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HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF
ANCIENT DEKHAN

BY

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WITH

A FOREWORD BY

Du SIR S. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, K.C.LE, LLD.

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FOREWORD.

In collecting and publishing these contributions of his to periodicals from time to time, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has in my humble opinion done a real service to students of South Indian History. Though from the very nature of the contributions, they are more or less discursive, yet they deal with subjects of considerable interest to the student and are the result of an assiduous and careful study carried on over many years mostly of epigraphic evidence which of course constitutes the most reliable basis for authentic history. The difficulties in the way of arriving at correct conclusions on some of the points involved must be obvious to all who have paid any attention to the kind of work such pioneers as the author have to do under present circumstances. Nevertheless it seems clear that Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar has endeavoured to avoid starting novel theories and tried to judge upon the evidence with a judicial frame of mind. The paper on Ancient Dekhan Polity is not only well worth reading but shows how the author has been able to gather most valuable information from the dry bones of lithic records and to give us good glimpses into the actual life of the people at different times during nearly the past 20 centuries in this part of India. It is to be hoped that the encouragement which this publication receives at the hands of the public will make the author persevere in the career of research which he has hitherto so well pursued.

APRIL, 1917.

S. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

PREFACE.

THERE is a growing interest evinced in the study of the ancient history of Southern India, and the want of a book, based on the authority of trustworthy literature as well as the results of the latest research, is keenly felt. It is hoped that this collection of historical sketches will meet the demand to a certain extent.

Ancient Dekhan had a special charm about it which is no longer in existence. Nature had kept it for a long time free from foreign aggressions, due mainly to its isolation and natural protection. Never had its institutions, social or political, been interfered with, prior to the wave3 of the Muhammadan invasions which took place in the 14th century and later. Like the history of Greece and more especially of Sparta, the annals of the people of the Ancient Dekhan have an absorbing interest, which is exclusively its own. It has been my endeavour to present a continuous narrative of some of the principal dynasties of Southern India and to give a true picture of the people and their kings. In doing so, it fell on my way to piece together the information obtained from several sources and to clear up gaps. As much as ppssible, pitfalls due either to speculation or to the use of materials of doubtful value have been avoided. To make each account complete in itself, certain facts had to be repeated in more places than one.

In this volume, four dynasties have been dealt with *viz.* the Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and the Kākatiya. It opens with the ancient history of Conjeevaram in which an attempt has been made to show the importance of the place in early times, to give a more extended genealogy of its principal rulers *i.e.* the Pallavas than has hitherto been supplied by scholars, who have written on that dynasty of kings, and to prove, by conclusive evidence, when and by whom they were dispossessed for the first time of their kingdom and the benefits which the country derived under their sway. The early history of the Pāṇḍyas, not having been attempted in full by any, is taken up next. Here, the period of rule of many of the kings mentioned in the Tamil literature has been determined and they are assigned their proper places in the pedigree furnished in copper-plates. The commercial relationship of this ancient stock, in the early centuries of the Christian era, with the civilised nations of Europe, has been traced mainly with the help of the coins discovered in Southern India and the notices made by Roman historians. Their history subsequent to the 10th century A.D. has been worked out from contemporary accounts principally that of the Cholas and it has been brought up to the 17th century. In the history of the Cholas too, in spite of the fact that much has been written about them, there remained big gaps in the information about the kings that preceded the Vijayālaya line and about those that ruled in the interval between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I. The latter is no doubt one of tha very puzzling chapters of the South Indian history and it has proved an ass's

bridge to many an enquirer. The conflicting opinions advanced so far have, therefore, been carefully examined and the flaws in them pointed out. In the fourth book is given a succinct account of the Kākatiyas of Warrangal, who played an important part in the political history of the Dekhan in the 13th and 14th century A.D. The last part deals with ancient polity of the Dekhan and its interest, it is impossible to over-estimate. It has all the charms to requite the labours of any earnest enquirer and could be more fully worked out.

In writing the following narrative, a definite plan has been adopted *viz.* of fixing the genealogy of each dynasty at the outset, mentioning the salient features of each reign, determining the chronology of the kings, showing the importance of such of the events which had any far-reaching effect and tracing the causes that led to the rise and decline of the families.

