXIII, 11. 62 to 80.

² See *Arthasastra*.

³ Canto XIII,

in tenor to the occupation of the Brahman although that work,, true to its character, in one connection * holds up to ridicule the celebration of these sacrifices by inflicting pain upon the animals sacrificed. It will thus be seen that although these references are found in the literature of the first centuries of the Christian era they indicate an immigration of the Brahman in times much anterior, and the character of the Brahmanism of which we gain glimpses in this literature shows itself to be pre-Buddhistic.

THE PRE-BUDDHISTIC CHARACTER
OF BRAHMANISM IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY.

We have already referred to the Brahmanical tradition concerning the coming into the south of Agastya. Buddhist tradition has altogether a different version of the coming of Agastya into the Tamil country. According to the Akitta Jataka which relates to a Brahman magnate's son and daughter who renounced their vast wealth and settled down near the banks of the Ganges some leagues farther down from Benares, Agastya the brother remained in the new settlement for some time. Finding that even in the forest people came to him in large

¹ Canto XIII, ll. 29-38,

numbers he left the place unknown to his sister and travelled through the Tamil country (kingdom of Damila), and took up his abode in a park in Kaveripattana (the capital of the Cholas at the mouth of the Kaveri). Even there he was not left in the isolation he desired; he therefore flew across to an island called Kara set over against the island of the Nagas. This Karadipa was also called Ahi-dipa or the isle of snakes. In the island and in the rock-cell hermitage which he took up for his residence he could find nothing to eat except the leaves of the *kara* tree (*Canithium Parvijorwm*) that grew there which he used to wet in the water and boil and eat without salt or spices/ When in that condition, Indra came in the guise of a Brahman to beg for alms. Akitta gave the prepared food each time Indra appeared, himself not taking any. It is to exhibit the merit of this gift that Buddha is said to have related the story on a particular occasion. Akitta is generally taken to stand for Agastya, but there is so little common between the Brahmanical tradition concerning Agastya and this story that the identification itself would seem not to have very much to support it excepting the name. But the Buddhistic work Manimekhalai has certain references to Agastya. He carried the water that flowed afterwards as the Kaveri, in his water vessel (*karnandala*), and

at the request of a Chola king Kandama, he let the water flow as the river Kaveri. This king at one time was afraid of the coming of Parasurama, and sought asylum of Agastya having entrusted the kingdom to his illegitimate son Kakanda. Agastya gave him the asylum on that occasion. Another Chola king whose name is not specifically given was advised by Agastya to celebrate the annual festival to Indra which lasted for 28 days, during which period all the Devas even left their abodes and were resident in Kaveripattanam. The Chola capital Kaveripattanam had the name Champa because Champa-Pati, the goddess of Jambudvīpa, made it her place of residence. When the Kaveri began to flow through that town the name was altered.¹ In either of these two cases the connection of Agastya is with the Chola country and the river Kaveri. But the Manimekhalai refers to Agastya as "the ascetic of rare austerity of the Malaya (mountain),"² making it clear that he is referring to Agastya of the Brahmanical tradition associated with Malaya or Podiyil hill in the southern part of the Western Ghats. The tradition connecting Agastya with the south therefore seems to be an accredited tradition of long standing; and his coming into this part of the country is symbolical of the breaking in of Aryan

¹ Manimekhalai, Padikam (prologue).

² Canto I, 1, 3.

civilisation into the Tamil land. It would therefore seem inferable that the Brahmanism such as was prevalent in the Tamil country must be Brahmanism of pre-Buddhist character. That it was so is in evidence in the importance that is invariably attached to the position of the Brahman as the conductor of the sacrifices intended for the good of the community as a whole.

That this was the character of Brahmanism in the Tamil country is clear from a poem included in the collection *Purananuru*. It is a poem by *Mulam-Kilar* of *Avur* in celebration of the learning and character of the Brahman *Kauniyan Vinnam-Tayan* of *Pum-Sarur* in *Sonadu* (*Chola* country). The first part of the passage refers to his being a descendant of a family of learned men who made it their life occupation to study by means of the six auxiliary sciences (*angas*), the four *Vedas* whose one object was truth, and which was perpetually in the tongue of *Siva* himself. This great learning was attained by them in order that they may be enabled thereby to beat down all those outer religions which base themselves on works which set themselves against the *Veda*. Having acquired this learning they understood the false teachings of those religions which appeared like truths, and exhibiting their false character established the truth of the *Vedic* religion by

celebrating sacrifices in the twenty-one¹ orthodox ways. "Coming of such a family you wear a bit of deer skin in the thread lying across the body adorning your shoulders. Your wives constant in their chastity, wearing the jewel specifically assigned to wives of those that celebrate sacrifices, and possessed of personal charms conduct themselves in full accordance with your station. They carry out your commands by making ghee flow like water by tending the several kinds of cows whether you lived in forest or in country. With their assistance, having celebrated innumerable sacrifices and spread your fame over the whole earth, you shine by feeding largely at the end of the sacrifices those that attended. May we have the good fortune to see this exalted position of yours for ever. Let me go back to the place full of the gardens on either side of the Kaveri which brings in freshes as soon as it thunders on the Western Ghats, and thus fosters the earth. I shall enjoy your vast gifts by eating that which ought to be eaten, and riding that which ought to be ridden, and thus celebrate your liberality. You remain on earth where you are, firm as the Himalayas with high sloping sides, making like the Himalayas themselves unfailing rain." This poem is intended to celebrate the excellence

¹ This is also interpreted as the 21 methods of logic, or the 21 ways of interpretation.

ill Brahmanical accomplishments and is therefore specifically intended to give an idea as to what exactly a Brahman's learning and conduct were expected to be in those times. The poet who celebrates the Brahman in this wise is, as the title indicates, not a Brahman himself, and the character that he gives to the orthodox Brahman here is supported in full by the corresponding sutras of the Tolkappiyam. The commentators of the Sutras quote this poem as the illustration *par excellence*. It is not the Brahman alone that comes in for praise for his faithful performance of sacrifices. One of the earliest known Pandyan kings is known to fame as one that celebrated many sacrifices. The poet Nettimaiyar asks the question whether the sacrificial posts he planted after celebrating various sacrifices are in larger numbers, or those enemies that live in disgrace, having been defeated and turned back by his valour.¹ A later Pandya grant known as the Velvik-kudi grant refers to a gift by this Pandyan of the village, the title to which was established by satisfactory proof.² A Chola contemporary of the poetess Avvaiyar is known by the name "The Great Chola who celebrated the Rajasuya."³

A great Chera—the younger brother of the "Chera of the Himalayan boundary" and uncle

¹ *Purananuru*, Poem 16, pp. 17-21.

² *Epi. Rep.*, 1908, Sec. 20 (Madras).

³ *Ibid*, poem 367 by Avvaiyar.

of the Red-Chera celebrated ten sacrifices and gave heaven itself to the Brahman Palai Gautama¹ and his wife.

Thus we see that Tamil kings had adopted the practice of getting sacrifices celebrated—the peculiar function of the Brahmana according to the accepted canon of law of the Tamil land.

This is not altogether the only detail of pre-Buddhistic Brahmanism which we find in these Tamil classics. There are clear indications of the kind of theism which could be generally described as Bhakti where people could devote themselves to the service of the god of their heart with the assurance of salvation. Four such sections find prominent mention according to the peculiar form of god to which people composing these sections devoted themselves. Four such gods get mention in a poem by Narkirar,² an early and a very prominent poet of the Sangam. Celebrating his contemporary Pandyan, he points to the special qualities in which he resembled each one of the four "world-protecting gods.*⁵ These are according to him respectively Siva of the "dark-throat," Baladeva of "white colour" with the plough for his weapon, Krishna of the deep-blue colour with flag of *the bird* (Garuda) and Subrahmanya (the Red-One) of the "Pea-cock carrier," Of

¹ Paddiruppattu—"Ten-tens," section 2.

² Puram., 56.

these the Pandya addressed resembled in anger Death himself, in strength, Baladeva, in fame Krishna or Vishnu, in determination in carrying out his wishes Subrahmanya. It must be noted that Siva described circumstantially in the first part is equated with Peath in the second, as Rudra is specifically associated in the Trinity with destruction. Almost the same four are found mentioned as the guardians of the different kinds of land in the Tolkappiyam. The forest country is under the special protection of Krishna or Vishnu, the hill country under Subrahmanya, the cultivated country under the protection of Indra and the coast country under the protection of Varuna. Here the two Indra and Varuna come in in place of the two Siva and Baladeva. It is hardly necessary to describe the possible significance of these discrepancies, but it seems to imply the recognition of the six as distinct entities rather than postulating the non-existence of any two. Describing the temples that were in existence in Kaverippattanam, the author of the Silappadhikaram,¹ refers to a temple of Siva, to one of Subrahmanya, to one of Baladeva and to one of Vishnu or Krishna in the order stated, followed by the temple of Indra the festival to whom the canto actually describes.²

¹ Canto V, ll. 169-175.

² Compare the deities invoked in the Nanaghat Inscription of the SatavShana Queen Naganika; No. 1112. Luder's list of Brahmi Inscriptions, Ep. Ind., X.

This is summarised in the companion work *Manimekhalai* by the statement that temples beginning with that of Siva with an eye in the centre of his face, and ending with that of the guardian-deity of the public square (Bhuta of the *Chatushka*) "should all be tidied for the coming festival."¹ Much the same idea is found expressed in 11. 453-9 of the poem *Madurak-Kanji* by the poet *Mangudi Marudan*.

We therefore seem warranted in inferring that the Brahmanism that prevailed in the Tamil country was in character pre-Buddhistic, and had for one of its specific objects an exhibition of the heretical character of the sister religions, Buddhism and Jainism. This gives a certain controversial character to it which is not altogether strange having regard to the character of both Buddhism and Jainism. This body of literature exhibits the existence of these religions side by side with Brahmanism, having attained to a certain amount of organisation for effective controversy.

TAMIL OPPOSITION TO BUDDHISM ON BEHALF OF BRAHMANISM.

We have noticed above already that Asoka's propaganda in favour of Buddhism stopped short of the Tamil country. That it did not get into the Tamil country is clearly in evidence in the

¹ Canto 1,11. 54-57.

fact that no important Buddhist centre indubitably referable to the Tamil country is found enumerated among those that sent delegates to the great assembly for the consecration of the Mahavihara in Ceylon in the 2nd century B.C. That coupled with the knowledge of the country in the period previous to the Christian era we gain from Tamil literature, would warrant the conclusion that the advance of Buddhism into the Tamil country in the fashion contemplated by Asoka was kept back by force. But this is confirmed by the opposition set up in the Tamil land against the encroachment of the northerner of which we get glimpses in this body of Tamil literature. Asoka would not have stopped short in his propagandist mission if he could have carried it into the Tamil country although it is possible that the self-abnegation that prompted desistance from war might be regarded sufficient explanation. This latter fact, however, would not explain his abstention from propagandism of the organised character that he carried through in the rest of India. Along with this has to be taken the number of references in Tamil literature to the Aryans (Vadavar) being beaten back. It is just likely that we shall have to take into consideration the wars against the Vadukar also in various localities, which would not have been undertaken by the rude tribes along the northern frontier unless

there was an organised power behind them, either to incite them to it, or at least to encourage them if they did it. The early Chola, Pandya and Chera rulers, all of them take credit for achievements against the Aryas of the north. The Chola Karikala, the Pandya Nedum-Seliyan and the Chera Nedum-Seral all of them claim to have set their emblems on the Himalayas, and even the Malayaman chieftain of Tirukkivilur is given credit for having beaten back an Aryan force besieging his citadel of MulJur. Even omitting the references to the Vadukar for the time,¹ this opposition seems to have been set up not so very much in mere hostility to the peaceful pursuit of Buddhism or Jainism ; but seems essentially intended for securing the freedom for the unfettered pursuit of Brahmanism in the Tamil country. This it would be difficult to explain except by the assumption that in the empire of Asoka, it was difficult to pursue this form of religion unmolested if not by active persecution at least by the propagandist effort at the imposition of a certain kind of uniformity, or much rather conformity.

¹ For actual references see pp. 95-100 of my *Beginnings of South Indian History*,

THE CONTINUITY OF HINDU CULTURE IN THE
SOUTH.*A special feature of its History.*

It is this state of things, of which we gain a direct glimpse only from Tamil literature, that gives character to South Indian History—for the earliest period of the history of the Tamil country. Brahmanism having found a welcome home in this region when Buddhism was in the ascendancy in North India, pursued its path unmolested, if it did not actually occupy a position of advantage in comparison with the other two religions. This freedom made the Tamil country at this period, as it proved in other later periods, a special refuge to Aryan culture whenever it was hard pressed in the North. From this period onward Brahmanism both in its early and in its later developments went on continuously unmolested, not uninfluenced, by the various changes that took place across the Tamil frontier. In this body of literature and in this particular period we see a certain amount of development in the *agamic* worship of the Vaishiiava Pancharatras. There is nothing exactly to show that the Saiva *agama* did not come in along with this into the Tamil country although we have not come across any direct statement of

it so far in the same manner as the Vaishnava. That with the spread of Buddhism and Jainism there was a collateral development of the Orthodox Brahmanism in the middle country of northern India seems warranted by the position of these religions in the Tamil country. The rise of the school of Bhakti which Sir R. G. Bhandarkar laboured hard, but successfully, to prove as a normal development from the Upanishadic culture, receives welcome support from the position of this particular school of Brahmanism in the south. This establishes an intimate connection, in the age to which this body of literature has special reference, between the north and the south. This special development could not have been on this side of the Christian era if the intimate connection of the development both in the north and in the south has to be taken as established, as we have to, on the basis of this evidence.

ITS CONNECTION WITH THE NORTH.

This special development in the south of the orthodox systems of Brahmanism of the north apparently took form with the rise of the Sungas to power in northern India. Pushyamiitra's was perhaps the first organised effort for the revivification of Brahmanism in the

face of a foreign enemy like the Greeks of Bactria thundering at the gates of orthodox India both in the political sense of a foreign enemy, and in the sacerdotal conception of heretics in religion. This opposition, although comparatively short-lived in the case of Pushyamiitra and his successors, seems to have put a new heart into the southerners of the orthodox creed, and given them the occasion to organise themselves for any possible struggle against their rivals. Apart from the various references in Tamil literature to the north and of the claims put forward for conquest against the Aryans which ought to be referred to the period following—the period of Andhra dominance—the period of this religious ferment and activity seems referable to the period of revival under the Sungas and Kanvas. That such connection was maintained even politically is in evidence in the Kharavela inscription itself.

THE KHARAVELA INSCRIPTION.

The famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela which has been recently read and re-read, and published by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal, and the controversy over which is not yet unfortunately over, has one detail which

seems clearly to refer to the sending of tribute or presents in the shape of elephants and valuable jewels from the Pandya country. These presents were sent over-sea. In itself, communication over-sea with Kalinga is quite possible, and that raises actually no difficulty; and if presents did come from there it must be of the character described. If the reading of the inscription in regard to that particular part is put beyond a doubt, that would establish communication between Kalinga and the south. In the period following, the great Chola Kari-kala went north as was pointed out already and received in his turn presents from the kings of Vajra, Magadha and Malva or Avanti. The existence of a country like Vajra in the valley of the Sone is brought to our notice only in this connection. And that possibility finds confirmation in another reference in the same Hathigumpha inscription where Khara-vela is said to have married a princess of the Vajra royal family. This reference seems to give the character of historicity to the references contained in Tamil literature, in a connection to which captious objections, may, it is just possible, be raised. This inscriptional reference to a geographical detail like that puts the character of the literary reference on a somewhat better footing. We shall have to revert to this point later.

THE DAWN or THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

The country south of the Krishna was divided among 'the three crowned Kings' and seven chieftains, with an eighth coming somewhat later. There were a host of minor chieftains of lesser dignity. It is the coast region and the more open country that belonged to the kings, while the middle regions of hills and forests belonged to the chieftains, and perhaps even a few tribes (Nagas and others). The east coast from Pulikat to the south of Tondi in the Zemindari of Ramnad, belonged to the Chola, although midway between the kingdom proper and its northern viceroyalty of Kanchi lay the hill-country round Tirukkivilur in the possession of a class of chieftains named Malayaman; and between his territory and the coast the chieftains of Oyma-nacju very often loyal supporters of their suzerain, occasionally turbulent and rebellious. South of the Chola kingdom lay that of the Pandya, which extended from coast to coast, and embraced within its borders the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and the State of Travancore, taking in also a part of Coimbatore and Cochin. This included in it the chieftaincies of Aay. (The Aioi of Ptolemy) round the Podiyil hill in the Western Ghats and the domains of Pehan round

the Palnis which come under their sphere of influence as well. , North of this and along the Western Ghats on the sea-side lay the territory of the Chera; a territory stretching right across the Palghat gap through Salem and Coimbatore. South Mysore was parcelled out among a number of chieftains corresponding to the modern Palayagars, whose allegiance was at the disposal of either, but the more powerful of their neighbour kings. Such were the Irung5 of Araiyan, Pari of Parambunad (west of the Kaveri in Kongu), Adiyaman of Tagadur (Dharmapuri) and Ori of the Kollimaiais. The first of these was within the Mysore territory proper and to the east of his domain lay the Gangas, and Kongu to the south. The northern frontier of the Tamil land was held by Nannan of the Tulu country and Konkan in the west, and Pulli of Vengadam (Tirupati) in the east, the further north having been the land of the Vadukar and Dandaranyam (Sans. Dandakaraijyam).

These chieftaincies were the bone of contention between the Cholas and the Cheras. When the period under treatment begins, the Cholas were supreme under Karikala, who ascended the throne, probably after defeating the Chera and Pandya in a battle at Vennil (Koilvenni as it is now called) in the Tanjore District. He was a remarkable sovereign who, in many ways,

contributed to the permanent welfare of his subjects, and has consequently been handed down to posterity as a beneficent and wise monarch. He constructed the embankments for the Kaveri, and his chief port Puhar was the great emporium of the east coast. His reign was long, and, taken along with those of his two predecessors and the successor next following him, constitutes the period of the first Chola ascendancy in the south. In the reign of his successor a great catastrophe befell Puhar, and the city and port were both destroyed. This was a hard blow to the ascendancy of the Gholas. But Karikala had, after defeating his contemporary Chera, given probably one of his daughters (it is just possible a sister) in marriage to the son of his vanquished rival. This alliance stood the Cholas in good stead. Karikala's successor began his reign with a victory, which his heir-apparent won for him, against the Chera and Pandya combined at Kariyar, probably in the Salem District. When Puhar was destroyed, at least in part, there was a civil war owing perhaps to the untimely death of the young Chola prince; and the Chera ruler for the time being, advanced through the central region. He intervened in favour of his cousins with effect, as against the rival claimants of royal blood, and restored the Chola dynasty to some power; but the ascendancy surely enough passed from them to the Chera.

The Chera ascendancy under the " Red Chera " (Senguttuvan) Tasted only one generation. In the reign of his successor the Pandyas rose to greater importance, and the Chera suffered defeat and imprisonment at his hands. This Pan(Jya ascendancy probably lasted on somewhat longer till about the rise of the Pallavas in Kanchi. This course of the political centre of gravity in southern India is borne out in very important particulars by the Ceylon chronicle called the Mahavamsa. According to this work, the Cholas were naturally the greatest enemies of the Singalese rulers. There were usurpers from the Chola country in Ceylon in the first century B.C.; and there were invasions and counter-invasions as well. On one occasion the Chola invaders carried away 12,000 inhabitants of Ceylon and set them to work at 'the Kaveri' as the Chronicle has it.¹ This looks very much like an exploit of Karikala seeing that it was he who either built the city of Puhar, or greatly extended it. King Gajabahu of Ceylon² was present at the invitation of the Red-Chera, to witness the celebration.....of a sacrifice and the consecration of the temple to the " Chaste Lady " (Pattini Devi) at Vanji on the west coast.

¹ Upham's Mahavamsa. Vol. i. p. 228

² Silappadhikaram, Canto, 30. 1. 160.
apart from the prologue.

The ascendancy of the Chera, however, passed away as already mentioned, to the Pandyas in the course of one single generation. The Red-Chera was succeeded by his son or successor, " the Chera of the elephant look," who was his predecessor's viceroy at Toncji, and figured prominently in his wars in the middle region. He was defeated and taken prisoner in a battle, which he had to fight with the contemporary Pandyan, designated the victor at Talaiyalanganam. With this mishap to the ruler the Chera ascendancy passes away. The Pandyans of Madura take their turn now, and continued to hold the position of hegemony up to the time that the Pallavas rise into importance. This, in brief and in very general terms, was the political history of South India at the beginning and during the early centuries of the Christian era.

CHAPTER III.

CONNECTION WITH CEYLON, GENERALLY ONE OF HOSTILITY.

Ceylon was known to the ancients perhaps as early as South India itself, and Tamil literature contains a few references earlier than that in Buddhist tradition, which associate the island with the story of the Ramayana. In one poem,¹ a poet of the city of Madura who is known by the name Kaduvan Mallanar, who was by profession "an actor in the Tamil mode,"⁵ refers to the ancient Kodi (Kori of the classical geographers, end of "the bridge" as the commentator renders it) of the Kauriyar (Pandyas) where in the foreshore of the boisterous sea the warlike Rama held, with his companions, a council under a big banian tree, when by a mere look he put an end to the noise that the birds were making on the tree. This "Council of Rama" is apparently the Council held for constructing the dam across the sea to reach the Lanka of Ravana. There is another reference in an early poet Unpodi Pasum-Kodaiyar in a poem,⁸

¹ Aham 70, 11. 13-16. ² Puram, 378.

celebrating the famous Chola Ilam-Set-Senni who destroyed Serup-Pali. The reference there is to the - abduction of Sita by Ravana, and the incident is brought in there for a comparison to the wondering monkeys which took up the jewels she dropped while she was being carried across in the aerial car. The next poem of the same collection refers to Lanka as the territory of one Villi Adan. There are references in the *Silappadhikaram* to three incidents of the *Ramayana*. The first is Rama's going to the forest at the command of the father (XIII. 11. 63-66). The next is to divine Rama having gone to the forest at the command of the father and being put to great sorrow owing to his separation from his wife. (XIV 11. 46-49). The third relates to the going of Rama and his brother to the forest and the destruction of well-fortified Lanka (XVII, p. 401). There is a similar reference to the building of the bridge of Rama, alluding to materials thrown in going to the bottom, in the *Manimekhalai* (XVII, 11. 9-15).

It is clear from these stray references taken along with that in *Aham* 70 already referred to, that to the audience of these poets the story of the *Ramayana* was familiar in minute detail. But turning from the Tamil classics to the *Mahavamsa*, the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, the first occasion when Ceylon is brought into

communication with this part of India is in connection with the occupation of the island by Vijaya and his followers, passing over for the occasion the mythical references to the visits of the Buddha and his predecessors to the island. According to the story as incorporated in this chronicle and divesting the story for the time being of the mythical colouring, Vijaya was a prince of Bengal (Vanga). He was the great-grandson of the king of Bengal by a Kalinga Princess whom he had married. His mother the Bengal Princess was an amorous young woman and was abandoned by the parents. She joined a caravan *travelling to the Magadha country*, apparently from Bengal. The caravan was attacked in the *Lata* country by a lion which killed several of the party and drove the rest. Among those that escaped was the Bengal Princess who ran away along the path the lion came by. When the lion returned to its cave it discovered the beautiful princess on the way and is said to have been charmed, according to the story, by her good looks. The result of the amorous dalliance of the lion with her was the twin birth of a boy and a girl. After various adventures both the children and the mother escaped from the guardianship of the lion which was ultimately killed by the son. In return for this good service the king of Bengal gave his "lion-handed"

grandson the kingdom, having had no son. The grandson, however, made it over to an uncle of his who had married his mother and retired from there with his own sister to the land of his birth. He there built a city which he called Sihapura, (Sans. Simhapura), and cleared the forest round for a great distance founding villages. This according to the story was the kingdom (of Lata) where he ruled. The sister-queen bore him 16 twins of whom he designed the eldest for the succession. Finding that he was an intolerably wicked young man the king had to subject the prince and his friends to the disgrace of being half-shaved and banished from the kingdom. Vijaya, his companions, and their wives and children were all put on board a ship and sent upon the sea. In the course of the voyage they got separated, probably in consequence of a shipwreck; the children landed on an island which the Mahavamsa calls Naggadipa (Sans. Nagnadvipa) the island of the naked, the women landed in an island called Mahiladipaka (islet of women), while Vijaya himself is said to have landed at a haven called Supparaka. This last place had been identified with Sopara on the west coast of India as Vijaya is ordinarily taken to have sailed from Lata or Gujarat. We shall see presently that neither the one nor the other is tenable on the material furnished by the story. The Mahavamsa then introduces the prophecy

of the Buddha that the island of Lanka would be occupied by Vijaya coming from the country of Lata and to his direction to Sakka, Indra, to do the needful, as through Vijaya Buddha's religion was going to be established in Ceylon. In the course of this narration Ceylon receives both the names Lanka and Tambapanni.

Vijaya came with 700 of his followers ; and was told by an ascetic whom he saw that the island was called Lanka which was uninhabited. Vijaya thereafter had to overcome the Yakshas in the island and take possession of it completely. The island where he first landed from the ship which carried him and his followers was called, according to this story, Tambapanni (Sans. TSmravarni), because on landing their hands and feet which touched the ground became red with the dust of the red-earth, and the city founded on that spot was named therefore Tambapanni. The whole island was named Sihala (San. Simhala) from his name, Siha-bahu (Sans. Simhabahu). His followers went about founding villages here and there in various parts of the island in the northern portion of it, and got into some kind of settlement. It was then that it was felt by Vijaya that a mere body of men cannot make a country. In order to obtain the necessary complement of women-folk he sent a special embassy to Madhura in

Southern India asking for the hand of a princess, daughter of the Pandya, who agreed and sent along with the princess a number of young women of the noble families and of the 18 guilds to go and colonise Ceylon and marry the new settlers there. They all came across apparently by way of Ramesvaram and landed in the port of Ceylon, Mahatitha (Mantota) opposite the island of Mannar almost where the railway line starts in the island now. Thus was founded civilised society in Ceylon. It is clear that the story contains elements of history in it although the historical elements are so covered over with myth that it would be difficult to believe at first sight that it contains anything historical at all. A close examination of the story, however, will exhibit that there are some elements of history undoubtedly in it. The story conveys the information that the northern parts of the island of Ceylon were colonised from Bengal,—to be more accurate, Gangetic Kaiinga. That comes out clearly from the story itself, and we find it confirmed from a somewhat overlooked circumstance in the story itself. The Bengal princess that was banished from her father's capital joined a caravan *going to Magadha*, which would mean, she left some town in Bengal which might have been on either side of the Ganges, and went along the road to Bihar. If the story is to be taken as authority at all, it was in the

course of this journey that the caravan was attacked by the lion, it may be an animal lion, or more probably a tribe of wild people with a lion for their *totem*. The *region where they were attacked is called Lata*. This has been apparently too readily equated with Lata (Gujarat) which also becomes Lada in Tamil. It certainly would be far more reasonable to equate it with Radha which in the eastern Prakrit would appear Ladha, or by a further modification Lala, *dha* and *Ia* interchanging usually. The Asoka edicts give us authority for this, as oftentimes the term "Raja" is in the language of these parts represented by¹ "Laja," and Rajjuka by Lajjuka. One of the inscriptions referable to the period of the Kushanas refers to a district in this region as Radha. Mr. Bannerji² identified this Radha, at least northern Radha, with Burdwan and the southern Radha, must be south or south-west of it, in either case towards Kalinga.

Both the Bhagavati Sutra forming the fifth of the Jain Angas and the Ayaranga Sutra contain references to the meeting of Mahavira with the Ajlvaka Makkhali Gosala in Nalanda, and their residence in Paniyabhumi together for six years. This last place is said to have been

¹ Vide Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada versions in Ramavatara Sarma's Edition of the Asoka Edicts.

² R. D. Bannerji's Pala Kings of Bengal, pp. 71-75, Memoirs of the Ben. A. S., V. 3.

in Vajjabhumi, one of the two divisions of Ladha, which is described as a forest country difficult to travel and inhabited by rude people who set their dogs upon mendicants wandering in the country.¹

This location confirms what Tamil literature has to say of Vajra-nadu already referred to as being country in the basin of the river Sone. Vajra-bhumi and Svabhra-bhumi constituted two divisions on the basis obviously of the peculiar geographical features. It must also be noted that this part of the country contains many other divisions up to the present time ending in "bhumi," such as Manbhum, Singbhum, and Birbhum.

In a subsequent part of the story Simhabahu gave up the Bengal kingdom to his mother and her cousin-husband, and took himself away to an uninhabited region where he cleared a kingdom for himself in the forest and settled with his queen-sister to rule there, having founded the capital Simhapura. On the basis of the story therefore there was a kingdom known as the kingdom of Lala which was on the high-road between Bengal and Magadha where Simhabahu cleared the forest of the savage tribes and constituted for himself a kingdom with a capital Simhapura. That this was either a part of

¹ *Vide the Ajivakas by Mr. Barua, pp. 57 and 68 (Calcutta Univ. Publication).*

Kalinga itself, or not very far from the frontier of it, is in evidence in both the *Silappadhikaram*,¹ and *Manimekalai*,² which refer to a fratricidal war between two cousins of Kalinga. They ruled respectively over two parts of the kingdom with their capitals "Singapuram" (Sans. Simhapura) and Kapilai (Sans. Kapila). The only detail that has to be satisfactorily accounted for on this hypothesis is the islands where the banished party, men, women, and children respectively landed. Naggadipa, where, according to the story, the children landed is certainly the Nakkavaram of the Tamils (the modern Nicobars) Mahiladvipa may have to be looked for among the innumerable islands in the same region. The Ptolemaic name Maniolai is near enough in sound to Mahila. The Suppara where the men landed may be another island about the same region, and for a guess Sabadeibai islands of Ptolemy on the west coast of Sumatra might very well answer the purpose. It is certainly matter for great doubt whether Suppara of the "West coast" has anything to recommend it for identifying it with this place. As a matter of fact, if the party set sail from the Gangetic region, it must have been very near Damlok at the mouth of the Rupnarayan river, wherefrom other missions to Ceylon started. For that region of Bengal

¹ Canto. 23, ll. 138458.

• * Canto. 26. ll. 15-25.

this port or somewhere near seems exactly the starting point ; and then if they went adrift they must have gone towards this island region rather than sail all the way round. The identification with Suppara on the West coast of India became possible, once Laja was equated with Gujarat for which there is absolutely no warrant whatsoever in the tradition as embodied in the Mahavamsa. Suppara would mean merely the good shore, the shore that offered safe anchorage in a storm almost like the cape of Good Hope. Any place that afforded a good landing might have been so nataed. If the Mahavamsa story is to be accepted as containing any history, Lala will have to be Radha a region of Kalinga (Bengal), and other places will have to be looked for in the Bay of Bengal and none whatsoever on the Arabian sea side of India. Vijaya is said, in the story again, to have landed in Ceylon at a place which he named subsequently Tambapanni where he laid the foundations of a town. This ultimately gave ofie of the names to the island itself. The whole party went in a ship and the landing was effected by Vijaya with 700 men and no more. It would be difficult to identify the Ajanta painting which ordinarily goes by this name with the landing as described in the Mahavamsa itself. What is to our purpose here is that Vijaya had to find womenfolk for himself and his companions from Madura. If

he came from Bengal or Kalinga, settled in the island and entered into wholesale marriage relations with the Pandya country—the geographical details of this narration work out correctly—it is clear that the northern part of the island of Ceylon, in fact the earlier civilised part, was colonised partly from Bengal and partly from the Tamil country. What actually was the date of Vijaya's occupation of Ceylon and in consequence the migration from the Pandya country does not rest upon so clear a foundation. The Mahavarhsha claims that Vijaya landed in Ceylon as the Buddha was passing into Nirvana in the Nepal Tarai, and according to the Chronology of the Mahavarhsha it would be sometime in 544-543 B.C. But the extraordinary length of the reigns of the immediate successors of Vijaya make it suspicious that Vijaya's landing took place so early. It is likely that it took place much later, but sometime anterior to the conversion of the Ceylon king to Buddhism and the establishment of regular relationship between Asoka and his contemporary Devanam-Piya Tissa. The edicts of Asoka mention the name Tambapanni for Ceylon. Tambapanni is a name unknown to the Tamils. It is certain therefore that the colonisation from Bengal came in some time anterior to the period of Asoka, may be at least about the time of his grandfather Chandragupta Maurya when people in

Patalipura had some knowledge even of distant Madura. It is in connection with Vijaya that the Pandya cotintry first comes in contact with the history of Ceylon.

On this occasion, however, the connection, it must be remembered, is entirely of a friendly character. So far as the Mahavamsa or the Dlpavamsa is concerned South India is not brought into contact again with Ceylon subsequently to Vijaya's coming, but it is stated that when Vijaya died without leaving a successor he had to direct his ministers to go for a successor to his father to send in his stead his brother, Sumitta (Sans. Sumitra) to be king. Before, however, the embassy could arrive the father had died and the said Sumitra was actually ruling; and this Sumitra had married a Madra (Maddha) princess and had three sons by her. He directed his younger son Pandu Vasudeva to go and succeed the uncle in Ceylon. He reached Ceylon with 32 followers and was much in the same predicament for lack of a consort as Vijaya himself. He looked about himself for a suitable bride in the daughter of a Sakya chief who had settled on the other side of the Ganges when the whole clan was destroyed by the Magadha ruler. He had a beautiful daughter by name Bhaddakaccana who was so warmly wooed by seven princes that to save her and himself from their importunities, the father sent her with 32

attendants on a ship down the Ganges. The ship sailing safely arrived in Ceylon. Pandu Vasudeva married her and made this princess his queen. In course of time all of her brothers followed excepting one, and they settled in various localities in Ceylon and founded communities of their own. It is by him that the dynasty was founded and there was a continuous succession of rulers, among whom was one who brought about the conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism. In this part of the story again the indication is fairly clear that the emigrants came from the region of the Ganges rather than from anywhere near Gujarat.

During the period of rule of Devanam-piya Tissa embassies went backward and forward several times and the connection indicated is with the Gangetic delta naturally enough, and in all the transactions in connection with the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon and all the doings of Mahinda and Sangamitta in connection therewith, there is no mention direct or indirect with South India. Sangamitta sailed straight from the mouth of the Ganges, Mahinda came up to Vidisa in eastern Malva, and therefrom is supposed to have come by way of air. Asoka himself is said to have sent Sangamitta and the branch of the Bodhi tree down the Ganges while he himself came down to the port of embarkation over the Vindhya mountains.

It is very doubtful if Mahinda's aerial passage took him over the region of the Tamil country at all. Except for this possibility there is no mention of South India till we come to the year 177 B.C. according to the Mahavamsa. Devanampiya Tisa died leaving three brothers to succeed him one after the other and the period of their rule covered about twenty years. At the end of the third reign however, the administration had so far gone in ineptitude that two horse traders from the Tamil country were able to overthrow the ruling dynasty; which part of the Tamil country they came from is not stated. After a reign of twenty-two years the usurpers were overthrown by a member of the ruling family who occupied the throne for a period of ten years.

It was after this that a Tamil of noble descent came from the Chola country, seized the kingdom and ruled for a period of forty-four years "with even justice towards friend and foe on occasions of dispute at law." This Tamil chief is named in the Mahavamsa Elara, but is known to Tamil tradition as Elelasingam; but this tradition however, tells us little that could be brought into connection with the story as told of him in this work. Some of the stories recorded of him in the Mahavamsa in regard to his acts of extraordinary justice are several of them, traceable in the accounts of the semi-mythical

Cholas. While confirming the Chola origin of the chief, these do not lead us to any definite kind of connection with any of the ruling kings of the Chola dynasty so far as we know at present. So much, however, seems clear from the Mahavarhsa itself that he continued throughout his long reign in the religion of his fathers and did not adopt Buddhism even though in regard to the Buddhists themselves he exhibited the same beneficent liberality as to his own co-religionists. The Mahavamsa itself admits of this heretic from their point of view, that "only because he freed himself from the guilt of walking in the path of evil did this (monarch) though he had not put aside false beliefs, gained such miraculous power" as to regulate and control rain. The connection this time is with the Chola country as is clear from the account, and is admittedly of a hostile character. The most powerful usurper who had a comparatively long reign was a man who continued to be other than Buddhist, and has evoked the admiration of the hostile witnesses to his equitable rule. The description in circumstantial detail of the war between the usurper Elara and Butthagamani gives one a feeling that the event is of a historical character. The hostility thus started between the Tamils of the Chola country, which for some reason or other appears to have been nearest for this purpose,

and the Oeylonese of northern Ceylon continued permanently ever afterwards, so much so that this hostility had become more or less the normal relation between the two Kingdoms.

In the consecration of the "great Vihara" it was already pointed out, the Tamil country proper took no part. None of the localities from which representatives came to take part in the consecration, with the doubtful exception of the representative from Mahishamandala, is it possible to locate in the Tamil country. It is impossible to refer this Mahishamandala to the Mysore territory to which there are a number of references in early Tamil literature from which I have drawn so largely. None of the references however gives us even a hint that the country was Buddhist, or that there was a Buddhist establishment in it. It seems likely that the Mahishamandala from which Buddhist representatives did come was the Mahishamandala dominated by Mahishmati on the Narbada, the country of the Mahishakas round Mandhata (an island in the Narbada river). The hostility therefore between the Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Ceylon that is inferable gets indirectly supported by this significant omission.

The next time that Ceylon comes into connection with the Tamils is under the rule of Vattagamani about 44 B.C. In his reign there **was a** rebellion set **up by a** Brahman by **name**

Tissa, who according to the Buddhist account, instigated by the prediction of an astrologer set up in rebellion against the newly installed King Vattagamani. At the same time seven Tamil chieftains landed at Mahatitha (Mantota) with their troops apparently in alliance with the rebel Tissa. Vattagamani skilfully appealed to the Brahman by telling him that the kingdom was already his and that he might exert himself to get the Tamils out. The Tamils easily won a victory against the Brahman first, and then attacked the king himself and defeated him in a battle near Kolambalaka. For fourteen years afterwards the king remained in exile. During this period five Tamils ruled one after the other, the remaining two having gone back with such booty as they could lay hold of, one of them carrying Somadevi the queen, and the other the Buddha's alms-bowl, from Anuradhapura. One Tamil chief by name Pulahattha reigned for three years ; his commander-in-chief Bahiya after killing him, ruled for two years. Bahiya was succeeded in his turn by his commander-in-chief who slew his master. The succession passed on to Pilayamaraka and from him to Dathika. After fourteen years and seven months of exile Vattagamani was able to overcome the last Tamil usurper Dathika and entered his capital again, His great work was the construction of the Abhayagiri

Vihara after having destroyed a Jain *aroma* (park or garden). He is said to have brought back his queen Somadevi from the Tamil country and restored her to her position as queen. He built in her honour the Manisoma-arama. In these doings of Vattagamani Abhaya the Tamils again came into contact with him as enemies, having come apparently in support of the Brahman usurper and ending in usurping the kingdom for a period of nearly fifteen years.

After the death of Vattagamani two successors followed, the second of whom was Vattagamani's son Choranaga. He was followed by Tissa. Choranaga made himself unpopular with the Buddhists by destroying a number of their monasteries which refused him asylum while he was a fugitive rebel. His queen murdered him and set up a changing succession of her lovers on the throne, among whom was a Tamil by name Vatuka who occupied the position of a city carpenter. Another of this infamous queen's lovers was also a person named Niliya, a Brahman palace priest as he is described, who had a short reign of about six months. She changed her mind and got rid of him as she did the others before him. These Tamils apparently were people that had settled in Ceylon, and their connection with the throne does not bring Ceylon into any connection with the Tamil country. Then we pass over a succession of rulers whose

doings do not bring them into connection with the Tamil country till we come to the reign of Chancjamuka-Siva who ruled from A. D. 101-110. His queen was named Damila-devi. Whether she was a princess from any of the Tamil countries in the neighbourhood is not made clear. Chandamuka-Siva was assassinated by his younger brother, Tissa by name, who ruled for a period of about eight years. He indulged a fancy of his by setting on the throne a gate watchman who looked like him and enjoyed the joke from his place as a watchman instead, when his courtiers in succession made their obeisance to the watchman on the throne. The watchman took advantage of this unseemly conduct of the king in the watchman's guise, and ordered his being slain for such bad conduct. The rule of the gate watchman apparently-became unpopular and a person named Vasabha of the Lambakanna race, and belonging to the northern provinces of Ceylon, apparently Jaffna, set up a rebellion and overthrowing Vasabha in battle occupied the throne for the long period of 42 years. The term Lambakanna designating the class of people to whom this ruler belonged, it seems as though the Lambakanna rulers were Tamils as well. Lambakanna means merely pendant ear. Whether that name was given to them because of the physical deformity, though brought about

artificially, of ears lengthened by making big holes in the lobes seems just possible. In the later period of the history of Ceylon and even of the Pandya country these Lambakariias play an important part, and a number of chieftains in the present-day district of Ramnad are described as Lambakannas in the Ceylonese account. They had a specific function to discharge on occasions of royal coronation though what exactly the function was is not made clear. A *Lambakannadhurci*) apparently the chief of the Lambakannas, along with a number of chiefs of that class was sent by the victorious Ceylon general Lankapura to officiate at the coronation of a Pandya King in the twelfth century. If they belonged to the community of chieftains in that part of the district which is peculiarly the district of the so-called Nattukottai Chetties, the term Lambakanna may well apply to them. The Lambakanna usurpation therefore would mean the usurpation by the warriors of the Lambakanna race who must have formed a recognised part of the military forces of the state of Anuradhapura in Ceylon. This ruler is described in the Mahavamsa as having been a particularly pious monarch, who anxious to extend the short life that was predicted for him, did make very large donations to the Buddhist priests and institutions, and earned the grateful

encomiums of this class of people. This Lambakanna chief was succeeded by his son for a short term of three years; and his son Gajabahuka Gamani, or more briefly Gajabahu, succeeded to the throne. His rule, according to Geiger's chronology, beginning in 483 B. C. lasted from A.D. 171 to A.D. 193. The Mahavamsa itself has very little to say of him except that he built a *Vihara* in honour of his mother and a *stupa*. He is also given credit for having constructed a tank and a few other minor works of merit to the Buddhist shrines. His reign is, however, of great importance in South Indian History as he was the ruler of Ceylon who was present at the completion of the ceremony of the institution of the temple to Pattini-Devi in the Chera capital of Vanji. The Silappadhikaram refers to him definitely as among the kings who were present, along with others, on the occasion; the other rulers mentioned being the Aryan princes who were just released from prison, other Kings that were similarly set at liberty, the rulers of Western Kongu, the kings of Malva, and king Gajabahu of Lanka "surrounded by the sea." All of them prayed that the goddess might honour their territory as she did that of the Chera, which was answered by a voice from the air proclaiming assent.¹

¹ Silappadbikaram, Canto 30,11. 151-164

This is in a way confirmed by a statement prefixed to the work either by the author himself or more likely by the author's friend or preceptor or disciple, who usually write the introduction to the poem. The statement in this part follows that in the body of the work, and states that these temples were built in the Chola, Pandya, Kongu and Lanka, and duly consecrated as a means of expiation for the suffering to which, at any rate, the Pandya country was subjected as a result of the miscarriage of justice which constituted the seed of the tragedy. The statement in the text is a prayer, and the statement in the preface is a record of the accomplishment of all that was prayed for ; but the statement in the text itself is very clear and leaves no doubt as to the contemporaneity of the "Red-Chera" with Gajabahu of Ceylon. The introduction of the supernatural in the poem leads some scholars to doubt the historicity of several of its statements. These scholars forget that the author was a younger brother of this self-same Ch§ra. He refers more than once to the contemporary poet, his own friend and a much valued friend of his elder brother the king, Rattan, the author of the companion work Manimekhalai, apart from the reference in the introduction to both the works. As a *kavya* the two works together constitute

one, as otherwise this work alone would deal with only the first three of "the four ends of life" (chatur-vida-purusharthaj. If Gajabahu then went as far out as the court of the Chera and constructed a temple to Pattini-devi why does not the Mahavamsa say so? The Mahavamsa is essentially a history of Buddhism in Ceylon, and not a secular history of Ceylon. It deals with those kings of Ceylon whose benefactions to Buddhism were the greatest, and passes over those with rare exceptions, who were not Buddhists with comparatively short notice. The establishment of the temple to Pattini-devi would go just against the grain of Buddhist tradition, and the Buddhist priests of the Mahavihara therefore apparently felt disinclined to record this particular incident. There are other histories of Ceylon however, which have much more to say of this Gajabahu. They ascribe to him an invasion of the Chola country for the recovery of a large number of the Ceylonese who were taken prisoners and who were detailed for work at "the city of Kaveri in the country of Soli," which apparently means they were set to work as prisoners in the city of Kaveripattanam, the Chola capital. He is said to have taken back some of the Buddha relics and Buddha's begging-bowl which, according to this account, was carried away before his time. We know from tradition on this side of the channel that the great Chola

Karikala it was that constructed, or vastly enlarged the Chola capital Puhar or Kaveripattanam. We have noted already that one of the Tamil usurpers among the seven carried away " the alms-bowl of the master endowed with the ten .miraculous powers " that was in Anuradhapuram in the period B.C. 44-29, according to Geiger's Chronology. One of these other accounts of Ceylon actually does state that the King of Ceylon on that occasion brought away the " foot ornaments of Pattini-devi " and also the four arms of the gods. Thus the evidence on both sides seems inevitably to lead to the conclusion that it was Gajabahu I of Ceylon that came into connection with the Tamil country.¹

We have a date for Gajabahu which we have not for the others. On the basis of the date of Buddha's *nirvana* being 544-43, the Ceylon dating for Gajabahu would be 112-132; with 483 B.C. for the Buddha's *nirvana*, the date in Christian era would be 171-193. Overlooking for the moment the discrepancy of 60 years, Gajabahu and his contemporaries must be placed in the middle of the second century A.D. which is exactly the conclusion to which we have arrived without this specific chronological datum. Gajabahu's

¹ For fuller reference in regard to this particular incident see pp. 363-367 of my " Ancient India." The Rajavaliya translated by Gunasekhara is quoted below.

relations with India as is clear from the above account was of a friendly character. He appears to have been one of those monarchs who like the monarchs of India in general patronised all religions alike, and this latitudinarianism of the monarch was not quite approved of by the monkish chroniclers of the Mahavihara, on whose accounts the Mahavamsa, is professedly based. The omission in the Mahavamsa proper of the details regarding the temple to Pattini-devi is perfectly natural from the point of view of the orthodox Buddhists, but that is no evidence that that incident is not historical.

The following extracts from the Rajavaliya contains a fuller account of Gajabahu's doings¹ which it would be interesting to note here:

" His son King Bapa, sur named Vannesi or King (1) Vannesinambapa, (2) Sinnanambapa, reigned 3 years. During his reign the king of the Soli country landed on this island with an array of Tamils and carried away 12,000 prisoners."

" Gajaba, son of King Bapa Vannesi, succeeded to the throne. One night, when walking in the city, he heard a widow weeping because the king of Soli had carried away her children. He said within himself ' some wrong has been done in this city,' and having marked the door of her house with chalk, returned to his palace.

¹ Edn. by B. Gunasekhara, Colombo, pp. 47-48.

In the morning he called his ministers and inquired of them what (they knew of any) acts of justice or injustice in the city. Thereupon they replied, 'O Great King, it is like a wedding house/ The king, being wroth with his ministers, sent for the woman, the door of whose house he had marked with chalk and asked her (why she wept). The poor woman replied, 'I wept because among the 12,000 persons taken captive by the Soli king were my two sons.⁵ On hearing these words the king expressed anger against his royal father, and, saying 'I will go tomorrow and to the Soli country,' assembled an army and went to Yapapatuna,¹ thinking 'I will (myself) bring back the people forcibly carried off by the king of Soli,' and having declared it openly, he dismissed the army. Taking the giant Nila with him he went and struck the sea with an iron mace, divided the waters in twain, and going quietly on arrived at the Soli capital, struck terror into the king of Soli, and seated himself on the throne like King Sak; whilst the giant Mia seized the elephants in the city and killed them by striking one against another.

"The ministers informed the king of Soli of the devastation of the city thus being made. Thereupon he inquired of Gajaba, "is the Sinhalese host come to destroy this city."

¹ Yalpanapattanam, or Jaffnapatam, modern Jaffna.