The sources of information are given either in foot-notes or in the body of the book. For earlier periods we have utilised the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa* which is an invaluable guide to the student of ancient Dekhan history. Whenever Roman historians and foreign writers refer to the activities of South Indian kings, they have been made use of. Though mostly inscriptions had been our loadstar in steering through our course, the light shed by the Tamil classical works which, as has been very often said, compare favourably with the fund of information bequeathed to the world by the Chinese travellers, was found to be of immense service.

No student of Indian history can fail to profit by a perusal of the accounts given by that master of observation Hiuen Tsiang. This authority had been consulted to know the character and pursuits of the people. For the later history of the Pāṇḍyas and the Kākatlyas, much useful material had been obtained from the writings of the Muhammadan historians as presented by Sir Henry Elliot in his eight volumes, Brigg's Ferishta and from the account of Morco Polo, Last but not least, it remains to acknowledge the help derived from the *Bombay Gazetteer* and the *Annual Reports* on Epigraphy, especially those from the pen of the late Hai Bahadur Venkayya.

I beg to tender my best thanks to Prof. S. J. Crawford, the editor of the Christiau College Magazine, for kindly permitting the reproduction of Books I, II and IV which originally appeared in that Journal and to the proprietor of the Modern Printing Works for the neat execution of the work. I have often received sincere words of encouragement from the venerable gentleman Dr. Sir S. Subramanya Aiyar to whom I always feel grateful.

The most tedious part of the work *viz.* the preparation of an exhaustive index to the book, which covers the last few pages, devolved on my brother Mr. K. V. Padmanabier, B.A., who helped me also in checking the references and fair copying the manuscript.

YADHULASRAM,
FERNHILL,
1st February, 1917.

K. V. SUBBAHMANYA AIYAR.

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BOOK I

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF CONJEEVERAM

SECTION I:—THE ANTIQUITY OF CONJEEVEEAM.

ONE of the most ancient cities of Southern India, which retains at the present day part at least of its past greatness, is Conjeeveram in the Chingleput district [1]. Every school boy knows that it is a chief centre of pilgrimage in the Dekhan resorted to by a large concourse of people of both the Vaishṇava and Śaiva creeds. Unlike Madura, Uraiyur [3] and Granganore [3], the capitals of the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Chēra sovereigns, this city which was once the capital

[1] Conjeeveram is 43 miles south-west of Madras and 20 miles west-north-west of Chingleput (Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. L, p. 146) with which it is connected by the Sotith Indian Railway.

2 The Chḍḷas had several capitals at different periods of their rule and Uraiyur is one among them. The inscriptions found in this village do not take us to a period earlier than the 11th century, A.D. The place is said to have been destroyed by a shower of sand. The other capitals are Kaṽirippūmpaṭṭinam now known as Kaverippattauam in the Shiyali taluk, Tanjore, Gangaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, *etc.*

[3] This is Tiruvanjaikkaḷam, 10 miles east of Ponnani in the Cochin State, There is a Siva temple in this village.

of the Pallavas abounds in structural monuments of early ages containing a very large number of lithic records from which it is possible to make out its history from the earliest times [1].

If any city of Southern India has a claim to our study ou account of its antiquarian interest, Conjeeveram is pre-eminently one among them [2]. The time-honoured sculptural monuments enshrined in the city show to some extent the importance of the place; and there is not the least doubt that iu its entrails lie hidden more interesting specimens of olden times awaiting the application of the explorer's spade to come into view. When the city rose into prominence, how many dynasties of kings ruled over it, what vicissitudes of life it witnessed and the degree of civilisation it reached in the past, are questions whose solution would interest any student of ancient history.

The place is variously called Kaohchippēḍu, Kachchi, Kāṅchi, Kāṅchipuram and Kanchi. The form Kaohchippēḍu [3] of which Kachchi [4] is a

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[1] No less than 283 inscriptions have been collected by Sir Walter Elliot from Conjeeveram, Mr. Sewell who notices them, remarks that they do not exhaust the number of epigraphs in the place *(Lists of Antiquities* Vol. I., pp. 178 to 187).

[2] Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, each in its turn had powerful hold on the city and have left unmistakable marks of their influence,

3 *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. 1., pp. 113,114, 117, 139, 141 and 143.