Gajaba replied " I have a little boy who accompanied me; there is no army," and caused the giant Nila to be brought and made to stand by his side. Thereupon the king of Soli asked " why has your Majesty come alone without an army ? " Gajaba replied, " I have come in order to take back the 12,000 persons whom your royal father brought here as prisoners in the time of my father." To this the king of Soli saying, " a king of our family it was who, in times past, went to the city of the gods and gained victory in the war with the "Asuras" refused to send for and deliver the men. Then Gajaba grew wroth and said " forth-with restore my 12,000 people, giving 12,000 more besides them; else will I destroy this city and reduce it to ashes." Having said this, he squeezed out water from sand and showed it; squeezed water from his iron mace and showed that. Having in this way intimidated the king of Soli he received the original number supplemented by an equal number of men as interest making 24,000 persons in all. *Ke also took away the jewelled anklets of the goddess Pattini and the insignia of the gods of the four devala, and also the bowl-relic which had been carried off in the time of king Valagamba ; and admonishing the king not to act thus in future.'*

* On his arrival he landed the captives, sent each captive who owned ancestral property to his

inherited estate and caused the supernumerary captives to be distributed over and to settle in these countries, viz., Alutkuruwa, Sarasiya-pattuwa, Yatinuwara, Udunuwara, Tupane, Hewahata, Dansiya, Pattuwa, Egoda Tiha and Magada Tiha. This king reigned 24 years and went to the world of the gods.'

There is an interesting reference to a famine in the short reign of Kunchanaga of two years. This would correspond under the Geiger scheme to the years A.D. 243-44, but under the scheme of Ceylon chronology beginning B.C. 543, it would be A.D. 183-4. This latter dating would bring it over close to the date of a great famine in the Pandya country which figures in traditions concerning the history of Tamil literature. The famine in Ceylon is called Eka-Nalika famine, which means, under the ordinary acceptance of similar expressions, that the staple grain, apparently rice, was sold at one Nalika (one-eighth of the standard measure) for each main unit of currency. The next reign of importance in this religious history of Ceylon that brings Ceylon into connection with India is that of a Tissa known generally by his surname Voharika-Tissa, the adjunct Voharika is the Pali form of Vyavaharika meaning, "knowing the law because he put an end to physical injury as a penalty under law." His reign is of importance in this particular connection

as it was then for the first time that the heretical sect of the Buddhists following the Vetulya¹ doctrine is said to have assumed importance in the island. This heresy under Voharika 'Jissa was suppressed by the king by means of a minister of his named Kapila. The king is said to have followed the orthodox doctrine as a result of the discourses of the *thera-Dev&* who was a resident of Kambugama. This heresy of the Vetulya is said to have originated in A.B. 752, the equivalent of A.D. 209 in the first year of the reign of Voharika Tissa, according to Tumour the translator of the Mahavamsa; the peculiarity of the doctrine of these heretics consisted in regarding (1) the Buddha as a supernatural being, and (2) the doctrine (Dharma) as having been preached not by the Buddha himself but by Ananda his chief disciple.² This

¹ Kern's Indian Buddhism, pp. 121-126.

² I-tsing's Record, p. 14, Takakasu's Trans.

" Both (Mahayanists and Hinayanists adopt one and the same discipline (*Vinaya*), and they have in common the prohibition of the five *skandhas* (groups of offences), and also the practice of the "*Four Noble Truths*."

" Those who worship the Bodhisattvas and read the Mahayana Sutras are called Mahayanists (the great), while those who do not perform these are called the Hinayanists (the small). There are but two kinds of the so-called Mahayana. First the Madhyamika; second the Yoga. The former profess that which is commonly called existence is in reality non-existence and every object is but an empty show, like an illusion; whereas the latter affirm that there exist no other things in reality, but only inward thoughts, and all things exist only in the mind (lit, all things are but one mind)."

seems to give us a clear indication of the connection between this school of Buddhism and the school of *Bhakti* in Hinduism, thus apparently harmonising somewhat with this rising school of Hindu thought, such harmonising being one of the special features of Mahayana Buddhism. Taranatha makes a statement of value in this connection as, according to him, Nagarjuna's preceptor, the Brahman Rahula-Bhadra, the Mahayanist is said to have been "much indebted to sage Krishna, and still more to Ganesa." This would ordinarily mean no more than that Mahayanism was indebted to special schools of *Bhakti*, both Vaishnava and Saiva, rather more to the latter than to the former. What minister Kapila did for suppressing this heresy we are not told. What exactly was the occasion that called for any special preaching on the part of the *Thera-Devisi* we are left in equal darkness about; but so much is clear that the Vetulya heresy had assumed such importance and had apparently shown itself to be so aggressive that the attention of even the judicially-minded monarch was called for for keeping it under control. If the date 209 A.D. could be regarded as the correct equivalent, it will lead us a long way towards settling the date of Nagarjuna. The Deva who discoursed effectively to this Voharika Tissa and kept him in orthodoxy, it is very probable, was the rival of Nagarjuna,

who could not have lived very long anterior to this actual date. The importance of the connection between the coast region of India and Ceylon will appear later. The successor of this monarch became a fugitive from the country as a result of an intrigue of his brother with the queen, and was sometime resident in the Tamil country. He returned from there at the head of a Tamil army and overthrowing his brother ruled as monarch. He was succeeded on his death by his elder brother's son who ruled for another two years followed by a short reign of one year of his son. Then there was a Lambakanna usurpation by three officers of this race. There is record of another famine in the reign of Sri Sanghabodhi of two years, A.D. 300-302 under the Geiger scheme. He was followed by the third of the Lambakannas Abhaya by name, who is known otherwise as Gothahaya or Meghavannabhaya who had a reign of 13 years. There is a story regarding the last days of this Abhaya's predecessor which resembles the story of the Tamil patron Kumana and his younger brother, and which is recorded in poems 158-165 of Purananuru. In either case the story has reference to a prize put upon the head of a fugitive. In either case likewise, the fugitive offered to take off, and actually took off, his own head to gratify a friend by enabling him to get the prize.

In this Abhaya's reign the Vetulya heresy comes into great prominence. He is said to have suppressed the heresy which had found great strength in the community of the Abhayagiri-Vihara, and had to exclude from the community 60 of the heretical priests who went to the opposite shore of the continent and found asylum there. A Bhikshu by name Sangamitta in the Chola country attached himself to one of these excommunicated priests and came to Ceylon with a bitter hatred of the orthodox community of the Mahavihara. He is said to have been an expert in the exorcism of spirits and such other black-art. Having defeated one of the chief monks of the Tuparama, apparently of the orthodox school, he attracted the attention of the monarch and rose so high in his favour as to be eventually appointed tutor to the sons of the king. Gothabhaya's eldest son Jetta-Tissa when he succeeded set up a persecution of such of the heretical ministers as would not take their place in the funeral procession of his late father. Fearing for his own life the chief heretic teacher Sangamitta had to go back to his country and await the accession to the throne of his other pupil Mahasena, the younger of the two sons of Gothabhaya. At the death of the elder brother the heretical *thera* Sangamitta came back to Ceylon for the purpose of the consecration ceremony of the young ruler. At his instigation

the orthodox community of the Mahavihara got to be so far thrown into neglect that they abandoned the Vihara and left it vacant for a period of nine years. The Vihara and its properties were appropriated by the state as unclaimed property. This persecution of the orthodox community led on to the proportionate rise of the community of the Abhayagiri-Vihara into importance chiefly through the instrumentality of the *thera* Sangamitta and minister Sona.¹

The orthodox minister by name Meghavanabhaya set up in rebellion, and, on the field of battle, made it up with the monarch and came to an understanding with him. In the meanwhile Sangamitta and Sona were put to death through one of the King's wives who was an orthodox devotee of the Mahavihara. One of the great offences that Mahasena gave to the orthodox community seems to have been the setting up of numbers of images of the Buddha and the building of regular temples for them, the Mahayanist practice apparently. This time he must have set up the images of the Buddha within the Mahavihara itself at the instigation of another priest Tissa. This heretical temple in the near proximity of the Mahavihara was called Jotivana-Vihara in the garden called Joti.

¹ This is briefly alluded to in the Dipavamsa as well. Verses 66-76. The names of these two are somewhat altered in shape; Sangamitta is referred to as Dummitto and minister Sona as Papa-Sono.

This action caused the vacating of the Mahavihara for some time, and the matter was settled actually in favour] of the "orthodox community by the high judicial minister in spite of the wishes of the king to the contrary. The king is also said to have founded three other *Viharas* destroying the temples of the Brahmanical gods. When this king Mahasena died the Mahavihara of the orthodox community and that of the Abhayagiri occupied positions practically of equal strength and uncompromising rivalry, so much so that the Chronicler closes the account of him with the following statement "thus this monarch Mahesena by his connection with ill-disposed persons having performed, during the whole course of his existence, acts of piety and impiety, his destiny (after his death) was great to his merits." The inference from this statement is clear, namely, that Mahasena whatever his own private predilections (which apparently inclined towards the heretical) let the two sections grow side by side, and perhaps even ceased to exhibit any special favour to the community of the Mahavihara. This attitude was naturally unacceptable to the orthodox community of the Mahavihara whose account actually constitutes the Mahavamsa.

CHAPTER IV.

SOUTH INDIA, THE SEAT OF ORTHODOX HINDUISM.

This brings us to the year A. B. 808 to 835 equal to A. D. 325-352 according to the Geiger scheme or 60 years less on the basis of 543 for A. B. 1. So up to the commencement of the fourth century the actual connection between Ceylon and South India may be described as one of hostility often political, but always to a certain degree religious in the sense that Buddhism which commanded the most influential clientele in Ceylon did not command the support, or gain even the sympathy, of the Tamils who came into occupation of Ceylon from across the sea. We have already noticed that the religious condition of South India was one of complete freedom. From such evidence as is available to us, there were Buddhists and Jains pursuing peacefully each sect its own particular persuasion though it undoubtedly seems that Hinduism was the dominant religion. In the headquarters of the Chola Kingdom as well as of the Pandya, of both of which we get elaborate descriptions in works written by Buddhist, Jain and Hindu, we find all of these co-existing, so much so that it would seem ordinarily to be difficult to infer

what exactly was the particular leaning of the monarch for the time being. The *Vaidic* learning which was held in high esteem and of which we gain glimpses even in the writings of authors professing religions hostile to the claims of the *Veda* seems, on the evidence of the poem from *Purananuru* quoted above, specially organised here for controverting what was regarded by this school as the false learning of those who ceased to hold the *Veda* in high esteem. That is not all. *Puram* 166 quoted above translates (11. 1-10). "Hail! descendant of a family of first among wise men who enjoy the reputation of having perfected without defect the twenty-one kinds of sacrifice; who were learned in the ancient *Veda* which is habitually much cultivated and which is unceasingly in the tongue of the venerable Siva of long-matted locks; which has for its sole object Dharma which is four-footed and learnt, with the aid of the six auxiliary sciences, with a view chiefly to controvert with success the truth-like convictions of those whose persuasions lie outside the *Veda*, and to put a stop to their increase by imposing upon people; understanding the actual truth of these seemingly true convictions, these ancestors of yours succeeded in exposing their hollowness and thus prevented their increase. Of such distinguished ancestry have you come into the world."

Whether the stimulus actually came from the north or no, there is nothing in the evidence for an inference either way ; but Brahmanism in the Tamil country took the same development that it did take according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in the orthodox middle country of Hindustan. We see already the coming into prominence of the cult of particular gods such as Siva, Vishnu or Krishna, etc. The four gods, Siva, Baladeva, Krishna and Subrahmaiya referred to already as having been regarded as the guiding divinities of the world on the authority of a poem by Narkirar are the divinities whose temples the Silappadhikaram describes as having existed in Madura and even Kaveripattanam. It may be that the existence of the temples of a prominent character to these four in Madura was the reason for Narkirar's conviction in the poem quoted above. We have already pointed out the importance that was attached, in the prevalent Hinduism of this part of the country, to sacrifices such as the Buddhists and even the Jains condemned. In the society of Tamil India of those days the Brahman found the celebration of these sacrifices normally allotted to him. The function and the celebrant alike came to be treated with great honour by the community as a whole as benefactors of society. While therefore it would be safe to assert that the heterodox sects of the

Buddhists and Jains were allowed to prosper peacefully and there was no persecution in the country, it would still, on the evidence available, bear assertion that the orthodox Hinduism was the religion of the south. This Hinduism had already undergone a certain degree of modification towards subordinating the purely ritualistic part of the Brahmanic religion by a very strong infusion of the devotional element in it. While the Brahman was expected rigorously to conform to his duties as the sacrificer for the community, the rest of the community could look forward, in the security that the Brahman was discharging his duties to the community as a whole, to the attainment of earthly prosperity here in this world and salvation in the next by the comparatively easier method of devotion, each to the god of his heart. The notion of god and that of a ministering priest to stand between God and individual man already come into relief. This peculiar feature of devotion to god under the right guidance of a preceptor is a feature peculiar to *Bhakti* on the one side and to the development of Buddhism of the *Mahayana* form in its more abstruse aspect on the other. This feature seems to have been the peculiar feature of the heterodox Vetulya followers (of the Abhayagiri Vihara) of Buddhism itself, and be it noted it is a development of Buddhism which as noticed by the Ceylon

Buddhists is peculiar to the continental part set over against their own coast; in other words, the Tamil country and the region adjoining. It would seem therefore as though the *school of Bhakti* and the *Vetulya heresy* of Buddhism alike were the developments of Brahmanism and Buddhism respectively as a result of the same or sitnilar influences. If Nagarjuna's association with SrI-Sailam should turn out to be historical, find if he were the contemporary of Arya Deva it is quite likely that Nagarjuna's responsibility for this feature of Mahayana Buddhism is easily understandable. Arya Deva the rival of Nagarjuna seems the same as Deva who preached the Ceylon Voharika-Tissa into orthodoxy. The term Arya may after all mean in that particular connection no more than *Acharya*.¹

At the end of this first stage of our enquiry into the history of Brahmanism in South India we have come to this state of things before the rise of the Pallavas in the south. Brahmanism of the *Vedic* character came from the north and established ready superiority over such indigenous systems of religion as existed, if these could be called systems at all. The Brahmans that came in small colonies must have been comparatively few in point of number, but impressed

¹ The Mahavamsa has a reference to reading on particular occasions, of what is called Arya-VamSa, i. e., a sort of an Acharya-Btratripari which was being publicly read on stated occasions,

the whole society by a certain degree of austere simplicity and of loyal discharge of their duty to the community which involved a sacrifice of all their time and energy in the doing. The system of ritual they brought with them was very complicated and required more or less complete detachment for performance. They did perform this duty, and there was a widespread notion that the performance of his sacrifice and the maintenance of the holy fire were essential to the prosperity of the community. Hence it was enjoined upon him as a duty that he owed to the community to do this laborious and troublesome task faithfully. Remissness in detail, or failure in the performance, either of them involved some kind of calamitous visitation for society, and his service therefore was regarded as of peculiar value to the community. Thus we see how he arrived at the first two of his duties, the performance of sacrifice, and getting others to perform such.

Learning got associated with the Brahman probably from the days of the Rig Veda itself. At any rate in the next stage of development when the hymns got to have a ritualistic significance a class had necessarily to be detailed for the preservation of this learning. While therefore learning, even holy learning, was the common property of all the twice-born, its development and growth naturally required a

special section of the community to be set apart for the pursuit of it, and either that community became Brahman or the Brahman took up that duty along with the one already described. Thus by a process almost of natural selection he became the custodian of learning. Not content merely with being the custodian he added the important function of dispensing this learning, so that he became not merely the special student who learnt all that was worth learning at the time, but he also regarded it as his duty to hand down the torch of learning undiminished, if not improved and extended. This brings us to the other two of his functions in the Tamil country, learning and teaching. This double function gave him, as it were, the natural right to be the authority for consultation and guidance in matters relating to conduct in society. It was not merely teaching of book-learning that he took upon himself, but the far more serious duty of "perfecting the people" (*janapakvata*). This "perfecting of the people" which, in more modern language would mean civilizing the people, involved in the peculiar circumstances of the times the free gift of education and the free acceptance of rewards therefor. One was not to teach for fees but having been taught there was the moral obligation on the part of the taught to contribute his mite to the continued maintenance of the beneficent

office. It was not merely an obligation on the part of the taught, but became gradually to be felt as an extended obligation upon the whole of the society. Those that were capable of being taught should have the opportunity to teach themselves, and thus arose the obligation to maintain the Brahman on the part of society. That brings us to the third pair of his functions, the giving and the receiving in gift. He taught freely and laboured hard to elevate society. The people gave freely and maintained him in comfort in order that he may pursue the good work untrammelled by considerations as to his maintenance. We thus find that the duties specially allotted to the Brahman and the privileges to which he became specially entitled were both alike the natural development of his position in society and the function that he allotted to himself. The following passage from the Satapatha Brahmana puts the whole of his duties and responsibilities in a nut-shell :

" The study and teaching (of the Veda) are a source of pleasure to him, he becomes ready-minded, and independent of others; and day by day, he acquires wealth. He sleeps peacefully ; he is the best physician for himself; and (peculiar) to him are the restraint of the senses, delight on the one hand, growth of intelligence, fame and the *task of perfecting people*. The growing of intelligence gives rise to four duties attaching to the Brahmanas—Brahmanical descent, a befitting deportment, fame and *perfecting of the people*; and the people that are being

perfected guard the Brahman by four duties—by (showing him) respect and liberality, and by (granting him) security against oppression and security against capital punishment."

Much the same idea is conveyed in a far more simple way when the Tamil poet speaks of a royal family as the one which had never known to do anything that would cause pain of mind to a Brahman.

On Brahmanism so constituted came to bear new influences for the rudiments of which we have to go back to times much earlier, and that influence is the rising cult of *Bhakti*. *Bhakti* involves the notion of a personal God who intervenes in the affairs of man for the benefit of humanity. We can see the emergence of the notion of the personal God in the Sata-patha Brahmana¹ itself in the strident Vishriu. This theistic notion of personal God and of service to him comes in its further development to be known as *Bhakti*. This was the orthodox answer to the rising of agnostic cults of Buddhism and Jainism, and in its further development it influenced both Brahmanism and Buddhism vitally as we saw. The modification of orthodox Brahmanism of the *Vedic* kind by the influence of this new and still orthodox cult of *Bhakti* we shall trace in the next section.

¹ I. 5, 3, 14 and I. 9, 3, 10. Also Katha Up. I. 3, 9 and MacNicol's *Indian Theism*, p. 33.

CHAPTER V.

THE SCHOOL OF BHAKTI.

A theistic system of Bhakti consists in the worship of a personal God who is the Creator and Lord of the Universe. Devotion to him by unremitting service is the best way to the attainment of salvation or release from the ever-recurring cycle of births and deaths, and as such become recognisable as a system in the age of religious ferment of the Upanishads. The natural development of this religious ferment led to the rising of Buddhism and Jainism in the east. A more legitimate and orthodox system also grew simultaneously in the home of orthodoxy in the middle country of Hinduism. This system is represented both in the Narayaniya section of the Mahabharata as well as in the Bhagavat Gita. Both of these Sir R. G. Bhandarkar traces to a period anterior to the rise even of Buddhism and Jainism, but not in an organised form. He would regard the Gita as a system which came into existence as a protest against the atheistic systems which resulted from the intellectual ferment

of the age of the Upanishads. The following is Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's summary of the position : "The state of things which must have led to the evolution of the religion of the Gita seems to me to be this. About the time when the systems of religion we have been considering arose, there was a tendency amongst the people which often worked itself out, as is evident from the Pali birth-stories, to give up worldly life and betake themselves to residence in forests or mountains. Even Buddhism, Jainism and other like systems considered an ascetic life to be a *sine qua non* of religious elevation. There is reason to believe that Sramanas existed before the rise of Buddhism. The religious systems that had sprung up were mostly atheistic. The Indian mind had become prone to indulge in mere moral discourses and thoughts on moral exaltation, unassociated with a theistic faith as appears clear from Buddhism and other systems, and also very dry moral dissertations of which the Mahabharata is full. Such a system as that of the Bhagavat Gita was therefore necessary to counteract these tendencies. Theistic ideas were so scattered in the Upanishads, that it was necessary for practical purposes to work them up in a system of redemption capable of being grasped easily. These appeared to be the conditions under which the Gita came into existence.

I am not inclined to dissolve Vasudeva and Arjuna into solar myths ; Vasudeva could not have been living when the Bhagavat Gita was composed as a discourse delivered by him, any more than Buddha was living when his discourses were reduced to the form of books. It is worthy of remark that both of them are called Bhagavats when speaking. Vasudeva must already have been deified before the Bhagavat Gita was written." The School of Bhakti therefore can go back to Vedic beginnings reaching back to the Upanishads certainly and may be traced even anterior to this particular stage of development. As a system it may be regarded as pre-Buddhistic judged by the Gita alone. Bhakti consists as was already pointed out in love of God and complete devotion to Him. Such a notion is traceable in some of the Upanishads themselves. As a system the school of Bhakti regards Vasudeva as the supreme soul, the internal soul of all souls. He is regarded as the supreme creator. All living beings are represented by Sankarshana, who is a form of Vasudeva. From Sankarshana sprang Pradyumna, the mind and from Pradyumna, Anirudha, self-consciousness. From him sprang Brahma. The first four are regarded as the four *Vyuh*s of the supreme. A similar hierarchy of gods is found in connection with the school of the *Tantra* only instead of

Vasudeva, Mahesvara has to be substituted and perhaps even behind this the great mother or iParasakti. On a detailed consideration of references in literature Sir R. G. Bhandarkar arrives at the conclusion " Still it is doubtful, and it may be taken for granted that the two *Vyuh*as Vasudeva and Sankarshana only were known up to the time of the earliest inscription which is to be referred to about the beginning of the first century before the Christian era, so that the system of four *Vyuh*as was not fully developed up to that time." From this he draws the further inference that as the Bhagavat Gita has no specific reference to the four *Vyuh*as it must have been composed at a time anterior to this period and to a period up to which we could trace references to the *Vyuh*as in literature reaching back to the 4th century B. C. The worship of Vasudeva and Baladeva, among the very large number of deities including even animals and trees, is referred to in a passage in the Buddhistic Niddesa¹ referable to the 4th century B. C. There is a reference to a shrine to Sankarshana in the Arthashastra. Patanjali refers to Vasudeva as God in his comment on Panini IV, 3, 98. In an inscription at Ghasundi in Rajputana there is a reference to the temple for Sankarshaija and Vasudeva. This inscription

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, etc.*, p. 8.

is dated about 200 B. C. on Paleographical grounds alone.¹ The Besnagar inscription refers to the erection of a Garudadhvaja "in honour of Vasudeva the God of Gods." That was constructed by one who bore a Greek name Helio-dora who describes himself as the son of Diya and as a Bhagavata. He further states that he was a native of Takshasila and was an ambassador of the Yavana Antalikita to Bhagabhadra, probably ruler of eastern Malva. This inscription is referable to the second century before Christ. There is a reference to Sankarshana and Vasudeva in the Nanaghat² inscription No. 1, dated the first century of the Christian era on paleographical grounds. The particular way in which the name Vasudeva occurs in the Sutra of Panini and the explanation that Patanjali offers support, the presumption that Vasudeva was regarded as a divine person even in the days of Panini. Clearly historical references therefore take back the worship of Sankarshana-Vasudeva to the 4th century B.C. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar however doubts whether the four *Vyuhās* were known so early and concludes "It may be taken for granted that the two *Vyuhās*, Vasudeva And Sankarshana only were known up to the time of the latest inscription which is to be referred

¹ Ladder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions, No. 6.

* Ladder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions, No 1112.

to about the beginning of the first century before the Christian era, so that the system of four *Vyuhās* was not fully developed up to that time."¹ Apart from these however the learned doctor would regard the essential teaching of the Bhakti school traceable in the Upanishads themselves. He gives reference to two passages from the Upanishads, which contain according to him, "a verse to the effect that this supreme soul is not to be attained by lectures (from a teacher), nor by intelligence nor by much learning; *Re is to be attained by him whom the supreme soul favours*; to him he discloses his form. Again we have the doctrine that *the supremely wise Being*, the life of all, leads a man to do good deeds, whom he desires to elevate (K. U. I I , 8); and another that God dwelling in the heart of all beings controls them which latter forms the subject of a celebrated passage in B. D. I l l , 7. From this it is clear that the doctrine that the individual soul is dependent on the Supreme and that the latter alone works out the salvation was acknowledged in Upanishadic times." We shall show later on that this is exactly the doctrine of the Southern school of Bhakti.

¹ On the whole of this see Mr. R. P. Chanda : Arch. Memoirs, No. 5, 1920.

South India, its Special Some, though not its Origin.

This idea of Bhakti or devotion to a personal god is traceable in the earliest extant pieces of Tamil literature. Some of the oldest poems contain references to theistic gods both Vaishnava and Saiva, and what is more to the four *vyuhas* for which Sir R. G. Bhandarkar could find no clear reference in Sanskrit literature before the 1st century B. C. The Paripadal an ancient poem of the Sangam collection contains among one of its oldest pieces an unmistakable reference to the four *vyuhas* of Vishnu. Its poem 3 is devoted entirely to Vishnu, for whom there are a number of other poems in the same collection where various other *Vedic* aspects of the God are adverted to, but nothing so clear as this to the four *vyuhas*. The worship of Krishna and Baladeva seems to have been quite an ordinary feature of Tamil civilization in the earliest periods of which we have knowledge. One of the oldest of South Indian¹ shrines for which we have a reference is devoted to the worship of Krishna. This feature of that temple seems to have continued till about the 8th century A. D. Among the numbers of temples mentioned as having existed in Kaveripattaijam,

¹ Tirumalirunjolai near Madura.

the capital of the Cholas in the first century of the Christian era figure temples to Krishna and Baladeva. Temples to these two are found mentioned among the four principal shrines of Madura, namely those to Siva, Krishna, Baladeva and Subramaijya. These are again the four deities celebrated by the poet Narklirar the President of the Third Sangam in Madura. A number of minor deities do of course come in for reference particularly among the deities to whom temples were found in Kaveripattanam. This multitude of gods and godlings to whom temples were in existence in the same city is referred to in the Buddhistic work Manimekhalai in general terms; all temples beginning from that to Him with *an eye in the forehead and ending with that to the Bhuta in the public square*. A similar sentiment in Maduraik-Kanji was already referred to. The early grammatical work Tolappiyam referring to the presiding deities over the various divisions of a country refers to the forest country presided over by Krishna, the hill country presided over by Subrahmanya, the plain country presided over by Indra (the king), the country on the sea-shore presided over by Varuija; the *Vedic* gods Varuna and Indra being brought into line with Subrahmanya and Krishna. We see therefore the germs that fructified into the school of Bhakti, both Vishnu-Bhakti and Siva-Bhakti, in the Tamil country already, and they

exhibit the features which the northern school of Bhakti does in all its detail. In the course of development South India came to be regarded as the special provenance of Bhakti although the *Vddio* form of ritualistic religion was maintained by the colonies of Brahmanas who had come and settled down, and who were countenanced and maintained by the ruling powers and society as a whole. The unmistakable beginning of this development we could see already in early Tamil literature. Several of the features peculiar to the Gita itself are found in the poems devoted to Vishnu, and even some of those more abstruse features for the worship of God, reaching behind the Bhagavat Gita itself to the Upanishads.

The Aryan Character of its Literature.

This makes it clear that the literature of the South taking into consideration only the literature extant, is essentially Aryan in character, exhibiting, no doubt, occasional features other than Aryan which get absorbed into the system. Buddhist and Jain works must necessarily have this character of the northern literature by the very necessities of their origin; not so the Hindu part of the literature of the Tamils. These show unmistakably their Brahmanical character, not because they necessarily originated

from or were handled by the Brahmans,—and this feature is to a great extent true—but because of something deeper still than that. Writers who were Buddhists and Jains, writers that were not Brahman exhibit this special character of the literature that has come down to us. It is possible to refer to numbers of poems in any collection referable to this period and known collectively as the Sangam collection which show this tendency very plainly. We shall examine the most characteristic of Tamil works with a view to this end and see how far there is any Aryan influence traceable in it. Before proceeding to that examination, however, it is worth while pointing out at once that it is acknowledged on all hands by common tradition that the Tamil language originated with Siva and that its grammar was put into systematic form first by Agastya and then by his disciple the author of the Tolkappiyam on the model of the Aindra School of Grammarians. The earliest tradition regarding the emigration of these people exhibits Aryan lead also. It was Agastya that led the emigration. The bulk of the people belonging to the ruling and agricultural classes were led forward by him in a colony from south-western Hindustan, the land of Krishna. It is they that destroyed forests and turned these into arable land; in other words, introduced the first elements of civilization from the

north. This tradition no doubt states that Agastya's grammar preceded that of Panini and that the division of the *Vedas* accepted in the Tamil country is based on the older *Sakas*, rather than the division into four recognised groups by Vyasa. The only authority extant for all these traditions however, it must be noted, is tradition preserved for us by the commentators of a much later period; and the one that is preserved which offers full details is that preserved by the Brahman commentator Nachchinarkiniyar who lived in the twelfth or the thirteenth century. We are not however dependent upon this late tradition for our authority. We can trace innumerable details in the body of the literature in original that has come down to us, and if these details should be put together it becomes fairly clear that so far as literary Tamil is concerned it is undoubtedly of Aryan character with equally indubitable traces of other than Aryan features in it, features which are far too primitive in comparison.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KURAL : A CHARACTERISTICALLY TAMIL CLASSIC.

Among the number of works and collections that have come down to us from this remote period, most of which have a character of their own, the Kural of Tiruvalluvar stands easily pre-eminent as a peculiarly Tamil classic. The word "Kural" means no more than short literally, because the whole work is composed of stanzas in the aphoristic couplets of 4 and 3 feet respectively; hence the name Kural. It is actually composed of 1330 of these stanzas divided into 133 chapters. These are again thrown into three larger groups which give another name for the work *muppal* (*trvarga*, three kinds). This division into three consists of three out of four divisions which go by the name "objects of life " (*purushartha*). This is supposed to be a peculiarity of that work. It is a peculiarity no doubt, but not so characteristic of Tamil as there is a corresponding division known to the Sanskritists who speak of the *trvarga* which is the exact equivalent of *muppal*. It can be described as a didactic work the

purpose of which is to enforce the teachings of ethics common to all religions then obtaining in India, so that whatever might be the actual persuasion adopted by the individual he would still find a guide for conduct in life in this work. Being thus eclectic in character, Buddhists, Jains and Brahmans claimed the work as relating to their particular form of religion, while there are not people wanting who would see in the work an anti-Brahmanical character, recognising it at the same time as relating to the religion of the Hindus.

The four objects of life are, as is well-known, Dharma (righteousness), Artha (wealth), Kama (Love) and Moksha (Salvation). The work of course gives Tamil names for these respectively Aram, Porul, Inbam and Vidu, which are the exact Tamil equivalents of the corresponding Sanskrit terms. The author omits any elaborate treatment of the last for the very logical reason that that is not a subject which lends itself to didactic treatment, being unearthly in its character. If the first three objects of life are attained by adopting a moral life, the other follows inevitably in consequence. Hence the omission of the fourth in this. The book devotes 34 chapters of the 133 to righteousness taking into it all the four stages of disciple, householder, a retired life and that of the hermit, the four well-known Brahmanical divisions of life.

Of these the life of the house-holder comes in for elaborate treatment naturally in 20 chapters. Then follows forest life treated in 10 and lastly comes the life of renunciation dealt with in 3 chapters; one chapter is devoted to the study of fate. Following this comes the part relating to life in society which presupposes some kind of Government. In this section particularly, the indebtedness to the Arthasastra of Chanakya stands out clear. Almost the same division of treatment happens to be followed as in Kaman-daka's Nlti Sastra if not the Artha Sastra itself.

The section on King is treated in 25 chapters, ministers in 10, the country, fortifications and royal wealth each in one chapter, army in two, alliance in 5, enmity in 6 and other miscellaneous matters relating to the conduct of the king, the conduct of subjects, the conduct of agriculture, etc., in 19 chapters making a total of 70 chapters for this section out of the 133. Coming to the section on love the division follows the characteristic flora, the feelings evoked and the actions resulting therefrom. These are all treated in the remaining 25 chapters. That the author of the Kural knew the Artha Sastra is very clearly in evidence. One Kural, as pointed out by the commentator Parimel Alahar, is not capable of interpretation properly and has actually been misread for want of knowledge of the Arthasastra text.

Therefore then it must be posterior to the Artha Sastra. It is quoted with acknowledgment in the Maijimekhalai, and, without the explicit reference, in a few places in the Silappadhikaram, thus referring it to a period before the two. There is a collection of poems in appreciation of this work ascribed to the members of the "Third Tamil Sangam," including in it one stanza each by "the voice in the air," Sarasvati, Siva and the contemporary Pandya Uggrap-Peru-Valudi, the other 49 by the forty-nine members of the famous Academy. The fact that one of the members Sattanar actually quotes from it implies that the work had already attained to a certain amount of vogue among the learned.

STRONG INFUSION OF SANSKRIT CULTURE;
ETHICAL AND POLITICAL.

We have already pointed out that the peculiar feature in the Kural of dealing with only the first three of the four objects of life is not altogether so peculiar, having regard to the notion exhibited in Manu in regard to *trivarga* in Chapter II, Sloka 224. The author of the Kural apparently adopted the same principle as the sloka of Manu above referred to. That that was the principle adopted, and the actual details of the division of the whole work on

those particular lines, taking into consideration even the *Vaidio* four stages of life are found explained in an old manuscript which contains an introduction to the commentary by Parimel Alahar. This authority considers the first four sections, namely, invocation, celebration of rain, celebration of those that renounce the world and the celebration of conduct as purely introductory, and the following chapters take up, one after the other, conduct in household, in forest life and lastly in renunciation, thus taking up 34 of the chapters. Then follow the 70 chapters dealing with politics in the widest sense of the term being synonymous with all that constitutes earthly prosperity. Then follows the chapter bearing on the kind of life dealing with the relation between man and woman. In this he adopts to a far more prominent degree the customary divisions of land in Tamil along with much that may be found in the northern lore. To show how far this didactic work, the professed purpose of which is to enforce moral conduct of an eclectic kind so as to provide a general rule of conduct for all, whatever their religion, is indebted to the Artha Sastra, we have only to refer in some little detail to chapter 51 of the work dealing with the selection of ministers by the king. The first verse of this chapter contains an expression which indicates Unmistakable affinity with Kautilya's Artha

Sastra. The substance of the verse is that a man before being selected for admission into the body of ministers should be tested by the four ways of righteousness, wealth, love and *fear of life*. This is subjecting the man to temptation in the various ways to which a minister is peculiarly liable. In these four items the first three are common enough, but the last one is an expression which according to the commentator was misunderstood and altered into a wrong reading for lack of knowledge of the original source of inspiration, that source being Book 1, Ch. 10 of the Artha Sastra (translation) or Chapter 6, page 16 of the text, referring to what Chanakya calls *upada*. The last expression in Tamil is *uyir achcham* literally fear for life. The second of these two words has been altered into "*echcham*" meaning "that which remains." These are the four *upadas* that Chanakya refers to. That the commentator is not drawing from his imagination is fully in evidence in the following eight out of nine verses constituting this chapter. Each one of them refers directly to the various objections of schools of politicians referred to in the Artha Sastra, Chapter VIII of the translation or Chapter IV of the original. Except for the difference in the name of two of those quoted, which may be after all alternative names, the whole chapter agrees point for point with Chapter VIII of the Artha Sastra. Tha

last verse winds up the discussion by agreeing with the conviction arrived at by Kautilya. The only pity of the whole is that these authors are not so named in the text itself. We have no right to expect it having regard to the fact that the whole of this work is thrown into the form of aphorisms which have necessarily to be very brief, and, as was pointed out already, each one of these verses could contain only 7 feet, four and three each, in two lines. But to any dispassionate reader the similarity of idea is quite clear, detail for detail, so that there is no reasonable doubt left that the author of the Kural had full knowledge of the Artha Sastra and adopted several of its conclusions strangely enough. It is to the credit of Tamil scholarship of an elder age that this similarity had already been pointed out by a commentator who preceded Parimel Alahar ia this work.¹ It is possible to refer to a number of other verses in which the relation between the Kural and the Niti Sastra of Kamandaka appears very plainly, and it is a well-known fact that the Kamandaka is only an abridgment of the Artha Sastra of Chanakya, and the author acknowledges his indebtedness to this latter work and its author. We shall indicate the similarity, only in respect of just a few other Sanskrit works.

¹ Quoted by Pandit R. Raghava Aiyangar in Sen-Tamil, Vol. 1, pp. 46-48.

Kural 259 where the author says "It is better by far not to kill for eating than celebrate a thousand ' sacrifices" may be compared with Manu, Chapter V, Sloka 53. "He who during a hundred years annually offers a horse sacrifice, and he who entirely abstains from meat obtain the same reward for their meritorious ' conduct." Kural 166 which says that he that grows jealous of another's making gifts will himself with all his relatives suffer without food and clothing is found in the Dana Chandrika. Kura] 256 which says if there were no people in the world that would kill for eating there would be none in the world to kill at all is an idea embedded in the Bhishmaparva of the Mahabharata. Kura] 58 again: "If women only conducted themselves faithfully and dutifully they would lead a much respected life in heaven." This may be compared to Chapter V, Sloka 155 or 156 of Manu "no sacrifice, no vow, no fast must be performed by women apart (from their husbands); if a wife obeys her husband *she will for that (reason alone) be exalted in heaven.* A faithful wife who desires to dwell (after death) with her husband must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand whether he was alive or dead." It is hardly necessary to multiply quotations. Surprising as it may seem at first sight that there is such an intimate connection between the two cultures the Aryan

and the Dravidian in Kural, we would be **no less** surprised if it had been otherwise having regard to the historical circumstances under which this remarkable work had been produced in the Tamil land. A close study of the work in intimate connection with Sanskrit literature goes to heighten our admiration of the extraordinary learning of the commentator Parimel AJakar, who in many of these matters exhibited these features most accurately. That his judgment that the author of the Kural set before himself a work which would give to everybody a practical rule of conduct in life irrespective of his peculiar religion, and therefore it is a work eclectic in character and liable to be claimed by the various sections of people as belonging peculiarly to themselves is fully justified. The work has reference to the Hindu society of South India and that the author had much respect for Brahmans and Brahmanism as an integral part of the social order is unmistakably in evidence in the following three verses : Kural 134 states briefly that the Veda if forgotten could be learnt again, but the Brahman loses his character if he falls off from conduct peculiar to his station. Kural 543 lays down that the righteous rule of a monarch stands as the main support of the learning of the Brahman and righteousness ; and Kural 560 similarly states that if the king ceases to render protection cows will cease to

yield and Brahmans who have to do their six-fold duty will forget their learning, the Veda. In each one of these cases the consequences are regarded as nothing short of calamitous to society. It may not be possible positively to assert that the author was of the Brahmanical persuasion, as other than Brahmans, even Buddhist and Jain authors often speak in the same strain of the Brahman as a member of Hindu society; but on a dispassionate examination of the work there seems justification for the assumption that the author of the Kura] though undoubtedly belonging to a lower caste was Brahmanical in religion.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE OF THE PALLAVAS.

The question who the Pallavas were is one which can hardly be described as being out of the stage of discussion yet. The theory that held the field till recently almost unchallenged was that they were a tribe of foreigners supposed to be of Parthian origin who having effected a lodgment in the part of the country near the mouth of the Indus, moved southeastwards gradually till they came to be found in possession of the region dominated by Kanchi. The main reason for this contention is that a class of people called Palhavas figure among the lists of tribes on that frontier in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and other such sources of information. They are also found to figure among the enemies overthrown by the Satavahanas, namely Gautamlputra Satakarni and his son. The Ceylon chonicle also mentions a tract of country which seems to be located in that region which is named in the Mahavamsa, Pallavabhogga. This collection of references to the Pallavas is held to justify the conclusion

that they were a body of foreigners who entered India by way of Baluchistan, and moved on till they hipduised themselves so far as to forget their foreign origin and raise no suspicions among the peoples over whom they imposed their authority. There are, however, grave difficulties in the way of accepting this apparently satisfactory account as we have some information in Tamil literature which militates strongly against this view of their origin. We have already pointed out that in the days of the early Cholas, Kanchi was a Chola Viceroyalty, Palatine Viceroyalty though it was. We have already given a number of references to show that the Tamils regarded Pulikat as their northern boundary, and the people or the tribes that inhabited the region immediately north of it have invariably been referred to as speaking a language different from that of the Tamils. Those people are invariably referred to as Vadukar, which is the name by which the Telugus are ordinarily known in the Tamil country to-day. But in that early age the term Vadukar seems to have been invariably applied both to the Telegus and the Kannada people across the Tamil frontier.¹

Even the Periyapuramam a work of the early 12th century observes this classification as it

¹ For references see ch. 1 above.

speaks of the Karnatakas as Vadukar.¹ That designation is still preserved in the name of the Badagas of the Nilgiris. The region on the eastern side of this portion of the Peninsula occupied by this people is the region where we find the earliest memorials of Pallava rule. When the Pallavas emerge into the full light of history we find them in possession of Kanchi. Whether they were Tamils or Telugus they are people we find along the region between the lower course of the Krishna and the river Palar. To begin with, this region, at least the major part of it, was designated Tondamandalam in those days. In regard to their origin and their previous habitat we have already exhibited a certain number of references from the old classical collection *Ahananuru* referring to what actually constituted Tondanadu ; both Kanchi and (Tirupati) were alike included in this territorial division Tondamandalam. We have also quoted an old passage, from Nachchinarkiniyar's commentary, by an author whose name is not quoted, giving the important equation that the people called Tondaiyar, people of Tondamandalam, were treated as the same as the Pallavas. During the period to which this reference must be held to relate the words Tondaiyar and Pallavas, were considered to be synonymous,²

¹ See Murti Naynarpranam, stanza 11.

² Naokhhinarkiniyar's comment on Sutra 54, *Porujadhikarain Tolkappiyam*.

On this basis alone there is good reason for regarding the Tondaiyar as the name of the people living in the country who were subsequently called by a Sanskrit translation of the same. This inconvenient position is sought to be got round, by votaries of the foreign origin of the Pallavas, by bringing the Chola occupation of Kanchi and of the literature bearing on the period to a comparatively short period of inter-regnum that is supposed to have existed between one of the early dynasties of the Pallavas and the later great dynasty ; in other words by bringing the Sangam age itself to the fifth century A.D. We have already demonstrated clearly that it would be impossible for a variety of reasons to move the period down by about four centuries in that arbitrary fashion. The question rests still upon the specific Gajabahu synchronism supported by so much of valuable historical evidence that it would require a very strong case on the other side to turn it upside down, not to speak of the insuperable difficulty in detail that would have to be confronted in any attempt at constructive criticism. Kanchi figures in this body of early literature as a viceroyalty of the Cholas and the only Tondaman that figures in the whole body of this literature as the ruler of this part of the country is the Tondaman Ijam-Tirayan of Kanchi who ruled over Conjeevaram not so much in his own right but by right of his

Chola ancestry. We shall come to this point a little later.

THE PALLAVAS. NATIVE IO SOUTH INDIA.

Among the large number of places in which the Pahlavas get mention in Sanskrit literature they are found mentioned with the well-known tribes of the north-western frontier such as the Sakas and the Yavanas. It would be difficult to find any clear reference to these anywhere in South India. There are a certain number of places in which the south Indian kingdoms are mentioned. We do not find anything corresponding to the Palhava state or tribe in the south. The A&oka edicts do not mention any. Even where the reference occurs in classical Sanskrit literature the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Keralas are referred to and where we should, from geographical position, expect the Pallavas a class of people by riame Dravida is mentioned. Dravida or Darmida is generally taken to be the equivalent of the Tamil, Tamija in Tamijakam (Sans. Dramidaka), the whole of the Tamil country. It is also used in a somewhat narrower sense as indicating one of the four kingdoms, a kingdom that would correspond to, and that gets to be known to later history as, the Pallava kingdom with Kanchl for its centre. It would be rational therefore to regard the Pallavas

native to South India, and as the people **who** were before then known by the name Tondaiyar more generally. There are some objections to be met before taking this particular position. By a careful study of the available Pallava records that epigraphy has unearthed, we are able to throw the early Pallavas into three groups. They are found first of all as tribal chieftains ruling their various little states, three or four of them could be specifically mentioned, in the region extending from the lower course of the Krishna to almost the Palar, Dasanapura, Palakkada, Menmattura and Kanchi. The records of some of these rulers happen to be in Prakrit and the others in Sanskrit ; and they are found scattered across from the west coast to the frontiers of the Godaveri district in the east, the actual belt of country constituting the Vaduka frontier of the Tamils of the classical Tamil literature. Their association with Amaravati, the discovery of certain statues of Human workmanship as it is thought and the statement that one of these early rulers attained to his royal dignity by marriage, are all brought into requisition to give them a marriage alliance with the Andhras, to give their art a Roman origin and to make these a foreign people who imposed themselves as rulers over the vast region extending almost from the Godaveri to at least Palar in the south. The matter requires therefore careful consideration,

In the region which these later inscriptions indicate as peculiarly the Pallava Province we find in the days of the Satavahanas certain records which called it peculiarly the district of the Satavahanas. The Myakadoni inscription refers to the region round Adoni as Satahani Ahara, and the person responsible for the government of it is named Khanda Naga (Skanda Naga), the Mahasenapati (great general). If the ahara or district of the Satavahanas in this record meant anything it must refer to the district which was the fief of the Satavahanas peculiarly, the Satavahanas being a clan of the powerful race of the Andhra people as a whole. This interpretation of the term Satavahana is quite in keeping with what we find in Tamil literature. The Hirahadagalli copper-plates found in the Bellary district would confirm the same position, but being on copper-plates, it is likely that the record had travelled before it reached its final resting place at the village named above. This spread of the Satavahanas from east to west along the region which the Tamils called Vaduka region would make the Satavahanas, Andhras, and give the region the character of an Andhra frontier province. The name Khanda Naga itself shows a family likeness to the early Pallava names that we know of from other records. Along with these must be considered

the records of another class of Satavahana officers who give themselves Naga names and symbols in their records, and are associated with the district which went by the name of Nagara Khanda afterwards. That is the region along the western ghats with Banavase for its capital. The expanded cobra-hood at the beginning of the inscription and the very name Cutu being Tamil and old Kanarese for crest, in this case the crest of the cobra, would make them Nagas clearly. This interpretation can be supported by a familiar use in classical literature of Sudu, being frequently associated with cobra hoods; and Cutukula can, without violence, be taken to stand for Nagakula, a family of the Nagas. We find this chieftain and his records associated with the western part of the belt of the country extending from the east coast to the west which the Tamils of the classical age invariably called the country of the Vaduka. There is also the feature that the Andhra coins bearing on the obverse the representation of a two-masted ship and found extending in the Tondamandala country proper would argue the possession of this tract by the Satavahanas at least for a time. The representation of a ship on the Satavahana lead coins found in this region is very [appropriate as the more important section of the people who inhabited this tract of country is known to Tamil literature as the Tiraiyar (lit. sea-people). It

is one of their chieftains, the son of a Chola king by a Naga Princess, that figures in classical Tamil literature as the first [Viceroy](#), other than a royal prince, of Kanchi. He is invariably given the name Tondaman, great one among the Tondar or Tondaiyar. The classical passage quoted by Nachinarkiniyar already adverted to equates the Tondaiyar with the Pallavas. Naturally therefore if the region occupied by the Tondaiyar or the Pallavas passed under the authority of the Satavahanas, and if they appointed Governors for this particular region from among them, these Governors would be governors of the Tondamandalam or the Pallava country, and would get to be known popularly as Pallava Governors. The name of the great general in authority round Bellary having a family likeness to the names of the early Pallavas would warrant the assumption that it is these Mahasenapatis of the south-eastern territory of the Satavahanas that were the division of the family which came to be known to history as the Pallavas. They extended their authority from Amaravati in Guntur southwards to Kanchi itself and the territory dependent thereon extending to the banks of the south Pennar. The Naga or snake as one of the ensigns on the banners of the Pallavas would argue some intimate connection with the family of the Nagas, and that is what we find in an examination of such records of

theirs as are so far accessible to us. There might have been foreigners in the region of the Guntur district. That is something different from calling the dynasty a dynasty of foreigners. So far as the available evidence goes they were a dynasty of officers of the Andhras probably related, or even springing out of the clan of the Satavahanas. When the power of the latter extended southwards as the result of constant struggle on this frontier, the Governors of the Guntur district extended their sphere of authority so as to take in the newly acquired territory. When the Satavahana dynasty broke up in the middle of the third century these apparently set up independently and founded the new dynasty of the Pallavas as distinct from the older chieftains, the Tondamans of the region. As the Tamils did not note any distinction between these Vadxikas and those that lived to the westward of them along their northern frontier they must have been near of kin to each other in many respects. Belonging to the same clan as the ruling dynasty of the Dakhan it is nothing strange that they should have entered into marriage alliance even of an important character. All these circumstances would only be natural in their particular position. Hence the conclusion seems warranted by the known facts in relation to these people, that they were natives of South India, and are not a dynasty of

foreigners.¹ The conquest of the Tondamandalam by the Satavahanas would amply account for the eclipse of the Chola power in that particular region which had hitherto remained unaccounted for. When the Pallavas emerged into importance we find them engaged in a two-faced struggle one against the Cholas of the south in alliance often with the other Tamil powers, and the other against the newly rising power of the Chalukyas in the north-west. In the beginning of this struggle we find the Cholas not the great political power that they were, but comparatively insignificant and depending upon the support of the Pandyas.

PALLAVAS: PATRONS OF NORTHERN CULTURE.