[4] Inscriptions of the Kāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III state that he took Kachchi and Tanjai. Sir Walter Elliot figures a coin which bears the legend Kachchi-vajangum-perumāṉ, Kulōttunga-

contraction, occurs iu early inscriptions and is perhaps the fullest and the most original. Both Kachchi and Kāñchi find place in Tamil works composed in the middle of the 7th century, A. D. [1]. The popular form Kanchi [2] is an authorised change from Kachchi obtained by softening the hard consonant. Kāñchi is a further change from Kanchi and is derived by the lengthening of the initial short consonant. These changes are supported by rules of Tamil grammar [3]. We may also note here the opinion of some that Kāñchi is the Sanskritised form of the nameKachcbippcḏu [4]. Dr. Burnell gave out that the Sanskrit Kāñchi is a mis-translation of the Dravidian Kanchi [5]. Varāhamihira locates Kāñchi in the southern division [6]; and Hiuen Tsiang calls this *Kin-chi-pulo* and states that it was the capital of *Ta-lo-pi-cha, i. e.,* Dravida, and that it was 30 *Ii* round [7].

Some of the early records omit to give the name of the district in which the town was situated. They

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Chōḷa I I I claims to have captured Kachchi iu one of his inscriptions at Tirukoilur (No. 2 of the Madras Epigraphicai collection, for 1905. Also see *Ep. Ind,,* Vol. I I I., pp. 284-5).

[1] See the hymns of Tirunāvukkaraśu-Nāyanār, and Jnāuasambandha on the temples of Conjeeveram.

[2] The temple of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam (Kāmakōṭyambikā) is popularly called Kanchi Kāmākshi.

[3] F*OR* these changes see *Nannul Puṇariyal.*

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I., Part I I., p, 318, Note 3,

[5] *South Indian Palaeography,* lx. note 2.

[6] *Ind, Ant.,* Vol. XII., pp. 171 and 180.

[7] Beat's *Hi yu ki,* Vol. I I., p, 228.

mention only the larger division Tuṇḍāka-Vishaya [1]. It may be noted that this term had several variants, *viz.*, Toṇḍira, Tuṇḍira, Toṇḍa, Toṇḍai, etc [3]. The Tamil equivalent of it is Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. Twenty-four districts called *Kōṭṭam* were comprised in this division [3] and Kāñchipuram

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[1] *South Ind. Inscrs.,* Vol I., p. 146.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I., Part II., p. 318, where Dr. Fleet gives references to the places where these forms occur.

[3] The Tamil work *Ṭoṇḍamaṇḍalaśadakam* states that Tonda-mandalam was divided into 24 koṭṭaras. Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai, in his *Tamils 1800 Years Ago,* names these districts as follows :—

(1) Puḷal-kōṭṭam, (2) Ikkaṭṭu-kōṭṭam, (3) Maṇavii:-kōṭṭam, (4) Śeugāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, (5) Paiyūr-kōṭṭam, (6) Eyil-kōṭṭam, (7) Dāmaḷ-kōṭṭam, (8) ŪvTukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, (9) Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam, (10) Śembur-koṭṭam, (11) Ambur-koṭṭam, (12) Venkunra-koṭṭam, (13) Palakunra-kōṭṭam, (14) Ilangāḍu-kōṭṭam, (15) Kaḷiyūr-kōṭṭam, (16) Chemkavai, (17) Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam, (18) Kadikur, (19) Sendirukkai, (20) Kunravatfcana-kōṭṭam, (21) Vōngada-kottam, (22) Velur-kottam, (23) sothoor and (24) Puliyur-kōṭṭam. Here is an interesting question of ancient geography for study. Except a few of these kōṭṭams, the rest are all mentioned in inscriptions. Each of them appears to have had a number of sub-divisions called nāḍu under it. Ambattūr-nāḍu and Puḷalnāḍu were in Puḷal-kōṭṭam. The fact that Tiruvoṛṛiyūr was situated in Pulal-nāḍu, roughly indicates where this district lay. Puriṽai-nāḍu, Kr.nrūr-nāḍu, Kunrūr-nāḍu and Paḷaiyanūr-nāṛṛu were some of the sub-divisions in Maṇaviṛ-kōṭṭam. Since Tiruvalangaḍu was a chief place in Pajaiyanūr-nāḍu, the country round about that place should have been in Maṇavir-kōṭṭam. Maganūr-nāḍu was a sub-division in Śengaṭṭu-kōṭṭana. Paiyūr-koṭṭam, also known as Paiyur-llangoṭṭam, had in in Tekkur-nadu in which the modern village of Satyavedu (Ponneri taluk) was situated. The city of Kanchiwasin Eyil-kottam, The modern villages of Damal and Urrukkadu in the Chingleput district,