We find in the earliest known inscription of the Satavahanas that they were votaries of the well-known Hindu Gods—Visnu and Siva. The Nanaghaut inscription refers to some of the names of the Lokapalas (the guardian deities of the directions), the *Vyuhās* (forms) of Visnu, and Skanda or Subramanya. The Myakadoni inscription itself is the record of the gift of a village by a queen to a Vishnu temple. If therefore, as was pointed out in the preceding

¹ Rajasekhara, the great poet and critic who lived in the Courts of Mahendrabala and Mahapala of Kanauj gives the account of the Geographical divisions and peoples of India in his time. He distinguishes between the Southern *Pallavas* and North-Western *Pahlavas*. In his time the Pallavas of Kanchi were just losing their ascendancy in South India or had just lost it. (See Introduction to Kavyamimamsa, Baroda Sanskrit Series.)

section, the dynasty of the Pailavas was native to the locality and were in close association, official and personal, with the ruling family of the Satavahanas, we should find them devoted to the same cult generally as the main branch of the Satavahanas, their religious culture being naturally northern, probably in both forms Vaishnava and Saiva. We find in the Andhra country, even a foreigner like the Saka Rishabhadatta, a votary of this comprehensive cult of the Andhras themselves as we are enabled to understand from the inscriptions recording his various donations. It is that broad culture that the Pallavas carried into the Tamil country when they moved into the northern part of it. Although we find evidence of the prevalence both of the cults of Siva and Vishnu in the Tamil country already, the patronage of this northern culture generally seems to have been associated with the Pallavas. Their inscriptions till late in the history of the dynasty happened to be either Sanskrit or Prakrit; their earliest temples, even the cave ones, are devoted to Siva and Vishnu, and to none of the other deities known to the somewhat miscellaneous pantheon of the early Tamil classics. Hence the advent of the "foreign Pallavas" into the Tamil country not only meant the rule of the foreigner to the Tamils but also carried along with it the special patronage of the new culture of the

north. The hostility between the Pallvas and the Tamil kings of the farther south seems to be accounted for to a certain extent at any rate by this partiality apart from their character as barbarian foreigners in the eye of the Tamil. Throughout the period of Pallava history which may extend from A. D. 200 to almost the last quarter of the 9th century the Pallavas and the southern powers were in constant hostility if they were not always at war. The hostility between the early Chajukyias and the Pallavas, which is a prominent feature of the history of both the powerful dynasties, is due to the effort of the Chalukya successors of the Andhrias to extend their authority over the whole of what was once the Andhra Empire, and the correlative effort of the newly founded dynasty of the Pallavas to make good their own possessions against these new claimants. It is the necessities of this struggle on the northern frontier that sometimes gave respite to the southern frontier but otherwise the normal state of relationship seems to have been one of hostility between the Pallavas and the Tamils all through this long period of close on seven centuries.

PALLAVAS : NOT GREAT PATRONS OF TAMIL
LITERATURE.

This long period of Pallava dominance, as it may well be called, was a period of no doubt

considerable activity and output in regard to Tamil literature. A large number of Tamil works are referable to this period, but in none of them do we find the Pallavas as patrons of Tamil literature in the sense that we find the kings and the petty chieftains of the age preceding are. Several of these poets were contemporaries of some of the great sovereigns of the Pallava dynasty. The Tevaram hymner Appar, a Jain first and a Saiva afterwards, was a contemporary of the great Pallava Mahendra Varman whose conversion to Saivism is said to have been due to him. His companion but a much younger man, Sambandar, was a contemporary of his son and successor Narasimha Varman; but neither of these rulers can be considered as a special patron of either of the authors that the kings or chieftains of the Sangam age could be said to be ; and the works of most of these writers have reference not directly to the celebration of the exploits of the patrons. They devote themselves more or less to other themes and such references as we get to these rulers are merely incidental. It is only one work so far known that can clearly be considered to have had their patronage, and that is the work Nandikkalambakam dedicated to a Nandi Varman victor at Tellaru, a late Pallava of the 8th or 9th century. So far as is known therefore the Pallavas do not show themselves to have been in any special sense patrons of Tamil literature as their predecessors could.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS.

What was said of the origin of the Pallavas in the previous sections would have made it clear that they were in all probability a family of feudatories of the Satavahanas of the Dakhan. These feudatories are clearly described as belonging to the family of the Nagas, whatever that may mean to us now. Northern Mysore and the country set over against it up to the western sea which later on became a fief of the Kadambas was in the possession of a Naga family of Maharatis belonging to the Chtltakula, apparently a Naga designation. The Satavahana Rashtra proper, set over against the territory of Kanchi further to the east of this division, was the fief of the great commander (Mahasenapati-Skanda Naga). In the days of the greatest expansion of the Andhra empire under Pulumari II and his immediate successors the whole of the southern frontier of the Andhra country, the region of the Vadukas according to Tamil literature, was held by powerful families of these Nagas. When the Andhra empire broke

up early in the third century these powerful feudatories made themselves independent in the regions under their government. Tondamandalam which in the reign of the great Pulumavi was under the Satavahanas should have fallen to the lot of the Mahasenapati referred to above, or his successors in the same region, the district which was called peculiarly the district of the Satavahanas. The advance of the Satavahanas themselves under Pulumavi must have put an end to the authority of the Cholas in this particular region. When the Governors set up independently of the Satavahanas, a generation or two later, the Mahasenapati Skanda Naga himself or one of his successors became heir to this region of the Tondamandalam as well.

According to the available inscriptions of the Pallavas, the Pallavas could be divided into four separate families or dynasties. The connection of some of these to one another we know, and of others we do not know. We have a certain number of charters in Prakrit of which three are important ones. Then follows a dynasty which issued their charters in Sanskrit; following this came the family of the great Pallavas beginning with Simha Vishnu; this was followed by a dynasty of the usurper Nandi Varman, another great Pallava. We are overlooking for the present the dynasty of the Ganga-Pallavas postulated by the Epigraphists. The earliest of

these Pallava charters is the one known as the Mayidavolu¹ (Guntur district) copper-plates.

These plates contain the charter issued by the heir-apparent (Yuva Maharajah) Siva Skanda Varman making a grant in the division Dhannakada, that is Amaravati, in the tenth year of the reign of his father whose name is not given.

The next record is what is known as the Hirahadagalli plates (Bellary District).² This record is dated in the 8th year of Sivaskanda Varman and confirms the gift made by his father who is described merely as "Bappa-deva" (revered father). Another copper plate charter found in the Guntur district, is dated in the reign of a Vijaya Skanda Varman and is the record of a grant made by Charudevi,³ wife of the Yuvamaharaja Vijaya Buddha Varman and mother of Prince Buddhyanura. There is no doubt that the Yuvamaharaja of the first record is the same as the ruling sovereign of the second, the name and circumstances of the two records giving us full warrant for the identification. The question is a little less certain in respect of the sovereign mentioned in the third record, namely Vijaya Skanda Varman. Is he the same as the Siva Skanda Varman of the

¹ Eph. Ind., Vol, VI, p. 84.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 2.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 2, 143.

previous two records ? Among the records of that age Siva, Vijaya and sometimes even Vijaya-Siva, are used as prefixes indicating the regard or respect in which the ruler was held. Apart from this the use of the attribute Vijaya before Skanda Varman does not alter the name, but only gives an additional circumstance of importance. It would not be therefore doing any particular violence to identify the Vijaya Skanda Varman of the third record with the Siva Skanda Varman of the other two. These three charters all of them refer to the region which was peculiarly the district of the Sata-vahanas. If this identification of Vijaya Skanda Varman turns out true the succession could be arranged in the following table :

" Bappa-Deva"

(Siva or "Vijaya) Skanda Varma

Yuva Maharaja, Vijaya Charudevi
Buddhavarman. I

Prince Buddhyankura.

The Mayidavol grant was issued, from Conjeevaram (Kanchi) by the heir-apparent, to the Governor at Amaravati, and the village granted is described as being in the Andhrapatha (Vadukavaliof the Tamils, the Andhra country). **Thus** it is made clear to us that Kanchi was **already**

the capital of a region taking in naturally the Tondamandalam and the districts north of it at least as far as Amaravati or the River Krishna. In the second charter the ruler Siva Skanda Varma lays claim to having performed the Agnishtoma, Vajapeya and Asvamedha sacrifices. Of these the last could be performed only by a conqueror, or one who set up as such. The way that he addresses his grant to the lords of provinces royal princes, generals, rulers of districts, customs officers, prefects of countries, etc., gives us an insight into the distinct Asokan character of the organization of the government and its affiliation even to the *ArtLasasra*. What is more important it exhibits an organization which is northern in character, perhaps quite distinct from that of the Tamils of the farther south. There is another interesting detail in it that the father of this king, whatever his name, had granted many crores of gold, and what is more important to us in connection with the origin of this dynasty *one hundred thousand ox-ploughs*. This, if it means anything, indicates undoubtedly the effort made by this ruler for the conversion of the great forests into arable land. It would be well to remember in this context that this part of the country was known to the Tamils as Dandaraiyam, the same as the Sanskrit Dandakaraiya where cattle-rearing was the principal occupation, and cattle-raiding the principal sport. It was

apparently this "Bappa-deva" that made an effort, with what success we are not told, to transform the forest into cultivated country. It will thus be clear that this dynasty of the Prakrit charters beginning with "Bappa-deva" were the historical founders of the Pallava dominion in South India. It is taken here that all the ruler whose charters in Prakrit have come down to us are to be regarded as members of a single dynasty while there is the possibility that they were members of two dynasties which may not after all be connected with each other ; but there is little doubt, if this alternative should turn out true, that the two dynasties followed each other without much interval.

Passing on to the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters we come to a number of dynasties which would at first sight appear to be so many separate dynasties. According to the Uruvapalli copperplates the succession is as follows :—

Skanda Varman

Vira Varman

Skanda Varman II

The Yuvamaharaja Visnugopa

Simha Varman II

The Darsi fragment refers itself to the time of **the great-grandson** of Vlrakorcha **Varman, that**

is Vira Varma, referring apparently to Simha Varman, son of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa. The Chendalur Plates issued from the "victorious Kanehipura" gives

Skanda Varman
i
Kumara Vishnu
i
Buddha Varman
i
Kumara Vishnu I I .

The Udaiyendram grant similarly gives ;—

Skanda Varman
i
Simha Varman
i
Skanda Varman II
i
Nandi Varman.

The newly discovered Ongodu-Plates give:—

Kumara Vishnu
I
Skanda Varman
i
Vira Varman
i
Skanda Varman

These four separate genealogies were apparently not altogether separate in respect of the fact that several of these grants were issued from Kanchi, **and** others from places like Dasanapura, Palakkada.

and Menmattura. There are considerations which would - lead us to consolidate these four separate genealogies into one genealogical table.

The Uruvapalli copper-plates record the grant of Yuva Maharaja Vishnugopa, but the grant is dated in the reign of a king named Simha Varman. If Vishnugopa issued the grant as Yuvamaharaja and dates it in the reign of a Simha Varman, Simha Varman must have been the Maharaja, either the father or an elder brother of the donor. According to the grant itself Vishnugopa's father is a Skanda Varman. The only other alternative therefore is that Simha Varman was in all probability an elder brother of Vishnugopa. So the genealogy will have to be extended by the addition of Simha Varman and would stand—

Skanda Varman

i

Vira Varman

Skanda Varman II

Simha Varman I

Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa

i

Simha Varman II.

The Chendalur genealogy contains four names beginning with Skanda Varman. Dr. Hultsch from paleographical considerations held that these rulers must have come in between

Simha Varman II and Simha Vishiiu. There are considerations however which would lead to the identification of the Skanda Varman of these plates with the Skanda Varman the father of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa. This arrangement would make Kumara Vishiju another brother of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa, with a son Buddha Varman and his son Kumara Vishnu II. The genealogy of the Udaiyendram grant gives again at the top a Skanda Varman followed by three other names ending in Nandi Varman. The Velurpalaiyam plates introduce what appears a gap with Kumara Vishnu II and brings in a Nandi Varman before introducing Simha Varman, the father of Simha Vishiiu. The only Nandi Varman referable to this period would be the last name mentioned in the Udaiyendram grant. Therefore it is possible to include this genealogy in that of the line of Simha Varman, the elder brother of Vishnugopa; Skanda Varman being the father, Simha Varman his eldest son and the elder brother of Yuva, Maharaja Vishnugopa, his son Skanda Varman and his son Nandi Varman. This will, according to the Velurpalaiyam plates bring us on to the line of Simha Vishnu. The Ongodu plates discovered in the year 1915 introduce us to yet another line beginning with Kumara Vishnu. The last of these Skanda Varman issued the document not from Kanchi but from Tambrapa.

None of these names figure in the Velurpalaiyam plates in this order; nor does the Vayalur Pillar contain the four names in this order as given in the Ongodu plates. The Kumara Vishnu at the head of the table therefore may be Kumara Vishnu I or Kumara Vishnu II, and the whole dynasty, a local dynasty having had nothing to do with the regular succession of the main line. If it should actually have been so we get the final genealogy as follows :—

Skanda Varman I

Vira Varman

|

Skanda Varman II

Simha Varman I	Yuvamaharaja	Kumara Vishnu I
	Vishnugopa or	
Skanda Varman I I I	Vishnugopa Varman	Buddha Varman
Nandi Varman	Simha Varman I I . Kumara Vishnu II	

Verse 10 of the Velurpalaiyam plates introduces then, without specifying any connection, Simha Varman, father of Simha Vishnu and that introduces us to the line of the well-known Pallava dynasty. Before proceeding to a consideration of that dynasty we have to consider one or two questions that arise in respect of the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters, and Vishnugopa of Kanchi, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta. Incidentally also we shall have to consider the question whether the dating of the

Uruvapalli, Mangalur and Pikira grants respectively from Palakkada, Dasanapura and Menmattura, all of them places in the Guntur district, warrants the assumption of a Pallava interregnum in Kanchi; if there had been such an interregnum, whether that is the time to which we could refer the ancient Cholas, Karikala and others.

AN INTERREGNUM IN THE PERIOD OF THE
PALLAVAS.

The question of this interregnum is so closely connected with the question of the origin of the Pallavas that the one cannot be separated from the other for any clear understanding of the early history of the Pallavas. The late Kai Bahadur V. Venkayya made an excellent contribution on the subject of the Pallavas to the annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1906-07. This article was an elaboration of his presidential address to the South Indian Association on the same subject. He states it as his opinion, on page 221, that 'the Pallavas with whose history we are concerned, may, until their origin is satisfactorily established by indisputable evidence, be supposed to be identical with the Pahlavas, Palhavas and Pahnava of the Puraijas. This identification is based on etymological grounds and supported by the fact that alhavas

formed a distinct element in the population of Western India early in the second century A.D. Their movement from Western India to the East Coast is not only possible but rendered likely by known historical facts. Future researches must disclose the actual circumstances which led to the movement of the Pallavas to the East Coast and to their assumption of sovereignty.'

'As I have already remarked, the Pallavas were the political successors of the Andhras in the Godaveri and Krishna deltas and consequently, the former must have acquired sovereignty soon after the latter ceased to be the ruling power. The Andhras probably lost their dominion about the middle of the third century and the Pallavas may be supposed to have taken their place about the end of the same century.'

The late Mr. Venkayya arrived at these conclusions by dismissing the consideration that the Tondaman Ilam-Tirayan, who is known to Tamil literature as the Viceroy of Kanchi, was the Tondaman who was the son of the Chola King by a Naga Princess "as it is not stated anywhere specifically." The connection is however clearly enough indicated in lines 29 to 37 of the Tamil poem Perumbanarruppadai, a work of Kadiyalur Rudran Kannan. This same poet has celebrated Karikala in the Pattfnappalai. Both the poems are included in the collection Pattuppattu. But Mr. Venkayya would bring down Karikala

to the period of interregnum, and IJam-Tirayan will therefore naturally go also to that period according to his arrangement.¹

He was led to this consideration by the fact that in the eastern Chajukya grant of Vimaladitya of the early 11th century, a Trilochana Pallava is mentioned. This Trilochana Pallava Mr. Venkayya takes to be the feudatory of the Chola King Karikala, and therefore Karikala must be brought down to his period.

"Though this story is found only in records of the 11th century and is not corroborated by earlier inscriptions, it is evidently based on the belief current in the 11th century that the Pallava dominions extended in those early times to the modern Ceded Districts." If this consideration is due to a grant of the 11th century, it is hard to understand why a commentator who might have followed, it may be a century after, should not be shown similar consideration in regard to the connection of IJam-Tirayan of Kanchi with a Chola, as the *Peruihbanarrupadai* makes it certain. The learned scholar admits that there is no evidence of the eastward movement of the Pallavas, and still would postulate that the Pallavas got into the country and imposed themselves upon the people of the locality. We have already quoted references from early Tamil literature to the territory of the Tondaiyar, that is

¹ A.S.I., 1906-7, note on p. 224.

Tondamandalam, dominated by Kanchi, the capital of Ilam-Tirayan. We have also quoted one passage in which the hill Vengacjam (Tirupati) is said to have been in the territory of the Tondaiyar. What is more we have referred to a passage apparently from the ancient classics, though the actual source is not known at present, from the commentary of Nachinarkiniyar on the Tolkappij' am that these Tondaiyar were also known to these early Tamils by the name Pallava. These cogent considerations would make it certain that the terms Pallava and Tondaiyar were synonymous in the estimation of the early Tamils. If therefore we have to look for the origin of the Pallavas, here are the people from among whom they must have sprung. The region of the Tondamandalam, the more extended division, was known to the Tamils by another name. The Tondamandalam proper was called Aruva-Nadu, the northern portion of which dominated by Tirupati was apparently known Aruva-vada-talai. The people were also called Aruvajar, people with the bill-hook. The two descriptions therefore of these people as Tondaiyar and Aruvajar are descriptions based the one upon the totem of the tribe, the creeper *Tondi*; and the other a professional name from the scythe which must have been their weapon as cattleherds. We have pointed out already that the whole border land of the Tamils beyond this was occupied by

a race of people known to them by the generic name Vadukar whose profession was cattle-rearing. That this region was divided among a number of petty chieftains is also known. These chieftains were called by the Tamils Kurumbar, sometimes also "Kurunila manner," petty chieftains. They are also classed as cowherds (Idaiyar). Among these one name comes out prominently, and that is the name of a chieftain Kaluvu] who was very troublesome on this frontier, perhaps on the western side of it, and a victory against whom by the early Cheras is made much of in poem 88 of the Padirrupattu. That same passage taken along with poem 71 of the same collection makes it clear that Kaluvu was a chieftain among the cowherds.¹

It is apparently these people that are referred to in poem 88 as Andar. Andar is a term in Tamil which is taken as synonymous with cowherds. The index to the work makes Andar mean enemy. In that sense the penultimate syllable must have been shortened for which process there is no need as the metre of the poem does not require it. It seems therefore open to the interpretation that the term Andar is a modification of the Sanskrit Andhra which Ptolemy renders Andara, apparently Andhra (Vadukar of the Tamils). Idaiyar would be a term applied

¹ Compare poems 135 and 365 of Ahara.

to them as cattle-rearing was their main occupation. That that region was remarkable for cattle-rearing, and that even southern kings undertook expeditions against that region and its petty chieftains for the purpose of bringing in their cattle are in evidence in two pieces. One of the early Cheras is described as the Chera who carried off the cattle from Dandaranyam (Adukotpattu-Seran). There is a reference of a similar character to the cows from this country being carried off to the headquarters of Pulli of Tirupati. There is some justification therefore for Sir Walter Elliott's classification of certain early coins as those of the Kurumbar of this region, but anything like a dynasty of Kurumbar would seem unwarranted as the Pallavas never gave themselves that name, and the Kurumbar chiefs never seem to have advanced to the dignity of founding dynasties. Hence it is a far cry to connect the Pallavas of the Tondamandalam with the Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavas of the west till more evidence of a specific character becomes available to justify the hypothesis of a migration of the foreigners southeastwards from the region of Guzarat and North Konkan to the Ceded districts part of the Tondamandalam.

Evidence of Tamil Literature.—The validity of evidence from Tamil literature would be admissible only if the chronology of the latter could be fixed with some degree of certainty. If with

Mr. Venkayya we should believe that Karikala and Ilam-Tirayan lived in the 5th or 6th century, the period of the interregnum he finds warrant for in the Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas we shall have to demonstrate that all the region that came into the literature of the Tamils of this period had, in the 5th or 6th century, the general political division and the distinct character that could be gleaned from this body of literature. I have elsewhere thrown into relief the political condition of South India in this period. It does not require very much of argument to show that this is not the political condition of South India in the 5th or 6th century as we know it from such information as is at our disposal. For one thing, the social organisation of the region as portrayed in this body of literature is too primitive for these data. Other specific facts which would fix the age of this body of literature to the 1st and 2nd century A.D. have all been indicated, and they relate to a period anterior to the rise of the Pallavas both of the Prakrit and the Sanskrit charters. It is the Satavahanas under Pulumayi that made the first conquest of the Tondamancjalam as the coins of this Satavahana ruler find their provenance in the Tondamandalam region. The type of the lead coins with a two-masted ship found in this region is appropriate for the locality of the Tiraiyar ; and it is probably this

invasion of the Satavahanas that deprived the Cholas of the Viceroyalty of Kanchi which must have followed immediately the rule of the Chola Killi referred to in the Manimekhalai. This inference is supported by a number of references in the same body of Tamil literature which relate to invasions of the south by the Ariyas and Vadukar which were beaten back with great exertion by the Tamil chieftains. One of the Cholas is praised for having subjugated the Paradavar in the south and Vadukar in the north.¹ Another Chola claims credit for having broken up the Ariya forces on the field of Vallam.² The Malayaman chieftain Kari is said to have beaten back single-handed the Ariya forces besieging Tirukovilur, his capital.³ Similarly a Chola king, probably the same as the one already referred to, is said to have beaten down the heads of the Vadukar at Pali or Seru-Pali⁴ a place very likely on the West Coast or at least in the western part of the Tamil country. The fact that Dandaranyam was a forest in the country of the Ariyas according to the Tamils would make the Ariyas under reference the people of the country named Ariake in the Periplus, or their rulers, and the region in their occupation the country included in the name, the Dakhan. It may be as the ultimate result of this struggle that Chola assistance was called

¹ Puram. 378. ² Ahara 336. ³ Narpnai 170. ⁴ Aham 375.

in, and the Cholas constituted the Viceroyalty of Kanchi under Karikala. There is clear evidence from the Ahananuru that one chieftain by name Tiraiyan ruled over the Tondamandalam from Kanchi, and Vengadam included in it. It is doubtful whether he was the same as Ijam-Tiraiyan ; but the fact that the latter takes the attribute "*Ilam*" (young) is a clear indication that there was another Tiraiyan before him. This would make it possible that the Satavahana conquest under Pulumayi came in after the disappearance of the Chola ascendancy. In any case it is clear that the Satavahana hold on this region could not have lasted long.

This seems the condition of things reflected in the latest Pallava grant, the Velurpa]aiyamplates. This document together with a few others of quite recent discovery seem to make the interregnum hardly called for. It seems quite possible from the known facts relative to the genealogy of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters to arrange them in a continuous line, and even bring them into connection with the Simhavishnu line. The late Mr. Venkayya himself and the epigraphists consider it impossible that the Prakrit charters could be brought down to a date after the middle of the fourth century, the date of the invasion of Samudragupta and his victory over Vishnugopa of Kanchi. The Prakrit charters therefore and the dynasty or

dynasties evolvable from them must be anterior to about A.D. 350. As we have nothing to lead to **the** identification of Samudragupta's Vishiiugopa of Kanchi with either of the two known Vishnugopas of the later Sanskrit charters we shall have to regard him as a separate person distinct alike from the dynasty of the Prakrit charters and of the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. We shall have to find room therefore for the dynasty or dynasties of the Sanskrit charters after this particular period. This arrangement seems **warranted** by one circumstance which may fix the chronology. The Velurpakiiyam plates state it clearly that Skandasishya, Skandavarma I of the genealogical table, seized from King Satya Sena the "*Ghatika*" of the Brahmans. This Satya Sena seems to be the same as Swami Satya Simha, a Mahakshatrapa who is known to us from the coins of his son Mahakshatrapa Swami Iludra Simha l l l .¹

The transcript of the legend may be read Satya Sena but it is rendered by the learned Professor, Satyasimha. It might as well be

¹ Prof. Rapson, pp. 191-92 of Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Andhras, etc. In regard to the reading of the coin legend suggested above, Prof. Rapson is of opinion "The letters of the coin legends are so minute and so carelessly formed (at this period—the close of the Kshatrapa Dynasty) that I consider it quite possible that the true reading may be Satyasena and not Satyasimha, as given by me on page 192 of the B. M. Catalogue of the Andhra Dynasty." On a kind reference by the obliging Professor in my behalf, Mr. John Allan of the British Museum examined the coin in question and gives it as his opinion, "I certainly think you would be justified in reading the name as Satyasena and not Satyasimha,"

Satya Sena. His son would be Rudrasena as well. Names ending in Sena are not unknown among the rulers of this dynasty. The date of this Satyasena would be sometime anterior to A.D. 388. If Skandasishya's date be 388, the three generations before him would have for them about 40 years if all three of them did rule. It is Skandasishya's father who according to the Velurpalaiyam plates "simultaneously with the daughter of the chief of serpents grasped also the complete insignia of royalty and became famous."

Passing on now to the Velurpalaiyam plates themselves we are provided with the following succession of the early Pallavas up to Simhavishnu :

Kalabhartr
|
Chutapallava
|
Vlrakurcha
Skandasishya
|
Kumaravishnu
|
Buddhavarman
!
Nandivarman
|
Simhavarman
|
Simhavishnu.

Along with these have to be taken **the table provided by the** Chura plates.

Skandavarman

Maharajah Vishnugopa Varman

Simhavarman

i

Vijaya Vishnugopa Varman.

The two Ongodu plates give us two genealogies :—

I. Maharaja Kumara Vishnu

Maharaja Skandavarman

Vira Varman

Maharajah Vijaya Skandavarman

II. Maharajah Vlravarman

Maharajah Skandavarman

Yuvamaharajah Vishnugopa

Simba Varman.

These separate genealogies are obviously intimately connected with each other and have to be worked up into one table as many of the names are common and are apparently connected with each other. This is to a certain extent facilitated by the full list of Pallava succession given in the so-called Vayalur Pillar Inscription. Rao Bahadur Mr. Krishnasastri¹ proposes to identify Kalabhartr with the Kanagopa of the Kasakudi plates, and also with Maharajah Kumara Vishnu of the Ongodu plates I. Similarly in respect of the second name Chutapallava

which would mean a "tender twig of the mango," he would regard it as a surname of Skandavarman I of the Uruvappalli grant, the Ongodu plates I, also giving the name Skandavarman. The names that follow do not differ. Virkurcha and Vravarman are not so different, nor Skandasishya and Skandavarman. He is led to this identification of the genealogy of the Ongodu plates with those of the Velurpalaiyam ones as he finds the palaeography of the Ongodu plates No. 1 older in point of character, and almost the earliest known record of the Pallava dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. The Maharaja Vijaya Skandavarman, the donor of the grant would be Skandavarman II, Skandasishya of the Velurpalaiyam plates. If this is agreed to, there is no difficulty in accepting this except for the first name Kumaravishnu which has no affinity with Kalabhartr or Kanagopa. One part of the genealogical tree gets then settled. The genealogy in the Ongodu plates No. II amounts to almost the same as the Mangalur plates giving the genealogy from Vravarman to Simhavarman II as in the table below. The Chura plates add to this and carry the genealogy to Maharaja Vijaya Vishnugopa Varman the son of Simha Varman II, the donor of the Ongodu grant No. II and Mangalur grant.

The point that the donor's grandfather Vishnugopa is given the title Maharaja in this

may be overlooked as a similar discrepancy is noticeable between the Ongodu plates I and II in respect of Viravarmm, the first errant omitting the adjunct Maharaja. The fact that the first Ongodu grant was made from the victorious camp of Tambrapa is taken to warrant the conclusion that it was a subordinate family, by M. Jouveau Dubreuil, and, taking advantage of the name Kumlravishnu, he would make the members of the Pallava dynasty whose names are found on this table another line of descendants of Kumara Vishnu I. That would make a difference of three generations between the Epigraphist's estimate of time and the ProfessDr's, both of them based on Palaeography and nothing else. Three names being in agreement we are rather inclined to accept the epigrnphist's dictum on a quest in of palaeography. We arrive then at a consolidated table of Pallavas somewhat as under.

(I) Kalabhnrtr (Kanagopa)

(II) Chuapallava
(perhaps a surname of Skandavarman I,
mentioned in the Uruvapalli grant)

(III) Virakurchu (Virakorchavarman
or Viravarman)

|
(IV) SkandaSishya (Skardavarman II).

(V) Simhavarraan I	Yuramaharrijnvishnuagopa VI.	Kunuirvisnga I*
	or Vishnugopavarman	
(XI) Skandararman I I I	I VII.	Buddhavarman
	(IX) Simhavarman I I .	
XII) Nandivarman.	VIII.	Kumaravishnu II
	(X) Maharaja Vijaya Vishnugopa Varman	

Turning now to the Vayalur Pillar the names 31 to 36 are in the recognised order of the later dv nasty. The name 30 is a

1. Vimala.
2. Konkanika.
3. Kaiabhartr.
4. Ohufn pal lava.
5. Virakurcha.
6. Char.dravarman.
7. Karala.
8. Vishnaeopa.
9. Skundamula.
10. Kinagopa.
11. Vitakureha.
12. Skandavarman.
13. Kumaravishnu.
14. Buddhavarman,
15. Skandavarman.
16. Kmnaravishnu.
17. Buddhavarman.
18. Skandavarman.
19. Vishnupropa.
20. Vishnudasa.
21. Skandavarman.
22. Simhavarman.
23. Vnavarman.
24. Skandavarman.
25. Simhavarman.
26. Skandavarman.
27. Nandivarman I.
28. Simhavarman.
29. Simhavarman.
30. Vishnugopa.
31. Simhavarman.
32. Simhavishnu.
33. Mahendra-
varman I.
34. Narasimha-
varman I,
35. Mahendra-
varman II.
36. Parmesvara.
varman I,

Vishnu gopa which may be the Vishnugopavarman of the Chura plates in which case we go on to the Simhavarman II in No. 29. No. 28, Simhavarman seems an additional name. 25, 26 and 27 may be the names Simhavarman I, Skandavarman III and Nandivarman I of the table. No. 24,- Skandavarman then would be Skandavarman II on the table. Then comes in a Viravarman, No. 23, who may be the Virakurcha of the table. He is preceded by a Simhavarman No. 22 for whom and for three preceding names we can find no equivalent on the table. Then follows the names Skandavarman preceded by three names Skandavarman, Kumara Vishnu, Buddhavarman

which may be the names Skandavarman II, Kumaravishnu I and Buddhavarman; but the same three names repeat from 12 to 14. These are preceded by two other names" 10 and 11, Kanagopa and Virakurcha; then from 9 to

3 there is a considerable agreement with the table here except that No. 6 Chandravarman has to be taken as a mistake for Skandavarman. The name Karala does not appear in any of the grants at all and the connection of the first two names Vimala and Konkaruka do not find reference in any of the grants available to us. In respect of this list of 36 names, it must be borne in mind that it is a list made up in the reign of the later Pallava Narasimhavarman II, and in all probability the list was put together from a comparative study of the various tables discussed above from some record of these various grants; what is worse, put together perhaps without any accurate knowledge of the connection of the various members to each other, or their actual position in the succession. This seems the only explanation for the repetitions and variations that one notices in the list in comparison with the genealogies of the grants. It would be safer to guide ourselves by the various tables discussed above rather than by this one omnibus list which otherwise provides us with no details whatsoever.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORY OF THESE PALLAVAS.

Having arranged the various genealogies in the Sanskrit charters of these Pallavas in a consolidated table, we might now turn to enquire what exactly it is possible for us to know of the Pallavas from these records and other sources of information available to us. Turning to the the VelQrpljaiyam plates we can pass over the document till we come to K^{ab}hartr described as the head jewel of his family like (Vishnu) the husband of Indira (Lakshmi). This perhaps give us a hint that he bore the name Kumara Vishnu as the Ongoiu plates No. 1 would make us infer. No information of a historical character is given in regard to him. Then follows his sou Chutapallava identified in the table with Skandavarman of the Uruvapalli and other grants. Kven that name seems to be a mere eponymous name, the later tables giving instead the name merely Pallava. It is in his son Virakurcha that emerges the first historical character. He is said to have grasped the complete insignia of royalty together with the hand of the daughter of " the chief of the serpents " thereby becoming famous. Put in ordinary

language this would mean that he married a Naga Princess and thereby acquired title to sovereignty of the region over which he ruled. This obviously has no connection with the birth of Tondaman-IJam-Tiraiyana who, according to the tradition embodied in the classical poem *Perumbanarruppadai*, was the son of a Chola king by a Naga Princess whose union with him was not exactly what Vlrakurcha's union as described is intended to be. The former is purely an affair of love which may even be regarded as a liaison, Virakurcha's is a regular marriage to a Princess and, through her, the acquisition of sovereignty. Neither the detail of the marriage nor the acquisition of sovereignty will agree with the story of IJam-Tiraiyan. The explanation of this apparently is that the Pallava chieftain, whoever he was, contracted a marriage with a more influential Naga chieftain in the neighbourhood and thereby acquired his title to the territory which came to be associated with the Pallavas. We have already noted that the Satavahana Viceroy of the region round Adoni was the great commander Skandanaga. We also noted that even before his time the territory round Chittaldrug, extending westwards to the sea almost, was in the possession of a family which went by the name Cutukula the members of which family sometimes described themselves as Satavahanas also. This would mean that they

were a clan of the Satavahanas other than that which held rule over the Dakhan, but connected by blood and perhaps even by alliance with that clan. At one time under the rule of the later Satavahanas these Nagas appear to have extended their authority and even acquired a considerable portion of the kingdom of the Satavahanas themselves. If the Pallava chieftain in the neighbourhood made himself sufficiently distinguished and contracted a marriage alliance with these Nagas from whom came the early Satavahana queen Naganika, it would have been possible for him to have become recognised a feudatory sovereign of the region of either the Satavahanas themselves nominally, or of their successors the Nagas. This hint, vague as it is in the inscription, seems to let us into the secret of the rise of this dynasty of the Pallavas to power, and may give us even a clue to the time when these Pallavas should have risen to the kingly position. This must have happened at a time when the Satavahanas as a ruling dynasty had passed away, and the attempt at the assertion of the Gupta power over this region under Samudra Gupta had in a way shaken the authority of the older dynasties and left the field open for new dynasties to spring up. The character of the invasion of Samudragupta itself makes it clear that the whole of the western portion of the empire of the Andhras was in the

hands of a power whom for some good reason Samudragupta did not attack. One such reason might have been that they held possession of the territory with some power. It is likely that their authority was not readily acquiesced in by the smaller chieftains, feudatories of the Satavahanas along the east coast. If this surmise should turn out correct it is possible to conceive that the western portion was held by the powerful family of the Nagas, relations of the Satavahanas, and the Pallavas were among the feudatories who showed a ready inclination to throw off the Satavahana yoke. When Samudragupta had come and gone, the western power, whatever that was, might have entered into a marriage alliance with the Pallavas and recognised them in the position to which they had already risen by their own efforts. This state of affairs seems supported from what is said of Virakurcha's successor. Skandasishya, son of Virakurcha succeeded the father and is described as "the moon in the sky of his family"; in other words the most distinguished member of the family. He seized from King Satyasena the "*Ghatika*" of the Brahmans. We already indicated the possibility that the Satyasena here referred to may be Mahakshatrapa Svami Satyasena of the coins whose time would be the ninth decade of the 4th century A.D. We do not know? **definitely** that the power of the **Mahakshatrapas**

extended as far south as to come into contact with the Pallavas. The probability seems to be the Pallavas co-operated with the dynasty of the Western Dakhan in a war with the Kshatrapas of Malva who might, it is possible, have made an effort to extend their authority southwards into the region of the Dakhan.

DECADENCE OF THE ANDHRA POWER.

The state of things foreshadowed in the previous section is confirmed by the history of the decadence of the power of the Andhras who held sway for more than three centuries in the whole of the Dakhan extending even into the Tamil country round Kanchi. According to Professor Rapson an elaborate study of the coins and inscriptions relating to this dynasty leads to the conclusion that after the long reign of Yagna-Sri Satakarni the empire broke up into two. The Puranas mention only three names after this Satavahana. One of the names Sri Chandra could be read on coins found in the Andhradesa proper. There are three other names also traceable in the coins of this region and in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. The coins of neither of these groups have been found in western India. This distribution of the coins of the later Andhras seems to justify **the** conclusion that the Empire was divided.

What is more, this investigation seems to confirm what the Matsya Purana has to say regarding the dynasties that succeeded the Andhras. This portion of the dynastic list according to the version common to several manuscripts of the Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda Puranas begins, "*Andhranam Samasthite rajye tesam bhrty anvaya nrpah Sapt-aiv-Andhra bhavisyanti*" meaning that while the Andhras were still ruling a family of their servants who were themselves Andhras ruled for seven generations. One version of the Matsya Purana, however, has "*Andhrah Sriparvatlyas ca te dvi-panqasatam samah*" that the Sri Parvatiya Andhras ruled for 52 years. Taking the two together we get to this. That one section of the Andhras who could be designated Sri Parvatiya Andhras who were subordinate to the authority of Yagna-Sri asserted their independence and ruled for 52 years in the region round Sri Parvata, that is, the home territory if it may be so called, of the Andhras. There is no mention in that list of what had happened to the western portion of their territory unless we take the next following passage to refer to what probably happened to that part. Ten Abhiras, servants of the Andhras as the others, ruled for 67 years. We have an Abhira governor of the Mahakshatrapa Rudra Simha, son of Rudra Daman with a date 103 which is equivalent to A.D. 181. The Abhira

concerned here is the General Rudra Bhuti, son of the general Bapaka, the Abhira^{5.1}

The Puranas seem to be correct to this extent that the Abhira feudatories in the region of Gujarat set up rule on their own account in the later years of the Andhras, in all probability in the years following Yagna-Sri. This would have reference to the early years of the third century A.D., and if the Abhiras ruled for 67 years it would bring them practically to the end of the third century. The inscription of the Abhira king Isvara Sena at Nasik is a clear indication that that part of the Andhra country was under the rule of the Abhiras. Isvara Sena himself was the son of the Abhira Sivadatta. If with Professor Rapson we can take these Abhiras to be identical with the members of the Traikutaka dynasty, the Traikutaka era beginning A.D. 249 would be the era of the Abhiras as well. The Abhira Isvara Sena may therefore be referable to about the same time. The inscription found in Jaggayyapetta of one Sri Vira-Purusha Datta of the family of Ikshvaku, and dated in his 20th year shows that even the eastern territory of the Andhras was passing into other hands. This inscription is referable on paleographical grounds to the period of the later Andhras. What is most

¹ 'Luder's list of Brahmi inscriptions. Ep. Ind., X., No. 963. (Southern list.)

important to our present purpose here is that the southern, portion, and perhaps by far the largest portion of the Empire of the Andhras, passed into the hands of a family of feudatories who called themselves Satakarnis as well, and had for their capital Banavase (Vaijayanti). This is the famous Cutu dynasty who give themselves the name Naga as well, and who have for their crest an extended cobra hood. Their inscriptions are found in Kanheri, in Kanara and in the Shimoga district of Mysore. From their inscriptions so far made available to us we know of three generations of these and two reigns, namely, that of Haritiputra Vishnukada Cutukulananda Satakarni and his grandson by the daughter Sivaskanda Varman, also called Siva Skanda Naga Sri in the Banavase inscription, and Skanda Naga Satavahana in the Kanheri inscription. These two rulers appear to have preceded the Kadambas almost without any interval. It would appear as though the Kadambas made the conquest of the territory which became associated with them from this Siva Skanda Varman himself. The inscriptions of this dynasty at Kanheri may be taken as an indication of the extent of the territory to which they had become heir when the Satavahana power decayed. These were themselves Satakanjis, and almost from the commencement of the rule of the Satavahana held possession of

the southern vice royalty for them. Their ascent to independent power would again support the statement of the Puranas that it was the Andhrabhrityas that ascended to power and independence while yet the Andhras were still ruling. It is these Cutukula successors of the Andhras in the territory immediately adjoining that of the Pallavas that must be the Naga family by a marriage alliance with which Virakurcha was able to make good his position as ruler of the south-eastern viceroyalty of the Andhras. Probably the Pallavas in the locality of the Prakrit charters fought and took possession, of the territory from the later Andhras. It may be that the Sri Parvatiya Andhras and the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters, at least the early members among them, either felt it necessary, or considered it advantageous, to *get* their possession validated by this alliance with, and countenance of, perhaps the most powerful among the successors of the Andhras. It may be possible even that the Princess mother of Sivaskanda Varman Skanda Naga had married the Pallava chieftain perhaps a Mahabhoja, as holding an important viceroyalty of the Andhras. If this surmise should turn out correct, as we have as yet no direct evidence to confirm it, Sivaskanda Naga Sri of the western inscriptions would be the Skandasishya of the Pallava inscriptions. Such a position for Skanda Varman would be in

accordance with the tradition associated with the foundations of the dynasty of the Kadambas.

LIGHT FROM KADAMBA INSCRIPTIONS.

According to the tradition as we find it recorded in the inscription of Kakustha Varman, it was a Brahman by name Mayura-Sarman who went to complete his Vedic studies to the "Brahman settlement," (Ghatika) of Kanchi. There he got into a quarrel with either some cavalry men, or an important officer of the cavalry of the Pallavas, and gave up the life of a Brahman and assumed that of a warrior. He was so successful in his new life when he acquired possession of all the forest country up to Sri Parvata, laid the great Bana under contribution, and otherwise made himself a very considerable obstacle to the pretensions of the Pallavas who were just then rising into importance. The Pallava monarch for the time being considered it prudent to recognise the redoubtable Brahman as a military officer of his with the government of a considerable province extending from the sea in the west to the eastern limit of "Prehara."¹ Who were the Pallavas to appoint this Brahman to the Governorship of the province whose capital was Banavase ? The Pallavas must have

¹ Could this be Perur in the Cuddapah district with which the origin of the Ganga dynasty is connected ?

possessed the territory which the Brahman perhaps made his own, and then the Pallavas rightfully conferred it upon the Brahman as his fief. If it had not been so, there is no sense in a Kadamba inscription claiming this as the rightful foundation of their title to the province. It seems therefore that the alliance between the Naga and the Pallava which gave the title to the Pallava for the possession of the whole of the territory means nothing more than an alliance between the Pallavas and the Cutus. This alliance resulted in the Pallavas becoming ultimately rulers not only of the Pallava territory proper but of practically the whole Empire of the Andhras, as much of it at any rate as had not gone into the possession of others like the Abhiras and the Ikshvakus of the east. This assumption would satisfactorily explain the setting up of the Kadamba power in the region which was peculiarly the province of the Cutus. If that should turn out to be so, the statement regarding Skandasishya that he took from Satyasena the *ghatika* of the Brahmans would become not merely possible but very likely. It is perhaps a subsidiary branch of this family of the Cutus that ultimately overthrew the Kadambas in this region, and founded the dynasty of the Chalukyas.

CHAPTER X.

THE PALLAVAS AND THE GANGAS.

It has already been shown above that the Pallava overlordship of the territory associated with the Kadambas indicates that the Pallavas succeeded to the whole of the southern portion of the Andhra Empire. This accession of territory to the Pallavas is explained by the fact of a marriage alliance between the Pallavas and a race of the Nagas who held the southern viceroyalty in behalf of the Satavahanas, and claimed to belong to the same clan of the Satakarnis as well. A similar position of overlordship over the Gangas is given to the Pallavas in the so-called Penukonda-plates ¹ of the early Ganga, Madhava, the third of the name according to the complete list of Mr. B. L. Rice. These plates record the gift of a number of villages adjoining Parigi about seven miles north of Hindupur in the Anantapur district, and therefore quite on the borders of the Kolar district with which the rule of the Gangas is peculiarly associated. The document being undated the late Dr. Fleet, who held that most of the Ganga plates hitherto known were

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 331 ff.

spurious, records it as his opinion that these plates must be regarded genuine, with the remark that " A.D. 475 seems a very good date for it/⁵ The plates give a genealogy :

Konkanivarman

Madhava

1

Ayyavarman

Madhava

In regard to the first two there is nothing worthy of note except that according to other records of this dynasty Konkani-Varman had the name Madhava and was the uncle of the other Madhava rather than the father. This difference may be explained on the ground that the table given here is a list of succession not necessarily from father to son. Ayyavarman may be Ariyavarman, and may be synonymous with Ari-Varman and Hari-Varman, and even possibly with Krishnavarman as Mr. Rice suggests. What is of peculiar importance in regard to him in connection with the Pallavas is that he was installed by a Maharajah Simhavarman, " the Indra of the Pallava kula" ' in a literal sense' (yathartham). His successor, according to this record, Madhava, had the alternative name Simhavarman, and he is said to have been similarly installed 'in the literal

sense' by Maharaja Skandavarman of the Pallavas. According to the other records of these Gangas however a Vishnugopa comes after Ayyavarman. Mr. Rice who is the editor of the Penukonda plates finds it possible that there is an omission of the name in these plates by the fault of the engraver. It seems likely however from the unanimity of the records in respect of this ruler Vishnugopa, that a ruler by name Vishnugopa, did precede Madhava, the last of the name in this pedigree, whether he was the latter's father or grandfather; or there is still the possibility that he might have been an uncle for which assumption there is no authority in any of the records. The fact that Simhavarman installed Ayyavarman and that he was followed by a ruler with the name Vishnugopa, and that this Vishnugopa was followed by a ruler who was installed by a Pallava Skanda Varman seem to imply a Pallava overlordship over the Gangas. If as suggested above Vishnugopa, happened to be an uncle or granduncle of Madhava the name Simhavarman given to Madhava would be an honour done to Simhavarman who installed Ayyavarman on the throne. There is therefore reference to a Pallava ruler Simhavarman who must have had a successor following, either immediately or in the next generation, by name Skandavarman with just the possibility that the Vishnugopa of the Gangas was a name given to

the ruler in honour of a Vishnugopa, the Pallava overlord. If this possibility should turn out a fact then we have this Pallava succession: Simhavarman, Vishnugopa and Skandavarman. According to the Udaiyendram grant we have had a succession Skandavarman, Simhavarman, another Skandavarman followed by a Nandivarman, and we have for good reasons regarded this Simhavarman as the son of Skandasishya, father of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa. The possibility of connection therefore between the Pallava sovereigns of the Penukonda plates and the succession list of the Pallavas we have arrived at seems clearly indicated to the period following the reign of Skandasishya or Skandavarman I I ; but the identification of the actual rulers is not thereby made easy. Simhavarman I, his younger brother Vishnugopa and Skandavarman the son of Simhavarman may be one set of names, if that is the order in which they ruled; for our present purpose it would quite do if Simhavarman was followed by Skanda Varman, Vishnugopa being a mere Yuvamaharaja. There is another alternative ; the three names referred to may be Simhavarman II son of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa, his son Maharaja Vishnugopa of the Chura plates followed by the name Skandavarman, the son of Simhavarman I, if this had been the order of the Pallava succession. Whichever of the two alternatives should ultimately

turn out correct the three Ganga rulers Ayyavarman, Vishnugopa and Madhava, the second or third of the name, must have ruled in the period between Skandasishya or Skandavarman I I , and Simhavarman the father of Simhavishnu of the dynasty of the great Pallavas that, for good reasons, we have ascribed to the period A.D. 380 to A.D. 500. Even the approximate date of these rulers would depend entirely upon the arrangement of the Pallava order of succession. After Skandavarman II we might take it almost certain from the Uruvapalli plates that Simhavarman I succeeded the father, Vishnugopa being the Yuvamaharaja under him. If Vishnugopa did not rule Simhavarman was probably followed by Simhavarman II Skandavarman perhaps having been very young. It is also likely that he was followed by Vishnugopa II of the Chura plates, he in turn being succeeded by Skandavarman I I I ; then must have followed the dynasty of the other son Kumara Vishnu I. If we can safely follow the Velurpalaiyam plates, Kumaravishnu must have been succeeded by Buddhavarman, Nandivarman following then. The fact however that the Velurpalaiyam plates speak of a host of rulers following Buddhavarman before Nandivarman at last succeeded would indicate that Simhavarman I was probably followed by Kumaravishnu; he by his son Buddhavarman perhaps

followed for a short while by Kumaravishnu I I . The succession perhaps passed then to Simhavishnu II of the table ; then Vishijugopa I I ; then Skandavarman I I I and lastly Nandivarman. We may accept this order of succession tentatively till we get more clear lead as to the actual order of succession of these. If we turn to the Vayalur plates for this lead it would be difficult to find any. Simhavarman the father of Simhavishnu is preceded by Vishnugopa whom we might take to be the second of the name. He is preceded by a Simhavarman which is so far correct. He is preceded by another Simhavarman and the only Simhavarman available is Simhavarman I of the table. He is preceded by five names 23 to 27 which are the names found in the Udaiyendram plates already referred to, of which No. 28, Simhavarman must be one. Nos. 15 to 22 seem difficult of adjustment on the table; some of the names are new and there is also confusion in the order. As was pointed out already this list seems to be a jumble of various genealogies collected and put together as the order of succession without a correct knowledge of the actual succession. It would therefore be better to accept the arrangement last suggested namely Simhavarman the eldest son of Skandasishya being followed by Kumara-vishnu I and then by Buddhavarman and perhaps even by Kumaravishnu I I , the

succession going back to the son and grandson of Vishnugopa I, and then on to a son and grandson of Simhavishnu. That will bring Simhavishnu, Vishnugopa and Skandavarman of the Penukonda plates late in the succession making the date A.D. 475 for the plates possible. It may even be somewhat later. Skandavarman was according to the Velurpajaiy am plates followed by Nandivarman ; then comes a break in the succession as far as our present knowledge of it goes. Then follows the line of Simhavarman, father of Simhavishnu; Nandivarman, Simhavarman, Simhavishnu and Mahendravarman occupying almost a century, and perhaps a little more, between Simhavarman of the Penukonda plates and Narasimhavarman the great Pallava whose accession might be dated approximately about 600 A D.

It was already pointed out that the Ganga territory lay in the Anantapur and Kolar districts particularly, and later on extended to take in practically the whole of the Mysore district as well with an alternative capital at Talakad. Kolar however is regarded as the ancestral capital of this dynasty even when the capital was actually at Talakad; and the hill Nandi is regarded as peculiarly the hill of the Gangas. According to one traditional verse defining the boundaries of Tondamandalam, the Pallava territory proper, the western boundary is fixed at PavaJLamalai

(coral hill); according to another it is taken westwards to Rishabhagiri. The former apparently denotes the foot hills of the Eastern Ghauts that skirt the foot of the plateau and have a westward trend till they strike the Western Ghauts beyond the Nilgiris; while the latter is obviously the hill Nandi. This latter boundary perhaps explains the overlordship which was clearly admitted by the Gangas themselves according to the Penukonda plates. It is clear from this that the original territory of the Gangas, at least the eastern part of it, formed a portion of the Tondamandalam and the Pallava claim to overlordship rested upon a sound historical basis. The overlordship claimed in regard to the territory specially associated with the Kadambas was already explained as being due to the Pallavas becoming heir to the territory by virtue of a Naga marriage, that is, the marriage of Vlrakur-cha with the Naga princess which gave him a wife and a kingdom together. This historical union has nothing whatever to do with the period of the Tondaman Ilam-Tiraiyan of Kanchi. We thus see that the period extending from the latter half of the fourth century down to almost the commencement of the seventh is occupied by what seems a continuous succession of Pallava rulers. Anything like an interregnum postulated by the late Mr. Venkayya, within which has to be brought of not merely the great Chola

Karikala, but the succession of political changes centering round his name and that of his successor for a generation or two at the lowest seems impossible.

THE THEORY OF INTERREGNUM BASELESS.

After all this theory of a Chola interregnum in the fifth century rests upon the flimsy foundation of the eleventh century information that a Trilochana Pallava reclaimed the forest country of the ceded districts and started a dynasty of the Pallavas from whom the later rulers of the locality claimed descent. This reclamation of the forest country is clearly indicated to have been the achievement of the first important member of the Pallava Prakrit charters who is given no name and who is credited with having bestowed crores of money and a hundred thousand ox ploughs. Nothing could be clearer than this statement in regard to the reclamation of the forest country by him. The fact that he is referred to only by the term Bappadeva (revered father) and not by any other specific name points to the fact that his services were specially distinguished in regard to this matter, and that he left such a deep impression upon the people that it was hardly necessary he should be defined by a specific name. Although Dr. Hultzsch attempted another explanation of the expression occurring

in the Uruvapalli plates in regard to Simhavarman II that he was "a worshipper at the feet of the Bhattaraka Maharaja Bappadeva" as meaning his father, it will bear the interpretation that the Bappadeva described as the Bhattaraka Maharaja is the Bappadeva of the Prakrit charters, the founder of the authority of the Pallavas in the Telugu districts. The objection to Dr. Hultzsch's interpretation quite justifiable in regard to later documents, is, in regard to this particular document, that Vishnugopa was not a Maharaja and could not perhaps exactly be described as Bhattaraka Maharaja. There is no indication of a reason for the departure in respect of him particularly. If Trilochana Pallava were regarded by later tradition to be credited with having cleared the forest country to turn it into occupied land, here was Bappadeva's work which later tradition might indicate as that of Trilochana Pallava. It is just possible that Bappadeva's name was some equivalent of Trilochana (Siva) taking the fact that his son called himself Sivaskanda-Varman into consideration. If he bore anything like the name Siva he could be spoken of as Trilochana and the late tradition seems to be an echo of the achievement of Bappadeva himself.

On paleographical considerations above the Prakrit charters have to be regarded earlier than the southward march of Samudragupta, that

is about A.D. 350; Samudragupta's date being known it is impossible to bring either of the two Vishjiugopas that figure in the genealogical table to a date about A.D. 350. Vishnugopa of Kanchi, the contemporary of Samudragupta, must have been a ruler different from the two Vishnugopas of the later table. Therefore then after the Satavahanas, we have the Pallava dynasty or dynasties of the Prakrit charters, then follows the reign of Vishnugopa, and then the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters to whose history actually we shall now turn.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL DATUM IN THE LOKAVIBHAGA.

The Archaeological Department of Mysore discovered a manuscript of a Digambara Jaina work named Lokavibhaga of which an account is given in their report for 1909-10. The subject treated of is Jaina cosmography. The work was supposed to have been first given by word of mouth by Vardhamana himself, and is said to have been handed down through Sudharma and a succession of other teachers. Rishi Simhasuri or Simhasura made a translation of it, apparently from the Prakrit into Sanskrit. The work is said to have been finally copied some considerable time before the date of the copy (*pura*) by Muni Sarvanandin in the village named Patalika (Tiruppadiripuliyur; Cuddalore New Town) in

the Panarashtra (Bajjia country); then follows the date of the completion of this task. It was in the year 22 of Simhavarman, the Lord of Kanchi, and in the year 80 past 300 of the Saka year; in other words Saka 380. This piece of information is confirmed by two other manuscripts of the work since discovered. The late Dr. Fleet, who was suspicious of early Saka dates, after having examined the date carefully, and making a correction in respect of the month and date, has arrived at the conclusion that it is equivalent to the year A.D. 458. The Simhavarman under reference therefore must have begun to rule in A.D. 436. Unfortunately for us there are two Simhavarman according to our genealogical table, Simhavarman I and Simhavarman II. As we have arranged it on the table three reigns come between the one and the other. It is just possible that the reference is to Simhavarman I except for the fact that Skandasishya's reign would be very long having regard to the Satyasena datum already examined. If the Simhavarman referred to in the Penukonda plates is Simhavarman II as we have shown reasons that he was the person referred to, the Lokavibhaga was a work that was composed in the reign of Simhavarman II having regard to the fact that the Penukonda plates are datable about A.D. 475. A.D. 436 to 475 is a period of 40 years, and might be regarded long enough for the reign

of two kings and of part of the reign of a third. After the Skandavarman referred to in the Penukonda plates there should have followed three rulers before we come to Mahendravarman whose date would be somewhere near A.D. 600 ; namely, Nandivarman, Simhavarman, the immediate successor of Nandivarman according to Velupalaiyam plates, his son Simbavishnu followed by Mahendravarman. One century might be considered too long a period for three reigns on an average computation ; but there is nothing impossible about it if one had been an unusually long reign or if any two of them had been fairly long reigns. The possibility of anything like an interregnum, in which we could work in the kings and potentates associated with Karikala and intimately connected with the so-called Samgam literature, would then be obviously impossible.

As a result of this somewhat detailed investigation the trend of Early Pallava History may be described as follows : While yet the Cholas were ascendent in the south holding Tondamandalam under their control with Kanchi for its capital the later Satavahana under Vasishti-putra Pulumavi made an effort at conquering the country answering exactly to the Tondamandalam extending from North Pennar to South Pennar. This effort is reflected in Tamil literature by references to various incidents in the

struggle between the Ariyar or Vadugar on the one side and the Tamil rulers, particularly the Cholas on the other. Among these rulers stands out the name of Ijam-Senni who is given credit for having defeated the Paradavar of the south and the Vadugar of the north in one context. In another he is similarly credited with having crushed the Vadugar at Pali on the west coast. That these Vadugar should be no other than the Andhras is in evidence in a passage of the Pattinappalai where Karikala is said to have brought under his control the Oliyar and then the Aruvalar and then the Vadngar, these last being interpreted by the commentator as those next north to the Aruvajar.

The region indicated by this reference is the region which would correspond exactly to the south-east frontier province of the Andhras dominated by Dhanakataka (Amaravati). In this region at one time the Satavahanas had so far succeeded as to create a frontier province under a Naga general Skanda Naga who is described as a Mahasenapati. Under Pulumavi therefore the war had gone on for a considerable time- After the death of Karikala, owing apparently to the civil war that raged in the Chola country, the Cholas lost hold on the country almost up to the banks of the southern Pennar as the ship coins of the Andhras in this region indicate. It was during that period that **the**

Andhras felt the necessity of a viceroyalty in the south-east of an important character to which none other than a great general and possibly even a blood relation of the ruling family was considered necessary. After some time, probably in the reign of Yagna Sri, they felt the viceroyalty so far settled as to appoint a local chieftain of some influence to the position. This apparently was the Bappadeva referred to in the earliest Prakrit inscription accessible to us. His gift of money and a large number of ox-ploughs seems to be a continuation of the good work begun by Karikala of destroying jungle and creating arable land from it, and digging tanks and providing for irrigation. This chieftain is of the Bharadvaja Gotra like the later Pallavas, and both he and his son ruled over Kanchi as their headquarters. Whether these were in any manner connected with the Tondamandalam of Ilam-Tiraiyan, Viceroy of Kanchi, in the age immediately preceding is not known. Ijarh-Tiraiyan's viceroyalty passed on to Chola Ilam-Killi, the younger brother of Nedumudi-Kilji. After the viceroyalty of this prince we do not hear of Kanchi being under the Cholas. It is very probably then that it passed into the hands of the Pallavas. As was already pointed out there were four generations of these rulers, it may be two dynasties of two rulers each, who ruled over this territory.

Whether the territory passed to another dynasty, or whether it was the same dynasty that continued, we do not know for certain ; but it is clear that the territory of the Pallavas had broken up at least into three as in the Harisena inscription of Samudragupta three rulers at least are said to be governing the territory under the early Pallavas. That inscription refers to Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugra Sena of Palakka and Vishnu gopa of Kanchi. This probably was the result of a struggle between the new dynasty of the Ikshvakus who came from the north and occupied the eastern portion of the Satavahana territory, and the Pallavas of the south. The rulers of Palakka and Vengi may have been offshoots of this intruding dynasty of the Ikshvaku king Sri Vira Purusha Datta. If that is so, Vishnugopa of Kanchi would represent the native Pallava as against the new dynasty of intruders from the north. Samudragupta's defeat of these rulers seems to have brought about a change in Kanchi. Vishnugopa's power was apparently undermined by the defeat and his throne was usurped by the founder of the Dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. This seems the actual course of events as Vishnugopa's name is not mentioned in any of the charters, and Virakurcha is the man who is said first to have acquired possession of this territory along with the hand of the Naga princess. This

clearly indicates a struggle, and the struggle must have been between Vishnugopa himself and a collateral branch of the family, it may be, who sought the alliance of the powerful Nagas in the immediate west. Virakurcha or Viravarman who, we have pointed out, might be the unnamed son-in-law of the Cutu chief of Banavase whose son is named Skanda Naga in one of the records and Skandavarman in the other. This Skandavarman was apparently the Skandasishya of the Sanskrit charters. In other words Viravarman became heir alike to the south-eastern Viceroyalty of the Satavahanas held by the Naga general first in behalf of the Satavahanas and later by the usurping local dynasty of the Pallavas of the Prakrit charters, it may be by right of birth, but certainly by an act of policy. Through his wife he became alike heir to the most powerful south-western viceroyalty of the Cutu family of the Satakarnis, thus uniting under one ruler the whole southern block of Satavahana territory about the time that the northern most part of that kingdom was being disputed for by the Nagas from the south, and the reviving power of the Kshatrapas from the north. Either Virakurcha himself or his son Skandavarman was able to reassert the authority of the Pallavas over the territory extending as far north as Vengi. Several of the Sanskrit charters were issued from their victorious

camp in various of the well-known localities along the lower course of the Krishna. Skandasishya's son Simhavarman, perhaps much more the younger son Vishnugopa, probably took part in this reconquest of the north for the Pallavas. Another son Kumara Vishnu who probably ascended the throne after his elder brother Simhavarman is given credit for the conquest of the Chola country ; that is the first effort at expansion southwards by the Pallavas. The history of the next following generations is somewhat obscure, but when we come to Simhavarman and his son Simhavishnu we are more or less on firm historical ground. There was a reassertion of the Pallava authority over the Chola country under Simhavishnu, and Mahendravarman was able to make very much more of a permanent advance.

THE RISE OF THE CHALUKYAS.

In the meanwhile changes of a momentous character had taken place to the west of the Pallava territory. The region of the Naga chieftains, cousins of the ruling Satavahanas, had been taken either in the reign of Skandavarman himself or his somewhat feeble successor by an enterprising Brahman who succeeded almost as a rebel in putting an end to the Pallava power in the northern half of their territory extending southwards from Sri Sailam. He extended his

power so far as to levy contributions from the territory of the Banas immediately to the west and south of the Pallava territory proper. The Pallavas apparently recognised his hold upon his native country by conferring it as a fief upon him thereby purchasing peace and perhaps a restoration of the Pallava territory of the Ceded Districts. This achievement of Mayura barman, the Veda Scholar, must have taken place in the reign of Skandavarman himself or in that of his son Simhavarman. A certain number of generations of these had actually ruled. We find the Pallavas slowly gaining strength and reasserting their authority over the Gangas by successively anointing and thus ratifying the succession of two Ganga rulers. The inference of a weakening of the power of the Kadambas at that time seems possible and this was taken advantage of by a feudatory dynasty of the Kadambas, themselves a dynasty connected with them by blood and perhaps similarly claiming authority from the Satavahanas themselves. These are the western Chalukyas who like the Kadambas claimed to belong to the Manavyasa Goira, and described themselves as Haritiputra. Their, later charters trace their descent from the rulers of Ayodhya and lay claim, in their behalf, to belong to the family of Ikshvakus ; the Cholas laid claim to the same descent as did Sri Vira Purusha **Datta**, the interloper in the eastern half of the

Andhra territory. By the time that Simhavishnu had placed himself firmly on the throne of Kanchi, the Chalukyas had so far established themselves in power first in the north-western part of the Andhra dominions gradually extending downwards to occupy what belonged to the Cutu Nagas, the cousin-viceroy of the Andhras. It is in this frontier that they came into contact with the Pallavas necessarily hostile as it meant an expansion of Chalukya power and territory in that direction. It is then there began the war between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas which is the feature of their later history.

CHAPTER XL

KANCHI, THE CENTRE or THE PALLAVAS.

During the whole period of their history extending from about A.D. 200 to the end of the 9th century the Pallava power centred round Kanchi, which became definitely associated with them, at any rate from the days of Samudragupta onwards, though a very much earlier ruler states in a charter that he issued that he ruled from Kanchi. Kanchi was the centre and capital of the region known to the Tamils as Tondaman-(Jalam and the Pallavas came into possession of that region exactly. They show almost from the beginning of their history, to have brought along with them the culture of the north, that is Aryan culture as distinguished from what may be called Dravidian. Their charters were all issued either in Prakrit or in Sanskrit. It may even be regarded that during their age Sanskrit literature came in for some encouragement in the region which must be regarded Pallava. The Jain work Lokavibhaga already referred to is a work which was composed in Cuddalore in the fifth century. That is not all.

PATRONS OF RELIGION AND ART.

They seem to have been great patrons as well, of religion and art. With the accession to power of the great dynasty of the Pallavas beginning with Simhavarman and his son Simhavishnu they extended their power southwards and brought it up to the banks of the Kaveri. As a matter of fact, Simhavishnu is stated to have taken possession of the country of the Kaveri. Throughout this region we see evidence of the work of his son Mahendra-Varman, otherwise called Mahendra-Vishnu. The tanks, the cave temples, and some even of the smaller temples are ascribable to him. A Sanskrit burlesque ascribed to him and called *Matta-vilasa-prahasana* is not merely evidence of what may be regarded as partiality for Sanskrit literature, but it also throws considerable light upon the religious condition of the times. The purpose of the work is to bring into ridicule the votaries of the various cults that prevailed at the time. An ascetic Pasupata, a Kapalika and his wife, and a Buddhist mendicant are brought into colloquy in the play and held up to ridicule. The omission of the Jain in this group may lead to the inference that at the time he composed the work Mahendra was a Jain, and might thus lend support to the Saiva tradition that rather late in his life he was converted to Saivism by the Saint Appar.

That a work of the character of *Matta-vilasa-prahasana* should be composed in Kanchi for the purpose for which it should have been intended, is evidence of a certain degree of prevalence of Sanskrit learning. This position of Kanchi is supported by its having been a *Ghatika* of the Brahmans at an earlier period, and by the fact that Mayura Sarma of the Kadambas found it necessary to go to Kanchi to complete his *Vedic* studies. Mahendra seems to have been a patron of music as well, and a short musical treatise referable to his time is inscribed on the face of the living rock in the great Siva temple at Kudimiyamalai in the Pudukotta state so that Mahendra in particular was a patron of art as well as of religion.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE DURING THE PERIOD.

Among the finds of manuscripts brought to light by the search-parties sent out by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library are two works ascribed to Dandin, the author of the *Kavyadarsa*. This last work has a verse illustrating a particular kind of composition. The verse which has to be of a recondite character takes for its illustration the city Kanchi and its rulers the Pallavas. This reference alone would lead one to suspect that Dandin had something to do with Kanchi. These manuscripts newly brought to light relate to the subject-matter of

the prose-work *Dasakumara Charita* generally ascribed to Dandin. The poetical work seems to be called *Avanti-Sundari-katha-sara*, and of the original prose version a few fragments alone are yet available, but the substance of the story is put in poetic form and contains an introductory chapter which gives some information regarding Dandin himself and his ancestry. The matter of peculiar importance to our subject at present is that Dandin calls himself the great-grandson of Bharavi, the author of *Kiratarjuniya*, and Dandin seems to refer himself to the reign of Rajasimha or Narasimha II among the great Pallavas. This seems supported by the fact recently brought to notice by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachariar that a Ganga king by name Durvinita lays claim to having written a commentary on the fifteenth canto of the *Kiratarjuniya* of Bharavi. In this account Bharavi is also brought into contemporaneity with the Chalukya Vishnuvardhana, an ancestor of Jayasimha I, who became famous afterwards as the founder of the Chalukya dynasty. This would make Bharavi a contemporary with either Mahendra Pallava himself or his son Narasimha I. In either case Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniya* may account for the great popularity that this particular incident, in the epic tradition of the manifestations of Siva, attained in this part of the country. Apart from its being one of the

most oft-quoted instances of Siva's beneficence, the cutting out of this particular episode on the face of the big rock in Mahabalipuram which remained somewhat inexplicable till now finds a satisfactory explanation. Though we have another instance of a sculptural illustration of this in distant Behar in Chandi Mau, still it was matter which could not readily be explained why the Tevaram hymners should have pitched upon this particular incident among a large variety, and the sculptors of Mahabalipura should have chosen this for an illustration. If Bharavi and Dandin flourished in Kanchi, Kanchi must have been a very important centre of Sanskrit learning at the time.

GREAT RELIGIOUS FERMENT IN THE COUNTRY,

This period must also have been one of great religious activity. Many of the existing temples came into existence during this period and most of them in Kanchi and the surrounding locality received encouragement and extension. The town of Kanchi itself is so full of these Pallava monuments that it would be possible for one to make a complete study of Pallava art and architecture without going out of it. The great renaissance of religion and literature characteristic of the age of the Guptas in the north found a reflex during the age of the Pallavas in Kanchi,

Both Saivism and Vaishnavism, the two offshoots of the school of Bhakti, took form and shape during this period. Literature bearing upon both of these in Tamil is almost entirely the product of the age of the Pallavas. Of the 63 Saiva devotees one of the earliest is the Chola king Ko-Sengan who must have followed the age of the &angam very closely. We have shown elsewhere¹ that the earliest of the Vaishnava Alvars were in all probability contemporaries of the Tondaman-Ilani-Tiraiyan himself. It is not at all unlikely that some of the sixty-three Saiva Adiyars may be referable to an age as early as these. The latest among the Alvars is Tiruman-gai Alvar, who lived as certainly as it is possible for us to know the fact, in the middle of the eighth century. The latest of the Saiva Adiyars, Sundaramurti, lived perhaps a generation later in the closing period of the Pallava dominance in the south. The greatest among the Adiyars Sambandar and Appar, two of the three most celebrated among the Adiyars, were undoubtedly contemporaries of Narasimha I. Thus we see the schools of Bhakti, the early features of which we already find reference to in the Sangam literature, began their great development under the Pallavas and took the form that they have at present, in this period.

¹ Early History of Vaishnavism : Oxford University Press.

INFLUENCE or THE GUPTA CULTURE.

How much of -this development may be due to any direct Gupta influence we are not in a position to trace in detail yet. It is impossible that there should not have been that kind of influence, but the whole of the Pallava development in point of religion of the Bhakti school is explainable without this external stimulus. It certainly was the age for the south of a certain amount of reorganisation of the Brahmanical religion such as it was in the earlier time. The reorganisation seems to have taken the form of a great emphasis being laid on what is generally described as "theistic religion"—religion whose centre and heart-core is a personal God watchfully beneficent for the salvation of devotees. Such a movement was called for to remedy one of the vital defects of *Vaidic* Brahmanism, and the great success that attended the early efforts of Buddhistic teachers, and to a certain degree of the Jain as well, was due to the Congregationalism of both these religious systems. It is the need therefore of a religion that would appeal to the masses that led to this great development in Brahmanism in the period of Brahmanicalreorganization as against Buddhism and Jainism. The recognition of a personal God and of popular religion necessitates the form of worship associated with temples.

TEMPLE BUILDING IN THE SOUTH.

If this happens to be the age during which the great majority of temples in the south came into existence the explanation is here ready. It was an age when the people were anxious to bring themselves into touch with God and that could be done only by means of the cult of *Bhakti* which necessitated the embodying in a visible form of the all-beneficent personal God. It is possible to trace the history of many of these temples to this particular period and the work of temple-building, at least so far as Siva temples are concerned, is closely associated with the early Chola Ko-Chengan. It is demonstrable that this great Chola built temples both to Siva and to Vishnu so that he could be described by the Saivas as no less than an Adiyar (devotee) among the sixty-three. The Vaishnava Alvar Tirnmangai refers to him also as having constructed 70 temples to Siva. It is thus clear that temple-building on a large scale was only the outward exhibition of the inward ferment that led to the great development of the *Bhakti* school of religion.

CLEAR EVIDENCE or HINDU EXPANSION
IN THE EAST.

It is to the earlier portion of this period that Dr. Vogel refers the sacrificial inscription

discovered at Koetei in East Borneo. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, the character is Pallava-grantha and the donations have relation to the various benefactions and gifts that followed the completion of a Brahmanical sacrifice by the ruler Mulavarman. This document illustrates the prevalence of Brahmanism so far out as East Borneo in a form which made the celebration of a sacrifice of the greatest importance, and which proves beyond a doubt, the existence of a colony of holy Brahmans that could celebrate sacrifices in the distant east. Later, we have it on the authority of Fa-Hien that in Sumatra and the Malaya Peninsula there were large settlements of votaries of the Brahmanical religion, but as yet nothing that could be called a community of Buddhists. A later traveller of this age, I-Tsing found the prevalence of Sanskrit culture in Sumatra so great that all the wealth of manuscripts that he was able to acquire by years of travelling in northern India he could take over with him and translate, in the first instalment of 500 volumes that he despatched, in Sumatra as offering all the facilities that India itself could have offered for that kind of monumental work of devotion and learning.

CHAPTER XII.

SAIVISM.

Among the two principal schools of *Bhakti* cult prevalent in South India, Saivism comes in for a large clientele. Saivism consists in the recognition of Siva as the supreme beneficent deity. Siva is believed to exercise the functions of creation, protection, destruction, prevention from lapses in the enjoyment of the results of one's action, and beneficence. These functions he is said to discharge with a view to release struggling souls from the bondage resulting from their previous action, and to present unto them the knowledge of the nature of Siva, so that they might ultimately attain to the much desired release. In order to discharge these self-imposed functions of his, Siva assumes the position of Lord with the following six attributes : omniscience, limitless contentment, knowledge that does not spring out of experience, self-possession, undiminished power, and limitless power. It is the possession of these qualities, exhibiting themselves in extreme purity, in the capacity to destroy the bondage of action and to improve the power for good, that gives appropriateness to the name of Siva.

It is under command of this Supreme Deity that souls assume forms, and struggle in the world. They work their way gradually through the six outer forms of religion, viz., Lokayata, Bauddha, Arhata (Jaina), Mlmamsa, Mayavada (Advaita) and Pancharatra by faithfully carrying out the various regulations for conduct laid down by them. In the course of this struggle Siva assumes the forms of the various beings that guide these souls, and makes them attain to the respective benefits resulting from what they do. They pass from this to the methods of the inner religion (inner to Saivism) such as Saivism, Pasupatam, Vamam, Bhairavam, Mahavrtam and Kalamukham.

Souls in their next stage of development enter the inner religions as a result of their good action in their pursuit of life in the outer religions. Then they follow the "path of the *Veda*," or the regulations of the Smritis and adopt the life of the four castes and the four orders. As a result of good action in this method they go to heaven and enjoy a higher life, only to be born again on earth at the end of their course of enjoyment. As a result, however, of their good deeds while living in the path of the *Veda* and by the grace of Siva they get into the "path of Siva," and understand the significance of *Charya* (conduct), *Kriya* (duty), and *Yoga* (contemplation by concentration). Adopting this course

they attain to the position of being at sight of Siva (*Saloka*), or in proximity to him (*Samipya*) or of attaining to a form like him (*Sarupa*). Those among them who have weaned themselves of the notion of enjoyment cease to be born on earth and get rid of the cycle of existence as a result of the grace of Siva. It will thus be clear that, according to Saivism, salvation is attainable only by means of the *Saiva Siddhanta*; the only way to attain salvation is by the knowledge of the nature of Siva; the attainment of this knowledge is achieved by the adoption of the four methods, conduct, etc. The rights and ceremonies prescribed by the *Veda* however, produce good fruit, but these latter are not eternal. The results of action in the path of the *Veda* are no less productive of bondage than evil action, only these are something like golden fetters, while those may be likened to iron ones. These lead to the enjoyment of good, but bring on re-birth inevitably. It is only the right knowledge of Siva that puts an end to this re-birth. Of these four, *fiariyai*, *Kiriyai*, *Yogam* and *Gnanam*, the first two constitute what is understood by the term *Siva-dharma*. This *Siva-dharma* is pursued both by an easy path and by a difficult path. The mere adoption of the rule of conduct laid down in the *Siva-dharrna* constitutes the former ; while, as a result of the adoption of this line of conduct, the affection for

Siva has so thoroughly engrossed the whole soul, it shrinks from nothing in doing what it conceives to be pleasing to Siva. This duty extends even to the killing of parents and children, and the pulling out of one's own eyes in the service that would please the supreme deity. Those that pursue their unswerving duty to Siva in either of these ways constitute his Bhaktas. Those that pursue it by the former method might well be called Vira Saivas, though this name is reserved for a class of people who adopted a similar, but a somewhat modified creed. Some of the well-known Adiyars of the Saivas actually adopted, according to the traditional accounts, this method and such classification could not be regarded as actually exclusive, or really strictly correct. In the ultimate analysis Saivism comes to be this. It recognises the supremacy of Siva as the beneficent deity who makes it his function to save souls (*pasu*) from their bondage in the fetters of action (*pasara*, the results of *karman* or action) ; he does this as the result of his own grace.

EARLY TRACES IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

We have already seen that the Sangam literature does give evidence of this supremacy of Siva though not quite exclusively. In the passage already quoted from Narkirar, Siva figures first among the four world-ruling deities,

Krishna, Baladeva and Skanda taking rank with him. In the passage quoted from the Maduraik-kanji, Rudran Kannan seems to go a step further, and indicate more clearly the supremacy of Siva where he is distinctly placed as the first. It will thus be clear that the rudiments were already there in the earliest period to which Tamil literature can take us while in the age immediately following a further vast development becomes discernible.

THE NAYANMARS.

Among the *Siva Bhaktas* a certain number stand out as pre-eminently the devotees of Siva. They attained to this distinction by various kinds of service extending from the simplest to the most exacting. These are grouped into two classes by the Saivas. The first class consists of sixty-three and stand, each one by oneself. Then follow nine who are taken altogether in one group, constituting on the whole seventy-two. These are the recognised Saints of the Saivas. The Saiva canonical literature of prime importance consists of one group called *Arutpa* as a group. This group consists of the Tevaram of the three most prominent of the devotees: Sambandar, Appar, and Sundara. The next is Tiruvasagam, Tiruvisaippa and Tiruppallandu, all of them the work of Manikkavasagar. This is followed of course, by an outcrop of other literature dependent on these.

The chronology of these Adiyars cannot yet be regarded as a settled matter, but a rough and ready classification of these is possible from internal evidence of their works alone. They might all be regarded as pertaining to the age of the Pallavas, and this group of devotees had all lived and passed away before the Pallava dominance in South India gave place to that of the Chola. Practically the last of them Sundara composed a poem of 11 stanzas in which he describes himself poetically as a servant of all the rest of them who devoted themselves to the service of Siva, and the date of Sundara had been for various reasons allotted to the commencement of the ninth century as that of his contemporary Seraman Perumal. Early ninth century therefore would be the downward limit of the sixty-three Nayanmars. The upward limit is not as easily, or even with the same degree of confidence, fixable. One at least of the earliest lends himself to this kind of inquiry and that is the early Chola king, Ko-Chengan. Even the Saiva hagiologists have but little of historical detail to give us regarding him. All that they vouchsafe to us is that a spider devoted itself to the service of Siva at Tiruvanaikkaval by weaving its web over the *linga* every day to prevent leaves dropping on the image. Every morning, at the same time, a white elephant used to come for performing worship. The elephant used to sweep off the

cob-web, pour over the *linga* the water that it had brought in its trunk, and offer a few flowers similarly brought with it. Wearied by this act of wanton destruction of his own efforts, the spider managed to get into the trunk of the elephant and worried him so much that unable any longer to bear the pain the elephant struck its trunk against the earth violently and died; the spider also died in its pious efforts to destroy the elephant which so regularly and wantonly molested him in his act of worship. For this act of devotion the spider was ordained by the grace of Siva to be born a Chola prince. So he was born of the Chola king Subha Deva and his wife Kamalavati. The only feature of this story that might be at all considered historical is, and that is almost practically the only detail given of his life, that he built the temple of Tiruvanaikkaval (Jambukesvaram) across the river Kaveri from Trichinopoly. His special service of devotion to Siva therefore consisted in the construction of temples to Siva either by himself or through the agency of his officials. A later Vaishnava Alvar Tirumangai, the last of them, speaking of the Vishnu temple at Tirunaraiyur goes out of his way to state in clear terms ¹ that he built seventy temples to Siva. We may therefore take it that he was a historical person who contributed

¹ Periya-Tirumoli: VI. vi. 8

to the development of Saivism by the particular service of constructing numbers of Siva temples, and the mention of such by a Vaishnava Alvar has its own peculiar, significance. Both Appar and Sambandar of whose age we have some precise knowledge, allude in several places to the transformation of the spider into the Chola king.¹ This would mean that by their time the miraculous transformation had got so much into vogue that neither they nor their audience had any difficulty in accepting it as true. That would make Ko-Chengan anterior to the age of the great Pallavas of Kanchi whose period of rule began about A.D. 600.

There is a Ko-Chengan who fought a battle against a Chera King whom he threw into prison after defeating him in battle. A poet by name Poygaiyar, who seems identifiable with the Vaishnava Alvar Poygai, celebrated the battle of Kalumalam (generally taken to be the Siyali) in the poem of 40 Stanzas known in Tamil literature *Kalmli*, *forty*. This identification rests on literary and stylistic grounds alone so far. There are certain historical considerations that make him contemporary with the Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan of Kanchi.² This line of investigation therefore would take Ko-Chengan to a period

¹ Appar, Tirunallaru. 5 ; Sambandar, Arisilkaraipputtuer 7 ; Tim-vaikal, 4 ; Ambar, 1. 2, 5 and 9.

² Early History of Vaishnavism, pp. 73. at seg.

which may be the closing period of the so-called Sangam literature.

Of the three Tevaram hymners, we have referred Sundara to the commencement of the ninth century. The other two were contemporaries according to tradition, and several historical circumstances connected with each of the two, bring them into contemporaneity likewise. Appar lived to be a very old man, was born a Saiva, became a Jain, and at the latter end of his life returned to Saivism and was instrumental in converting the great Pallava king Mahendravarman. The other, Sambandar, was his younger, but the more distinguished contemporary, who visited another Saiva devotee Siruttondar in the course of his peregrinations at Tiruchengattangudi. This Siruttondar was the general of Mahendra's son Narasimha, and rendered valiant service to his master in the destruction of Vatapi (Badami), the capital of the Western Chalukyas under Pulikesin II. This battle was fought some time about A.D. 642, and therefore these two Sambandar and Siruttondar must have lived about that time and a little later. Appar, as the older, was apparently the contemporary of the father and the son among the Pallava rulers, and probably lived to the middle of the seventh century. The Adiyars who are referred to either directly or allusively in the works of these two, Sambandar and Appar, have to be classified as

the early Adiyars; Sambandar and Appar and their contemporaries as perhaps the middle ones ; Sundara, Deraman Perumal and those that could be associated with them as the last ones. Ko-Chengan was probably one of the earliest of those that flourished from say about A.D. 200 to A.D. 600, that is among the early Adiyars.

KANNAPPA NAYANAK.

We have already seen that the peculiar form of service rendered to Siva by Ko-Chengan consisted in the building of temples to him. There are others who devoted themselves to rendering some kind of bodily service-gardening for Siva, sweeping Siva temples, providing garlands for Siva and various other sundry acts of service all of them rendered with absorbing devotion. These are the milder forms of service. Reference was made already to a more vigorous form of exhibition of this single-hearted devotion to Siva. To illustrate this and along with this various other items of devotion that went to make up the teachings of this school of bhakti, the story of an ignorant hunter whose secular name was Tinman, is given below. He attained to the sacerdotal designation of Kannappa Nayanar, by which name alone he is generally known. He is referred to specifically by both Sambandar and Appar, and therefore he was anterior to both of them. In fact he is among the earliest of the Saiva

devotees. Sankaracharya refers to him in the Sivananda Lahari.

Kaiirtappa was the son of a hunter-chief by name Naga and his wife Tattai. He was born in a village Uduppur in what used to be known as Pottappinadu (south Nellore District). The parents were long childless, and got this boy as a result of service to Skanda rendered by making over to his temple numbers of ordinary fowls and pea-fowls. The boy was naturally brought up to be a hunter and was given the responsibilities of the chieftainship while yet a young man, as the father had grown too old. On one occasion he went along with others, his companions, on a boar hunt. One of these beasts was so powerful that it sprang out of the net, tearing it away in the act, and ran into the forests. Tinnan with two others Nana and Kada gave the animal the chase and overtook it after covering a great distance. Tinnan who was the frontmost and near enough to the animal drew out his sword and cut it in two. The other two came up and all of them were very hungry. They wanted to roast the flesh and eat it to satisfy their hunger; but water was a prime necessity. Nana said he knew there was water at some distance on the side of the hill. Carrying the beast they walked along towards the water, and came in sight of another hill in the distance. Tinnan made the suggestion they

might proceed to that hill before they sat down to make a meal of the quarry, when Nana, his companion, made the casual remark that that hill contained the God ' *Kudumittevar.*' That was the seed of the hunter Tinnan's devotion. The three friends walked along carrying the boar till they reached the river flowing at the foot of the hill. Leaving one of them behind to make the fire and roast the pork, Tinnan and his friend Nanan went up the hill. At the sight of the *linga*, Tinnan was so attracted to the deity that he began to exhibit the extraordinary affection of a mother who had been separated from a child for a long time. Overpowered with affection then he began to conduct himself like one beside himself. It was some time before he noticed that somebody had washed the *linga* with water and put flowers on the top of it. Saying that somebody had done ill to have so treated the God, he learnt from his companion that a Brahman was in the habit of performing this kind of worship. On hearing this he thought that kind of worship must be acceptable to God. So he began to perform worship similarly according to his light. He made it his business thereafter daily to go up the hill carrying roast meat strung together on an arrow, a mouthful of water from the **Ponmukhari** and a few flowers tucked on to his hair. On reaching the *linga*, he used to spit the

water over it from his mouth, take the flowers from out of his hair and put it on the top of the *linga*, and place the roast meat chosen by taste before it, and thus perform his worship. This desecration, as the Brahman considered it, gave moral pain to him, and, in his extreme distress of mind, he appealed to Siva himself as to who brought about this desecration and why Siva should have suffered it. Siva appeared to him in a dream and pointed out to him that, hunter as Tinnan was, his devotion to Siva was so whole-hearted and hence was more pleasing to him than even that of those who had offered him excellent prayers with a mind prepared by the long study of the *Vedas* and *vaidika-agamas*. He directed the much distressed Brahman to remain in hiding and see for himself. When next the hunter appeared before the idol, blood was coming out of one of the eyes of the idol.

Tinnan fainted away at the sight of it, and, when he came back to himself, he took his bow and arrows and looked about for those that might have done this harm. Not finding anybody within sight of the idol he set about thinking as to how exactly he should cure it. Do what he might the blood still continued flowing. Then it struck him that the best way to cure such a disease was to put in flesh for flesh, that is, removing the rotten flesh and putting a fresh

piece—a form of cure hunters know very well. He pulled out with an arrow his own right eye and put it in place of the right eye of Siva. He found that the bleeding stopped. He was so delighted with his performance that he danced in sheer joy. In order the better to exhibit his single-hearted devotion Siva made his other eye bleed. When Tinman was about to pull out his other eye to substitute it for the bleeding one of Siva, Siva put forth his arms from the linga and took hold of his hands that were in the act of pulling out his other eye and cried out "eye friend eye" ("Kannappa, Kannappa") and this ejaculation of Siva gave him the name "Kannappa." The Brahman who was witness to all this was surprised and delighted at the intensity of devotion of the hunter, rude, unmethodical and uncanonical as the form of devotion was. This is briefly the tale of Siva's miracle in respect of this particular devotee Kannappa.

The story of Kannappa has become so famous and hallowed by tradition that it is familiar to everybody not only in the Tamil country but in the Telugu. The simple-hearted devotion of the hunter, and Siva's special approval of it exhibited by the miracle regarding him, have struck the fancy of the people so much that one of the Telugu poets of the first rank, Srinatha by name, made it the theme of a poem called Haravilasam. The devotion of Kannappa has

also become the model of austere penance to the Saivas of a somewhat later persuasion. I have given the story above as it is found detailed in the Periyapuranam of Sekkilar who lived early in the twelfth century. As it is worked by the hagiologist, the story exhibits certain features which are worthy of special note. The object of the writer is here to bring into contrast the single-hearted but ill-considered and ill-formed performance of devotion to Siva such as the hunter's, with the performance of similar devotion by the cultured and pious Brahman performing his prayer according to recognised form. The moral is the victory of single-minded devotion however crude in form and even objectionable from the point of view of recognised usage. As a result of this the story makes a few points clear. The hunter gets into an ecstasy of devotion on hearing the name of Siva as a result of preparation in previous existences. At the sight of the linga, his affection for his God so overpowers him that he forgets himself, and in this self-forgetfulness nothing is shown except affection for the God and anxiety for his safe keeping. When at last the idea is brought home to him, that somebody else more respected of human beings and obviously more acceptable to Siva himself, had performed an act of devotion, the idea goes into him at once and without further consideration he makes

up his mind to do so also according to his lights and in the manner familiar to him. This goes so far in its singleness that the height is reached when the rude man and the crude worshipper does not hesitate to pull out his eye to put it in place of what he thought the ailing one of Siva. It is immaterial whether all these were acts ascribable to the hunter historically. These were the ideas that underlay the notion of *bhakti* as it was understood in his time. These ideas almost in the same form are found scattered all through the work of Saiva hagiologists and required to be organised and put into form for sectarian purposes later on as we shall see.

In the cult of *bhakti* the first feature to be taken note of is, unalloyed affection for God, and this affection springs from the notion that God looks after man with an affectionate interest superior even to that of himself, and therefore deserves the return of unqualified devotion.¹

Such an affection when it does exist exhibits itself on all occasions whenever there should be the slightest stimulus as in the case of Kannapa at the mere mention of the name God, and afterwards at sight of Him. Unless devotion is exhibited to the fullest extent of singleheartedness it is hardly possible to expect Him to exhibit His grace to the suffering human beings. According to Appar it is impossible that God

¹ Compare Appar.

should exhibit himself unless one performs his devotion with a mind unalloyed with other feelings than that of affection and devotion. A similar idea is more forcibly expressed in the Tirumandiram of Tirumular. The offering of sacrifice of one's own flesh by cutting it from out of one's own body and throwing it into a fire lighted with one's own bones is not as efficacious to evoke His grace readily as devotion which melts away one's heart and mind.

This goes one step further when the notion gets to prevail that pilgrimage to holy places, the contemplation upon the supreme and the performance of prayer on the approved style are all of them of no use in comparison to the realising of oneself in the extremity of affection for God himself.

This extraordinary affection for God springs in a human being as a result of deeds in previous existences without regard to fruit thereof and as the result of diva's grace and that grace alone.

In the last resort the moment that one attains to this single-minded and unalloyed devotion, he attains to the condition of Siva, as this affection for him is not separate from Siva himself. Where this affection exists there Siva is bound down to the offer of this devotion. Wherever there is this affection, there Siva becomes visible.

The story of Kannappa is intended to illustrate this development in the course of *Siva*

bhakti. The extraordinary devotion that the uncultivated hunter exhibited is believed to be due to what he did in his previous incarnation as Arjuna with whom Siva wrestled in the disguise of a hunter. It is the ripened effect of his good deeds that required merely the stimulus of the mention of the name of Siva to make him lose control over himself altogether like a virtuous young wife whose affection overpowers her completely at the mention of the name of her beloved. Being an uncultivated rude man not knowing how exactly to exhibit his devotion at sight of God he could only show his affection in the manner he was accustomed to do, and exhibited it as a father or mother would at the sight of a long lost child. But the devotion that he felt for Siva so overpowered him that he forgot altogether the animal requirements such as hunger, sleep, etc., for six days.

In regard to his performance of devotion, that is the result of the ignorance that goes along with the birth and bringing up of this hunter. What is acceptable to Siva and what is not, requires a preceptor to teach. Such a preceptor he had not had. And having heard but imperfectly what another man has been doing by way of devotion, he just imitated, to the very best of his ability, what he thought was being done by that other person, who, he thought, ought to know. So he bathed the

linga, cleaned the surroundings and provided the food in a manner that appealed to him. In spite of all this there was at the back of it all in the rude crude man a devotion which knew no limit and which shrank from nothing by way of sacrifice to do that which according to him pleased Siva. It is this singleness of purpose in devotion that made even the objectionable form of worship acceptable to Siva and this same idea is expressed in the *Tiruvacakam* of Manikkavasakar.

The crisis of this devotion is reached in regard to Kanjiappa when it comes to diva's bleeding eye. The hunter had absolutely no hesitation in pulling out his own eye to put in place of the ailing eye of Siva as he thought, and when that is done, the ultimate limit of devotion is reached. Kannappa is ripe for the attainment of !shivahood and attained it as a result of the grace of Siva which showed itself by look.

Thus then we see from the history of this devotee that *bhakti* as understood by the early Saivas was not incompatible with other forms of propitiation of God, but gradually developed by adding on the teacher to make *bhakti* exclusively the method for the attainment of God's favour.

It was already pointed out that in its undeveloped form *bhakti* consisted merely in the exhibition of unalloyed affection for God by

some form of service however simple or humble. Visiting places of holy reputation, or doing some act of personal or even menial service to God in some temple or elsewhere, was apparently considered enough provided the feeling within of unmixed devotion was swelling up as occasion afforded ; and where persons subject to this ebullition of emotion had the means to give vent to this feeling, there naturally came the outpouring of the heart in the shape of verses in prayer. The works of such Saiva devotees as left their impress upon their contemporaries were collected some time after and put in form for being chanted, and constituted the canonical literature of the Saivas in Tamil. These were naturally thrown in forms peculiar to the expression of the feelings evoked, and the very composition of these poems partook of the character of the modes of expression peculiar to Tamil literature, and defined by Tamil grammarians and rhetoricians. This peculiar method of exhibition of one's love to that particular form of God which appealed to his heart, gave the whole body of this literature a peculiarity all its own. These poems were in course of time set to music and were adapted to representation by the art of dancing, A class of people set up separately for the study and development of these features of the works, so that one set came to be known as specially

expert in setting the tune and rendering the poems in music, and the other, generally, women, gave themselves up to the practice of the art of rendering it by dancing to the accompaniment of music. It is these developments that made the greatest appeal, and maintained the character of the melting strains of music, to the songs of these devotees, even to the present day. Practised within limits and under the control of the dominating passion of selfless devotion to God, it exercises an influence unique in character. But at the same time it is liable to abuse where the controlling feeling is feeble, and when pretenders set up for prophets. This feature of the devotional works seems to have attained full development at the time when the works were originally collected and put in form about the tenth century A. D. Though the Vaishnava devotional works partake of this character to a great extent they did not combine the practice of the accessory arts in connection therewith in the same form as Saiva devotional works. This special development seems to be what ultimately associated *bhakti* with the Tamil country peculiarly in works treating specially of the subject.

One other feature seems also to come into prominence in the course of development of this school. This feature is the emergence of the saving priest or preceptor who becomes essential

to the attainment of salvation ; and unless one attains to what is called *diksa* from a *guru* or preceptor of the proper kind Siva's grace becomes impossible. As far as it is possible to trace this institution, we see that the preceptor does not figure prominently in the case of the early and less developed devotees, but with the later ones the preceptor becomes indispensable; and this feature of the preceptor has developed a prominence, which it has not since lost, in regard to Manikkavasakar in whose case the preceptor proves an indispensable necessity. This feature attained to its own peculiar development and gave rise ultimately to the development of the sects as we shall see.

JAINISM IN THE SOUTH.

According to Jain tradition as preserved in the various Pattavalies there was a schism and the Jains divided into two sections. This split is said to have taken place in the reign of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta. The leader of one of the sections is known by the name Badhrabahu, and he was the recognised head of the section known as *Digambara* (that made the directions for their clothing, i.e., unclad). He is supposed to have lived in Magadha. A twelve years' famine supervening, he had to leave the country and move across till he finally settled

in Sravana Belgola in Mysore. According to this story, Chandragupta is said to have abdicated in favour of his son, and, adopting the vow of a Jain mendicant, followed his master Badhrabahu and lived and died in the region of Mysore. There are certain place-names and other circumstances which seem to lend support to this tradition. Whether Jainism came into the South along with Bhadrabahu, and in this manner or not, we have evidence, in the Sangam literature, of considerable value for the existence of the Jains in the South. Among the systems controverted in the Manimekhalai the Jain system also figures as one, and the words Saman and Aman are of frequent occurrence as also references to their *viharas* so that from the earliest times reachable with our present means, Jainism apparently flourished in the Tamil country. Buddhism seems to have had a clientele of its own also, and it is these systems that the poem 116 of the Purananuru already quoted refers to as religions though seeming true still undermined the authority of the *Vedas*. These flourished side by side and enjoyed a certain degree of patronage from the rulers generally, while it seems likely that at one time one sect and at another time another had the more influential lead, and was capable of throwing the others into the shade by its influence. It has however been pointed out that

there is nothing whatsoever to justify the old classification that there was an age of the Jainas which preceded all others, followed by an age of the Buddhists, and that again by the Brahmanical or the Puranic age. No such clearly marked chronological division is discernible in the evidence at our disposal. These lived side by side, and the most that we are warranted in stating from the evidence at our disposal is, these waxed and waned in influence at different periods of their history, and this variation of influence was in many cases due to the acquisition of influence over the monarchs for the time being.