was the principal town in one of them, *viz.*, Eyil-kottam [1] During the time of the Chola king Rajaraja I, *i.e.*, at the commencement of the 11th century A. D., the name Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam was changed into Jayangoṇḍa-Choḷa-maṇḍaḷarn after one of the surnames of that king and it was by this latter name the territory was known for several centuries, *i. e.*, until the Vijayanagara times [2]. But it may be said that though the original names of villages, districts and sub-divisions of a country underwent changes at different periods in the history of their existence and were known sometimes by the two names and at other times exclusively by the new names the original names

ought to have been chief places in ancient times in the divisions which bear their names. Valla-nāḍu was a sub-division in Dāmal-kōṭṭam, while Veḷimā-nāḍu, Kunra-nāḍu and Damanūr-nāḍu were some of the territorial divisions included in tfeuk-kāṭṭu-kōṭṭam. The country roun'd Tirukkajukkunram was comprised in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam which had in it Paidavūr-nāḍu, Ka-. ḷattūr-nāḍu and Śengunra-naḍu. From the inscriptions of Parameśvaramangalam we know that it was a village in Śembūr-kōṭṭam. And from other records we learn that Āmūr-nāḍu, Kumiḷi-nāḍu and Paḍuvíir-nāḍu were in Āmūr-kōṭṭam and that Māngaḷūr-nāḍu and Vaṭṭiya-nāḍu were in Kunravattana-kōṭfçam. Vūngaḍa-kōṭṭam must be the country near the Tirupati hill. Madras and its suburban villages were situated in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. Among the sub-divisions of this district are mentioned Kōfçfūr-nāḍu, Neḍungunra-nāḍu, Màngāḍu-nāḍu and Śurattūr-nāḍu.

[1] *South Ind. Liscrs.* Vol. I, p. 125.

[2] Inscriptions earlier than the time of Rajaraja I mention the territorial division Tondai-mandalam and it *is on*ly in the latter part of the reign of Rajaraja I, that the other name Jayangonda-Chola-mandalam came to be applied to it.

survived to the very last while the intermediate ones died out completely [1]. We have an instance of this in the name Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and its later equivalent Jayangoṇḍa-Choḷa-maṇḍalam.

References to this ancient city are not wanting. The facts connected with the place incline one to the belief that from the earliest times it was a stronghold of people of various religions. From the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, we learn that as far back as the 5th century B. C. when Tathāgatha, *i.* e., Buddha was liviug in this world he frequented this country much; he preached the law here and converted men ; and, therefore, Asokaraja built *stupas* over all the sacred spots where these traces exist.

[1] When the Chōḷas had permanently conquered or annexed the dominions of other kings,they appear to have given, in addition to the original names of villages, districts and sub-divisions, new designations called after their own names and sur-names or those of their ancestors. This innovation was firstfc started in Pallava times. There-naming of places was not necessarily effected after a conquest or an annexation, though that was certainly one of the many occasions when it seems to have been done. There was a general tendency among the Ohōḷa kings to change the existing names of ail places situated within their territory and call them after the names of Chōḷa kings. This was perhaps done to mark out the places by their very names as belonging to the Cholas. Some of the later members of the family further altered the new names and thus we have several surnames for a single place. A proper study of these names alone affords a clue to find out the surnames of Chola kings. The survival of the original names and complete effacement of the intermediate ones, may be accounted for by the fact that it is the former that find place in literature, in preference to the latter.

Kāñchipura was the native place of Dharrnapāla Bhōdisatva who assumed the robes of a recluse and attained brilliant reputation [1]. To the south of the city, not a great way off, is a large *sangĥarāma* frequented by men of talent and learning and there is a *stūpa* about 100 ft high built by Aśōkarāja [2]. At best we can only regard this account of the pilgrim as a record of what the people of Conjeeveram had to say iu the 7th century A. D., concerning the origin of Buddhism iu the place. But even as representing the belief or tradition of the 7th century, the reference is certainly valuable. The truth of the pilgrim's account cannot be assumed without subjecting it to scrutiny. We are not in a position to test the correctness of the first part of the statement which connects Buddha with Kāñchi. As Buddhism does not appear to have made any real progress in the south during the lifetime of its founder, we are inclined to think that the statement is not grounded on solid fact. But it is not improbable that at the time of Aśōka, Buddhist *stūpas* came to be erected at Conjeeveram. Though the edicts of Aśōka do not include the capital of Dravida among the places to which he sent missionaries, the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa* gives a long list of countries to which Buddhist apostles were sent by the Maurya emperor [3]. Some of these countries are in the neighbourhood of Dravida. An inscription of Aśōka has