CHAPTER XIII

LITERATURE OF SAIVISM

Nayanmars in the Age of the Pallavas

It was already pointed out that practically all the sixty-three devotees must have lived in the period which for convenience may be called the age of the Pallavas, taking it in the broadest sense as extending from about A.D. 200 to 900. It was also pointed out that the earliest of them may reach back to quite the commencement of the age of the Pallavas and the latest of them cannot have been many generations after the practical abolition of the Pallava power in South India. The Chola Ko-Chensran and the hunter Kannappa, and some others among these are referable to the early period of the age of the Pallavas. Sambmdar, Appar and a certain number of others are referable, on what might be regarded certain evidence, to the seventh century A.D. Of these, Sambandar had a comparatively short life while Appar must have lived a man of ripe old age. The two are however generally referred together, and the younger is generally regarded as the more influential of the two, both in regard to his following and the importance of his teaching. Then follows the third

section headed by Sundaramurti. He had a friend in another of the sixty-three, a Deraman Perumal. These had been referred, the one as providing the occasion for the founding of the Kollam era and the other as having celebrated in a poem the other sixty-two devotees, to the early part of the ninth century A.D. Of these, Sambandar, Appar and Sundaramurti constitute the three recognised leaders of the school of *bhakti* as represented by the sixty-three Adiyars or Nayanmars, and the works of the three constitute the first seven sections of the Saiva literature of this school. The oldest among these Appar was born a Saiva, became a convert to Jainism and leader of the Jain settlement at Patali (now the new town of Cuddalore) and became a Saiva again as the result of a miracle, by means of which Siva cured him of what seemed an incurable disease. Saiva tradition has it that it was through his influence that the Pallava King Mahtindra Varman was converted to Saivism from Jainism. There is a burlesque "*Matta Vilasa Prahasana*" ascribed to this Pallava Mahendra Varman where he brings into a somewhat ludicrous colloquy a Pasupata, a Ka+palika and his wife, and a Bauddha, and no Jain however is brought into this religious squabble. This may support the contention that he was a Jain to begin **with**. His monuments however seem alike devoted

to the Brahmanical trinity though this is no bar to his having been a Saiva.

According to the story as embodied in the Periyapuraijam of the life of Sambandar the Pandya contemporary had adopted the faith of the Jains while his wife, a Chola Princess was a devoted Saiva. So also was his chief minister. Through the influence of these latter two, Sambandar obtained the opportunity to convert this Pandya to Saivism. Both the queen and the minister are counted among the sixty-three canonical devotees. The miracle that brought about the conversion of the king was that after a successful disputation with the Jainas, Sambandar made the hunch-backed king stand erect and gave him the name "*Ninrasir Nedumarar*" which can be interpreted the great Pandya of enduring prosperity, or the great Pandya who had stood erect. It is on this occasion that at the instigation of Sambandar the whole body of Jains in Madura are said to have been impaled. This story of persecution has in it features which seem the common features of similar stories. Such stories are told of a Jain king of Kanchi who gave to Buddhists similar treatment, and of the Vaishnava apostle Ramanuja having treated the Jainas similarly by instigating the Hoysala king Vishnu Vardhana against them. In such cases these stories seem to have been concocted by the later hagiologists

to enhance the glories of their own particular form of religion. In each one of these cases it can be proved conclusively that there is no evidence of a general act of persecution, such as is described, as these religions flourished in undiminished influence even after the period to which these persecutions are ascribed.

MANIKKAVASAKAR.

The eighth of the twelve sections of the Saiva canonical collection consists of Manikkavasakar's Tiruvasakam and Tirukkovaïyar. Manikkavasakar was, like Sambandar and Sundaramurti before, a Brahman by birth, and enjoyed the title and the responsibility of the ministry to a Pandya king, apparently the Pandya king Varaguna referred to in the Tirukkovaïyar. The story of his life briefly is that he was deputed by his sovereign to go and make large purchases of horses for his cavalry. Going on this mission with the requisite amount of treasure, he came on the way to a place called Perurhturai where under the shade of a *kurunda* tree he saw a priest at the head of a body of Saiva disciples. Peeling the call and seeing the opportunity presenting itself in this fashion, he stopped there, received the teaching and *diksa* (ordination) from this devoted preceptor, and spent away the money that he carried with him for purchasing

horses in devotional works and charity. For this act of sheer neglect of his duty to his sovereign and state, he was subjected to various acts of bodily punishment from which Siva saved him by the performance of miracles. Of these one took the form of converting the jackals of the forests into horses and leading them into the Pandyan stables. He obtained the release of Manikkavasakar by working as a labourer in Madura and showing himself to the Pandyan king. Manikkavas'akar thereafter was allowed to follow the bent of his mind, and having visited various Saiva shrines of importance, he stayed for some considerable time in Chidambaram having overcome a large body of Buddhists from Ceylon in controversy, and attained to Sivahood. He has been ascribed by various scholars to a very early period, but the weight of scholarly opinion seems to support the order in the arrangement of Saiva canonical literature which groups his works in the eighth of the twelve canonical sections.

Manikkavasakar's works partake of the character of the Tevaram hymners before him. They exhibit however a more intense kind of devotion, if that were possible, and a literary form which is perhaps more directly in accordance with the canons of criticism. His second work in particular is supposed to provide the model, **for** that special section of rhetoric which

we have labelled for convenience, erotic. We have stated before that the modes of expression characteristic of Tamil literature gave that peculiar character to *bhakti* in the Tamil country which raises it from the region of mere abstraction to that of actual realisation in life even by the imperfect human being. While still considerable writers of this school have more or less contributed towards this end by their mode of composition, the matter itself appeals straight to the heart. Manikavasakar excels all of them both in form and in feeling.

The ninth section of this canonical literature is composed of the works of nine others including in it the Tirupallandu of Sendan. The tenth is composed entirely of the Tirumandiram of Tirumular. The eleventh is composed of a miscellaneous collection including in it the works of Pattinattadikal, a devotee of considerable influence, and those of Nambi Andar Nambi who is given the credit of having compiled the whole collection. This collection is composed of about 40 poems of these various authors. Nambi Andar Nambi lived in the eleventh century and is regarded by the Saiva Tamils to have done for Saivism what Vyasa is believed to have done for Vedic Brahmanism. These eleven sections of what the Tamils call *Tirumurai*, together with the lives of these saints written by Sekkilar constitute the complete set

of Saiva canonical literature which in the estimation of the Saivas corresponds to the *Vedic* literature of the Brahmans. Sekkilar lived in the twelfth century, and by his time the whole body of Saiva canonical works were collected and thrown in form so that he could take upon himself to write a classical poem on the lives of these saints. The whole body of these works including the Periyapuraaam of Sekkilar have this character in common. They are all works of devotion, and each work or each set of verses could be regarded as some form of prayer addressed to Siva in various modes as occasion demanded. Hence the whole set is compared to the *mantras* of the *Veda*. This comparison acquires a certain degree of validity when there grew up in the age immediately following an outcrop of literature, the purpose of which was designedly to give logical form and philosophical shape to Saiva Siddhanta as a religious system.

The Nostras of the Saivas.

The Saivas claim fourteen treatises which are named either after the author or from some characteristic of the work itself.

All of these were composed in the age immediately following that of Sekkilar. The two authors however, called respectively Tiru-Undiyar and Tirukkahruppadiyar, called so from the circumstance that he presented his work to God

Nataraja at Chidambaram from the steps supported by elephants on both sides, form a sort of transition between the twelve books of prayer we have dealt with before and the other twelve books of science that constitute the *saiva Sastras* proper. The most important of the *sastraic* section of Saiva canonical literature is the work of Meykandadeva entitled *Sivagnanabodham*. This is a work composed of twelve Sutras framed in Sanskrit forming part of Kaurava Agamam. He not only wrote the *Sutras* but also provided a *Vartika*, prose passages in explanation. He is said to have provided the work with a *chumika* in addition. This work which constitutes the basis of the agamic or *sastraic* portion of the Saiva Siddhanta was somewhat elaborately expounded in the work of an elder contemporary scholar who became the disciple of Meykanda. His name is Arulnandi Sivacharya, and the work is known by the name *Sivagnana Siddhiyar*. This work is composed of two sections. The first part is called *parapaksham*, and examines the various other systems in vogue such as Lokayata Baudha, Samana (Jain), Bhattacharya, Prabhakara, Sabdabrahmavadi, Mayavadi (Advaita), Bhaskara, Nirisvara Sankhya and Pancharatram, and condemns them all as not meeting the religious needs of humanity. The second part is called *evapaksham* in which he deals with the *Saiva Siddhanta*, and establishes the truth of it as

against the former. The last among this group of sastraic works is what is called *Sankalpa* nirakaranam* which like *Sivagnana Siddhi* was composed to convert votaries of other systems by a member of the Brahman community of "the three thousand" of Chidambaram by name Umapati Sivacharya. He was also an author of several other works bearing on the same subject. These three together with the preceptor of the last by name Maraignana Sambandar constitute the four pontiffs who are called by the Tamils *Santana Kuravar* (succession of pontiffs). This nomenclature for these four is in contrast to the four *Samaya Kuravar*, preceptors of religion, a name collectively applied to the four devotees Sambandar, Appar, Sundarar, the three Tevaram hymnners, and Manikka-vasakar, the author of *Tiruvacakam*. The former founded the system of religion, or at least expounded it, and thus provided the philosophy indispensable to the successful maintenance of it as against controversialists of other creeds.

CHAPTER XIV.

VIRA SAIVISM.

The course of development of what might for convenience be called orthodox Saivism of the Tamil land was described in the last two chapters. Along with this there were other forms of Saiva worship prevalent in the Tamil country, and these come in for reference in the course of some of the works accepted by the orthodox Saivas. We have referred already to the five divisions of what is called outer Saivism, that is, Saivism outside the circle of orthodox acceptance. These are Pasupatam, Vamam, Bhairavam, Mahavratam and Ka]a-mukham. Several of these had at various times attained to considerable influence and patronage in Southern India. They do not differ much in the essentials of their teaching and differ mainly in the rigour with which they carry out single-minded devotion to the form or aspect of Siva to which they devote themselves. It is this characteristic that generally groups them together under the designation of Vlrasaivism. We already referred to the prevalence of both Pasupatam and Kajamukham under the Pallava King, Mahendravarman. It is these apparently that

are referred to as prevalent in north-western India, the Frontier-Province, in the accounts of the early Chinese travellers. Notwithstanding the prevalence of Saivism of these rigorous types in the North-West, Bana, the biographer of Harsha, makes Bhairavacharya come from the South to the Court of Harsha's ancestor Pushpabhuti.¹ Strangely enough a form of Bhairava is the presiding deity in a temple in the Tanjore District hallowed by the tradition connected with the Pallava general Siruttondar who with the assistance of his dutiful spouse cooked up their boy son to satisfy Siva appearing in the form of a Saiva Sannyasi of one of these sects: and this form of Siva is called Uttarapatha Nayaka clearly indicating his northern filiation. We have reference to a colony of Siva-worshippers from Bengal, who were imported and settled by the great Chola Rajendra I² in places like Kanchi and the Chola country hallowed by the Saiva holy places. This region has from the earliest times been associated, though not quite exclusively, with the worship of Siva. Thus, it is clear that even the more vigorous and aggressive forms of Saivism were prevalent in the Tamil country ever since the beginning of historical times, reinforced, time and again, by the infusion of Northern

¹ Bana's *Hariaoharitam*, p. 111, *Nirnaya Sagar* edition.

² A. S. D., 1911-12, p. 176.

teaching and by influx of Northern votaries. It was left however to the Kakatlya country of Telingana and for the twelfth century to inaugurate a new movement of this form of aggressive Saivism which is generally known by the term Vira-Saivism in modern times. What exactly was the exciting cause of this movement, we are not able to see quite clearly, unless it be the settlement of the Saiva Brahmans from Bengal by the Great Rajendra already referred to, and a later influence from Bundalkhand in the reign of Kakatlya Rudra I.³ The movement seems to have received a special impetus from a certain zeal for social reform by the abolition of caste and by otherwise removing some of those social restrictions, against which there has generally been much feeling among social reformers down to this day. This movement falls into two sections of which one may be described as conservative and the other radical. The conservative movement seems to be a Brahman movement essentially, and is confined to a class who claimed to have been Brahmans before and after the separation of this Virasaiva sect. The common feature of these are a considerable subordination of *Pedic* rights and rituals, and a proportionate raising into importance of personal devotion or *bhakti*. While attaching all importance to *bhakti* and

³ Ep. Eep. 1917, Secs. 30-37.

according acceptance even to the self-surrender which is a characteristic of Vira Saiva teaching, this particular section of them base their teachings in great part on *Vedic* philosophy and are believers in the principles, even of *Vedic* religions. These go by the name of *Aradhyas* and are found as a distinct class largely in the Telugu country and in some number in the Kanarese country as well. The more extreme form of these Vira Saivas, Lingayats as they are called, hold these beliefs in comparatively little esteem and follow the teachings of Basava, himself a Brahman and the founder of their sect.

According to tradition embodied in the Basava Purana, Basava was a Braliman born in a village in the Bijapur district of the Southern Maharatta country, who attracted the attention of the chief minister of the Kalachurya usurper, Bijjala. Bijjala was a Jain and usurped the throne of the descendants of the great Chalukya Vikramaditya VI in the year A.D. 1156, and ruled for a period of about ten years, when he abdicated in favour of his sons, four of whom ruled in succession for a short period of less than ten years. Basava rapidly advanced in his official career and became one of the Ministers of state. He made use of the position for the advancement of his particular sect. His followers growing in numbers and influence consequently came into conflict with the Jains of the

capital. Bijjala had to intercede and in spite of the miracles which Basava is said to have worked in favour of his new cult in the capital, Bijjala's influence could be got rid of only by assassination, according to the Purana. It states circumstantially that Basava found his position untenable in the capital and had to flee for safety. He instigated two of his faithful followers to assassinate Bijjala, himself proceeding to a place called Kudali Sangamesvara, where he was absorbed into Siva. The mantle of leadership fell upon Channa Basava, the son of his sister by favour of Siva. He had however to keep out of headquarters with his followers and pursue his religion beyond the reach of the royal arms. Such in tradition is the story of the two founders of this form of Vira Saivism according to their canonical literature.

It will thus be clear that the course of development of this particular section of the school of *bhakti* which for the Aryan or the northern part of it might reach back to the Svetasvatara and Atharvasiras Upanishads and may even be anterior, is found if somewhat in a rudimentary form in the South in the earliest extant literature of the classical Tamils where Siva is regarded as the dominating deity and may even be regarded with something of personal attributes. Therefrom the development takes on the form of devotion and personal

service to the personal god Siva by human individuals with a view to the attainment of salvation which to the Saivas is nothing less than absorption into Siva. Throughout the age of the Pallavas, roughly from about A.D. 200 to 900, this development takes on the peculiarly emotional form of out-pouring of these devotees' love to God, and the whole body of literature may be characterised as emotional. Each particular poem might be regarded as thrown in form to illustrate the various modes of expression of emotion in current use in the literature of the Tamils to which some similarity could be discovered in the Gatha Saptasati of Hala. It is this sensuous character of the emotion, which has drawn particularly from human analogies and human experience, that gives the peculiar character to this class of literature and associates with this somewhat realistic form of *bhakti*, this peculiar characteristic of the Dravidian country. While therefore the analogy which the Tamil Saivas acknowledge between the *Vedic Mantras* and the pious songs of the sixty-three devotees and their immediate followers, is not without justification, there is this peculiarity to be noted that this attempt at devotion is realistic to a degree that appeals straight to the heart of human beings and justifies itself by the experience of each individual. This realism may be carried too far and may be liable to abuse, and

such abuse is not altogether without illustration in later developments. The establishment of the ascendancy of the Cholas at the commencement of the tenth century introduces a new factor. The Cholas were many of them Saivas themselves, and it is the Saivism of the ruling sovereigns that is the real factor in its further development. The period seems to be an age of renaissance, and there is a renascent spirit in the general attempt that one notices at the rehabilitating of the works of all worth having for civilised life. It is as part of this general movement that the schools of *bhakti*, both Saiva and Vaishnava, attempt to provide themselves with a philosophical system intended, chiefly for purpose of controversy, and therefore providing the very essentials of sectarian religion. In this re-modelling Sanskrit culture from the North perhaps bears the main part. It was not that there was no Sanskrit influence before, but now it is not a question of influence. It is a question of copying the actual model as it were of the post-Vedic Sanskrit works. This is clearly traceable in the attempt to provide the school of *Siva-bhakti* with the characteristic *sastric* literature of its own. This character is discernible in Southern India throughout the whole period extending from A.D. 900 to almost 1700. Hence every scholar of eminence of this particular age is

primarily a controversialist, and everything else afterwards. This is also the age of the special school of Sanskrit commentators, and controversialists especially, and the same character is visible even in the vernacular works of the time. The age therefore may be likened to the so-called age of the Sutras in the north.

Comment and controversy lead on to reform, and reformers become the normal product of the age. The history of the two reformers of the Vira Saiva sect is wrapped in considerable obscurity in spite of the fact that there is a Basava Purana and a Channa Basava Purajaa, dealing professedly with the legendary history of these two respectively. The former of the two constitutes the first of the three canonical works of the Lingayats, and is a work composed in the thirteenth century, whereas the other one Channa Basava Purana is a work belonging to the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Basava's death according to the latter is ascribed to a year corresponding to A.D. 785 which is impossible from the known dates of Bijjala with whom Basava is connected in all accounts. The Channa Basava Purana was composed by the Poet Virupaksha in the year Salivahana 1507, corresponaing to A.D. 1585. The historical value of these works therefore seems comparatively little as several

misstatements of main incidents, such as the death of Bijjala, make it clear.¹

The Bijjala Raya Charitam which is the Jain version of the story of Bijjala differs in very many particulars from the puranas of the Lingayats. Bijjala is there said to have been poisoned at the instance of Basava, and had time enough to warn his son who is called Immadi Bijjala that it was Basava who was responsible for the deed.

The fact of Basava's death is mis-stated here and the dating even is wrong as Bijjala's death is ascribed to a date 12 years before Bijjala's abdication in favour of his son in A.D. 1167 and even before 1156, when Bijjala established himself upon the throne. The actual date given in the Jain peom, Kaliyuga 4255 expired would correspond to Saka 1077 or A.D, 1154-55.² In spite of these discrepancies, there is enough in the circumstantial accounts for assuming that Basava and Channa Basava did live and were reformers of the Saiva religion as it was practised, one result of the reforms being an aggressive assertion of the

¹ For a summary account of these two Puranas in English see J. Bom. A.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 65-221.

* This actual date was taken by Sir Walter Elliot apparently from a work which he calls Bijjala Kavya. The late Dr. Fleet does not find the authority for the statement however. Mad. J. of Lit. and Science, VII, pp. 213-14. Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part ii, p. 481, Note 8.

superiority of this particular Saiva sect as against Jainism which seems to have been the religion of Bijjala.

EKANTADA RAMAYYA.

Early epigraphical records however seem to lend support to another tradition which ascribes the origin of this form of Vīra Saivism to a certain Brahman called Ekantada Ramayya, and this story is found recorded in an inscription in the temple of Somanatha at Ablur in the Dharwar district, pertaining to the time of Mahamandaleswara Kamadeva of the family of Kadambas of Hangal (A.D. about 1181-1203). According to this version of the story, Ramayya was the son of Purshottama Bhatta and his wife by favour of Siva, chiefly with a view to putting an end to the prevalence of Jainism. The child was called Rama and he grew up so intensely devoted to Siva that he came to be known as Ekantada Ramayya¹ ("Single-minded" Ramayya).

When he had completed his period of preparation, he set himself up at Ablur as an ascetic ready to controvert any votary of a hostile religion. It would appear one day the Jains led by the village headman chanted the praise of Jina within the hearing of Ramayya in the temple

¹ In the technical religious sense this term stands for "the right of private *entree* to the Divine presence."

of Brahmesvara of the locality. Ramayya accepted their challenge to controvert them by cutting off his head and getting it restored to him. The Jains on their side agreed that if he should successfully perform this miracle, they would destroy their Jain temples and become Saivas. Ramayya sang the praise of Siva and cut off his head, which came back to him on the 7th day after the mutilation. As the Jains did not carry out their part of the promise, Ramayya was supposed to have carried out a wide and systematic persecution against the Jains, and built at Ablur the temple of Somanatha under the name of Vira Somanatha. The suffering Jains carried the news to Bijjala. Ramayya produced the written agreement of the Jains and offered to repeat the miracle, letting the Jains even burn the head detached from his body promising to recover it as before, if the Jains would stake their 700 temples as wager therefor. The Jains would not accept the challenge, Bijjala ordered the issue of a *Jaya Patra*, "a certificate of Victory," to Ramayya. Bijjala so far appreciated the single-minded devotion of Ramayya that he performed the acts of veneration due to ascetic votaries of all Indian religions, and granted to Ramayya's temple of Vira Somanatha a village. The miracle performed by Ramayya was repeated to Chalukya Somesvara IV, the last of the dynasty, in a public

assembly and he similarly showed his respect to Ramayya by the grant of another village to the same temple. _ A similar grant was made after a similar interview with Ramayya by Kamadeva, and it is this chieftain who is responsible for the inscription. The story of Ekantada Ramayya is found mentioned in the Channa Basava Purana with variation in details of minor consequence, but Ramayya's story as described in the inscription seems to favour the inference that he was the founder of the Lingayat Sect rather than the two Basavas, uncle and nephew. It is just possible that Ramayya preceded the two Basavas by a short period as Bijjala is referred to in the record not as a ruler, but as only a governor (Mahamandalesvara). There is a lithic representation in the temple of Brahmesvara at Ablur of Ramayya's performance. Although it would be unwarranted to infer therefrom that the actual performance was quite an historical event, Ramayya's name figures among the four sages of the Lingayats who are taken to be the predecessors of the two Basavas. It is a common feature of both the Lingayats and the Aradhyas on all solemn occasions to set up four vases of water in the name of the four Aradhyas (worshipful ones). These four are Revana, Maruja, Eko-Rama, and Pandita Aradhya. The third of these apparently stands for Ekantada

Ramayya. If such is the case, Ramayya has to be counted among the predecessors of Basava uniformly regarded as the founder of the religion of the Jangam or Lingayats. It is likely therefore that Ramayya was responsible for really originating this sect, the teachings of which had been organised and carried into actual practice by Basava.

The sacred literature of the Lingayats consists of the *Basava Purana*, the *Prabhu Linga Lila* and *Panditaradhya-charifa*. These are briefly known to them as the *Purana*, the *Lila* and the *Charita*. There is a superficial resemblance in this triplicate classification to the Buddhist Tripitaka, but the resemblance is only superficial. These three are apparently formed on the earlier Saiva, creed which might for convenience be described in their later modification as Saiva Siddhantam. These Siddhantins have their literature which can also be classified into a *purana* part, a *lila* part and a *charitra* part. An instance in point is Manikkavasakar's life described in the *Vaduvurar Puranam*, which describes a certain number of lilas (playful acts) that Siva performed in favour of Manikkavasakar, the other parts of the work being of the character of a life-history of Manikkavasakar himself. The three works referred to therefore constitute the canonical literature of the rigorous Lingayats. The *Aradhya* still exhibits attachment to the

Brahmanical lore of the *Vedas* and the literature springing therefrom. Of these, Prabhulinga Lila is a work found in Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil. The Tamil version which seems to be the latest of them all, is referable to about A.D. 1620, and is ascribed to the Saiva ascetic Siva-prakasa. This was apparently founded on the Kanarese version. Whether the original was written in Telugu remains an open question.

The Panditaradhya Charitra is the legendary and miraculous history of Panditaradhya one of the four sages already referred to. This work seems to have been first written in Telugu by an author who goes by the name Palkuriki Soma or Somanatha, an Aradhya Brahman who is said to be a contemporary of the Kakatiya Rudra. There are two kings of the name Rudra among the members of the Kakatiya dynasty. It is probable that Soma was a contemporary of the first Rudra, in which case he might have to be assigned to the commencement of the thirteenth century. If however it should turn out that the Rudra referred to is the second of the name, he would have to be assigned to the commencement of the fourteenth century. In either case, it falls within the age when this form of Saivism was in the ascendancy in the Telugu country, the Kakatiyas of Telingana being special patrons of the Saivas to begin with, the Hoyasalas and other dynasties of the Southern Maharatta

country later extending their patronage to this particular form of the creed.

During the age of Vijayanagar the Lingayats certainly existed and flourished. We know of contemporaries of Vidyaranya belonging to this sect occupying high positions in the service of the state. Several sovereigns of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar seem to have patronised this particular creed. But it does not appear to have been exactly what might be called the state religion, as in fact it would be misleading to speak of state religions in regard to Hindu sovereigns. From what has been said, it would have become clear that Saivism like Vaishnavism began in the South during the historical period as not a systematised religion or creed, but merely as the convictions of individual men who could give expression to their own convictions in felicitous language full of overflowing emotion.

The early part of *bhakti* literature is in a sense emotional, resting upon faith and appealing to the hearts of those who came under its influence. Naturally therefore, that literature must be somewhat unsystematic and unconnected by any logical arrangement of sequence. That was the condition of both the religions in the centuries from A.D. 200 to about A.D. 1000 roughly.

With the Great Cholas, there comes a free infusion from the North of Brahmanism chiefly

from Bengal. About the time of the Great Chola Rajendra I, the forest regions of Kosala became hallowed by Brahman colonies who fled for protection from the land of Aryavarta which received then the repeated onslaughts of the iconoclastic Mahmud of Qazni. Rajendra's invasion of this locality has to be ascribed to A.D, 1024-25, and that was the year of the last invasion of Mahmud.

The foundation of Gojaki Matha in the Telugu country was due to the incoming of a colony of Saiva Brahmans from Dahala, the region of Bundelkhand.¹ These influxes of Northern Brahmans gave a stimulus to the systematisation of the teachings of the votaries of Siva and that is the period to which we have to ascribe at any rate the so-called Sastraic literature of the Saivas. The first work belonging to this school is in Sanskrit Sutras and is based on one of the Agamas, the Raurava Agama, as was indicated already.

¹ See note at foot of p. 247 above.

CHAPTER XV.

VAISHNAVISM IN SOUTH INDIA.

We have already shown under the section *bhakti* that the rudiments of Vaishnavism in the ordinary form and in the *agamaic* are traceable in the classical literature of Tamil. This form of *bhakti* had a course of development on much the same lines as Saivism in the Tamil country. In general outline, this would involve the substitution of Vishnu for Siva as "the soul-saving supreme being" whose grace is of paramount importance to the attainment of salvation by an individual. We have already pointed out that the most popular form in which Vishnu figures in early Tamil literature is that of several of his *avataras* of the *pauranic* character. It would be easy to quote references from the early classics to the *avataras* (descents of God) Rama and Krishna even in secular literature. Along with this, simultaneously, we find indubitable references to the *agamaic* four *Vyuhās*. But the idea of Vishnu is of course indicated by the general name Tirumal for the god. We thus find that, almost at the beginning of the Christian era, the features of northern Vaishnavism in all its

variety were prevalent in the south. It is the course of further development of Vaishijavism that lends character to the movement and makes it a distinct feature of South Indian history.

VAISHNAVA LITERATURE.

The literature pertaining to this school falls into two classes also, similar in character to that of the Saivas of the *Siddhanta* school. The Vaishijavas have their saints and their teachers. They count twelve of the former and give them the general name AlvSrs. The latter go by the name Acharyas, and constitute a continuing series differing for each group and in some cases even for smaller groups of families, as the list proceeds to nearer modern generations. The twelve Alvars composed hymns in praise of Vishnu in the various forms in which his representation is worshipped in the various temples of South India. These partake generally of the character of the *pauranic* pantheon of the Hindus. The most popular of these, of course, are Rama and Krishna; but references are traceable in their works to the most recondite manifestations of Vishnu referable to the Purnas. The twelve Alvars fall into three groups : the early, the middle and the later ones. The first of them consists of four names, of whom three are undoubtedly contemporaries and the fourth is certainly so regarded by the Vaisnavas.

These four are Poygaialvar, Bhudattalvar, Peyalvar and Tirumalisaialvar, In the middle group come Nam Alvar and Madhuraakavi, followed rather closely by Kulasekhara, Periyalvar or Vishnuchitta and the daughter of the last, Goda or Andal. The last group is composed of Bhaktangrirenū or Tondara-dippodi, Yogivaha or Tirup-Pan Alvar and Tirumangaialvar, the last of them all. The works of these Alvars and their poems of devotion are admittedly renderings of the teachings of the Veda and Vedic literature to a far greater degree than even the literature of the Saiva Adiyars. On a historical examination of this orthodox order of the Alvars and their grouping according to chronology, it has been pointed out elsewhere¹ that there is sufficient historical evidence available to make the accepted order more or less correct, and that the range of time during which this particular group flourished corresponds to the age of the Pallavas, as in fact the age of the Saiva Adiyars was already pointed out to be. If the age of the Pallavas was characterised by the infusion of northern culture into the distant land of the south, this provides an excellent and unmistakable illustration of the position.

¹ See my *Early History of Vaishnavism in South India* (Oxford University Press).

THE AGE or THE ALVARs.

The first of this group of saints, Poygaijvar has for good reasons been connected with the early Tondaman chieftain of Kanchi by the name Tondaman Ilam-Tiraiyan who must have lived in the same generation coming very late in it as the great Chola Karikala. His work included in the Prabandham collection comes in for reference by later commentators, and they invariably group it along with very early classical poems. This AJtvar is invariably associated with the two others that follow him immediately in the lists and rather indirectly with the fourth. All of them are associated with Kanchi and the part of the country dependent on it, that is, Tondamandalam. Each one of the first three is the author of one hundred stanzas (a sataka) in praise of Vishnu and these form part of the fourth section of the Vaishnava "Prabandham, Four Thousand." Bhaktisara, the fourth has similarly one hundred stanzas included in this group. He has also a poem of 120 stanzas included in the first "Thousand" of the same collection. This one among the four gives unmistakable evidence of acquaintance with all that was best in the Sanskrit literature of the time. It is possible also to trace in his works references to the Vaishnava agamas.¹ A fugitive

¹ Tiruviruttam, Stanza 17.

stanza is generally ascribed to him which states "we have learnt the religion of the Sakya, that of the Sramanas and examined the agama work composed by Sankara (Siva). But by our own good fortune, we have put our faith in the "Black one with red-eye" (Vishnu) and got rid of all that is evil. There is nothing that is beyond us hereafter." Whether he was actually the author of this verse or no, the same idea repeats in a modified form in one of his own verses, where he puts it in a somewhat modified form as follows:

"The Sramanas do not understand; the Bauddhas are in a delusion, and those that worship Siva are unknowing innocents. Those that do not worship Vishnu are of low intelligence indeed." In another place he sums up his conviction by saying that "the God that exists as the Devas, and the arrangement by which he shows himself as "The Three" (Brahma, Vishnu and Siva) among the Devas, and his showing himself in other forms besides, all this is the manifestation of Vishnu. To those that do not know this truth, all that they learn is of no value." This shows that very early in the course of this movement the essence and the teaching of the orthodox school of *bhakti* had assumed the form of an interpretation merely, though a liberalised interpretation, of the orthodox creed of the North. So little that is

historical is known about the life of these early saints that it is difficult to postulate anything definite about their position in society. The feature of their teaching however seems to be that the way of salvation was attainable even to the uninitiated according to the orthodox standards. It is this element and its teaching by these saints that gave them the ultimate ascendancy among the people even as against the rival creeds of Buddhism, Jainism and to a certain extent even of the agamaic Saivism. It was said in the poem translated in an earlier part of this work that even the Vedic Brahmins of South India had to organise themselves for purposes of controversy to expose the hollowness of the teachings of seemingly *Vedic* religions. It would therefore be reasonable to infer that this movement, represented by the Vaishnava Saints, was a continuation of the orthodox development of the Brahmanism in the south liberalised in the manner already indicated. Among these twelve saints of the Vaishnavas as among the sixty-three of the Saivas, were men and women, women being perhaps not unnaturally the fewer. There were also people of all castes. The greatest among these twelve goes by the sacerdotal name, Nam-Ajivar, and he was a Sudra. What is more he does not show in the very least that his having been of this particular caste was anyway matter for

regret to him. One of them at any rate belonged to the class even of Paraiya. He goes by the name Yogivaha, as according to the traditional life of this Saint, a Brahman *Yogi* carried him on his shoulders into the sanctum of Ranganatha. The story briefly is this. Being a Paraiya he could not get into the temple. He used to come none the less every morning, have his bath in the Kaveri altogether aside of the bathing ghats of the higher classes, and used to offer his devotions to Ranganatha therefrom. The god was so delighted with the single-minded devotion of this man that he directed a Brahman ascetic Bhargava who was in his hermitage not far off, to carry him to the temple on his own shoulders, as the Paraiya kept out of the holy spot lest he should contaminate the holy ground by his unholy tread. His own name was Tiruppan Alvar. The word Pan indicated a caste akin to the class of the Paraiyas whose usual profession was that of the wandering minstrel. That is the really liberalising part of this movement. This consisted in an effort, and an organised effort too, at uplifting those who must necessarily have been outside the circle of those admissible to divine grace, so long as that grace was attainable in the exact performance of an exceedingly difficult and elaborate series of ceremonial rites. The simplification of the process for the attainment of the divine grace was

in response to the needs of the time, and one might even say was so recognised as very often one comes upon the statement that for the Kaliyuga more elaborate courses were impossible of adoption.

The Vaishnava hagiologists do not give any more information about YSgivaha, and it is only a work of 10 stanzas ascribed to him that is included in the Vaishiiava collection. There is nothing by which to fix his age and the probabilities are that he was one of the later saints, when class or caste distinction needed to be smoothed, and a recognised compromise between the opposing principles of religion seemed called for. Following perhaps close upon the first four, who have all been ascribed to the earliest period of the Pallavas comes in Nam-AJvar by common consent, the greatest of the Alvars. He is pre-eminently the Vaishnava Saint and stands out of the group both by the eminent quality of his teaching and by the very volume of his work—Tirumangai Avar's contribution to this collection is slightly in excess of that of Nam-Alvar. He is known among those that followed him in the field of literature as the one pre-eminently who rendered *Vedic* lore in Tamil. They even go the length of dividing his works and classifying them according as they relate to the one *Veda* or another of the recognised four Vedas. Of the

details of his life we know very little and if the hagiologists could be given full credit for their statements, his life was absolutely an uneventful, and withal a comparatively short one. He was born of Kari and his wife. Kari was the Adhikari (officer) of the village Kuruhur and belonged to the Sudra caste as was already stated. The child from the moment of its birth declined to take any nourishment and conducted itself in a peculiar way without weeping, or otherwise having food, as babies do. The parents in their perplexity consigned the baby to the God in the local temple, and found it seated in what is generally described in the *Yoga n.udra* pose (in the pose of one rapt in contemplation) for a period of sixteen years under the sacred tamarind tree in the temple. At the end of this period he received divine inspiration and began his teaching. Such as he was, an agent was required, through whom he could give publicity to his teaching. The one found was a scholarly Brahman, somewhat miraculously directed on this mission. This saint goes by the name Madhurakavi, probably a title. He was a Brahman of the top-knot community belonging to the Tinnevely District and of the *Sama Veda* section. After finishing his schooling, he went on his pilgrimage, and was in Ayodhya(Oudh) at

the time. Thinking of his own native country one evening, he looked in the direction of his native place and found to his surprise a huge column of light. Somewhat taken aback by this apparition, he set forward in the direction indicated by the light to investigate what it was, till he ultimately reached the temple and the tamarind tree under which Nam-Alvar was seated. When he set forward from there he found the light in the opposite direction and thus discovered that the place indicated to him was the temple where Nam-Alvar was in contemplation. After making an enquiry and obtaining an answer which satisfied him, he adopted the Alvar as his Guru (preceptor in religion) and put himself in the position of a disciple. He then took down all that was given out by the Alvar ; and what was thus given out and recorded constitutes the principal work of this Vaishijava Saint. This is called by the Vaishnavas, Tiruvaymoli, which can be rendered literally as " the word of the mouth." But the expression Tiruvaymoli has another significance for which there is classical literary authority and that is *the Veda*., for the good reason that it emanated originally by word of mouth from Vishnu, and Brahma received the inspiration. The Tamils of the classical age made the distinction between *Vaymoli* and *Mapai*, the first standing for the *Veda* and the second standing

for the *Upanishads*, which lie hidden in the *Veda*. It is this distinction that seems embodied in the name given to Nam-Avar's work, Tiruvaymoli.

It was already pointed out that to the Vaishnavas Nam-A]tvar is the type of A]vars and stands pre-eminently as the representative of the whole group and their teachings, so much so, that in the daily recital of the Vaishnava creed, Nam-Alvar alone is counted among the section of "Holy Preceptors," proceeding from the actual preceptor of the individual backwards to Vishnu himself, among the Alvars. This acknowledged pre-eminence is owing entirely to the character of Nam-A]var's works as it is acknowledged to embody the whole essence of *Vedic* teaching. So much is clearly stated to be the case by Madhurakavi.

One other point that comes out clearly from what little we know of the life and work of Nam-Alvar is the emergence of a preceptor (guru) as essential to the attainment of salvation by the individual. The whole burden of the teaching of Madhurakavi in the short poem ascribed to him amounts to this and no more. Madhurakavi states clearly that having found the preceptor in the Alvar, his salvation was as good as guaranteed to him. This notion of the essential need of the preceptor comes out in another poem included in the Prabandham 4000, where

a disciple of Ramanuja's chief follower Kurattajvan, by name Amudan of Srirangam, makes a confession of his faith in this creed of his own salvation being the responsibility of his preceptor so long as he had taken the pains to discover the suitable one and put his faith in him. The idea of the need of a preceptor could not be said to have been non-existent at any stage of this kind of development of the teaching of the bhakti school, whether Saiva and Vaishnava ; only at this particular stage in the history of Vaishnavism it emerged into greater prominence as it does in regard to Saivism in the case of Manikkavasagar. The importance of this development consists in this that bhakti or devotion as the means to attain salvation develops certain prescribed methods for prosecuting this work of devotion to God which become essential. The approved method begins at first to be simple, but as various influences come to bear upon this personal devotion to God it gets modified in the attempt at effecting a compromise with other lines of thought. A methodised and formal system of worship emerges as the result of the compromise, the adoption of which in the rough and tumble of ordinary life becomes impossible to a great many people. At this stage it becomes necessary that a class of people take up the actual and unerring performance of these acts of worship, and leave the bulk of the people to

proceed in the simple style of the earlier and the more primitive form of personal devotion. This naturally develops into each man or woman finding a suitable preceptor whose duty it will be to direct the individual in his daily life and take the responsibility for the attainment of his salvation. From out of this ultimately develops the doctrine of self-surrender that one puts his faith in God, and places the burden of his salvation upon Him through one of His instruments on earth in the character of a worthy and accredited preceptor. This emergence of the *Guru* and the doctrine of self-surrender, which is implied in the idea of the preceptor, becomes an essential portion of the creed hereafter and develops more fully as we advance from the age of the Alvars into that of the so-called Acharyas of the Vaishnavas.

Nam-Alvar was followed in the course of centuries by the six others of whom Kulasekhara, a king of Travancore, is a representative of unalloyed devotion. There is one sloka of his Sanskrit work *Mukundamala* which summarises his unlimited devotion and faith in the saving character of God. As a free rendering, ' he has no ambition either for the acquisition of merit (Dharma) or for wealth ; nor for the enjoyments of this world or other. He would let things take their course shaped by his previous deeds. He would only make one prayer and that is that,

whatever may be the number of his births to come, in all of them his devotion to the feet of God may remain unchanged and firm'.

Periyalvar and his daughter Andal, each one shows this devotion with a peculiarity all their own, and the last of them Tirumangai AJvar brings this group to an end chronologically. He was, according to the traditional account, an official of some importance in the Chola kingdom, and had his place of birth and office in the Tanjore District. He got his inspiration in a very peculiar way in the act of committing robbery upon a Vaishnava bridal party said to have been composed of no other than Vishnu himself and his followers, and thereafter he gave up secular life and devoted himself entirely to works of service to Vishnu and the Vaishnavas. This aspect of his life is indicated in the arrangement of his works which begin with 10 stanzas, each one of which ends in the refrain where he breaks out into the declaration that he had discovered the saving truth in the name Nara-yana. His works constitute the largest portion of the *Prabandham*^ and count more than 1,300 stanzas out of the 4,000 of the total. They are far more elaborate in their mode and matter, and are considered by the orthodox to be more or less an elaborate commentary upon the teachings of Nam-Alvar in particular. If tradition preserved by the Vaishnavas could be relied on,

he organised the teaching of Nam-Alvar to the extent of celebrating annually a festival in honour of this Saint, where Nam-Alvar's works were recited *in extenso*. This is what continues to be done to-day, though after a break between Tirumangai Alvar and the first Acharya Nathamuni in the so-called *Adhyayana Utsavam* in Srirangam in the month of December-January. There are references in his works to some contemporary kings among the dynasty of the great Pallavas which enables the inference that he was probably a contemporary of the great Pallava Nandivarman I, who was himself a Vaishnava probably, and that gives us the age of this Alvar to be the latter half of the ninth century. It will thus be seen that the age of the Vaishnava development represented by the Alvars and their works could be brought into the six centuries extending from A. D. 200 to A. D. 800 approximately, by tradition alone which happened in this particular case to be confirmed by various other items of circumstantial evidence. The teachings of the Alvars must have been of the same character as the teaching of the Saiva Adiyars, and required to be organised for the effective creation of a school of that teaching to come into existence. What was said about the effort of Tirumangai Alvar to set up an annual festival **and** get people to recite the works of Nam-Alvar in Srirangam indicates that the need for organising

it had already begun to be felt, but the organisation thus created seems to have fallen early into desuetude and remained for sometime so, so that when the first Acharya started active work the whole of Nam-Alvar's works had so far got into neglect as to have been forgotten. It is by a revival of the teachings of Nam-Alvar and by a provision against a similar neglect afterwards that the succession of Acharyas came into being. This "Acharya Parampara " of the Vaishnavas begins with Nathamuni, and continues in an unending series down to the present time, each section of the Vaishnavas having its own list ; but all the Vaishnavas however have a certain number of names in common and they cover the first eight or ten generations of these preceptors.

THE ACHARYAS OF THE VAISHNAVAS—NATHMUNI.

Nathamuni was the fifth ancestor of Ramanuja and from the known age of Ramanuja calculating backwards, Nathamuni ought to have flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.D. According to the traditional account of Nathamuni's life, he lived in a village called Vlransrayanapuram, and was following the life of an ordinary Vaishnava of those days. He heard a certain number of Vaishnavas in the course of their pilgrimage recite, in the temple of his village, a particular verse from the works of Nam-Alvar.

The verse appealed to Nathamuni as embodying in the happiest phraseology, the sentiments of devotion, which must have infused the author. Making enquiries as to whose work it was, they were only able to recite to him the particular ten of which the verse under reference was one; but beyond that they were not able to recite any more of Nam-Alvar's works. As these *fen* related to God enshrined in the temple at Kumbhakonam, Nathamuni was referred to that locality. He proceeded there and found the people knew no more than the ten. Therefore he proceeded to the birthplace of Nam-Alvar, in the hope that perchance he might recover the whole there from somebody; but it had been so far forgotten that one among the Vaishnava inhabitants of the locality who bore the name Parankusadasa (Parankusa being a name of Madhurakavi) stated that they had heard of the name Tiruvaymoji, but knew nothing more of it. He could however recite the eleven stanzas ascribed to Madhurakavi in praise of Nam-Alvar. Nathamuni received these eleven stanzas ascribed to Madhurakavi, and is said to have recited these repeatedly till both Nam-Alvar and Madhurakavi appeared to him and gave him not merely the Tiruvaymoli, but also various others of the works, Sanskrit and Tamil, that went to constitute the basal authorities of Vaishnava teaching. The story goes on to say in so many words that Nathamuni had to

remain practising single-minded contemplation upon Nam-Alvar (*yogic* practice) for full 340 years before the two Alvars appeared to him in the manner indicated above. This is only the hagiologist's way of stating something like a gap of 340 years, or roughly three and a half centuries between Nathamuni, it may be, and Nam-AJ.var, or at the very best Tirumangai Alvar. The works were apparently in existence according to this tradition in the age of Tirumangai Al/var, and the traditional teaching of these had been broken since his time. Counting five generations backwards from Ramanuja and taking three centuries more for this interval, gives us the approximate age of Tirumangai Alvar or, at any rate, the latter end of the age of the Alvars. Other lines of investigation confirm this chronology more or less. What we are concerned with here is that the work of Nathamuni, the first Acharya consisted in the revival of the teachings of the Alvars and the organisation of that teaching by providing for its unfailing continuance. This last object was attained by the creation of a pontificate not of an official character like the Christian pontificate, but of a more or less popular character.

One other feature of Nathamuni's work that deserves attention is the setting of the tune and the prescribing of the form of recital of the works of Nam-Alvar. This arrangement would

necessitate a class of people whose contribution practically it would be, to recite the work in the truly orthodox style, and even accompany the recitation with action of a suitable character.

A class of people known by the name *Araiya*r at Srirangam recite even to-day and perform in this style on the occasions of festivals in the temple. The adoption of the tunes and the singing was not confined to this class of men alone. A class of women whose profession had come to be music and dancing also adopted this as part of the temple order which continues, in certain places at any rate, up to the present time. All this seems to have formed part of the arrangement by which Nathamuni first made the collection of INam-Alvar's works. And this was confirmed by the final arrangement made by Ramanuja who collected not merely the works of Nam-Alvar but even went forward to collect the works of the other Alvars and arrange them in the form in which the Prabandham 4000 is accessible to us at present. A similar arrangement, it was already pointed out, was made in regard to the works of the Saiva Adiyars by Nambi Andar Nambi under the patronage of a Chola ruler who is called Raja Raja Abhaya Kulasekhara, in all probability Raja Raja the Great. It was on that occasion that the Saiva works also got set to tune and there is a reference

under the later Cholas to a class of dancing women, who rendered these poems in the esoteric mode ¹ (*ahamargam*). It may be pointed out again that it is not likely that either Nathamuni or Nambi Andar Nambi originated this mode. We have stated already that even from the classical age, there was a class of people who set devotional poems to tune, and that this arrangement is exemplified in the early classic Paripadal. All that this means is that the two classes of works got set to music for purposes of devotional recital by these two teachers respectively.

Though the Vaishnavas count the succession of *Gurus* in the line of descent from preceptor to disciple, the more prominently recognised apostolic succession of Vaishnavism passed from Nathamuni to his grandson Yamunacharya, whose sacerdotal name is Alvandar. He received the teachings of Nathamuni from two of his disciples, who may be taken to be in their turn preceptor and disciple.

YAMUNACHARYA OR ALAVANDAR.

The mantle of the leadership of the Vaishnavas fell by common consent upon the shoulders of this teacher, who was a married man and led the life of a householder. He lived in the age of the early great Cholas and the

¹ Ing. of Raja Raja I I I, at Tiruvorriyur, Ep. Rep., 1912, No, 211.

age was one of great religious ferment, the outward exhibition of which in India took the form of controversial activity. Yamunacharya comes into prominence as the result of a successful controversy that he held against a Saiva. He was a great dialectician and indisputably secured success by a clever stroke. His opponent seems rather too foolishly to have undertaken to establish the contrary of whatever Yamuna would state categorically. The Vaishnava turned the tables upon him by making three statements. (1) "The king who was presiding over the controversy was a Sarvabhauma, (2) the queen who was seated by him was unquestionably chaste, and (3) the mother that gave birth to him (the Saiva champion) was certainly not a barren woman." The establishment of the categorical negative of these statements was obviously impossible. But the story has it that he controverted him successfully, even on questions of philosophy and religion, and established his position at the court. As the wager of the controversy he obtained the means to live in comfort, and even in some affluence, and that put him beyond the need of earning a livelihood. He lived to a ripe old age and obtained as the bequest of his grand-father all that was worth learning of the Vaishnava philosophy and religion from the successors of Nathamuni. The one thing that remained uncompleted at the latter

end of his life was the provision of a successor to continue the Vaishnava teaching and organisation. He looked about and found a suitable young man in a great-grandson of his who was undergoing education at Kanchi. While still under his teacher the young man had made such an impression, that his reputation had already reached the ears of the saintly old Acharya in Srirangam. The venerable old man undertook a journey to Conjeevaram to see if reputation spoke true of the achievements of Ramanuja, and the story has it that he caught sight of the young man in the company of his fellow disciples and the great teacher Yadavaprakasa in the enclosure of the great Vishnu temple at Kanchi. The site at which Alavandar caught the first glimpse of his successor is yet pointed out by the old residents of the town.

RAMANUJA.

Ramanuja was the son of a grand-daughter of Alavandar. One of the grandsons of Alavandar obtained his permission to go and live at Tirupati, and took along with him his father and two sisters, who were in course of time married by him to two eligible young men. The elder of these had married a Kesava Somayaji belonging to Perumbudur. In course of time Ramanuja was born of this marriage. After undergoing the recognised early education in his own native

village, he went to Conjeevaram to complete it by a course of instruction in philosophy under the famous " *Vedanta* " teacher Yadavaprakasa in Kanchi. It was while under this professor that Alavandar caught a glimpse of the young man and was impressed with his appearance as a fit person for ultimate succession to his position. In course of time Alavandar was drawing near his end, and sent people to fetch Ramanuja from Conjeevaram. Before Ramanuja could reach Srirangam, however, Alavandar had breathed his last. It was miraculously indicated however to Ramanuja that Alavandar had left three things undone, and designed Ramanuja as the chosen one to discharge the responsibility of fulfilling these cherished wishes. These were, a commentary, according to the Vaishnava teaching, on the Brahmasutras, a similar commentary upon the Sahasranama by one bearing the name Parasara, and a similar commentary upon the Tiruvaymoli of Nam-Alvar. This was the mission to which Ramanuja had become heir on the death of Alvandar. He had ultimately to settle down in Srirangam to fulfil this mission and all that was involved in it by way of getting the Vaishijavas together, providing them an organisation with sufficient vitality to continue, overcome controversies and meet the needs of the times by putting the teachings of this **form of religion in shape to continue from generation**

to generation unimpaired. Ramanuja himself performed the first, commissioned the son of his chief disciple Kurattajvan to do the second, and got his uncle's son, who was adopted by him as his successor, to write out the commentary on the Tiruvaymoli. After a varied life, he succeeded ultimately in making Sri-rangam the headquarters of the Vaishnavas, and providing for the permanent continuance of the teachings of these commentaries and various other works. He also provided for the propagation of this teaching by the recognition of seventy-four persons as "occupants of the apostolic throne" of the teachers of Vaishnavism. He had to carry on controversies with the *advaitins*, generally called Mayavadins, with the Jains, and with others even including the Saivas. He succeeded in his mission so far as to put Vaishnavism on a permanent footing.

As it came to Ramanuja, several problems of religio-secular character confronted him. Of these, two features deserve special mention. It was already pointed out that the teaching of the Alvars might be regarded as an adaptation merely of *Pauranic* Hinduism; there was a rival popular creed in the *agamaic* form of worship, of which two sections at least, Pancharatra and Vaikhanasa Agama, are recognised as Vaishnavic. The former of these two seems the more important, from the point of view of the

community as a whole. This Pancharatra was regarded as *unvedic* by Kumarila Bhatta.¹

It is similarly regarded to be outside of the fold of the *Vedic* religion by Sankara in his commentary on the 2nd of the Brahmasutras. Even the Saiva works on their Siddhanta, view Pancharatra as a separate religion, and controvert it in the recognised text-book Sivajnana Siddhi. The Vaishiiavas of the Ramanuja Sect, at least the great bulk of them now-a-days, are Pancharatrins. The establishment of the teaching of the Pancharatra as *Vedic* in character and as one form of Vaishnavism was one of the achievements of Ramanuja.

The next item has reference to the needs of the community composed of classes of varying grades of intelligence and mental outlook. It was one of the items of Ramanuja's teaching, which in this particular case, happened to be merely laying an additional emphasis upon the teachings of the Alvars generally, that salvation was attainable alike by all, whatever their earthly position. Here again Ramanuja effected a compromise as in the case of the Pancharatra. Ramanuja's position amounts to this. Whatever be the position of a man or woman in society, one stood as near to God as anyone else, provided one kept to the high requirements of

¹ Tantrayfirttika, translation by Ganganath Jha, p. 165. Also Mr. Kama Prasad Chanda's Indo-Aryan Race, p. 99.

godly life. What this amounts to, as a measure of social reform, has since become a moot point and there has been considerable division of opinion on the question.

Ramanuja lived in the age of the great Cholas having been a contemporary of the great Chola Kulottunga. It was already stated that the period of the Chola ascendancy began about the end of the ninth century and lasted till about the middle of the thirteenth century. During this age, it was already pointed out Saivism came in for a considerable amount of patronage under some of the Cholas, of whom Rajendra, the Gangaigondachola, stands out prominent. It was under the first of these that the Saiva works of the Adiyars were collected and put in the form in which they have come down to us. It was also the age when Sekkilar wrote the lives of the Saiva saints in his great work Periyapuram; and Sekkilar lived either as a contemporary of Ramanuja or slightly later. The four later teachers of the Saivas also belonged to this age and the various Mutts (religious houses) of the Saivas were founded at this period. Similarly though the VaishijLava organisation began with Nathamuni practically at the commencement of this age of the Chola ascendancy, it received full shape and final form of its teaching under Ramanuja early in the twelfth century. From

Ramanuja onwards, as in fact from Nathamuni, the succession of *gurus* continued unbroken, and the Vaishnava temples became the attractive centres of propagation of this teaching. Among these Srlrangam and Conjeevaram constituted the two principal centres. The religious literature of this age both of the Saivas and Vaishnavas are thrown into a controversial form clearly indicating that it was an age of great controversy in matters religious. The religious ferment of which religious controversy is merely the outward expression, became a prominent feature, as soon as the Chola ascendancy gave to the country the requisite degree of peace.

The great temples of South India, which came into existence, at any rate the great majority of them, in the age of the Pallavas beginning from the time of the early Chola Ko-Chengan, received considerable additions by way of patronage under the Cholas. These naturally constituted active centres for the propagation of the teachings both of the Saivas and of the Vaishnavas. The chief opponents they had in view in all their controversies seem to be the Jains. This is but natural, as Jainism was just emerging full-grown owing to the active support and patronage of the Rashtrakutas who seemed several of them to have been of that persuasion. The active controversy against the Jains began with the Saivas of the days of

Sambandar and Appar under the great Pallava Mahendravarman and his contemporary Pandya Sundara. These religious controversies seemed to have attained to a considerable degree of bitterness that a series of general persecutions of the Jains have become the common feature of the lives of these saints, Saiva and Vaishnava, compiled in a later period. The most prominent instances of these are a persecution set up at the instance of Sambandar by his Pandya contemporary Nedumaran, otherwise Kun Pandya and Sundara, who was at first a Jain and was converted to Saivism by Sambandar. The story has it that the whole body of Jains were impaled by order of the monarch at the instigation of the Saint. The late Dr. Vincent Smith has so far gone in accepting this story as embodying a historical incident that he regards it as one of the genuine though exceptional instances of persecution for religion. He relies principally upon the evidence of a painting of this incident on the walls of the great temple at Madura. It is not only on the walls of the temple of Madura, but in all the bigger Siva temples of the south the representation of this story is found. The historicity of this incident will have to depend upon the particular date at which the painting or even a stone representation of this incident, was set where it is. When once the hagiologists set the fashion by giving currency

to these stories, it is not difficult to understand that they passed into popular currency, and in the representation of various *lilas* of Siva or Vishnu (performance of miracles in sport) or any other God, these would naturally figure. This position is most clearly illustrated in the renovation of temples carried out by the class of Nattukottai Chettis at the present time. Whether pictures of these already existed or no, such representations, as constituted one of the *Illas* of Siva, are made by them without sacerdotal impropriety. It does not require much interval of time even, as we have already stated, that a lithic representation of the performance of Ekantada Ramayya is found built in a temple constructed at a period following close upon the age of this Ramayya. It need hardly be said that it is impossible for history to believe that Ramayya actually cut off his head and got it back after it was turned to ashes. The stories of such persecution occurred time and again in the accounts of the hagiologists (Saiva, Vaishnava, Jaina, or Bauddha), and these stories have always a family likeness in the details regarding the incidents, thereby stamping them as pious fabrications of latter-day hagiologists.

The Jains are said to have conducted a wholesale persecution of the Bauddhas under a king by name Himasltala at the instance of a Jain Acharya Akalanka. A similar story is told of

Ramanuja of having persecuted the Jains by getting them ground in oil-mills. Vishnuvardhana, the Hoysala, who adopted Vaishnavism, is said to have perpetrated this atrocity. We have pointed out elsewhere¹ that the chief queen of Vishnu var dhana died a Jain. His loyal and faithful commander-in-chief of all of his forces lived and died a Jain under him, and his son succeeded in the same persuasion. When late in life, a son was born to the king, the tutor for the son was a most respected Jain Acharya. It need hardly be added therefore that these stories of persecution as they are found current could hardly be regarded as historical, and one ought to look for satisfactory evidence in each separate case before accepting the historicity of any of these incidents of persecution, or even for postulating that no persecution took place. This does not necessarily involve the assumption that religious riots and excesses by parties of people were always non-existent. The Rashtrakutas, as already pointed out, were great patrons of the Jains and in the best days of Rashtrakuta Empire it was that Jainism did its best work in literature in the Southern Maharatta country and Mysore. These are the portions of South India that happen to be the great Jain centres even now, and in that region Jainism flourished even in the age of the great Cholas. One of the

¹ Ancient India, Chapter IX.

constant complaints of the destructive operations of the war carried on by the Cholas against the latter was that the Cholas destroyed these Jain monasteries and temples, without showing the usual consideration due to these holy places. Jainism continued to flourish under the Chajukyas and under the Hoysalas at a later time and even in the age of Vijayanagar.

The Saiva Adiyars and Vaishnava Alvars, both of them had to carry on an active propaganda against Buddhism and Jainism, and there are many indications in their works that the aim of their teaching was to overcome these two religions which apparently had a large popular clientele. Both Kumarila Bhatta and Sankaracharya's works give clear indication that they set to themselves the serious task of controverting the Jains and Buddhists, also incidentally of various other forms of teaching outside the sphere of the *Veda*. It was this need for a controversy that gave the turn to the literature both of the Saivas and the Vaishnavas, and as we advance in this history, we find the tendency is in this body of literature to develop a controversial character.

This work so far as the Vaishnavas were concerned was carried on for three generations both in Srirangam and in Kanchi, when the Mahamadan invasions broke in upon South India.

CHAPTER XVI.

MAHAMMADAN INVASIONS.

It is well-known that the Mahammadan irruption this side of the Vindhya commenced in the last years of the thirteenth century, under the Khilji ruler Alau-d-din, and that it began as a mere raid for purposes of plunder. Once Alaud-din obtained a considerable amount of wealth that served him the useful purpose of paving the way to the throne. He often had occasion to look out to this source of revenue to fill his treasury even when he had placed himself firmly upon the throne. Alau-d-din's needs were great as the main purpose of his reign was to keep the Moghals out of the North-Western frontier. If the Mahammadan historian Wassaf speaks the truth, and there is nothing to doubt his veracity in this particular, Alau-d-din had to maintain a standing army of 475,000 at a cost of 180 dinars a month each man, and 230 for each horse; he even allowed a spare horse to a soldier, and to those who maintained a second animal he gave an additional allowance of this amount. One could understand therefore that the demands of the military department of Alau-d-din's reign were more than the ordinary revenues could meet. He therefore adopted the

prudent policy in respect of South India by making an impression upon the Hindu rulers of his own great power and putting these Hindu rulers under heavy tribute. Such in fact were the instructions that he actually gave to the generals he deputed on these several invasions, as recorded by Amir Khusru.

In the carrying out of these instructions the generals had a great deal left to their own discretion, and these invasions generally meant a considerable volume of destructive work. The first object of these generals was to take possession of what was termed "royal wealth." This consisted in what in modern parlance would be called materials of war, not necessarily contraband of war, and included elephants as the first item, horses, gold and jewels, and other commodities of value that could be carried off easily. The royal treasuries were one source; and the generals soon found the temple treasuries equally fruitful as a source of revenue. The armies sent out could not be very large having regard to the distance, which in the language of the Mahamraadan historians were six months' journey and twelve months' journey. They consisted merely of picked cavalry, and had, as a military necessity, to carry on the war on a more destructive method than would otherwise have been necessary. Hence to the South Indian, Mahammadan invasions meant destruction of all

the cherished wealth of the people. One specific instance of such destruction recorded by the Muhammadan historians is the destruction of fruitful trees, which sometimes were cut down by the thirty thousand, to the great horror of the Hindus. Naturally therefore these invasions of the Mahammadans extending over a period of about thirty years struck the Hindus of the south with consternation and terror to such an extent that they felt it necessary very early to organise themselves for fighting for their existence. This organisation found its leader in the Hoysala ruler of Mysore at the time, Vlra Balllala I I I .

Almost after the first raid upon his capital by Malik-Kafur, he understood what the Mahammadan invasions meant and as a consequence he adopted a temporising policy. Till his contemporaries should be of a temper to act together as against this common enemy, he entered into terms of treaty with Alau-d-din, and kept up to the terms of the treaty as long as he found it necessary to do so. But fortunately for him, the death of Alau-d-din created such a series of disturbances in Delhi, and, thanks to the exertion of Alau-d-din, the Moghal troubles ceased to be imminent. The Hoysala had found time to organise his forces and put himself in a position of readiness for eventualities. He slowly set about reorganising his own resources and leaving his neighbours to do what they

thought best in the circumstances for themselves ; so much so, that, when Mubarak organised a South Indian Province for the Mahammadans with Deogir as its capital the Hoysala showed no activity outside of his frontier even when garrisons of Mahammadans were planted quite on his northern frontier. It is when Mahammad-bin-Tughlak placed himself upon the throne and undertook his invasion of the South, that the time had come for a Hindu organisation of the South Indian rulers, and that was brought about by the Hoysalas with the co-operation of the contemporary Kakatlya ruler.

In the meanwhile the Mahammadan garrisons left by Malik-Kafur had been dislodged from the Tamil country by the Kerala ruler, Ravivarman Kulasiklara, who broke out of his mountain frontier and carried his armies successfully as far as Poonamallee, perhaps only to retire, when the Kakatlya general advanced against him. The Tamil powers having become powerless or practically extinct, it was left to the Kakatlyas and the Hoysalas to do the work of organising a successful resistance. This was made the more necessary, when Mahammad undertook another invasion to re-assert his authority in South India and locate a permanent garrison in Madura. This was done successfully, and the South was held in the interests of Mahammad for a period

of about seven years by the successive governors sent out to Madura. A rebellion set up early in the reign by his cousin Bahau-d-din at Sagar gave the signal for other rebellions, and the establishment of a Mahammadan sultanate at Madura by Mahammad's own governor provoked the Hoysala and the Kakatiya rulers to join their resources and make a stand for themselves. A too early rising would have put them between two fires, Mahammad's province of Deogir in the north and the Mahammadan Sultanate in the South. But Mahammad, with his wonted imprudence, involved himself in a sea of trouble nearer his headquarters, and that engaged him fully. The two high powers of the south were left to watch the northern frontiers and carry on a campaign to destroy the Mahammadan garrisons in the South including that at Madura. The latter portion of the work fell upon Vira Ballala himself who since A.D. 1328, the year of Mahammad's last invasion of the south made Tiruvannamalai his capital, and was carrying on a systematic campaign against the Sultanate at Madura. The northern frontier was left in charge of a number of generals of whom three happened to be brothers. They held the frontiers successfully against the Mahammadans, and this frontier extended from the west coast, somewhere a little north of Goa, right across to the mouth of the river **Krishna**. **The flank**

of the Mahammadan province of Deogir was watched by the Kakatiyas, nominally under tribute to Mahammad. The Hoysala was therefore able to carry on war in the south unmolested by any action of Mahammad. He fell in the fight however about the end of the year 1342, and his son followed after a short rule of about two to three years.

In the meanwhile Mahammad involved himself inextricably and died in the course of the next five or six years. His death was the signal for the generals of the Hoysalas to carry out the policy of their late master to a successful termination, and it is to a son of one of the brothers who held the northern frontier to whom is due the credit of having destroyed the Mahammadan Sultanate of Madura.

This war takes on the character of a patriotic struggle by the Hindus for mere existence and for the preservation of all that was cherished as sacred from the point of view of religion, and all that was worth having by way of secular resources. This aspect of the movement it was, that gave it its peculiar character and culminated in the foundation of Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar stood forth as the visible embodiment of the national resistance to save this enclave for the Hindus and keep it free from being over-run by the Mahammadans.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CHARACTER AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE.

Coming into existence from out of the ashes of the last powerful Southern kingdom, that of the Hoysalas, Vijnyanagar stood out for all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture. As a necessary concomitant therefor, it pitted itself on the south bank of the river Tungabadra in a position of advantage wherefrom it satisfactorily kept the Muslim tide from advancing farther south, and thus saved South India as the home for the undisturbed further development of Hinduism, such as it had come to be under the great Cholas of the South. The movement was national, a nationalism which was infused through and through with the sentiments of religion. In the actual circumstances of the origin and growth of Vijayanagar anything like an attachment to a particular form of Hinduism was out of the question. (The object of Vijayanagar, and those that were responsible for it was to preserve all that was Hindu, irrespective of the multifarious minor differences) that went to constitute the Hinduism of those days as they do that of these days. It was a comprehensive

movement and adopted a policy of comprehension, so as to take into its fold all forms of the Hindu faith, including in it to a great extent even the prevalent form of Jainism of the locality. The one object was the preservation of Hindu independence in South India, with all the multiplicity of its religions, Hindu and Jain, perhaps even to a very slight extent Buddhist, and providing, for the further development of these on peaceful lines, a home in the country, south of the river Krishna. The whole organisation of the forces of Vijayanagar had this object in view.)

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION.

When the first struggles for the dislodgment of the Mahammadan garrisons from the south were over and the hostile Mahammadans from the north had been successfully driven out from their strongholds in South India, chiefly Madura and Trichinopoly (actually Kannanur, 8 miles from Trichinopoly), those that were responsible for it set about organising social and political life with a view to the dominant needs of the new imperial foundation. (The first need was a political organisation, which would place in the hands of the Government the necessary resources, material and men, to keep the aggressive Mahammadan efforts confined to the northern side of the Krishna. This involved the organisation of

an administration and the development of the military resources, that would assure a successful resistance against the repeated attacks of the Mahammadans to break through the barrier set up by the new Empire. The Empire was organised into great Viceroyalties called Maharajyagl of which there were as many as three along the northern frontier. The first from the west coast took into it two Governments, those of the Malerajya and Tukurajya. The former took into it the whole of what is now the Malnad territory of Mysore and the whole of what might be called Karnatic Dakhan, almost as far north as Kolhapur. It went by the name of its capital, the great Viceroyalty of Araga, now a village in the Shimoga district of Mysore. This was probably under the overlordship of Haribare I whose capital must have been at Bankapur or Goa. Next to that, came the headquarters Viceroyalty having for its capitals in the early stages, Dvarasamudra (Hajebid in Mysore) and Vijayanagar itself, alternately. Later on the latter became the chief capital and the former suffered comparative neglect. Military necessity however called for other places coming into importance. This region was therefore dominated by the fortified cities of Vijayanagar and Adoni, at the two vulnerable spots along the northern river frontier. At the back of these two and almost midway

between, lay the hill fortress of Penukonda which later on became the capital of the empire of Vijayanagar itself. The last of the three vice-royalties was the Maharajya of Udayagiri with its capitals, Nellore and Udayagiri. The three elder of the five brothers were Viceroys of these to begin with. Behind this front line lay another Maharajya with its Viceregal head-quarters, at Mulbagal in Mysore, and taking into it the territory of the Gangas, the Banas and the whole of what used to be known as Tondamandalam, or the Dravida country. Later on another Viceroyalty was constituted with Madura for its headquarters and the charge "the Lordship, of the Southern Ocean" attached to it. Within this great province the administration was organised on the lines on which it had existed from time immemorial in the country. The civil administration was so organised over this vast region that the people carried on the administration themselves more or less completely subject to the supervision and control of the great officers of state, who constituted a comparatively small hierarchy touring the country to set matters right, wherever their attention should be called for. This kind of an organisation left the Imperial revenues almost exclusively for the purposes of organising the military resources for the defence of the northern frontier. It was necessary on this frontier to adopt the

policy of avoiding war by being ever the most ready for it. Such a policy involved a military expenditure which would have exhausted the resources of any ordinary Empire.

This organisation implied a considerable amount of social reorganisation also, and this took on naturally the form of hardening and more clearly demarcating the rights and duties of the various castes of which Hindu society was then composed. The system was there with an organisation of its own, being the only organisation on which society rested ; that had to be made use of even for administrative purposes, perhaps more largely than heretofore. This necessity coupled with the ever present danger of the Mahammadan irruptions from the north, gave this organisation a hardening, some of the worst features of which remain even yet, though several of the best features have gone out of it by desuetude. Such an organisation of society had this advantage that society looked after itself and the civil administration had but comparatively little to do except when called upon to interfere in matters of serious dispute between communities, territorial or social. The imperial resources might then be concentrated upon the organisation for the predominant purpose of defence, and, if occasion called for it, of offence as well, against the northern neighbour who was perpetually on the look-out for regaining lost

hold. There was complete devolution of the civil administration except for a certain degree of control exercised by the officers of the Government; the central Government, divested of the ordinary civil power to a very large extent, devoted itself entirely to the needs of defence."

That this was the idea that dominated the rulers of Vijayanagar is clearly in evidence in the policy adopted by successive rulers of which we gain glimpses here and there with the imperfect resources for their history at our disposal.

The greatest monarch of the first dynasty, Devaraya I I , who crowned a series of efforts by completing the fortifications of Vijayanagar so as to include in it a bit of country measuring diagonally 13 by 8 miles, providing facilities for irrigation and cultivation to an extent, that the capital city might have food resources to fall back upon within its walls for a considerable period of time. He also adopted, on the advice of the most responsible officers of the State, measures for improving his military resources by removing a vital defect. It was brought to his notice that the Hindu arms proved inferior to those of the Mahammadan in cavalry and archery, and that the Turkish soldiers employed for this purpose in the Mahammadan armies were found to be very efficient. Devaraya at once ordered the enlistment of two thousand of the Mahammadan soldiers; gave them a separate quarter of the city

consulted their religious feeling to the extent of providing them with a mosque and a slaughter-house in their own quarter and got by their means about 60,000 of his soldiers trained in this branch of the art of war. It was not the Mahamadan as Mahammadan that they hated ; much rather, it was the destructive work of the first Mahammadan invaders that left an indelible impression of hatred in them. This re-organisation was carried out actually by the Brahman Viceroy of Madura, who was called from his Viceregal headquarters obviously for this purpose at a critical period in the history of Vijayanagar.

The first usurper Saluva Narasimha fully realised what exactly were the needs of the Empire, and his usurpation was with a view to meeting these needs which as it appeared to him, had not received at the hands of his predecessor the attention that they deserved. His last testament which the Portuguese chroniclers record indicate his policy clearly. He had repaired the damages suffered by the Empire during the weak rule of his two predecessors, but had failed to attain to the fulfilment of his wishes, as he had not had the time to take back **from** the enemies of the empire the fortresses of Mudkal, Raichur and Udayagiri.

Udayagiri happened to be in the hands of the Gajapatis of Katak. Raichur and Mudkal were **in the hands of the Bahmani** Sultan. His

successor Krishna, the great Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar, made it his life-work to fulfil this desideratum of his great predecessor. He could however take up this work only after quelling the internal rebellions which had occurred in the short reign of his elder brother, whom he succeeded. Having taken the fortress of Sivasamudram and destroyed the chief rebel of Ummattur, he set himself seriously to the task of regaining these three fortresses after he had carefully provided himself against a flank attack by entering into a treaty with the Portuguese at Goa. He then undertook a war first against the ruler of Orissa, who was in occupation of Udayagiri. He beat Orissa garrisons from out of all the fortresses beginning with Udayagiri right up to the frontiers of the Ganjam District. Having gone so far, he deliberately adopted the policy of not driving the powerful enemy to desperation; but entered into a definitive treaty with him restoring to him all his conquests up to the river Krishna. He was then able to turn his attention to the recovery of the other two fortresses of Mudkal and Raichur, confident of having secured both his flanks. He succeeded wherever his great predecessor failed and brought under the Empire the two fortresses, the possession of which was to the Mahammadans a source of vital weakness to **the Empire.**

As he returned from his campaign against the ruler of Kalinga, while he was still on the banks of the Krishna and the region of Bezwada he made a grant of 10,000 gold pieces to the temples of South India and set about the work of restoration and repair to all the temples that had suffered any damage during the Mahammadan invasions. There is one other act of his which exhibits even more clearly than this, the policy that underlay his operations. He made an effort during his reign to provide temples in Vijayanagar to all the gods that had suffered at the hands of the Mahammadans. The great Vittalasvami temple in Vijayanagar, which in many features exhibits Vijayanagar architecture at its best, was projected with a view to providing accommodation at the head-quarters to God Vittala of Pandarpur, whose temples had suffered at the hands of the Mahammadans. It is with a view to similar reparation that the great temple of Anantasayana on the road from Hospet to Vijayanagar was also projected. His work as a whole indicates clearly the character of the movement that culminated in Vijayanagar and the policy adopted by the Empire when it had established itself permanently is shewn in its efforts to realise this ideal in practice.

RELIGION UNDER VIJAYANAGAR.

The Sanskrit epic poem *Kamparaya Charitam* of Ganga Devi, wife of Kumara Kampana, who

conquered, for his father, both Tondamandalam and the Madura country from the Sultans of Madura makes the goddess of the South appear to the Prince in a dream. She is made to recount to him all her sufferings, material and moral, as a result of the irruption of the Mahammadans in the south. At the end of this doleful tale, she assured him that he was no less than an *avatar* of God for the purpose of repairing injuries that she had suffered, and encouraged him to proceed on the expedition of conquest on which he had already proceeded some way to carry it to completion. In token of her goodwill she presented him a sword with which he was to overcome in single combat the Mahammadan Sultan of Madura. Notwithstanding the epic treatment, it is clear that the poetess wishes to convey to the readers that the invasion of the south by Kumara Kampana of Vijayanagar had in it something of the crusading spirit.

He went on his campaign dislodging the Mahammadan garrisons from the various centres and completed it by killing one Sultan of Madura and abolished the Sultanate finally by further campaigns round Madura itself. When the hostile Mahammadan garrisons were dislodged from the south and when they felt quite clear that the death of the Sultan Mahammad Tughlak and the succession of his nephew

Feroze did not produce any change of policy in the Imperial head-quarters in regard to the distant south, they signalised the re-establishment of Hindu dominion in South India by carrying out a complete restoration of Srirangam, and the re-establishment of God Kanganatha there. This rehabilitation of the Vaishijava " holy of holies " is symbolical of the policy that started the movement, and exercised a strong influence throughout the history of the Empire of Vijayanagar. The restoration of temples and rehabilitation of gods merely did not complete the religious policy of these rulers.

The first ruler of Vijayanagar who assumed imperial titles was Harihara I I , son of Bukka, the third of the five brothers, who were responsible for the foundation of the Empire. The five brothers and their friends and officers did yeomen service in this national effort. In spite of it all, Bukka, to whom more than to any other, the credit of this enterprise must be given, did not feel that the time had come for the assumption of imperial titles all the time that he lived. He died sometime in A.D. 1378 and his eldest son succeeded as Harihara I I . It is he that assumed imperial titles sometime about A.D. 1380 almost about the end of the reign of Feroze Tughlak and when the first two well-known kings of the Bahmani kingdom had ruled and passed away. Among the titles assumed by

Harihara occur the following that call for reference here : " The establisher of the four castes and orders ; the publisher of the commentaries on the *Vedas*, the master in establishing ordinances prescribed by the *Vedas*; he who has provided the Adhvaryu (priests) with employment, the auspicious ornament of Kings." These titles clearly indicate the ideas underlying the movement, and the duties that the founders of this Empire prescribed to themselves.

In this great work of Hindu rehabilitation in South India a number of great men played a very prominent part, each according to his opportunity. With the foundation of Vijayanagar is associated the name of the two Brahman brothers, Madhava Vidyaranya and his brother Sayana, two Vedic scholars of high rank. Another Madhava generally called Madhava Mantri, is generally described as "Upanishaji margapratisthapanacharya," he that established the path of the Upanishad to distinguish him from the other Madhava who takes the attribute, " Veda-marga-pratisthapanacharya," the title by which learned Brahmans are addressed even now. This Madhava belonged to the orthodox school, while the other was a disciple of Kasi Vilasa Kriyasakti Pandita, a Saiva Acharya.

The brothers Madhava and Sayajja were both of them scholars and statesmen. The elder brother is said to have occupied the position of

chief adviser to Bukka at the court of Vijayanagar, while Sayana was associated with the Viceroyalty of Ddayagiri and was the guide, philosopher and friend in a literal sense of the elder Kampana, while he was alive. At the death of Kampana, while his son Sangama was yet a child, Sayana assumed the responsibilities of the regency, conducted the administration for the boy, educated him as his teacher, fought a battle for him when his Viceroyalty was attacked, and thus discharged his debt to his sovereign. But the names of these brothers are not so widely known for their achievements as statesmen, but are handed down to us as Vedic scholars.

Sayana was grammarian and commentator, commented on the Vedas, and did all the work under the inspiration of his brother, called some of them by Madhava's name, such as Madhaviya Dhatu Vritti. Madhava seems to have been a sort of venerable president of an academy of scholars assembled from various parts, and these were set to work to comment upon and to commit to writing various Vedic works which were dangerously near to being lost. These brothers and their companions discharged their duty to the community to which they belonged, which community had already, for thousands of years, discharged the duty of preserving learning. The spirit underlying this work of Vidhyaranya is best

illustrated by a story in connection with a life of his great Vaishnava contemporary Vedanta Desika.

After the second sack of the temple of Srirangam in 1328, Vedanta Desika had to retire to the southern border of the Mysore plateau, and was there leading the life of a teacher which was the Brahman's birthright. For the sake of maintenance, because he lived as a married man and we know he had a son, he used to go out asking for alms in the shape of raw rice. The moment he had collected enough for the day he returned to the duties of the scholar. Vidyaranya who had known him and his worth, sent an invitation on behalf of himself and his sovereign inviting Vedanta Desika to court, as in fact, he seems to have taken pains to collect all the scholars about him for the great purpose that he had in view. Vedanta Desika politely declined the invitation on the ground that, having undertaken to serve God, the Great King of Kings, he found it impossible to accept services under an earthly monarch. Notwithstanding this refusal Vidyaranya continued to maintain a high regard for his scholarship and set about his work and completed it with the aid of a number of other scholars.

Vedanta Desika pursued his life quietly **and** unostentatiously, **and** gave **in** many **respects** the final shape to the Vaishnavism **of South India**

following closely the teachings of Ramanuja, explaining and supplementing it wherever it was necessary. He was the author of about 120 works, of which about one-fourth of the number was in Tamil, the rest of them in Sanskrit including a few which he composed in Prakrit. The Madhva Mutt at Udipi under the third Acharya in the succession seems to have received a certain amount of patronage under Vijayanagar. Two Saiva centres flourished, one in the Malnad country of Mysore and another in Sri Sailam, not to mention various other localities of Vira Saivism. The Jains were a flourishing community in the Tulunad, the country between the Western Ghats and the Sea, and one of the most trusted generals of Harihara II was Irugappa, the Jain, at whose instance the lexicographical work Nanartharatnamala was composed, and to whom is given the credit of having erected in Vijayanagar itself, the Jain temple which goes by the popular name Ganigiti Temple (the Oil-woman's temple). Without going into too much detail, it may safely be said that for good and for evil, the present-day Hinduisim of South India retains the form that it received under Vijayanagar which ought to be given the credit of having preserved Hinduism such as it is. When at one time in the **life of Sivaji** he set **up a claim to Hindu Empire in the south and wished to stand forth as the**

champion of Hinduism as against the Puritanic great Mughal Aurangzeb, it was not as a mere bombast or bathos that he did so. It was hardly a few years since that the widow of the last king of Vijayanagar appealed to Sivaji in behalf of her children for maintenance. Sivaji made a grant of two villages and got the grant¹ indited, with a sense of delicacy all his own, on silver plates which have recently been discovered. He could well feel, in the position to which he had elevated himself at the time, that he stood in the position of the sovereign, to whose widow and children he made this grant. That such a notion was entertained by him is indicated by the coinage of Sivaji. Mr. R. D. Banerji, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, notices a coin of Sivaji carrying the effigy of a pagoda on it and containing the inscriptions characteristic of Vijayanagar. It will thus be seen that in South India Hinduism has had a history of peaceful development culminating in the efforts of Vijayanagar to give it the final form in which it has come down to us to modern times.

Cataclysmal irruptions of foreigners causing revolutionary changes in doctrines and practice there were none. Into South India, the

⁷ The date of the grant has since been found to be irregular and this casts a suspicion upon its character for genuineness. It seems quite likely a grant was made in the circumstances, having regard to other known facts of history and to the coin referred to.

immigrant Brahmans brought with them the pristine religion of the *Veda* which produced protestant movements like Jainism and Buddhism in the north. They found a congenial home in the south and went on developing peacefully without being subjected to aggressive influences, like that of Buddhism under Asoka. Other influences there were, and these evoked responses by way of modifications and readjustments, but beyond these there was nothing of a radical character by way of change. Buddhism and Jainism flourished, but flourished side by side with Brahmanism, and with it controversies there might have been, but these controversies apparently were under the control of the civil authorities for the time being. When the religion of *bhakti* came in, probably in two ways, one in a somewhat developed form from the north, and perhaps another by a process of natural evolution from the popular culture of the time, a series of influences came into rivalry with the *Vedic* religion of the Brahmans. One could see a serious effort at the reconciliation of the one with the other, and the result for South India is a compromise which exhibits a school of *bhakti* which on the one side countenances *Vedic* ritual and preserves it to a considerable extent; and on the other adopted some, even perhaps of the non-Vedic practices and gave them a place in the religious system of the Hindus of to-day.

The works of the early saints *give* clear indication of this effort at synthesis, and the teaching of the earlier Acharyas give considerable evidence of the effort at a logical compromise. The effort at giving to this religious compromise a logical character naturally develops schools of thought which in the progress of society hardens into sects. The feature therefore of South Indian development from the second or third to the tenth century A.D. is the slow evolution of that compromise, and the further course beyond the tenth century is characterised by the evolution of the sects. The invasion of the Mahammadans gave the necessary corrective to the rancour and animosity which were creeping into the relation of these sects and the resulting foundation of Vijayanagar had its best to do in introducing civil order so that each sect by itself might live at peace with the others and achieve each its destiny unmolested by the others. This position is very clearly illustrated by what Bukka did, according to the so-called Ramanuja inscription. The Vaishnava holy place Tirunarayanapuram was known among the Jains as Vardhamanapura. The Vaishnavas apparently took to ill-treating the Jains, who carried a complaint to the headquarters. Bukka conducted an enquiry and, as it is said in the inscription, committed the charge of seeing that the Jains were not molested by the Vaishnavas to one of the Vaishnava Acharyas at **court**

belonging to the family of the Tatacharyas of Conjeevaram. That spirit of compromise and insistance upon peaceful living by the various sects was adopted as the religious policy of the civil authorities by the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, who each had his own particular persuasion.

It is the reflex action of this *bhakti* school of thought that one could trace in Vaishnavism as it is prevalent in northern India. In some cases the somewhat sensuous feature that was imported into the literature of *bhakti* in the south is carried beyond the limits imposed under the recognised canons of Tamil literature. This excessive zeal leads to a corruption of the faith where the effort is made to translate a mental realisation into the physical. That is a result, and an evil result at that, of transplantation. On the whole this undesirable development has not shown itself in southern India, at any rate to any noticeable degree. The contribution therefore of South India in this particular sphere is to have a genuine school of *bhakti*, and it is small wonder that the later *puranas* accord to Southern India the monopoly of it, as the Bhagavata and the Padma Parana would make one believe. Outside the sphere of Aryavarta as it is, it could claim to be the land where *Vedic* Brahmanism could be found to-day in the form which is the product of actual evolution from the Brahmanism of the *Vedic* age.

The Brahman has been able, thanks to the goodwill of the communities amidst which he cast his own lot, to carry his Brahmanical life unimpaired and even encouraged by the communities on whom he exercised his influence in the direction of elevating them to a higher plane of life. So much so was this the case that an European writer making a study of Indian women gives it as the characteristic of southern Indian women-folk as a whole, that their ideals in this life are other-worldly. The Brahman has on the whole discharged his responsibility as the teacher of the community by preserving the ancient learning of the Hindus ; he has made an honest effort, according to his lights, at preparing the people to lead a good life here, and to go to a better life hereafter ; and had through the ages maintained the ideal of uplifting, however short he may have fallen in actually achieving this ideal.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GREATER INDIA : EXPANSION OF INDIA BEYOND THE SEAS.

Overland Communication of Northern India.

India falls geographically into two divisions in respect of her communication with the outside world. In spite of the mountain barriers on the north, north-west and north-east, there is a volume of evidence, though of an indirect character, of considerable communication with the rest of Asia, with the portions of China and Indo-Chinese peninsula on the east, with Tibet and the western portion of China in the middle, and Central Asia stretching westwards as far as Asia Minor itself and the Mediterranean Sea on the west. In respect of these overland communications with the west, we have comparatively speaking few glimpses by way of evidence. The discovery of the Bogaz-Keui inscription referring to the Vedic deities, Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatya, and the Aryan character of the people of Mittani have led to the possibility of the inference that one section of the Aryans

moved into that region. The irruptions of the Kassites who over-ran Babylonia about three centuries previous to this, also implies the existence of a powerful community of Aryan speaking people so far out. The question wherefrom they came is involved in the general problem of the Aryan home which is still a matter for discussion. The representation of apes, Indian elephants and Baktrian camels on an obelisk of Shalmanesser III in B. C. 860 gives the first clear indication of a communication between India and Assyria. It is the expansion of the Empire under Cyrus and his successor Darius that brings the Persian Empire directly into touch with India, and opens the way for the establishment of regular communication with western Asia. Similarly, on the eastern side, there is evidence of considerable early communication with the east ; much of the continental civilisation of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula seems derivable from northern India of the Buddhistic age, some of which may possibly be referable to times earlier. This communication of northern India with the outside world is not what concerns us directly.

Overseas Communication of South India.

Such communication as South India had with the rest of the world, must of necessity have been across the ocean. The early navigators

of the Indian Ocean seem to have been many, and the history of this subject is only very partially worked for the satisfactory reason that the material that exists for such work is at the very best, scanty. The Egyptian efforts under the Pharaohs have reference only to the coasts of Arabia and of Africa, certainly as far down as Somaliland, and it may be much farther down towards Zanzibar. The expedition to Punt under the eleventh dynasty and before then, had for their object various articles of value to the Egyptians.¹ The most famous of this enterprise under the Pharaohs is the great expedition sent out by the great Queen Hatsheput. It had for its object the bringing of quantities of gold, incense and other articles, much prized in Egypt. They are all of them represented on her monument at Der al-Bahri.² It is possible to refer some of these articles to India; but most of them are obtainable in the region of the Somali coast. It is the enterprise of Alexander which found its visible embodiment in the founding of Alexandria, that gave an additional stimulus to this navigation of the Indian Ocean. Patrocles, an officer of Seleueus I and his son, sailed the Indian Seas, and under the Ptolemies, great efforts were made to open the Red Sea trade with the East. It is put down to

¹ H. R. Hall; the *Ancient History of the East*, p. 147.

* Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 274-6.

the credit of Ptolemy-Philadelphus that he cut out a canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea either newly or by opening out an old channel. As a necessary corollary to this, he founded a number of ports on the Red Sea. Among these foundations, Arsinoe of Ptolemy near the Suez and Berenice, lower down on the Red Sea coast, appear most prominent. Almost up to the time of the Roman conquest however, trade seems to have been carried on even in Indian commodities from the great exchange marts of Arabia Felix or, as the Greeks called it, Eudæmon, that is, the coast district round Aden. The discovery of blue cloth wrapped round the mummies, recently excavated,¹ and the further discovery that they were all dyed blue with Indian indigo is clear evidence of Indian trade, but not necessarily of communication with India. With the Roman conquest of Egypt, a new impetus is given to this eastern trade and we come upon a new era of nautical enterprise on this side of Egypt.

Indian Trade with Western Asia.

In respect of Indian trade with western Asia, the matter seems to rest on a somewhat better footing. The earliest definite reference that we can get is a commercial expedition sent out by

¹ India and the Western World.

Soloman with the assistance of Hiram of Tyre. According to Josephus, Soloman gave the command to the pilots of the expedition, ^{4<} that they should go along with his stewards to the land that of old was called, Ophir, but now Aurea Chersonesus which belongs to India, to fetch gold." The expedition left Ezion-Gebeir (Akaba at the head of the Gulf of Suez), and was three years on its voyage. It brought with it 420 talents of gold, almug wood, ivory, apes, and peacocks. According to the statement of Josephus, the objective of the expedition should have been the Malay peninsula, the "golden Chersonese" of Milton. Several scholars take it to mean the Malay peninsula and Sumatra, both of which produced enormous quantities of gold, and came to be known to the inhabitants of India by the name Suvarna Bhumi. But the variant of the name in the Septuagint is Sophir. Sophir and Ophir can be considered equivalent if the word with "S" passed through Persia. Sophir is the proper form or the form nearest to the Indian equivalent. Thus the country under reference may be taken to be Sauvlra which might have been one of the stages, or the final stage, which the mercantile fleet of India left as the last part of a coasting voyage. The only difficulty that scholars appeared to have felt against this identification seems to be, the 420 talents of gold. That this region Sauvlra between the

mouths of the Indus and Broach produced **gold** is in evidence in the name of one of the rivers being "golden sands" (Suvarna-sikata). **This** name is found recorded in the Junaghad inscription of the famous Ksatrapa king, Rudradaman of A.D. 150. Of about the same time, we have another reference to a region lower down the west coast of India, which contained gold mines. The territory of north and south Kanara under the Tamil chief Nannan is said to have contained hills showing gold-veins. What is more telling as a piece of evidence is a story connected with this chieftain, who had been branded with ignominy as woman-killer, as a result thereof, Be is said to have had a fruit garden producing specially delicious fruits. A girl who went to a canal for water, picked up a fruit floating down the canal which happened to be flowing through the royal garden. She took the fruit and ate it without a thought ; and for this great crime against His Majesty, the king ordered the girl to be killed. Her parents and relatives offered to ransom her by giving to the king a life-size statue of the girl in solid gold or whatever else the king might require by way of ransom. The story concludes by saying that the king refused the offer, and handed himself down to evil fame as woman-killer. The river Kaveri is known to classical Tamil literature by the name *Ponni*, and the name is said to have been given to it as

it carried gold in her sands. Hence the difficulty on the score of gold ceases to be of force in regard to this identification.

Indian Names of Imported Articles.

Taking the other articles, almug wood is no other than sandal. It occurs in Greek as *santalan*, and could have come from Tamil *sandana* or Sanskrit '*chandana*, the pure Tamil word for it is *dram*. This is a peculiar product of the Malaya Hills, the southern portion of the Western Ghats. Apes are known in Hebrew as *koph*. In Egyptian, the word takes the form *kafu*, and these are derived from the Sanskrit word *kapi*. *Satin* (cotton cloth) becomes *sadain* in Hebrew and *sinthon* in Greek, probably from Sanskrit *Sindhu*. These are all traceable to a part of India where the prevailing language might be Sanskrit. There are two words however for two articles imported from India which cannot be traced to Sanskrit, and these are peacock and rice. *Peacock* occurs in Hebrew in the form of *tukim*. In Persia, it occurs as *tavis*; in Greek as *tofos*. All of them seem derivable from the original *togai* which is unmistakably Tamil, at the worst Tamil-Malayalam. Rice occurs in Aramaic in **the form** *aruz* ; Greek, *oruza* ; Latin *oryza*, and **Spanish** *arros*, all apparently from the Tamil

arisi. The last two words must be held decisive, and must have reference to their origin in the Tamil country. This is confirmed by the discovery of a beam of teak in the excavations at Ur in Chaldea ascribed to the king Ur-Bagas, the first ruler of united Babylonia circa B.C. 3000 according to Sayce and Hewit. A similar teak beam was found by Rassan in the same locality in a building which was known to have been constructed by Nabonidus to the Moon-God in the middle of the sixth century B.C. Another beam of Indian cedar was found in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Birs-Nimrud. It is impossible that the teak wood could have gone to these places from anywhere other than the Malabar coast or from Burma. Rice and peacock were known in Athens in their names of Indian derivation in 430 B.C. Thus for about 500 years from the 5th century B.C. backwards, direct communication with India seems provable. That this was across the sea directly from India, and not overland through Persia may be established by the word for muslin being *sinthon* without the change of " S " into " H " as the Persians invariably change the " S " of Sanskrit into " H . " This assumption of direct communication receives some confirmation from the fact that the South Indians, particularly of the classical Tamil literature, knew the western people by the designation *Yavana*, not by the northern designation of

Yona, even after the days of Asoka, showing thereby that communication between the Yavana region and South India belonged to an age when the Greek digamma had not dropped out of the word. The Baveru-Jataka, the Supparaka-Jataka, and the Mohosada-Jataka, all of them would be confirmatory equally, though these might well refer to communication between northern India and Babylon. The explicit statement of Berosus, that the Babylonian market exhibited crowds of all nationalities, may be held to include some Indian nationalities as well. That it was so will acquire greater probability from the following extract from Mr. Hornell's work already quoted :—"This sea-trade with Babylon, carried on in Indian vessels, cannot be less ancient than the sixth century B. C. and is probably a good deal older. Its continuance in Achaemenid times is rendered probable by the discovery of Indian articles in the ruins of Susa, these consisting of libation cups, bangles and ornaments made from the shell of the conch fished even yet in quantities in the Kathiawar coast.¹ The age of these ruins brings Indian trade with this region down into the fifth century, but some of the ornaments, one bangle especially, obtained from a lower stratum belong to a much older date, as Susa was a capital of the

¹ Hornell, J. : Marine Zoology of Okhamandal, Pt. I I ,

Elamites long before the Achæmenid occupation of the site. I have also identified chank ornaments from Tello (the site of ancient Lagash) in the Louvre Museum, Paris.¹

The Situatio of Ophir.

In respect of the question as to the situation of Ophir, whether it was somewhere in southern Arabia or whether we should look for it on the continent of India or the Malay peninsula, the decisive factor would be the three years' navigation from Akaba to the region of Ophir and back, which would mean a voyage of more or less 18 months up and 18 months down. An eighteen months' voyage being regarded as the fact, it must have been generally a coasting voyage so far as the westerners were concerned : it would seem to indicate the coast of India as answering to Ophir, though Malay peninsula may be possible. A station on the south coast of Arabia would hardly answer this indication satisfactorily. All this would have reference however, only indirectly to the Indians having sailed across even the Arabian Sea. Direct evidence of Indian navigation is however not wanting. Even the Rig Veda knew of hundred-oared ships, although these have reference more to eastern navigation than to western. The Baveru-Jataka

¹ Hornell. *op. cit.*, p. 208.

however is certain evidence of western navigation, by the Indians as also the Supparaka Jataka. But behind this period lies the far older one of possible communication between the Persian Gulf ports and the west coast of the Indian peninsula. Some antiquarians incline to the opinion that the early Sumcrian civilisation, the mother of Babylonian, may after all be Indian.¹

Early Indian Voyage to Babylonia and the West.

Whatever might be the ultimate verdict of scholars in regard to this question, there could be no doubt even on the indirect evidence available to us of early communication between Babj Ion and India. There is considerable reason for the opinion, if it is not yet put beyond doubt, that the Indians borrowed the week-days, from the Babylonians, rather than from the Greeks, leaving the possibility open that they might themselves have originated it. We have already urged reasons² and are pleased to find ourselves supported in this position by Dr. Vogel in an article published in the "East and West," January, 1912. We have direct evidence of the westward navigations of the Hindus in two references. The first is that Q. Metellus Celer received from the King of the Suevi, some

¹ H. R. Hall, Ancient History of the Far East. pp. 173-174.

² Vide Beginnings of South Indian History, pp. 304 ff.

Hindus who had been driven by storm into Germany in the course of a voyage of commerce according to Cornelius Nepos.¹ The other is contained in the visit of an Indian named Sophon (Subhanu) to which reference is made in a Greek inscription² found in the ruins of a shrine between the Red sea port of Berenice and Edfu near the banks of the Nile. The few sentences of Kanarese found by Dr. Hultzsch embodied in a Greek Farce contained in the Papyrus of Oxyrhynchus³ and the same learned Doctor's find of a silver coin of Ptolemy Soter in the bazaars of Bangalore would only be evidence of communication and not of the Indians' voyaging westwards.

With the beginning of the Christian era and with the discovery of the south-west monsoon by Harpalos, voyages of communication became more regular and we have even reports of Indian embassies to the Emperor Augustus, one of which is said to have reached him at Terragona in Spain and another in Cyprus. The westward navigation and communication had become so great that there are constant references to Yavana ships coming to the west coast bringing gold in their well-rigged ships to pay in

¹ Macrindle's Ancient India, p. 110

² The inscription is quoted in II. G. Rawlinson's India and the Western World, p. 99; J. R. A. S., 1904, p. 402.

³ J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 399,

exchange **for** the spices that they **carried from** that coast of the Indian Peninsula.¹ What is perhaps a more important point from the Indian side is that these Yavanas had at one time suffered defeat at sea at the hands of the Chera ruler of the west-coast who is said to have punished them by tying their hands behind their back, pouring ghee or oil on their heads, and holding them up to ransom after this punishment.² There are other references to Yavanas. Yavana women are referred to as immediate servants of South Indian monarchs, particularly the Pandya king, and Yavanas are said to have constituted his body-guard. One of these references is to Yavana women handing him western wine in golden cups for the delectation of their royal master.³ The other is much more interesting as it exhibits these Yavanas constituted as a body-guard of cavalry men. The Pandya king is described as being in camp in solitary bed overnight, and his tent constituted the centre of the camp which was surrounded by tents of womenguards enclosed by partitions of cloths; and then came the tents of men-guards, yavana and mleccha and their camp of occupation. The whole camp was enclosed within a stockade of wooden palisades, sometimes even of the steel javelins that

¹ Ahm 148, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p 12.

² Padirruppattu, pp. 22-3, Mali. Svaminatli Aiyar's edition.

³ Narkirar in Puram 56; also Nedunalvadai 1 101-2 and Silnppadhikaran, XIV, 122-33.

the soldiers carried.¹ The question arises whether these could all be Greek and whether the Indian king could have obtained so many Greek men that could hire themselves out for service of this character. The dress and other details of the description seem to lead to the inference that these might have been people other than Greek. It seems far more likely that they were Arabians who hired themselves out for service like this in this fashion. That the ancient Arabs were known by the designation Yavana is warranted by the term Ethiopian applied to the inhabitants of Abyssinia, The term is derived from *Atyab* — meaning incense, and *Yavan*—the Yavana collectors of incense in the region of the Somali country.² Those that constituted the original inhabitants of this locality are regarded by scholars, to be colonists from Arabia. If that is so the term Yavana must be the ordinary designation for an Arabian at any rate, as much as for a Greek. However it is an open question whether the carpenters from Yavana³ who are said to have worked with a number of other foreign workmen from various divisions of India in the building of Kaveripatam were Greek

¹ Mullaipprtttu, 41-46.

pp. 214-18; 'Silappadhikaram V. pp, 9 12, The term Yavana is rendered Sonagar by the earlier and mleccha by the later Commentator.

² Schoff's Teriplus, p. 62.

³ Manimekhalai, Canto XIX, pp. 107-10 ; cf. also passage from l'erum Kuda (Tarn Brhatkathft) quoted thereunder.

Yavana or Arabian. It may even be Chinese Yavanas. It would be hazardous to attempt to be precise in the face of the statement contained in the Pattinappalai,¹ that one quarter of Kaveripatam close to the sea was set apart as the quarters of the sea-going inhabitants of various countries who had come in for residence in the course of their voyages and who spoke a multitude of tongues, almost in the same style as Berosus speaks of a multitude of people of all nationalities collecting in the Babylonian market. The picture that we can form of this branch of Indian enterprise from the classical geographers would only confirm this indirectly.

The Evidence of Classical Geographers.

The classical geographers, the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy the geographer, that date respectively about A. D. 80 and A. D. 150, exhibit knowledge of a division of the country that we derive from the Tamil classical literature. The author of the Periplus² begins his account of the west of India with the Indus (Sinthus). He says that the river had seven mouths, shallow and marshy, and therefore not navigable. On the shore of the central channel was the sea-port Barbaricum

¹ Ll 214-15; also Silappadhikaram ll. 9-12, The t̃jrm Gavanar is rendered Sonagar by the earlier and mlecehar by the latter of the two commentators.

² The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, translated and edited by W. H. Schoff, Secs. 42 to 66.

with a capital in the interior of the Scythians called Minnagara (the city of the Min, Scythians) ; the port Barbaricum has not satisfactorily been identified. It seems to be the Sanskrit Barbaraka (belonging to the country of the Barbara, perhaps the same as the Gk. barbarian). Passing down from there, the Periplus comes down the Surashtra coast (Syrastrene), and the Rann of Cutch (Eirinon) ; sailing across what is the Gulf of Kambay, he takes us to Barygaza (Sans. Brgukachcha, Mod. Broach). With this is supposed to begin Ariaca "which is the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India." In regard to the divisions of that part of the country both Ptolemy and the Periplus agree except for the omission of some in the latter. The southern limit of the coast of Ariaca is Tindis according to both. The corresponding portion of the country inland is described in the Periplus as Abhira, the coast portion being Surashtra, as was already stated. This part is described as a fertile country producing wheat, rice, sesame oil and clarified butter; cotton and coarser sorts of cloth made therefrom. Pasturing of cattle seems an important occupation and the people are described as of great stature and dark in colour.¹ The chief point to note here in

¹ Note the tradition that Agaetia took with him a large colony of people from here in his southward migration above.

connection with this statement of the Periplus is that the coast under reference is described as the beginning " of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India" The latter expression indicates clearly that whoever Nambanus was, he was, at the time that the author of the Periplus got his information, known to the outside world as the king of India. In other words, it seems to have been the days of the Andhra empire of Magadha. The name Nambanus itself is a correction of the text which has Mambarus. This latter might well be the Lambodara of the pauranic list of the Satavahanas or the Andhras of the Dakhan. The chronology of the early rulers of these Satavahanas cannot yet be regarded as being definitely settled, and at any rate the expression in the text seems of very doubtful application to identify Nambanus with Nahapana, the Ksaharata ruler. After describing the difficulties of navigating up to the port of Broach and the arrangement made by the ruler for piloting the vessels safely into the port, the Periplus proceeds to give the countries inland set over against that coast between Barbaricum, at the mouth of the Indus obviously, and Broach. He notes among them the Arattas of the Punjab, the Arachosii of Southern Afghanistan, the Gandaraei (Sanskrit, Gandhara), and the people of Pocalais (Sans. Pushkalavatl) both in the region between the Kabul and the

Indus in Northern Afghanistan including also the Northern portions of the Punjab where was also the city of Alexandria which Bucephalus located very near the Jhelum. Beyond these he says were the warlike Bactrians. He gives an interesting fact that in his day coins bearing Greek inscriptions or Greek legends were circulating in the country round Broach, and they contained, according to the *Periplus*, the devices of the Greek rulers, among them, Apollodotus and Menander. Coming further east from these countries he speaks of Ozene (Ujjain), and refers to it as the former royal capital. Passing over all that he says about the trade of Broach which is not to our present purpose, we come, in Sec. 50, to another statement which is of immediate interest to us. He says "beyond Barigaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south and so this region is called Dachinabades, for Dachan in the language of the natives means 'south.' The inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts, leopards, tigers, elephants; enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts, and many populous nations as far as the Ganges." This clearly indicates that he describes the whole of the region known as the Dakshinapatha or the Dakhan, and the Dandakaranyam of the Sanskrit writers; the central region of India

corresponding to our modern division of the Dakhan. He then describes the interior marts of Paitan and Tagara, and of the sea-ports along the coast till he reached Naura and Tindis, the first marts of Damirica as he calls them (Sanskrit Dramidaca, the correct equivalent of the Greek), and the Tamilakam of the Tamil classics. Damirica, sometimes written by error Lymirica, is the Sanskrit Dramidaka which the author must have heard in contradistinction to Aryaka. It is perhaps a little far-fetched to see in it Tamilakam except through the Sanskritised Dramidaka. With Tindis began according to both Ptolemy and the Periplus, the kingdom of Cherabothra (Cheraputra or Keralaputra). The next port of importance we come to, is 50 miles from Tindis again at the mouth of a river; the port called Muziris (Muyiri or Musiri of the Tamils, the modern Cranganore). Fifty miles further south was the sea-port of Nelcynda which the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai correctly identified with Nirkunram in the country of the Pandyas. This place was situated about ten or twelve miles in the interior with an out-port at the mouth of the river, the village Bakare, Vaikkarai as we know it now. The kings of both these market towns, the Periplus says "live in the interior." The imports into Muziris are given "as a great quantity of coin; topaz, thin clothing not much, figured linens,

antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead, wine not much but as much as at Barigaza; realgar and orpiment, and wheat only for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there." The exports from this place are the "pepper" coming from "Kottanora" (Kutta Nadu in the interior) "great quantities of fine pearls, "ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires and tortoise-shell, "that from the Chryse (golden) island and that taken from among the islands along the coast of Damirica." One may so far compare this statement with the following two extracts from Tamil Literature :—

(1) The Kuttuvan king of the beautiful garland dropping honey like water, gives away in head-loads, to those that go to him, the sandal from the hill and the pearl from the sea, along with the gold brought in payment by ships, and carried by canal boats into his port of Musiri of the noisy beach—Paranarin Puram, 343.

(2) The prosperous Musiri to which come the well-rigged ships of the Yavanas tearing up the foaming great river sulli of the Cheras, carrying gold to pay for the cargo of pepper with which they returned usually—Kattur Tayaih Kannan in Aham 148.

Beyond Vaikkarai, the Periplus refers to the dark-red mountains and of the district (stretching

along the coast towards the south) "Paralia" generally taken as equivalent to Pural or Coast; the first port in this coast region is what he calls Balita, identified with Varkkali or Jan&r-danam, which in those days had a fine harbour and a village by the sea shore. Then comes Kumari with a cape and a harbour. It is also referred to as a holy bathing place, and the coast region is then described as extending eastwards till it reaches Korkai " where the pearl fisheries are/" and the Periplus offers the interesting piece of information, " that they are worked by condemned criminals." Then follows another coast region with a region inland called according to the Periplus Argaru,¹ taken to be the equivalent of Uraiyr. These two regions of the coast country are somewhat differently named in Ptolemy. He calls the region between Nirkunram and Camorin as in the country of Aioi. (Tamil Aay). Then follows the region which he calls Kareoi (Tamil Karai or Karaiyar, a class of fisherfolk), and the coast country extending from Korkai upwards is spoken of by Ptolemy in two divisions. The country of the Batoi (Tamil Vettuvar) and Poralia in the country of the Toringoi (error for Soringoi, Cholas). The exports from this region according to the Periplus

¹ Is this not more correctly Uragapura (Halasya or Madtira), the capital of the Pandya ? Uraiyr the Chola capital and the country dependent thereon must have begun far north of this region—somewhere about Tondi in the Ramnad District now,

are the pearls¹ collected from part of what was gathered each season in the appointed pearl-fields, and a kind of fine muslin called Argaritic. The next important ports mentioned in this region by the Periplus are three, Camara (identified with Kaveripattanam), Poduca (may be a Puduvai) and it is doubtful whether it stands for Pondicherry or a place in the vicinity. Then Sopatma (Tamil Sopattinam or fortified-port). There come ships from what he calls Damirica

¹ Pliny says (Macrindle's *Ancient India*, Chap. IX, pp. 54-58):—

" Our ladies glory in having pearls suspended from their fingers, or two or three of them dangling from their ears, delighted even with the rattling of the pearls as they knock against each other; and now, at the present day, the poorer classes are even affecting them, as people are in the habit of saying, that " a pearl worn by a woman in public is as good as a lictor walking before her." Nay, even more than this, they put them on their feet, and that, not only on the laces of their sandals but all over the shoes; it is not enough to wear pearls, but they must tread upon them and walk with them under foot as well.

" I once saw Lollia Paulina, the wife of the Emperor Caius—it was not at any public festival, or any solemn ceremonial, but only at an ordinary betrothal -entertainment—covered with emeralds and pearls, which shone in alternate layers upon her head, in her hair, in her wreaths, in her ears, upon her neck, in her bracelets, and on her fingers, and the value of which amounted in all to 40,000,000 sesterces; indeed she was prepared at once to prove the fact by showing the receipts and acquittancea. Nor were these any presents made by a prodigal potentate, but treasures which had descended to her from her grand-father, and obtained by the spoliation of the provinces. Such are the fruits of plunder and extortion. It was for this reason that M. Lollius was held so infamous all over the East for the presents which he extorted from the kinga; the result of which was, that he was denied the friendship of Caius Caesar, and took poison; and all this was done, I say, that his grand-daughter might be seen, by the glare of the lampe, covered all over with jewels to the amount of forty millions of sesterces!"

and from the north for the exchange of commodities. Here the Periplus has an important statement to make in respect of the capacity for navigation of the Tamils. In these ports that he mentions, he says were ships of two kinds, those intended for coasting voyages as far as Damiriea as he calls it; these were small and large, and are called by him Sangara (Tam, Sangadam). Those intended however, for the voyages to Chryse and to the Ganges were called, according to him, Colandia, and are described as very large. The term Chryse which in Greek is the equivalent of Gold, seems to refer to Suvarnabhumi in Sanskrit, and has been identified with the Malaya Peninsula, spoken of by the Periplus in another place as an island. That it indicates the region about the Malaya Peninsula is clear from what he says in regard to the direction of the land; "just opposite this (river Ganges) there is an island in the ocean the last port of the inhabited world to the east under the rising sun itself; it is called Chryse and it has the best tortoise-shell of all the places in the Erythraean sea." There are said to be imported into these ports everything that is made in Damiriea "the greatest part of what is got from Egypt." Then he proceeds to mention Palaesimundu, "called by the ancients Taprobane." Further north from this, according to him, was the region Masalia, and further north of this Dosarene

(Sans. Dasarna). Ptolemy however interpolates between the Chola coast and Maisalia (Masalia of the Periplus) the country of the Aruvarnoi or Arvarnoi (the Aruvalar of the Tamils) whose country was known to the Tamils in two divisions Aruvanadu and Aruva Vada-talai (northern Aruva) which would take us more or less close to the mouth of the Krishna river, the Maisalos of Ptolemy.

Of the trade of this coast, the most important ports are the three referred to already, and the importsof trade are set down as "everything made in Damirica and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirica and of those that are carried through Paralia."

We have similar reference to the imports at Kaveripatam in the Tamil work Pattinappalai: "horses were brought from distant lands beyond the seas, pepper was brought in ships, gold and precious stones came from the northern mountains, sandal, akir (aromatic aloe wood) came from the mountains towards the west, pearls from the southern seas and coral from the eastern seas; the produce of the regions watered by the Ganges; all that is grown on the banks of the Kaveri; articles of food from Ilam or Ceylon, and the manufactures of Kalakam in Sumatra."¹ This

¹ Pattinappalai, II, 127 ff.

looks like a restatement in a somewhat expanded form of what is found briefly stated in the Periplus.

Tamil Knowledge of the Eastern Archipelago.

It was already pointed out in a previous section that the Malabar coast got into touch with the western world, Egypt, Western Asia, and across as far as the western extremity of Europe. The Hebrew references to various articles of Indian, particularly South Indian, production, the Baveru Jataka¹ which apparently relates to Babylon, the Supparaka² Jataka and a story in the Kathasaritsagara relative to the westward voyage from the port of Patri, and the Sanskrit origin of the name of the island Sokotra, all these might be cited as evidence of westward trade, at any rate, as arguing familiarity with navigation on that side. That Indians did take part in these distant voyages is directly stated in the reference in Tacitus to a Hindu sailor having been stranded in the region of the North Sea, and that in Eudoxus, to the famished Hindu sailor who piloted the Greeks across the Arabian Sea to the Malabar Coast.³ There is further evidence of

¹ The Jatakas, Trans, by Cowell, etc., No. 339, I I I, p. 83.

² No. 463, IV, 86-90. Trans, by Cowell and Rouse.

³ Macrindle's Ancient India, p. 110.

a reference in an Egyptian inscription to a Sophon-Indos (Subhanu the Indian)¹ in the heart of Egypt, apparently along the road from the chief Red Sea port to Alexandria. The busy and the profitable character of the western trade and the part that the Roman empire took in it in the early centuries of the Christian era have already been indicated. The question in these circumstances would naturally arise whether the Tamils had any knowledge of the Eastern Archipelago and whether they ever came into direct touch with it.

Evidence from Tamil Literature.

The Eastern Archipelago was a region with which the Tamils were much more familiar apparently, and their commercial efforts seem to have gone on as far as the comparatively distant coast even of China.² We have direct evidence on the Tamil side of not merely knowledge of the islands near the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, but also of regular commercial voyages and even settlements of people. During the period with which we are concerned people in the south, particularly the coast of the Chola country, kept up a busy trade over-sea.

¹ H. G. Rawlinson's *India and the Western World*, p. 99, where the Greek Ins. is quoted.

² In the excavations at Chandravalli, Mr. R. Narasimha Chariar says a coin of the Chinese Han. Emperor Wu-ti of the 2nd century B.C. was found as also a denarius of Augustus.

The principal ports from which these fleets of commerce started and of which we have any reference are two in the Chola country, namely, Kaveripatam at the mouth of the Kaveri, and Tondi farther south on the coast of Rammad set over against Jaffna. Puhar which is the Tamil name for the port at the mouth of the Kaveri is spoken of as a great port where a crowd of merchant shipping brought horses from across the waters, spices, particularly pepper, gold and precious gems from the northern mountains (Himalayas). Sandal and aloe-wood (*akil*) from the western hills, pearls from the southern sea, *coral from the eastern sea*, various kinds of commodities from the Ganges, other commodities coming down the Kaveri, food articles from Ceylon and *the wealth produced in Kalaham*, other rare articles (such as camphor, rose water, etc.) *from China and other places*} This catalogue of articles coming from various places in the east into Puhar is confirmed by various references in the Silappadhikaram which state specifically sugar-candy from the western region of the Yavanas, black aloe from the east, stones for rubbing sandal from the northern mountains² and sandal from the southern hills. There is a further reference in the same work

¹ Pattuappliai, II. 185-192.

² Canto IV, 11, 35-38. This is also referred in the Nedunalvadaï and Perum Kurinchi.

to the special quarter of the town near the port occupied by the Yavanas (rendered by the commentator Mlechchas)¹ and people from various countries whose profession it was to go oversea and trade.

Referring to the port of Tondi² which in those days was considered a port in the Chola country, the fleet of ships arriving there brought the following commodities; aromatic aloe (*akil*), silk, sandal, fragrant articles and camphor. The commentary explains elaborately the varieties of these articles that came in indicating also the sources from which they came. In regard to the first *akil*, four varieties are mentioned, of which two seem to take their name undoubtedly from the localities of production. They are respectively named *taklcoli* (product of Takola) and *kidaravan* (the product of Kidaram). Under camphor, there are two varieties that are named respectively *varasan* and *varosu* both of which seem the Tamil name of Bams or Barusai of Ptolemy, and another variety which is specially called China camphor. Apart from Barus there stand out the names Takkola and Kadaram. Takkola, or as it is sometimes written Takkolam in Tamil, is the famous port in the Malay peninsula near the mouth of the Takopa

¹ Canto V, ll. 9-12.

² Canto XIV, ll. 106-111.

river which gives the name to one of the aromatic plants, the fruit of which is called *takkolam*. The port of Takkola is mentioned as a prominent mart of the east shore of the Bay of Bengal by Ptolemy. Kadaram that is referred to there is apparently the Kadaram that is found associated with one of the titles of Bajendra Chola, and which figures in the records of both Rajendra Chola and his father Raja Raja. These records refer to the same place in Sanskrit as well in the form Kataha. Hence we are justified in taking it that the Sanskrit Kataha is the Tamil Kadaram. Is it the same as the Tamil Kalaham? Kalaham used to be identified hitherto with Burma by antiquarians. Kalaham is equated with Kadaram by the commentator Nachchinarkkiniyar¹; and the articles of import therefrom referred to by the commentator as "articles of enjoyment," seem similar to the articles that the embassy from San-fo-Chi carried to China in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. We seem therefore justified in taking Kalaham, Kadaram and Kataha all of them to be one place, and that place as being the island or group of islands dominated by Sumatra, the Savakam of the Tamils, the Yavadvipa of Sanskrit, and Sabadiu of Ptolemy. The classic Majjimekhalai has much to say in its own legendary fashion of Savakam, and a

¹ The Nighantu Pingalandai gives the equation also.

mythical king of the island by name Punyaraja. The work refers to a famine for the relief of which a man possessed of a miraculous bowl which supplied food without its being ever exhausted, agreed to go. The information of the famine was given to him in one of the ports of the Pandya country by a body of people who came from over-sea. He started with the next commercial fleet that sailed forward towards the east. Being overtaken by a storm the fleet had to go for shelter to one of the islets round Ceylon. When the fleet set sail again they sailed away in the belief that he was on board.¹ In another connection the same work refers to an island which the work calls the island of the "naked Nagas" apparently Nakkavaram, the modern Nicobars, then inhabited by naked cannibals. The particular point to notice in this connection is that the individual concerned was born a rich man and had squandered away all his wealth in evil company. Disgusted with himself he set forward on a new life and got into the company of a body of merchants trading overseas. In the course of the voyage the fleet of ships got tempest-tossed and several of them destroyed. He took hold of a broken piece of mast and reached the island. The story goes on to say that he was threatened with death having been sighted by the cannibals.

¹ Canto XIV.

He managed however, to satisfy the cannibals that what they were doing was wrong, and so far persuaded them into friendship to him that they were quite prepared to send him away with whatever he cared to take from the accumulated wealth of the previous ship-wrecks near the shore. They brought him quantities of all kinds of articles of wealth and let him take whatever he liked of them and as much as he pleased. When the next regular fleet of ships touched that port under the lead of the merchant chief Chandradatta he got on board ship and sailed across to the Tamil coast. The story indicates regular caravans of ships going backwards and forwards across the sea, and the number of incidental references that we get to various matters connected with overseas navigation in this class of works goes to confirm the conclusion that they were familiar with the islands on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. This is confirmed by the specific statement of the author of the *Periplus* in reference to the eastern ports of the Tamil country that "there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica,¹ large vessels made of single logs bound together called Sangara; *but those which make the voyage to Chryse² and to*

¹ Meaning apparently to the end of the Tamil country on the west coast.

² Gold country, Suvarnabhumi, the Malay peninsula generally.

the Ganges are called Colandia and are very large" ¹

Other Confirmatory Evidence.

There are various pieces of evidence of a somewhat indefinite character which would lead to the inference that there were a large number of settlements of the Tamils in this region and that the southern culture had spread so far out as the Eastern Archipelago itself. This is made clear in the voyage of Fa-hien on his return journey from Ceylon to China. He set sail from Ceylon and was caught in a storm, and after a difficult and dangerous voyage arrived at Javadvlpa (the Tamil Savakam) where he found "various forms of error and *Brahmanism flourishing*"; while he found, much to his regret, that the Buddhists in the locality were not worth speaking of. This character of the Indian emigrants in the Eastern Archipelago is in a way put beyond a doubt altogether by the so-called Yupa inscriptions of a king Mulavarman found in East Borneo (edited formerly by Dr. Kern) and of which an excellent new edition is given us by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. These inscriptions are four in number and refer to a colony of Brahmans who celebrated a *yaga* in the true orthodox Vedic style giving at

¹ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 46, Sec. 60.

the end of the ceremony various gifts including even the *kalpavrakshadana*.¹

These are put on the *yupa stambhas* (sacrificial posts) by the Brahmans who officiated in the sacrifice. Unfortunately the inscriptions are not dated, but they are of the "Pallava-Grantha" character which Dr. Burnell called "Vengi-alphabet," a misnomer which is now no more accepted. Here are the words of the learned doctor who gives us the revised version: "among the epigraphical records of southern India we cannot point to any specimen which exhibits exactly the same style of writing as is found in the earliest inscriptions of the Archipelago. But among the southern alphabets, it is undoubtedly the archaic type of the ancient *grantha* character (to retain Biihler's terminology) used by the early Pallava rulers of the Coromandei coast, which appears to be most closely related to the character of the Koetei epigraphs." Arguing on paleographical grounds alone and admitting the defective state of our knowledge of the palæography of this particular period Dr. Vogel would ascribe this inscription to the middle of the 4th century A.D. This indicates that in that early period there were colonies of

¹ The expression *sakalparrakshadanam* (gift of a gold wish-giving tree of the same form, leaves and all, as in nature) in the inscription is badly rendered.

Brahmans apparently from South India so far east as East Borneo celebrating a sacrifice there and handing down, the fact of such celebration by putting up inscriptions on the very sacrificial posts in the unmistakably south Indian characters of the fourth century of the Christian era. The question would arise whether these colonies maintained any connection with India which could be regarded as of a political character and whether such colonisation would warrant any assumption of a greater India are questions—answers to which we cannot attempt yet with the material available for this period.

The Character of this Period of South Indian History.

The period with which we are concerned in this portion of South Indian History is coeval with the position of the dominance of the Andhras in the Dakhan and over the empire of the Mauryas. The question would naturally arise whether these Andhras had anything to do Avith South India. As far as the material available to us goes they do not appear to have been brought into direct connection unless we could interpret the hostile Aryas who figure in the history of many of the Tamil rulers as indicating the contemporary Andhra sovereigns of the north; as in the case of the Chera who defeated

the Aryas, and the elder, Pandya, the hero of the *Silappadhikaram* who claims to have defeated the Aryas as well. There is a more precise reference to the *Kannar* in the Tamil classic *Silappadhikaram*. This term could be rendered *Karnas* and they are clearly stated to be "the hundred Karnas." Whatever the significance of the hundred may be by itself, it is doubtful if we could regard it as the equivalent, even by mistake, of the Satakani or Satakanis of the Dakhan.

These last, however, have left us a few inscriptions among the earliest of which is a Prakrit inscription of the second century A. D. This is in a pillar at Majavalli in the Shikarpur¹ taluk of the Shimoga district, recording a grant by Haritputra-Satakarni for the god *Isvara* of the village. The next inscription comes from the same taluk² and is on a pillar standing in front of the Pranavesvara temple. This record states that the God Pranavesvara had been worshipped by Satakarni and other kings. Near the town of Chittaldroog itself some recent excavations unearthed several lead coins of the Andhras and their Viceroys. The Prakrit inscription on the Majavalli pillar is followed by an inscription of the early Kadamba king, Kakutsthavarma dated by the late Prof. Kielhorn,

¹ Shikarpur, 263, Ep. Car., Vol. VII.

² *Ibid*, 176.

about the middle of the sixth century. The inscription (Shikarpur 176) known as the Talgunda pillar inscription contains the further reference to this Kakutsthavarman and gives him credit for the construction of the tank in front of the temple. This Kakutsthavarman was a contemporary of the Guptas and seems to have entered into a matrimonial alliance¹ with them. During this period therefore the Andhra power stretched southwards as far as northern Mysore. Their frontier extended southwards on the eastern side as far as the south Pennar at one time as their ship coins found in that region would enable us to infer. Generally speaking however the Andhra power came into touch with the Tamils on the northern frontier marked by Tirupati and Pulikat. The wild people called Vadukar by the Tamils must have interposed between the Tamils and the Andhras. It was probably to keep guard over this somewhat dangerous frontier, one capital of the Andhras was located at Dhanakataka near Amaravati in the Guntur district. This would mean that the Krishna in this region constituted

¹ Mr. Rice would date the record in the third apparently on the ground that Kakutsthavarman claims to have entered into marriage alliances with the Guptas, that is, according to him Samudragupta, who came as far south as Kanchi in his southern conquest. This is hardly necessary ; but the boast would be pointless if we date the record at a period when the Gupta power was on the decline. The fifth century would be a better date.

the normal southern frontier of the Andhras. This position of the Andhras and the interposition of the tribes of Vadukar between them and the Tamils, raises the question whether the Andhras of to-day, the Telugu-speaking peoples, can lay claim to any affinity with the imperial Andhras of the two centuries on either side of the beginning of the Christian era. The evidence available to us at present does not seem to warrant a categorical answer one way or the other. The Andhras are described as Aryan people who had given up the Aryan customs and practices in religion, in other words mlecchas or even Vratyas. In the Mahabharata the region of wild tribes is said to have intervened between the Andhras and the Tamil country which constitutes at the present time the heart of the Andhra country. It is a well known phenomenon in history that people still in tribal organisation keep moving forward from place to place and give their name to the districts that they may occupy for the time being. Their name certainly attaches itself to the locality where they effect something like a permanent settlement. Even other people that come and settle in that locality afterwards take their name from the district rather than give their name to the district. The present-day Andhras are undoubtedly Andhras in the sense that they occupy the Andhra country, but whether they are the legitimate successors

of the Andhras by race is more than can be postulated on the evidence available to us so far. Unless the reference to the Aryas in Tamil literature be to the Andhras of the Dakhan¹ (or the imperial Andhras if they ever rose to that dignity), it may be safely stated that the Andhras as such do not find mention in Tamil literature. There is a chieftain known by the name Aay-Andiran. The second word of this name is rendered Andhra by some. It is just possible that it is the Tamilised form of the word Andhra.³ It would be unsafe, however, to assert that the Andhras as such came and settled in the south. This position is made still more difficult by the reference to the Vadukar, which term occurs very often in the literature of this period. Vadukar is the present-day vernacular name for the Telugu-speaking people in the Tamil country, but they are described in this body of literature

¹ There is some ground for this equation Arya-Andhra, as the Tamil Lexicon Divakaram gives among the synonyms of the term Arya, the word *mlechchar*. This last cannot mean here the foreign barbarian in the face of the statement these were Ksatriya Vratyas. The term is here used in the sense indicated in the Satapatha Brahmana as those who changer into 1 in pronunciation. This phonetic peculiarity is a feature of the Andhra country, as is exemplified in the Asoka Inscriptions.

² If the term Andar used to designate shepherds, comes from the Sans. Andhaka (a Tamil derivation seems impossible) there is justification for this interpretation. The term Andiran is used in the compound in contradistinction to the term Eyinan in Aay-Eyinan, undoubtedly denoting the caste or tribe from which he came. The two names would stand Aay, the shepherd and Aay, the hunter.

as still in the savage stage of frontier tribes living as marauders. They are located in the region immediately to the north of the Tamil frontier of Pulikat and Tirupati. This would seem to preclude the equation that the Tamils regarded the Vadukar and the Andhras as one. Hence for the time the question has to remain open whether the Telugus of the present day as a body should be traced to the Vadukar or to the Andhras.

It thus seems clear that the Tamil country remained a compact territory with a well-defined frontier in the north inhabited by wild tribes, who were kept under control, separating the Tamil country from the territory of the Andhras. This Tamil country remained the asylum of the orthodox Brahmanical religion, which was able to hold its own as against the sister religions of Jainism and Buddhism within its own territory. During the four or five centuries of its history from the period of Asoka onwards the Tamils seem to have set themselves up in opposition to the systematic propagation of Buddhism under the imperial influence of Asoka himself. This apparently it was that caused the perpetual hostility between the Buddhist Ceylon and the Tamil country set over against it particularly the Ohola country. This attitude of hostility would naturally have continued when the Andhras succeeded to the empire of Asoka and his successors in the south. So the Andhras were kept out of

the Tamil country on the northern frontier. The Tamil country therefore remained the land of freedom in point of religion, and Brahmanism seems to have received the countenance, if not the active support, of the rulers and the body of the people as a whole. Hence the development of Brahmanism here was on the more natural orthodox lines which do not exhibit the ever-recurring reorganisation necessitated by the impact of foreign invaders and hostile religions. In the course of this evolution of Brahmanism there appears to have been a stage of orthodoxy when sea-voyage was not held to make a Brahman fall from his high estate—Manu's objection seems to have had but a restricted applicability; but the Koetei epigraphs seem to make even the restriction of feeble force, as a prohibition of sea-voyage for the Brahman. That the emigrants apparently started from the Pallava country and not the Tamil country proper may be significant of the fact that these were followers of Baudhayan and not of Apastamba.

The Industrial Arts of South India.

Passing on from the political to the industrial condition of India, we have already described the principal sea-ports, both on the western and eastern seaboard. If, as has been pointed out, there were so many thriving ports and, if foreign

merchants sought these for trade at considerable risk of pirates, and if there was so much enterprise in sea-going among the inhabitants of the country itself, the conclusion is irresistible that the country had a prosperous industry, and so, on examination, it appears certainly to have been. Apart from the complaints of Petronius that fashionable Roman ladies exposed their charms much too immodestly by clothing themselves in the "webs of woven wind," as he called the muslins imported from India, Pliny says that India drained the Roman Empire annually to the extent of 55,000,000 sesterces, equal to £486,979¹ sending in return goods which sold at a hundred times their value in India. He also remarks in another place, "this is the price we pay for our luxuries and our women."

That the industrial arts had received attention and cultivation in early times in India is in evidence to the satisfaction of the most sceptical mind. The early Tamils divided arts into six groups:—ploughing (meaning thereby agriculture), handicrafts, painting, commerce and trade, the learned arts and lastly the fine arts. Of these agriculture and commerce were regarded as of the first

¹ Mommsen gives the total £11,000,000, £6,000,000 for Arabia, £5,000,000 for India.

importance. Flourishing trade pre-supposes a volume of industry, the principal of which was weaving then, as it also has been until recently. Cotton, silk and wool seem to have been the material that were wrought into cloths. Among the woollens we find mention of manufactures from "the wool of rats"¹ which was regarded as particularly warm. There are thirty varieties of silks mentioned, each with a distinctive appellation of its own, as distinguished from the imported silks of China which had a separate name. The character of the cotton stuffs that were manufactured is indicated by the comparisons instituted between them and, 'sloughs of serpents/ or 'vapour from milk,' and the general description of these as "those fine textures the thread of which could not be followed even by the eye."

Exports and Imports,

The chief exports from the country, as the author of the Periplus says, were these ; "the produce of the soil like pepper, great quantities of the best pearl are likewise purchased here, ivory, silk in the web, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the countries further to the east, transparent stones of all sorts,

¹ This seems a technical expression meaning the kind of wool which lent itself to weaving.

diamonds, rubies and tortoise shell from the golden Chersonese or from the islands off the coast of Damirke. This is all from the port of Muziris on the west coast. He goes on to say, "there is a great resort of shipping to this port for pepper and malabathrum; the merchants bring out a large quantity of spice and their other imports are topazes, stibium, coral., flint, glass, brass and lead, a small quantity of wine as profitable as at Barugaza, cinnabar, fine cloth, arsenic and wheat, not for sale but for the use of the crew." That Pliny's complaint about the drain was neither imaginary nor hypersensitive is in evidence in a passage descriptive of Muziris in one of the ancient classics of Tamil literature¹ 'Musiri to which come the well-rigged ships of the Yavanas² bringing gold and taking away spices in exchange.'

Regarding the trade of the east coast, here follows the imports into 'Puhar, "horses were brought from distant lands beyond the seas, pepper was brought in ships, gold and precious stones came from the northern mountains towards the west³; pearls from the southern seas, and

¹ See Aham 148, quoted above.

² Yavanas in this connection stand undoubtedly for the foreign Greeks and Romans. Other foreigners also were known and these were called Mlechchas. Mullaippattu, 11. 61-65, Maba., Svaminatha Aiyar's Edn. of Pattupattu.

³ The Western Ghats in Konkan and Tulu seem to have produced gold, See Aham, 70

coral from eastern seas. The produce of the region watered by the Ganges; all that is grown on the banks of the* Kaveri, articles of food from Ilam (Ceylon) and the manufactures of Kalaham (Sumatra) ¹ were brought there for sale as was stated already. The products of particular importance received in the port of Tondi (east or Chola Tondi in the Ramnad Dt.) are akir (a kind black aromatic wood), fine silk, camphor, silk stuff (from China), candy, sandal, scents, and these articles and salt were carried into the interior by means of waggons drawn by teams of oxen or buffaloes slowly trudging along through town and village, effecting exchanges with commodities for export. Tolls were paid on the way and the journey from the coast up the plateau and back again occupied many months. A brisk and thriving commerce with the corresponding volume of internal trade argues peace, and the period to which the above description will apply must have been a period of general peace in the Peninsula. They did not forget in those days to maintain a regular customs establishment, the officials of which piled up the grain and stored up the things that could not immediately be measured and appraised, leaving them in the dockyards

¹ Pattinappa ai, 127 ff

carefully sealed with the tiger signet of the king.¹ The Tamils built their own ships, and in the other crafts of the skilled artisan they seem to have attained some proficiency, though they availed themselves of experts from distant places. In the building of the royal palace at Puhar, skilled artisans from Magadha, mechanics from Maradam (Mahratta), smiths from Avanti (Malva) carpenters from Yavana worked² together. There is mention of a temple of the most beautiful workmanship in the same city, built of Gurjjara³ workship. In the building of forts and in the providing of them with weapons and missiles, both for offence and defence, the Tamils had attained to something like perfection. Twenty-four such weapons are mentioned among the defences of Madurn.⁴

Sources of Information.

I now proceed to consider the sources of the information which are the classical writers, Indian literature, Tamil and Sanskrit, and the

¹ Pattinappalai, 134-6, Silappadhikaram, Canto. VI, ll 2-39.

* Manimekhalai, Canto XIX, l. 107 ff.

³ *Ibid*, XVII, l. 145. This has reference to the small temple of Champapati the Guardian-deity of Jambudvipa. The Tamil *kuchchara* can have a number of equivalents in Sanskrit and Prakrit one of which of course is Gurjjara. If it is proved that the Gurjjaras were unknown in India before the end of the fifth century A. D. this equation with Gurjjara will have to be given up. Apart from this it is possible we get a more satisfactory equivalent. Either way this cannot be held to be a decisive test of chronology. * Silappadhikaram, Canto XV, ll. 207-17,

Ceylonese chronicle. Of the first group, Strabo wrote in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius; Pliny published his geography in A. D. 77; the *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea was written in the first century A. D., probably A. D. 60; Ptolemy wrote his geography about A. D. 150; the *Peutingerian Tables* were composed in A. D. 232. There were other writers who wrote later, but we are not concerned with them directly. I would draw attention to three points, taken from the works of classical writers. Pliny remarks : At the present day voyages are made to India every year, and companies of archers are carried on board, because the Indian seas are infested by pirates. Later on he says: It (Muziris) is not a desirable place of call, pirates being in the neighbourhood, who occupy a place called Nitrias, and besides it is not well supplied with wares for traffic. This was before A. D. 77. Ptolemy regarded this port Muziris as an emporium, and places the country of Aioi south of Bakarai. Though Ptolemy does mark the division of the Konkan coast extending northwards of Nitra (Nitrias of Pliny) and up to the port of Mandagara which is identified with some place not yet definitely accepted in the southern Maharatta country north of Goa, as Ariake Andron Peiration, meaning the Ariake of the pirates in his time, says no more of pirates at all, meaning

there was no piracy at the time to which his work relates, a period not far from him. The *Periplus* on the contrary does make mention of the piratic character of this coast and gives a straightforward account of its active prevalence at the time in regard to the ports in the neighbourhood. The bearing of this we shall see presently.¹

¹ The following account from Marco Polo of this coast is worth noting :—There go forth every year more than a hundred coisair vessels on cruise. These pirates take with them their wives and children and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleets of 20 or 30 of these pirate vessels together, and then they form what they call a sea cordon, that is they drop off till there is an interval of 5 or 6 miles between ship and ship, so that they cover something like a hundred miles of sea, and no merchant ship can escape them. For when any one corsair sights a vessel a signal is made by fire or smoke and then the whole of them make for this and seize the merchants and plunder them. After they have plundered them they let them go saying go along with you and get more gain, and that may-hap will fall to us also.

He also notes in respect of the kingdom of Eli the following :—

If any ship enters their estuary and anchors there having been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. For they say, you were bound for somewhere else, and it is God has sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods. And they think it is no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over the provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship is driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which it was bound, it was sure to be plundered. But if a ship came bound originally to the place they receive it with all honour and give it due protection.

It would be interesting to note, as Yule remarks, that it was in this neighbourhood that Ibu Batuta fell into the hands of pirates and was stripped to the very drawers." That region continued to be piratical up to the days of Clive and Watson as we know. In the days of Sivaji it continued to be piratical also, as he is said to have replied to an English embassy protecting against this piracy that " it was

The *Peutingian Tables* state clearly that two Roman Cohorts were maintained in the slave town for the protection of Roman commerce.

Mr. Sewell who has made an elaborate study of the Roman coins found in India, considers that an examination of the coin finds leads to the following conclusions¹:—

1. There was hardly any commerce between Rome and India during the Consulate.

2. With Augustus began an intercourse which enabling the Romans to obtain oriental luxuries during the early days of the empire, culminated about the time of Nero, who died A.D. 68.

3. From this time forward the trade declined till the death of Caracalla, A.D. 217.

4. From the death of Caracalla it almost entirely ceased.

5. It revived again, though slightly, under the Byzantine emperors.

He also infers that the trade under the early emperors was in luxuries ; under the later ones in industrial products, and under the Byzantines

against the laws of Conchon, to restore any ship or goods that were driven ashore " The Central Asian Ambassador Abd-er-Razzak has something to say of pirates near the Calicut coast. Marco-Polo, Yule and Cordier. (3rd Edn.) III Chap. XXIV and XXV, pp. 385-392.

¹ J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 591.

the commerce was with the south-west coast only, and not with the interior. He differs from those who find an explanation of this fluctuation in the political and social condition of India itself, and the facilities or their absence for navigating the seas ; and considers that the cause is to be sought for in the political and social condition of Rome.

From an examination of the second class of my sources of information alone, we find that there was a period when South India was under great rulers, who gave the country peace and thus provided the indispensable security for commerce. This period can be shown to correspond to that of the Roman empire from Augustus to Caracalla. After this period we find the country in a condition of political flux. So then we may still find one, at least, of the most potent causes of this commercial decline in the internal condition of India itself. Pliny and Ptolemy do not mention the Roman cohorts at Muziris which the *Peutingerian Tables* do. The first exploit of the Red-Chera's father is the destruction of the Kadambu¹ tree of the sea. Another compliment that the poets never miss an opportunity of bestowing upon this Red-Ohera himself is that the Chera fleet sailed on the waters of that littoral with a

¹ Padirappatta I I, 11, 11. 1243 11. 12-13 11, 17, 11. 5-6.

sense of dominion and security.¹ The Kadambu mentioned above is explained as a tree of extraordinary magic powers which could not be cut down by ordinary man. I rather think from the context that it has reference to a piratical rendezvous of the tribe of people who were known as the Kadambas. This view seems to be directly countenanced by the extract 3 in the note before the last which says in effect that he crossed the sea, destroyed the Kadambu and brought his enemies to subjection.² If this view is correct, the advent of the said Chera brought along with it security. This would be in conformity with Ptolemy's reference to Aay, who was one of the seven chieftains known to literature as "the last seven patrons." From the body of works known to Tamil scholars as the Sangam works their contemporaneity could easily be established. I find the name Aay a distinctive name of two individuals, and not quite of a family. The

¹ Puram 128, Marokkattu Nappasalaiyar, on Malayman Tirumudik-Kari.

² It would be nothing surprising if the Kadambu tree, the country-date or some tree like it had been the tree-totem of this tribe. One tree in particular might have been regarded as peculiarly sacred by the tribe like the famous Oak at Dodono of the Ancient Greeks, or the slightly less famous oak trunk of the Saxons of the days of Charlemagne. Such trees with the Tamils were called guard trees and cutting them down was an invitation to a war to the death; cf. the margogsa tree of Palaiyan.

Aay must have been the contemporary of, or a little older than Ptolemy, and the age of Ptolemy would practically be the age of the Red Chera, and the Chera ascendancy. This conclusion only confirms what has been arrived at independently of this class of evidence. The Gajabahu of Ceylon who visited the Red-Chera almost at the end of his reign, ruled according to the Ceylonese chronicle from A.D. 113 to 135. Even allowing for the difference between the Ceylonese date of the Nirvana of the Buddha, and that arrived at by modern scholars as Dr. Fleet, namely 60 years, that date for Gajabahu would be A. D. 173 to 193. The Chera ascendancy then would cover the middle fifty years of the second century A.D. Here has to be brought in the Paisachi work *Brhat-Katha*. Satavahana or Salivahana was the ruler in [whose court flourished the minister Gunadhya, who was the author of this stupendous work which stands at the root of all romantic literature in India, Sanskrit or Vernacular, and may be of the rest of the world as well. It was this work that set the fashion for the composition of the romantic epics. The age of the original is still matter under investigation. The latest authority on the question is the Dutch scholar Speyer who would place it in the third century A.D. at the earliest—a date clearly impossible according to our line of

inquiry.¹ I shall not say more about it here; but only remark that one of the works clearly based upon this, has to be referred to a period anterior to the astronomer Varahamihira, A.D. 533. This work Manimekhalai refers to the asterism under which the Buddha was born as the fourteenth which according to modern computation following Varahamihira ought to be the sixteenth.² The Ceylon chronicle also deserves to be given more credit than heretofore. So far investigations from different points of view only appear to confirm its chronology.

The date of the death of the Roman Emperor Caracalla corresponds closely to the disappearance of the Satavahanas of the Dakhan. According to the latest opinion the power of the Kushanas also vanished about the same period. In South India likewise the Pandya ascendancy passes into darkness.

This prosperous and flourishing Roman trade with India lasted over a little more than two centuries, as we saw, beginning almost from the reign of Augustus and coming to an end practically with the death of Caracalla. In India

¹ The Manimekhalai knew the story as the Kasmirian Somadeya knew it referring to the imprisonment of Udayana, the Vatsaraja, in Ujjain, and the stratagem by which YaugandharSyana brought about his escape.

* This can be otherwise explained as due to copying the older northern tradition irrespective of the date of the work containing the reference.

also the Kushana Empire in the north and that of the Andhras in the Dakhan and the rule of the Tamil kings in the South come to an eclipse almost about the same time, as the rise of Sassanid power in Persia. What may be the exact connection between the rise of the Sassanian power on the one band and of the extinction of the Indian powers on the other has to be unveiled by future research. It is however clear that Roman commerce suffered practically, because of the rise of this power which interposed itself along the route of Roman commerce overland and perhaps to a smaller extent across the long over-sea route. The Persian Gulf route passed effectively under the control of the Sassanids, who seem early to have exerted themselves to capture the trade of the Arabs and whose efforts had succeeded so far in it that they could extend their voyages of commerce across the whole width of the Indian ocean and venture as far as the Shantung Peninsula in China. While the rise of this power seems to have diminished the maritime enterprise of the Tamils in the Arabian Sea region, it did not actually extinguish it. It left the Tamil enterprise across the Bay of Bengal unaffected although not altogether alone.

From what has already been said above, it is clear that the Tamils of South India had commenced their colonial enterprise across the Bay

of Bengal earlier than we know anything of. The familiarity with which Savakam and the voyages thereto are spoken of, and the description of the imports into the port of Tondi in the Ramnad District and Kaveripatam at the mouth of the river Kaveri, which answer detail after detail to what we learn from the *Periplus* and Ptolemy, warrant the inference that the Tamils had an established system of over-seas trade on this side of the coast of the peninsula. Taken as a whole then, the knowledge we gain of the over-seas enterprise of the Tamils reaches back to times perhaps centuries before the age of the classical literature from which these details are gained. The ship coins of the Andhras whose provenance according to Sir Walter Elliot is the coast region between the two Pennars, north and south, the region pre-eminently of a class of people known by the name Tiraiyar, goes only to confirm what we learn from Tamil literature. What is more we hear of a class of merchants described in Tamil as *ma-sattu-vanigam* (Sans, *maha-sartha-vanik*) as great sea-going merchants, indicates the existence of a class of people whose profession it was to trade over-seas. When actually this communication began we are not in a position to state, but that there was something like a settled communication and regular voyage of commerce cannot be doubted. This prevalence of communication between

South India on the one side and the Malaya peninsula and the islands on the other, is confirmed in a very unlooked-for fashion by the recently discovered Koetei inscription to which we have already referred. That Brahmans emigrated to the distant east, as far east as the east coast of Borneo, and the character of the emigrant colony, make it indubitable that this was an emigration from South India, probably from the region of the early Pallavas.

Among the ruins of monuments discovered all over this region, both in Further India and the islands, the general position seems to be that the earliest monuments have reference to the worship of Vishnu, according to recognised authorities. Saivism followed, these two being followed later by Buddhism. This order of succession not necessarily exclusively so, seems to be the case in regard to further India as far as exploration work has gone on there. A similar conclusion seems warranted from all that we know of monumental Java as the position is explained by the explicit statement of Fa-hien in regard to his own Java which must be the same as Ptolemy's Sabadiu and the Tamil Savakam. That this Java is Sumatra and not the island Java, as we know at present, may now be stated with confidence for the following reasons, summarised by Colonel Gerini as a result of an elaborate

investigation in his researches on Ptolemy's Geography, pp. 462.

"As to the name Java being applied to the whole or part of Sumatra, we have the evidence, (1) of the Kedah Annals (Oh. 13, Low's translation in Journal of Indian Archipelago, Vol. III) that Achin or Acheh, was called the country of Jawi (Javi) ; (2) of Ibn Batuta, who records Sumatra in 1345-46 under the name of "Island of Jawah (or Java)" (See "Defremrey and Sanguinetti," Ed. and Trans., Vol., IV, p. 228) and (3) the still more decisive and far older testimony of the Pagar-ruyang inscription in the central part of the island (Menang-Kabau district), dating from A.D. 656, where King Aditya-dharma is called the ruler of the "First (or Primeval) land of Java," *Prathania-Yava-Bhu*, meaning, apparently, the first kingdom founded by the Yava or Java race in Sumatra, or, still better, in the Archipelago (see J. Bom. R.A.S., June 1861, Appendix, p. lxxvii). It should moreover be noted that the natives of Nias speak of the Malays of Sumatra as *Bawa*, a term which evidently is but a corruption of Jawa or Java, especially as the Battak apply to the same people on their borders the slightly different denomination of Jau."

This Savakam was known to the Tamils as a kingdom ruled over by a king by a name Bhumi-chandra. The name of his queen was Amara Sundari and both of them brought up a child, an

avatar of Buddha, somewhat miraculously born of a cow. But the geographical detail in connection with this story is that it had for its capital a town known as Nagapuram (see Manimekhalai). Colonel Gerini in his *Researches* labours hard to explain what Ptolemy's Argyre,¹ the capital of his Iabadiu or Savadiu actually was, and identifies it with Achin or Acheh on the north-west coast of Java. If Nagapuram was the capital of Savagam, the capital of Sabadiu must be the equivalent of Nagapuram. Ptolemy's Argyre does not come any way near it at first sight, but this Nagapuram passes by the alternative designation Bhogavatipura, and has yet another alternative Uracapura which comes nearest to Argyre. It is well known that Kajidasa speaks of the capital of the Pandyas as Uracapura,² meaning thereby that the capital of the Pandyas was in his time known Uracapura. To the classical Tamils, although Madura is by far the most familiar, the term Alavay or Halasya (abr. of Hala-halasya) was not unfamiliar. If the Tamil name Savakam was due to Tamil, the capital may well be ascribed to the same source, and if the capital city had been founded under the auspices of Madura, it might well take the name Uracapura giving Ptolemy his equivalent Argyre. Whether Uracapura in its alternative form

¹ *Opus, cit.*, pp. 656. ff.

² *Kaghuvamsa, Canto VI, Sloka 59.*

Bhogavatl-pura is actually responsible for the term Sri-Bhoja for the later capital of Sumatra is more than we can assert at present. Hence it would be more reasonable from every point of view to regard Sumatra as the "Prathama Yava," the other island Java being so called by the immigrants from this original Java. As we pass from Fa-hien to the other Chinese traveller to whom we are indebted for a considerable volume of information regarding Java, we find a different state of things from the point of view of religion. This traveller I-tsing left the Shantung peninsula in a Persian ship and came down to Sri-Bhoja; proceeded from there to Tamra-lipti and travelled therefrom in India learning Sanskrit and collecting manuscripts bearing on Buddhism. Having lived a number of years in India, he returned to Sri-Bhoja with hundreds of manuscripts. After taking a holiday home, he returned with several collaborators to Sri-Bhoja. He stayed some years there and completed the translations of several of the manuscripts he had collected and sent home 500 volumes of translations. He settled down in Sri-Bhoja for the obvious reason that he commanded the convenience for carrying on his literary labours. The period of his travels cover the last quarter of the seventh century. He then found the kingdom of Sri-Bhoja which exercised authority not only over its own territory, but over the islands and principalities

across the straits in the Malaya peninsula, so that we might say that the period of expansion of the kingdom of Sri-Bhoja had already begun. He was hospitably treated and was provided with a state ship by the Maharajah of Sri-Bhoja, who apparently supplied him with all requirements for conducting his literary labours after his return from India. The country was then essentially Buddhist. The change from just the beginnings of Buddhistic influence in the age of Fa-hien, to the dominance of Buddhism during I-tsing's stay in the island, gives us clearly to understand that the intervening centuries, the fifth, sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era, constitute the period of Buddhistic outspread in this region. It may be due to the influence of Buddhistic scholars like Buddha ghosha, who is said to have travelled from Ceylon to Burma on a religious mission. Either he himself or others like him, before and after, were responsible for this expansion of Buddhism. This does not seem unlikely as we know that the sixth century South India contributed three successive principals to the Nalanda University of whom perhaps the most distinguished was Dharmapala of Kanchi. When Hiuen-tsang was in Kanchi, he had to cancel the project of going to Ceylon, where he wanted to learn certain parts of the Buddhist Vinaya. During his stay in Kanchi there arrived a number of Buddhist

divines from Ceylon to Kanchi and they told him that the island was so disturbed by internecine war that it would not be worth his while going there then. When he told them what exactly his mission was, they undertook to instruct him themselves as they were by far the most learned in that particular section. This disturbed state of the country relates to the middle of the seventh century. Some of the Buddhists from Ceylon might have found asylum in Sri-Bhoja, and that perhaps was the reason why in I-tsing's days Sri-Bhoja had become a great Buddhist centre. Whatever the cause, Sri-Bhoja in which I-tsing stayed was an important Buddhist centre where he could carry on his literary labours quite as well as in Nalanda itself, the climate of which was unsuitable to the Chinese scholar. Hence we see the outspread of religion from South India into the islands of the Archipelago probably was in the same order chronologically as in the case of Further India, namely, Vaishnavism, Saivism, and Buddhism, and that is what we discovered is the exact order in respect of the archaeological monuments in Java. The most remarkable ones such as the Borobudur are entirely Buddhist and this Java monument is described by competent authority (such as Prof. Foucher) to belong to the eighth or the ninth century A.D. In the central province of Java however on the heights of the

mountains could be discovered ruins of temples dedicated to Siva considered to belong to a period not later than the seventh or the eighth century. In the western part of Sumatra island however, Sanskrit inscriptions of a Vaishnava character have been found. And these are ascribed to the period about A.D. 450 to 600. This according to Colonel Gerini indicates the order of religious overflow from Sumatra into Java. This, so far from the point of view of India, is essentially a question of wherefrom the emigrants started and to what particular region of South India they belonged. Vaishnavism and Saivism flourished side by side at the dawn of the Christian era and they could both of them have gone eastwards at any time since that period. If it should have been that the first colony went from the region of the Pallavas that is from the country extending from the mouth of the Krishna to that of the S. Pennar, naturally Vaishnavism would have been established first. Whatever was the origin of this chronological order, there is no question about the order itself. The Koetei inscription is evidence of the spread of Vedic Brahmans from South India. The Takopa inscription on a stone found near the mouth of **the** river Takopa in the Malaya Peninsula is **again in** Pallava characters of the seventh **or** the **early** eighth century, and relates to a Vishnu **temple of** Narayana Venugopala on the top of a

hill called Narayana higher up the **river**. The actual purport of this inscription is the construction of a tank near the temple, and the placing of it under the protection of certain communities of people described as Sena-mukham, Manigramam, and Chapattar (?). The first seems to refer to a military force, Sena-mukham being explained as "the Royal Guards" ; Manigramam is a well-known mercantile community of the west coast and "Chapattar," the last, if the reading of the first part is quite correct (it is rather doubtful), would mean "body of archers." Manigramam is certain indication of a colony from the west coast. The origin of the colony would explain the Vaishnava character of the settlement. So far then we see the influence of South India to have continued intact, and the period ranging from before the days of Ptolemy right on to the beginning of the tenth century almost may be regarded as the period of the greatest South Indian influence in this part of Asia.

During the period extending from the first quarter of the seventh century onwards, a new influence began to be felt in the rise and expansion of Islam in Arabia. The fall of Persia as a result of the successful war conducted by Khalif Omar introduced a new political element in mid-Western Asia which was likely to exercise a considerable influence upon Indian Ocean

navigation, "We hear of descents of Arab Muhammadan fleets on the coasts of the northern Konkan and the region of Sindh in the reign of Omar himself. But the Persians under the Sassanids seem to have established themselves so well on the Indian Ocean, that even this conquest did not displace Persian nautical enterprise in the eastern arm of the Indian Ocean. Late in the seventh century, the Persians so far maintained themselves as to carry on a regular trade, as far east as the Shantung Peninsula. That I-tsing travelled in a Persian ship from the Shantung Peninsula to Sri-Bhoja in the island of Sumatra is the clearest possible evidence of it. At the same time the fact that I-tsing performed the rest of his journey to Tamralipti in a ship provided by the Maharaja of Sri-Bhoja is equally a clear indication of the rising sea-power of this enterprising state of Sumatra. While therefore the Arab and Persian had to carry on eastern trade in a friendly rivalry, this new element of a native power in Sumatra was somewhat disconcerting to the rivals themselves. It cannot be stated that during this period the Hindus of South India and Bengal, and the inhabitants of Ceylon necessarily ceased their maritime activities. The Takopa inscription already adverted to, is evidence of some enterprise, as it happens, on the part of the colonists from the region of the Malabar coast; but more than that, this was the age of Buddhistic

outspreed from South India, and all this expansion, it would be difficult to assert, took place by means of available foreign shipping. The fact that an invasion set out from the coasts of the Pallava country against Ceylon consisting of a fleet of 300 ships is certain indication that nautical efforts on the Tamil coasts had not come to an end. A Tamil poet could still speak in the eighth century of ships bringing elephants and gold and lying in harbour at Mahabalipuram (the Seven-Pagodas of Anglo-India). There are records of several invasions of Ceylon and the West-Coast by the Cholas; what is more, of a greater invasion fitted out and sent against Ramanna, the ruler of Pegu by the great Ceylon Buddhist King Parakramabahu. The sounder conclusion from the available evidence therefore is that these had all traded together in peaceful rivalry during this period.

The rise of the kingdom of Sri-Bhoja and the prominent position that it occupied when I-tsing was on his travels in India, that is, in the latter half of the seventh century A. D., was the beginning of a career of expansion for this kingdom. The number of references that we get to missions sent from this kingdom to China and the early references in Muhammadan Arab travellers, gives us clearly to understand that the kingdom of Sri-Bhoja beginning as a small state was fast advancing to what might

be described as a sort of imperial position in the Eastern Seas. Sulaiman (A. D. 851) speaking of Zabej says "that the entire region obeys a single king." Both Ibn-Khurda-dbih (A. D. 864) and Abu-Zaid of the later ninth century have much the same tiling to say of the Maharaja of Zabej. He is said to rule over a large number of islands stretching for a distance of a thousand parasangas (2,400 miles). Among his possessions are counted (1) Sarbaza or Serboza both of them alike standing for Sri-Bhoja (modern Palembang), (2) Rami producing camphor (this Rami is the same as Lambri or Lameri including in it Fansur or Barus (camphor forests) and (3) Kalah on the Malay Peninsula. According to Ibn Khurda-dbih, it was ruled over by the Jaba prince of India (ruler of Pegu). But Abu-zaid includes it in the territory of the Maharaja of Sri-Bhoja. This position given to it in the ninth century is confirmed by later writers, those that obtained their information from previous writers, as well as those who wrote from first-hand information of their own. What we learn therefore from Arab writers would justify the inference that in the centuries of Chola ascendancy in South India, Sri-Bhoja was the dominant power in the Archipelago. It is apparently of one of these rulers that Renaudot records a somewhat legendary story of invasion of what seems the Pandya

country for the purpose of punishing the contemporary Pandya ruler for having spoken ill of the great Maharaja.

To the Tamilian rulers however, across the Bay of Bengal, the Maharajas of Sri-Bhoja were rulers of Kadaram ; as such they are brought to our notice in a few records relating to them. In regard to the identification of the rulers of Kadaram with the Maharaja of Sri-Bhoja, the evidence has been discussed elsewhere.¹

A ruler of Kadaram by name Chudamaiii Varman applied for permission and obtained a license from the great Chola Baja raja for the building of a *vihara* in Negapatam which is called in the record Chudamani Vihara. About the same time an embassy went from him to China, asked for the blessings of "His Celestial Majesty" for a new vihara that he built and obtained from him approval of the name and the presentation of bells. The vihara perhaps was not completed in the time of Chudamani Varma. His son Mara Vijayottunga Varma purchased and made over to this vihara two villages, the record conveying which is known to epigraphists by the name, "the large Leyden Grant." This is a Chola charter on copper-plates licensing or ratifying this transaction. This relationship apparently continued for about twenty years, when for

¹ Rajendra, the Gangaigonda Chola in the Sir Asutosh Commemoration Volumes: Vol. III, Calcutta University.

some reason or other a cause of war had arisen. An expedition was fitted out against this Raja of Kadaram, known this time Sangrama Vijaya-uttunga Varma, probably the son and successor of Mara Vijaya-uttunga Varma. As is explained in the article quoted above, Rajendra had, as a necessary preliminary to conquer Orissa, as the royal families of Orissa and Sri-Bhoja appear to have been related to each other, both of them belonging to Sri Sailendra Vamsa. The war which Rajendra carried on as far as the banks of the Ganges, and the thorough-going way that he carried it to bring the Kalinga rulers to submission to him were both necessitated for the safety of his own flank. One possible cause of this invasion oversea seems to be that the Tamil states in the east were being absorbed by the ruler of Sri-Bhoja in his imperial expansion. The several embassies referred to in the record of the Chinese trade superintendent Chau-Ju-Kua,¹ and the one in particular of date A. D. 1033 from a Lo-Cha-Into-Lo Chulo is from Sri-Rajendra Deva Chola, that is, Rajendra the Gangaigonda had probably the same object in view. This distant embassy was apparently sent by Rajendra with a view to putting matters on a permanent footing in

¹ Translated by Dr. Hirth in J. R. A. S., 1896, p. 489. Republished in book form in 1912 by F. Hirth and W. W. R. Rockhill. See also Gerini *opus cit*, p. 609, Note 2.

respect of his eastern territory across the seas. The last mission we hear of, is of date A.D. 1077 from the Chola country belonging to the reign of the great Chola ruler Kulottunga, A.D. 1070 to 1118. The Sung history relating to this mission states that Chu-lien (the Chola country) had become tributary to San-fo-ch'i (Sri Vijaya of the time) which seems to be the name that Sri-Bhoja assumed at that time. The Sung reference cannot therefore be to the Chola country on the peninsula of India. It is apparently to the Chola possessions on the East coast and the islands of the Bay of Bengal. We do not hear of any relation between the Chola country and the east after this period, and therefore the inference seems safe that the Chola overseas dominance was thenceforward as good as given up. The century following is a century of the decline of the Chola power and a revival of that of the Pandyas. The great Pandya king who ruled from A.D. 1268 to 1310-11 had considerable maritime trade both with the west, as far as, at any rate, the Persian Gulf, if not Arabia, and as far east as China. But this vast trade which was the cause of the prosperity of the vast Pandya kingdom seems to have been in the hands of a chief of Arab Muhammadans whose head-quarters were in the Persian Gulf in the island of Kis or Kais. He was known by the title Malik-ul-Islam Jamalu-d-din and had

not only the monopoly of the horse trade of the Pandya kingdom, but seemed also to have enjoyed the control of the eastern trade. His first agent Abdur-Rahiman-ut-Thaibi had his headquarters at Kayal, the chief port in the south-east of the Pandya country, and had control of the whole coasting trade. It was a cousin of this agent, a Jamalu-d-din (Chamalatang), who went on a mission to China on behalf of the great Pandya king Kulasekhara. This transformation, the trade passing from the hands of the natives of South India into the hands of the Arab agents of the local monarchs, seems to have come about in the course of the decline of the Chola power. The inference then is that the Cholas were the chief maritime power of the Coromandal coast, and that their decline meant the decline of the maritime activity of the Tamils.

The Arab Mubammadans must have for some considerable time settled down along this coast for purposes of trade. We have already stated that there were small settlements of these even in a town like Kaveripatam. That state of things must have continued, and it was probably the passing of the bulk of the eastern trade under their control, and of the Coromandal coast proving the exchange mart between the goods from the west and goods from the east, that explains the Arab name Ma'bir (landing-place)

which the Arabs gave to the South Indian coast extending from Quilon to Nellore according to Wassaf. It is just about this time of the rising of the Arab agencies on the Indian coast that were founded a number of settlements of these Arabs along the Ceylon coast as well. It is to this age that is again ascribed the gaining of sufficient influence by the Arabs on the north coast of Java, wherefrom by a few important conversions to Mahammadanism they began to exercise that influence that ultimately led to Java, and the islands adjoining, adopting the Mahammadan faith. It is this conversion to Mahammadanism of the East Indian Archipelago that is responsible for the cessation of the Hindu maritime enterprise in the east. It does not appear however to have ceased entirely. The famous charter to oversea traders granted by the Kakatlya king, Gauapati, and which is found recorded on the pillar at Motupalli near the mouth of the river Krishna, seems to have revived a little of the Hindu enterprise in this particular. The Telugu poet Srinatha in the dedication of his poem Harvilasam to one Avachi Tippaiya Setti of Nellore says, that Tippaiya Setti had the monopoly of supplying all valuable articles to the great Devaraya II of Vijaynagar, to the Sultan Mahammad of the Bahmani kingdom and the Reddi chief, Kumaragiri Reddi of Kondavldu. He is said to have "imported

camphor-plants from the Punjab, gold from Jalanogi, elephants from Ceylon, good horses from Hurimanji (Ormuz), musk from Goa, pearls from Apaga, Musk from Chotangi (Chautang or Drishadvati) and fine silks from China."

Whether we should take it that he got them all through the agency of the Mahammadan overseas merchants may be doubted. There is however the patent fact that, in the two and a half centuries of the ascendancy of the Vijayanagar Empire in Southern India, something like 300 ports were open to trade along its coast. There is no reference to any effort on the part of this Empire to build up or maintain a navy. It is the want of a navy on the part of Vijayanagar and its failure to provide one that opened the way for the enterprise of foreigners, European foreigners, in this period in India

This somewhat cursory survey of the maritime enterprise of the Hindus of South India makes it clear that the South Indian Hindus exhibited commendable enterprise oversea, and carried their civilisation and religion across the Bay of Bengal to the East Indian Archipelago in the centuries, perhaps anterior to the Christian era. With the dawn of the Christian era, this enterprise takes form and shape and we begin to see therefore communities of South Indian inhabitants along the eastern shores of the Bay of

Bengal. These communities began to grow and flourish to such an extent that they cease to be merely temporary trade settlements becoming permanent colonies of Hindus necessitating even a considerable amount of Brahman emigration essential to the life of the Hindu community as a whole. The whole turn that was given to the civilisation of the East Indian Archipelago is the form that religious and cultural development exhibited in South India. Vaishnavism and Saivism, or subsequently Southern or Hinayanist Buddhism spread over from South India and Ceylon to the east, and gave rise to those magnificent monuments, some of which even excel those of the mother country. The character of these monuments as far as they could be studied from their ruinous condition, and the few inscriptions that have been discovered indicate unmistakably that the inspiration came from South India. The culture was South Indian undoubtedly. The cause of prosperity of these might be regarded as due to South India, as it is South Indian enterprise that built up the trade of the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula with which it maintained a continuous trade in commodities of rare value, and gained from her the practical monopoly for several of them. In the development of a commerce from their exuberance of nature, South Indian Hindus played a prominent part. At one **time**

it looked as though it had succeeded in establishing a Greater India; but the want of sustained enterprise in this particular, combined with efficient rivalries, stopped them short as soon as it was well on the way to its full development. This failure proved a vital defect in the imperial career of Vijayanagar, and made a permanent Hindu Empire in India impossible.

CHAPTER XIX.

ADMINISTRATIVE EVOLUTION IN SOUTH INDIA.

As a result of recent research work, chiefly epigraphical, it is now generally agreed that South India, particularly the Tamil country, had developed a good and thorough-going system of local administration under the Cholas. This period extends from the end of the ninth century to well-past the middle of the thirteenth century. The same system continued during the Pandya revival with hardly any difference. Even the Vijayanagar rulers did not interfere with the system as it then obtained, but much rather confirmed and continued it. As in this particular region, Mahammadan rule was of a very temporary character, the system continued down to the British times, that is, down to the commencement of the nineteenth century when the East India Company took over the administration of various parts of South India. It can therefore be safely stated that the system continued more or less unchanged except under the British. Under the Cholas, the system stands revealed to us Minerva-like in full working order, When it actually did come into existence,

who had the credit of originating it would be interesting speculation, but with the material accessible to us, it could be nothing more than speculation.

The first certain historical glimpse we get of this part of India is in a somewhat specific statement of Megasthenes preserved to us through one of his many successors who have, each in his own way, handed down to us such of the details recorded by Megasthenes as interested him. He says that Herakles begot a daughter in India, whom he called Pandaia. He is said to have assigned to her the part of India lying to the southward and extending to the sea. Herakles divided this territory into 365 villages and so arranged matters that each village brought into the royal treasury its revenue on a particular day so that the 365 villages brought in the revenues in the 365 days, obviously of the year. This arrangement is said to have been made with a view to giving the queen the assistance of the guard that brought in the tribute, so as to enable her to compel defaulters to pay up with their assistance if need be. He states that this queen had an army of 500 elephants, 4,000 cavalry and 130,000 infantry. She is said to have possessed great treasure in the fishery for pearls which according to Arrian were greatly prized by the Greeks and the Romans. This is the first clear statement that we get in regard to

a governmental organisation in South India. The introduction of Herakles and the doubt among scholars as "to the exact Indian deity for whom the Greek Herakles is made to stand would vitiate the correctness of the details given by Megasthenes. While differences of opinion may be possible in regard to the particulars, there could be no reasonable difference of opinion in regard to the part of the country under reference. This is the part of the country extending southward to the sea, obviously the peninsular part of India corresponding to the *Strl-rajya* of the Puranas, and what is more the specific mention of the pearl-fishery leaves no doubt that it is the Pandya country, that is under reference in this passage from Megasthenes. Tamil tradition knows of a queen, daughter of the first king, Sundara, who is no less than God Siva worshipped in the great temple at Madura. Being the only daughter she was heiress of the kingdom in her own right and probably it is this story that Megasthenes had heard of, thereby indicating that the tradition goes back, to an age anterior to Megasthenes. In this case Megasthenes' Herakles would be the equivalent of Siva. The division of the territory into 365 villages or revenue units is an indication of early civil division of the Pandya territory. Some such division seems to have obtained in the age of the classical literature

where we hear of divisions like Nadu and Vajanadu, explicitly and of fortresses dominating adjoining country. But anything like a clear and specific division of the country into various parts, and the actual organisation under which these parts were governed we are not enabled to see in this body of literature.

But we do gain a glimpse from the somewhat longstanding tradition regarding the country called the Tondamandalam, that is the region extending between the two Peijnars and surrounding Madras, the headquarters of the Presidency in modern times. This was originally forest country inhabited by people who were in the semi-nomadic stage of civilisation of cattle-rearers and cattle-lifters.

Civilisation was introduced into this country by the great Chola ruler, Karikala, and his successor, through the agency of an illegitimate son, as tradition has it, who goes by the name Adondai. This Adondai was the valiant son of the Chola ruler through one of the women attendants of the palace and had been brought up secretly like a prince. He showed himself to be a young man full of spirit and fit to be entrusted with commissions worthy of royal princes. When the king discovered the young man, he entrusted to him the task of the conquest of the uncivilised region of Tondamandalam. After several unsuccessful attempts against the fortress of Pujal,

which was the principal stronghold of these forest-folk, he ultimately captured the fortress through the miraculous intervention of Siva himself.¹ Having brought the country under the authority of the Chola, the conquering prince was entrusted with the commission, under the authority of the said Chola himself, to reclaim the country to civilisation, and introduce the necessary means for its development. The very cultivators had to be introduced from the surrounding territory and as they could not be found in sufficient number for this vast region in the Chola country, they were imported from all over the surrounding region, quite a large number coming from Tuju. Hence down to the present times, the inhabitants of this region are composed of Vellalas (land-holders and cultivators), who fall into several divisions, of whom the Chollya Vellala and Tujuva Veljala form the two principal sections. Before the introduction of these cultivators the country had to be secured and kept free of robbery by the predatory folk, who constituted its original population. This was done by clearing the better parts of the country and erecting in suitable localities 24 forts all over the region, each fort to dominate the country around it and be the citadel thereof. The country dependant on each fort

¹ This tradition finds reference in the Tevaram of Sundara, "early ninth century A.D. Tiruvada- Mulluivayil 10.

was constituted into a division, to which the name of the dominating fort was given. Hence down to quite modern times, the region of the Tondamandalam was divided into *Kottams*, the name of each one of which is derived from a fortified townlet or city. The larger divisions in this part of the country are therefore known by the term *kottam* (Sansk. *goshtaka*), answering to the *mandalam* and *mahamandalam* of the neighbouring regions. The survival of this division from a time long anterior to the great Cholas of South India confirms the tradition that this particular organisation had existed in early times. If a newly conquered territory had been thus organised, the presumption that the country already under a well organised government must have had a similar division would seem warranted. If the conquest and organisation was through the agency of the Cholas, it is perfectly natural that this organisation took on the form of the actual organisation then obtaining in the Chola country. The great Chola Karikala, as is said in the poem *Pattinappalai*, destroyed the forests where they existed, dug tanks where water facilities did not exist, and thus spread fertility over the region which for the far greater part of it, was remarkable for its unrivalled profusion. Whether this does not indirectly indicate his achievement in the conquest and civilisation of the Tonda-

mandalam does not seem to need discussion. It may be mentioned however that another old verse, relating to this Karikala and his kingdom, states in so many words that the crops produced in other countries which watered by tanks and water-lifts would not equal the paddy gathered by gleaners after a harvest in the ancestral territory of the great Chola. This contains the clear indication that the efforts of the Chola to reclaim forest land and bring it under cultivation cannot be held to refer to the Chola country of his forefathers. Not very long after this age must have come in the rule of the Pallavas in the northern half of this region. One of the very earliest of the Pallava charters, the Mayidavolu grant, is a copper-plate charter which was issued from Conjeevaram by the then heir-apparent to the governor of this part of the country. The prince's name was Sivaskandavarman; but the father's name is not given; the latter is referred to however under the style "Bappadeva" which might mean, the revered father, as was pointed out already. What is of interest in this particular connection is that the prince issued the charter from the royal headquarters of Conjeevaram to what obviously was the provincial headquarters at Amaravati in the Guntur district. The village granted is given the name Viripara¹ and is described as being

¹ There is a village of the name Vipparla about 12 miles west of Amaravati.

situated in the Andhra-patha, the Vadugavali of the Tamils, meaning the Andhra country of course. The royal charter granting this village was addressed by the prince to a hierarchy of officials which gives us an insight into the character of the political organisation of the country. As translated in the *Epigraphia Indica* it reads, "to the Lords of provinces, royal princes, agents, rulers of districts, customs officers, prefects of countries, etc." ; but the original is capable of being rendered, "in all of this region, the royal prince, the general, the governors of districts, the customs officers and rulers of sub-divisions, those in the enjoyment of villages, the chiefs of cattle-herds and of cow-herds, ministers, officers of forests, commanders, peons, orderlies and others of our officers deputed by us on commissions, to tour the country."

This gives us the complete system of organisation that obtained in the government of this region. What is more it gives us clearly to understand that it is the kind of organisation we gain knowledge of in the *Arthasastra*. It shows further that this Mauryan organisation had been introduced in this remote part of the Dakhan, in all probability in the Mauryan age. The interesting question then would be whether **the** organisation, such as we are enabled to gain glimpses of in the Tamil country, is, a **copy of** this. It would be reasonable to answer

the question in the negative, so far as an actual copying of it is concerned, though one would notice a considerable similarity in the general character of these two organisations. It is impossible that some kind of an organisation should not have existed in the Tamil country before the forest region that intervened between the Krishna and the Kaveri had been brought into civilisation. The general lines of organisation however were not so different as between these two to make a ready assimilation impossible. As we shall see in the course of the later history of this territory, the unit of administration must have been the village or a group of villages. A certain geographical area containing a number of these units constituted a small division which in the Tondamandalam was dominated by a fort, while in the Chola country an important town or city dominated it. A number of these bigger units taken together constituted a district ; a number of these going to form a division giving us the regular gradation indicated both in the Chola division of administration and what we have already noticed in the Mayidavolu grant. That such divisions were not the inventions of the great Cholas is amply proved as these divisions are found recited in documents of the age of Pallava rule, certainly of the great Pallavas, extending from the commencement of the

seventh century A.D. In all of these, and through all the periods of existence of this organisation, there is a well marked division of the sphere of the local and central governments recognised. All the officers mentioned in the Mayidavolu grant refer to a series composed of a certain number of royal officers ; but these by themselves could not have been enough to carry on the administration. Even this small hierarchy could have exercised enough control and oversight, while the actual administration was carried on by local assistance. That is the feature that we find in full working order as we come to the age of the great Cholas for the very simple reason that we have access to a large number of official documents relative to Chola rule. The fact that such documents have not come down to us from an earlier period does not necessarily imply the absence of that kind of an organisation of the governing power. The one Mayidavolu grant is evidence of the existence of a similar organisation in the region of the Krishna river. Evidence in regard to the Tamil country is not however so direct for that early period.

Coming to the period of the great Pallavas we have a number of copper-plate charters issued by them, although they did not bear quite so largely and quite so directly upon matters of administration. Being the charters

that they are, they give us a few glimpses of the organisation by means of which the administration was actually carried on. These generally show the same character of organisation that we find fully developed under the Cholas. The divisions of territory and the details of revenue and fiscal administration, as far as these charters give them, show the existence of an organisation quite similar to that which prevailed in the age of the Cholas. There is nothing in the now accessible documents to indicate that they were innovations by the Pallavas. At the very best the influence of the Pallavas might have gone to the extent of assimilating such organisations as existed in the Tamil country to that which obtained in the outermost southern frontier of the Mauryan empire of Asoka. We find no warrant for going farther in the direction of affiliating the one to the other.

The Tamil classic *Kufal* to which reference had already been made, devotes the largest part of the work to *Porul* (*Sans. Artha*, wealth) and deals with what might perhaps be indicated by the term political economy, a combined treatise on politics and economics. Like Sanskrit works bearing on the Arthasastra and Nltisastra, this section of the Kural has to do with the king and kingdom, even the abstract noun "state" being derived from a word standing

for king. It would seem strange that there should have been no other organisation known than that of the kingly. It would be a mistake however to draw that inference. As in the Arthasastra so in this work the subject dealt with happens to be merely what would in modern language be called the central administration.

A central administration had to be superimposed upon such tribal and communal organisations as existed already when the state came to be recognised as such. This fundamental fact has to be clearly borne in mind in discussing the administrative organisation of the South of India. A similar caution seems necessary in respect even of other parts of India. What the text books teach us therefore is the character of the central organisation, which welded the local organisations for local purposes into one unity which might be the state of those times. The local organisations were certainly of a democratic character, and rested for certain purposes on the communal basis. The devolution of power was complete. The central organisation had merely the control of local administration, the maintenance of peace and order in the country, and providing for defence against external enemies. That being understood it is clear these begin with describing the king and defining the qualifications that go to make a good

king. It was already pointed out in a previous section that this work exhibits considerable indebtedness to the Arthasastra ; the one chapter bearing on *vpada*, makes escape from this conclusion impossible. Like the Arthasastra, the king is described as possessing the six *angas* such as the *army, people, wealth, counsel, friendship and fortresses*, or defences ; together with the king himself, it makes the total seven *angas* of royalty. He is to be easily accessible and one that speaks softly and pleasantly. If he deal out justice and protect the people from injustice, he comes to be regarded as a god on earth for his subjects. A king educated in the functions of royalty would find happiness only in the happiness of his subjects, a statement that reminds one of an important sentence in the proclamation of Queen Victoria. These are some of the personal qualities of the king according to this work, parallels to which one could find repeated in the course of the Sanskrit Ramayana. The work goes on to describe the objects of rule as the maintenance of *Dhaima* ; and this can be best obtained by the choice of suitable persons, well-born, and well-educated to assist him. He is to make the choice of his ministers on the lines laid down by Chanakya by subjecting them to temptations with the four objects of desire, and accept those who show themselves to be beyond temptation. He has to see to the

spreading of fertility over the land and the removal of obstacles that may come in the way of prosperity. His rule of righteousness is at the root even of the Vedas of the Brahmans who, if his rule were otherwise, would forget the Veda. Each one of the six *angas* then comes in for description in turn.

The minister must be a man fully informed in the knowledge of the duties of a king, equipped with learning by means of which to enforce those duties upon all about, and possessed of the skill and judgment to adopt the proper means for carrying out his object. In this manner each of the *angas* gets described and the whole of this political science occupies about 70 chapters, out of the 133 chapters of the work ; that is, just a little more than half of it. But the point to be noticed here, as in the *Niti Sastras* of Sanskrit Literature, is that all this applies to the central government.

Such as it is described here the government seems at first sight to be an autocratic power dependant entirely upon the will of the individual man who occupies the throne for the time being. So it appears at first sight ; on a careful analysis however it will be found that it is hedged in by so many restrictions, all of them enforceable by the will of the community so long as that community had an organisation to express that will. Such an organisation was

provided by the assembly of ministers, who constituted five groups. These were the priest, the great accountant, the Brahman judges, the tax-collectors and the secretarial establishment ; that is how the old classic ' Silappadhikaram ' defines it. Of these groups two were composed of individuals. The other three constituted boards, apparently with establishments of their own. "When a king died, it was the charge of this " group of five " to consider what had next to be done, the choice of a successor, even where the succession was hereditary and the making of the arrangements for the carrying on the administration. It is in a connection like that, that this group of people are brought in in the work under reference. In another connection, regarding the consecration of a temple only the first three of these figure along with the sculptors and architects. Thus then this council had a recognised standing, and they were susceptible to public opinion. What the force of that public opinion was, and how far it expressed itself effectively we have no means of ascertaining definitely. But as we shall see the documents that issued under the Chola administration do require the counter-signature of two at least of the ministers for their validity, an indication of their responsibility in regard to the matter. These ministers are referred to as men of unchanging word and appeared like the four

divisions of the foreign Kosar, omitting the accounts officers in that particular, by the author of the poem *Maduraik-Kanji*. That would mean that these ministers were expected to speak their minds fearlessly and did do so oftentimes.

The central administration thus constituted hal first of all to provide for the defences of the country by occupying the frontier fortresses provided with adequate defences both in material and men. They had to see to the prevalence of peace and goodwill within the country by interceding in disputes between communities and corporations. They had to be constantly on the look-out for means of increasing the prosperity and fertility of the country, thereby increasing their own revenues and warding off such evils as may befall the people or their property and interfere with the prosperity of the community as a whole. There their duties ended.

Local administration was carried on entirely by popular assemblies constituted under a form of election and lot combined so that these administrative bodies may be regarded as aristocratic in character with a democratic responsibility. Elaborate regulations were laid down for their constitution. Serious misdemeanour disabled not only the individual, but all of his relations of the first degree from the exercise of political franchise. Judgment in regard to

the misdemeanour was the judgment of the community, and that was perhaps the most effective way possible then of making representatives responsible to the community as a whole. The property qualification was the possession of about an acre and a half of land. The alternative educational qualification laid down consisted in the capacity to recite a Veda in the orthodox fashion or the capacity to expound one of the Brahmanas, which required perhaps a more or less equal degree of intelligence and effort. A town or a community was divided into wards, according to size and the worthy men in the wards were registered. Prom out of this group of the worthy men, the men that actually constituted the administrative bodies, were chosen by lot. The village accountant was the umpire in all matters of dispute and had to hold himself unconcerned in matters of material interest with the various communities constituting the township. A large committee thus chosen was broken up into sub-committees, generally into 5 or 6, each with its duty defined. There were committees for the supervision of tanks, committees for looking after temples, and a number of other committees like that. One committee however seems to stand out distinct from all these. It is called by the compound name *panchavaravariyam*. The last word ' *variya* ' seems to mean control, training

or discipline, such as in the expression *vati-variyan* or horse-trainer. These were probably men who had to control the affairs of the community generally from day to day, and the previous word *pancha* seems to indicate that that body was composed of five members. That was the supreme *panchayat*, under whose control, the various committees carried on the details of the administration. Where general matters were concerned, they were brought before the assembly as a whole and discussed, and resolutions were arrived at. It was the duty of the village accountant to keep a faithful record of all these and that is why he was expected to keep himself uncontaminated by the party politics of that locality.

These local bodies practically controlled all revenue matters included in the revenue administration of modern times. They had charge of the communal lands; they controlled the division of land among the members of the community under their charge. They arranged for the reclamation of uncultivated wastes by giving them to enterprising cultivators on favourable terms beginning with free cultivation gradually rising through a series of years to the normal revenue roll of the district according to the quality of the land. If individuals or communities or even royalty wished to purchase lands to make gifts to temples, the Brahmans

or to some other party or body, the village assembly had to make the necessary preliminary enquiries, assessed the value of the land, arranged for its purchase and completed the transaction. It is on a satisfactory report from them that the final order for the conveyance of the property was made from the head-quarters. The community received the compensation in the case of communal lands and administered it at their discretion. It was they that estimated the outturn of particular holdings and assessed the revenue thereon, which sometimes was less than the dues according to the revenue register, sometimes even exceeding it. The state seems however to have carried out general surveys and classification of lands, and we have references to three such surveys in the records that have come to us. The first of those was undertaken in the reign of Raja Raja A. D. 985-1016. The next one was apparently a local revision settlement for some reason or other, which is not clearly explained to us, under his son Rajendra A. D. 1011-1041. The next one which seems to be more or less a general survey under Kulottunga A. D. 1070-1118. The last operation was undertaken in the year A. D. 1086, the year of the Domesday-survey in England. Holdings were carefully registered and they were correctly measured, or calculated correct to $\frac{1}{52000}$ th of a square inch,

Disputes about holdings, or about incidences of revenue, etc., were settled by the assembly, and if it was a question of graver matter in regard to these, assemblies from the neighbourhood were made to join together and make their award, which the controlling officer of the region accepted and issued as a general order.

Transfer of land from party to party had to be done with the final approval and sanction of the headquarters authority with the direct sanction of the monarch, where a complete register of holdings was maintained and that constituted in all probability the authoritative record of holdings of land. One such instance under Raja Raja I I I is that the lands had to be transferred from the royal register to the register of temple-lands (*deva-dana*).

One good instance of the division of responsibility between the officers of Government and the local bodies has recently been made accessible to us in an inscription of the time of Devaraya I I . The inhabitants of Val. uclilambattu in the Tanjore District had suffered successively from the irruptions of the Hoysalas, and consequently a considerable amount of confusion was introduced in the revenue administration of the division. The inhabitants were oppressed by the uncertainty of the demands, and therefore began to leave the locality in small bodies, so much so that at the time

the cultivable lands were lying waste and uncultivated. In this condition the matter was brought to the notice of the king, who immediately ordered an inquiry as to the circumstances that brought about the state of things. It was found on enquiry that since the days of the Hoysala irruption, the local authority had become weak or non-existent; that the demands upon the lands became uncertain and there came to prevail some kind of local anarchy. The inhabitants found it intolerable to go on in the division in these special circumstances. An order was issued at once that the assemblies of the surrounding unions together with such of the inhabitants of the suffering unit itself as were present might assemble together, conduct an enquiry and make a register of revenue incidences as they prevailed in the days previous to the irruption of the Hoysalas. The inquiry was conducted and the document called for was set forth in full. This document was incorporated in a royal circular and issued to the locality calling upon the original inhabitants to return under the assurance that they could go on as before under the authority of the document thus issued. This record illustrates that the authorities of the Central Government did not directly interfere in these matters, and even in a serious case like this, they had to work through local agencies and see to it that there was nothing arbitrary in their proceedings.

In regard to the functions of the village assemblies which would come under the department of public works, it was the duty of the assembly to see that the tanks and the irrigation channels were kept in good condition, that the roads of which there are references to some as wide as 64 spans and 100 spans, were kept in repair. Large irrigation projects were not carried out by the village assemblies. Such projects were undertaken either by the Government itself in which case Government became proprietor and let out the land, or these were undertaken by wealthy and enterprising individuals. In such a case, they were given certain privilege's by way of special allotments of revenue or by the assignment of a fraction thereof. In either case, the completed works were made over to the possession of assemblies ; it was the charge of the assemblies themselves to see to their being in an efficient condition and to put them through repairs when called for. The assemblies also regulated the local taxes and dues, which seem in the first instance to have been levied by themselves under a recognised royal schedule. It was the duty of one of their committees that the villagers rendered free labour. They were bound to see that no undue advantage was taken of it. We have instances of vexatious taxes or dues being removed. One such act apparently gave the great Chola Kulottunga, the title "the

Chola that abolished the tolls." Tolls were specially set apart as royal revenue and is regarded even in the 'Kural as one of the legitimate sources of royal revenue. We do not know under what circumstances exactly Kulottunga abolished the tolls. We have instances on record of the great Vijayanagar ruler Krishna Devaraya abolishing marriage taxes, and taxes upon barbers so that the abolition of taxes which proved to be oppressive or irksome, certainly was not unknown under Hindu rulers.

The village assemblies had the responsibility of tracking crime. They had their own village officers whose special duty it was ; when criminals were traced, they were brought before the assembly for punishment. The guilt was brought home to the culprit before the assembly, and the punishment was accorded according to law by the special body of judges, who had knowledge of it, or by royal officers when once the guilt was proved to the satisfaction of the assembly. These assemblies went about administering justice, generally tempered with mercy. We have numbers of instances of death brought on by neglect, or under circumstances of peculiar provocation. Allowances were made in extenuation of the crime of murder in these cases. In circumstances of peculiar enormity, or where desperate gangs of robbers sometimes defied the village authorities, Government assistance was

invoked and was readily provided. We have one instance in point. A certain number of Brahmans and others set up as dacoits, and carried on their depredations in defiance of the village authorities. The village appealed to the local governor, who provided a section of the guards to arrest the criminals. They arrested the culprits once, who even went so far as to overpower the guards and escaped. A second successful arrest was made, and among those arrested happened to be a couple of Brahmans, who were ring-leaders. Then a question arose whether as Brahmans, they could be punished as robbers. A reference was made to headquarters and the ruling was obtained, that since they set up as robbers, they were guilty of an act unworthy of a Brahman and ceased to be such. They were liable to be punished according to the law like other robbers. The punishment was accordingly carried out.

The Cholas dating from the time of the ancient Karikala were remarkable for their works of irrigation. The Hindus of South India are credited with the discovery of the device of controlling the water of a river at the head of the delta and taking off irrigation channels to regions which could not be irrigated under gravitation ordinarily. The delta of the Kaveri is a supreme instance of the achievements of the Cholas in this particular. The very last

irrigation channel known, branching off from the south main arm of the river Kaveri within 25 miles of the sea, and the artificial canal taking off from the Coleroon, were alike made in the days of the great Cholas. The great Gangaikonda Chola was responsible for what must have been an enormous irrigation tank near his capital, the feeder channel for it coming from the Coleroon river, higher up.

The waste water of this tank must have gone to fill the now famous Vattanam tank. This is now known as one of the best irrigation tanks of the South Arcot district. Another great tank in a more arid tract of the Tanjore District was made by another Chola, whether he was a ruler or prince we do not know. This is the great irrigation tank in the village Vaduvur about 10 miles from Mannargudi. This is fed by a canal branching from Vennar and passing close under the fortress walls of Tanjore to this particular tank. This canal was known Vlasola-Vadavaru.

They were builders of temples as well. The Tanjore temple itself is one instance. There are numbers of other instances which could be cited ; for example, the temples at Gangaikonda Cholapuram, Tirbhuvanam and Darasuram near Kumbhakoiiam. Some of these are typical in regard both to magnitude and majesty. It was already pointed out that the age of the Cholas

was an age of great literary output chiefly in Tamil literature although they extended their patronage to a certain extent to Sanskrit also. In point of religion, it was a period of organisation as in other fields of human activity ; the religious organisation in this age took on the form of the organisation of the sects as was already pointed out. In these matters, the succeeding dynasties carried on the tradition of the Cholas undiminished and in some respects improved upon in art, architecture, literature and administration, in fact in everything that constitutes a successful human organisation of society. The Empire of Vijayanagar is but a development and extension of what this organisation was under the Cholas. Some of the magnificent buildings that stand in South India, temples in particular, some few civil buildings also, show the development to which they are indebted to Vijayanagar; the magnificent colonnaded halls, each composite column or portion of which is covered with sculptural representations, form the work of the age of Vijayanagar.

We have instances of their irrigation activity in Vijayanagar, in some of the tanks in the peculiarly arid locality of the ceded districts, as for instance those at Anantapur, Anantasagara, Kambam, etc. We have reference to an anicut work on the Tungabadra above Vijayanagar itself.

Learning flourished under Vijayanagar and the rulers extended their patronage according to locality to the various languages and to Sanskrit. Several of the great governors and officers of Vijayanagar were scholars themselves and patronised scholars. Vidyaranya, Vedanta Desika and Appayya Diksita, to mention only the pre-eminent, born in any age or country would have shone as luminaries of the first magnitude in literature. The usurper Saluva Narasimha is recorded as a Sanskrit scholar and one Sanskrit work is ascribed to him. The great Krishnadevaraya was a Sanskrit and Telugu scholar, and two works of his have come down to us. Jambavati Kalyanam is a Sanskrit work and Amuktamalyada, a high class Telugu work, are ascribed to him. Tirumalaraya, the king who occupied the throne after the battle of Talikota is considered as a scholar, and one learned commentary at any rate, is ascribed to him. The example of royalty was imitated by provincial governors, who several of them set up as scholars and have more systematically encouraged scholars. The full efflorescence of the spirit of encouraging literature is seen in the Tanjore ruler Raghunatha Nayaka. He was ruler, scholar, musician, patron and warrior, all rolled into one. He could himself compose both in Sanskrit and Telugu, and a version of the Ramayana that he wrote in Telugu was considered so

excellent that a lady of his court rendered it into Sanskrit and earned the title Madhuravani (lady of sweet speech) for the service. Another lady of his court wrote an epic in Sanskrit, Raghunathabhyudayam, and was such a great expert in the various kinds of composition in eight languages including Sanskrit, that she was elevated to the dignity of *Sahitya Samrajya*, and other instances could be quoted.¹

This is enough to indicate the patronage extended to literature by the rulers of Vijayanagar.

Before closing, it would be well to draw attention to a certain number of political maxims, for which King Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar is given credit. He scatters through the fourth canto of his Telugu work AmuktamSlyada,² a number of these, which in substance agree more or less with what we find laid down in professed works on the Nitisastra and could be traced in the Dharma Sastras as well as in the Tamil work Kural. The peculiar importance of these maxims coming from KrishnadSva Raya is this. We have the means of proving that this monarch did make successful efforts at putting his precept into practice.

This monarch apparently found Brahman officials of great service to him, and he speaks in

¹ See Sources of Vijayanagar History, Publication by the Madrai University.

² To Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, University Research Student, now Assistant Epigraphist belongs the credit of collecting and translating these extracts.

glowing terms of Brahmans "as administrative officers both civil and military." He would entrust fortresses, well-equipped, to Brahmans. He would have his Brahman officers, mature men between 50 and 70, who "are scholars, who are afraid of *adharma* and who are well-versed in *raja niti*, and offer to rule according to *raja niti*." He gives his reasons also, "because a Brahman would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kshatrya or Sudra. It is always advisable for a king to make Brahmans as officers." This high opinion that he had for the Brahman, he carried into practice. His chief minister and adviser was the Brahman Saluva Timma whose brother Saluva Govinda was the first Governor of the recently conquered province of Ummattur in Mysore and was subsequently promoted to be killedar of (governor of) Vijayanagar itself.

The new provinces conquered from Kalinga or Orissa were entrusted to the Government of two nephews of the minister Timma. When Udaygiri in the Nellore district was taken from Orissa the organisation and administration, and the holding of the new conquests against attack fell to Rayasam Kondamarasayya, another Brahman. It is not exactly that other officers were not appointed or that the Brahman officers were all of them unerring. He had a number of officers who

were not Brahmans but the most trusted ones among them seem to have been Brahmans. One Brahman proved false, as did one Sudra. The Brahman Vira Narasimha Raya revolted in the last year of Krishnadeva Raya ; so did Nagama Nayaka of Madura. Krishna wanted that the temple management should be kept separate from the other departments of administration, for the good reason that the temple revenues were not to be mixed with the others in the administration as these were specially liable to peculation. He wanted horses and elephants kept in royal stables and superintended by royal officers, and not to be entrusted to governors which was the practice of mediaeval administration. He adopted this device as the best remedy against rebellion. According to him a king should improve the properties of his country and encourage commerce ; this he tried to put into practice as did some of his predecessors and some of his successors by the treatment that they accorded to the Portuguese and to the other foreign ambassadors that came into the country for commercial purposes. When Udayagiri fell, some of the ladies of the household of the Orissa Governor, who was uncle of the king of Orissa, fell into his hands. The Portuguese Chroniclers have it on record that he treated these royal ladies in quite a kingly fashion. There is one verse of Krishna which prescribes exactly this kind of treatment. He has another

reference to treatment of princes, who may become prisoners. He followed that precept **into** practice by what he did to the son of the Kalinga Ruler Pratapa Rudra. Prince Virabhadra was taken prisoner at Kondavldu. According to **the** Portuguese chronicler, Nuniz, he was made a prisoner and was insultingly asked to exhibit his swordsmanship against the professional fencer of the Court. The prince, according to this chronicler is said to have committed suicide as a result of this insult. We have records however that show that prince Virabhadra was governor of Maligabennur Sime in the Mysore state, and made a grant for the spiritual benefit of his own father and his royal master himself, there again showing that Krishna was as good as his word in regard to his precept in this particular instance as well. These few instances go to show that even the maxims of polity had considerable weight in shaping the administration of monarchs who made their mark and left their impress upon the government of the realm that came into their charge.

Thus then in matters of administration in all its branches, South India established for itself a distinct line of development which, as in other branches, have continued quite down to modern times and have been in several particulars carried down into the present day administration of the locality itself. It would require far more space to trace these in detail, but this must suffice **to** indicate the distinct character **of South Indian administration.**

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The following abbreviations are used :

C. P. C. = Copper plate charters.

Chal. = Chalukyas.

Dy. = Dynasty.

F.N. = Foot-Note.

Insc. = Inscription.

K. = King.

Pall. = Pallava.

Tam. Lit. = Tamil Literature.

Vaish. = Vaishnava.

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