1 Beal's *Si yu ki* Vol. IL, p. 229.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 230.

3 Wijesinha's translation, p. 116f. See also the author's paper on the origin and decline of Buddhism and Jainism in Southern India in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XL.

been discovered at Siddhapura in the Mysore State, the ancient Mahishamaṇḍala [1]. The countries of the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷaputra, where Buddhism found votaries at the time of Aśōka, are not far off from Conjeeveram. It will not be a wild conjecture, therefore, to suppose that some of the missionaries to these parts exercised their influence at Conjeeveram as well and were instrumental in building the monasteries and *stūpas* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang. That Conjeeyaram had in early days a large number of *sangharamas* and mendicants of high order, is also learnt from the Tamil work *Maṇimēgalai* which states that at the time when the Chōḷa capital Kāviripūmpaṭṭinarn was destroyed by the encroachment of the sea, the inhabitants of that place removed to Conjeeveram and changed their faith to Buddhism [2]. We are here informed that Iḷaṅkiḷḷi, the brother of the Chōḷa king Toḍukaḷar-kiḷḷi also built a big Buddhist monastery at Conjeeveram [3], The book completely bears testimony to the pilgrim's words that there were some hundreds of *sangharamas* and 10,000 priests at the

[1] References in ancienb Tamil liberabure bo *Erumaiyur,* show that ib is identical with the presenb Mysore State. Erumaiyūr is an exact rendering of Mahishamaṇḍala. The *thera* Majjhantika was deputed to Kasmira and Gandara, the *thera* Mahadeva to Mahishamandala, the *thera* Rakkita bo Yanavasi, the *thera* Yona-Dhamraarikkita to Aparanbaka, the *thera* Maha-Dhammarakkita to Maharaṭṭa, the *thera* Maharakkita to the Yona country, the *thera* Majjhima to the Hiraavanba, the two *theras* Soma and Uttara bo Savanna-bhumi and the *thera* Maha-Mahinda together with Moggaii's disciples bo Lanka.

[2] See Canto 28.

[3] *Annual Report of the Director- General of Archeology in India for* 1906-07, p. 220,

time of his visit *i e,* in the middle of the 7th century A.D. [1] These monuments of the Buddhists should have been constructed by the Pallavas, who ruled the country at the time the pilgrim visited the place and prior to it for several centuries. But it must be noted that the vestiges of Buddhist influence at Kāñchi have all disappeared without a single exception. The religious revival[2] of Śaivism[3] and Vaishṇavism[4] is perhaps the chief cause of the disappearance of Buddhist and Jain monuments of the place.

As the principal objects of interest in the city have already been stated to consist in its temples, even a meagre account of the place should not fail to mention at least the more important of them. The earliest Hindu temples of the place are those

[1] **Beat's *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* Vol. II., p. 229.**

[2] ***Vide* the Origin and Decline of Buddhism and Jainism in Southern India, *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XL.**

[3] **Of the sixty-three Śaiva devotees mentioned by Sundaramurti-Nayanar, six belong to Tondai-manual am. These are Śakkiyanar of Sangaramangai, Śivanesar and Vayilar of Mayilai, i.e., Maylapore, Tirukkuripputtoṇḍar of Kāñchi, Mūrkka-Nāyanār and Kaliyar of Tiruvorriyur. Śekkilar, the author of the *Periyapuranam* was also a native of Tondai-mandalam 32 Śiva temples of the country are celabrated in the *Devāram,***

[4] **Kanchi was the native place of Poygaiaivar. Pudattalvar born at Kaḍalmallai, i.e. Mnvaliveratn, one of the principal towns of the Pallavas, Peyāḻvaṙ whose birthplace was Tirumayilai, Tirumaliáai, who is connected with the city of the same name and Tirumangai, have referred to the temples at Kāñchi. The first three of these are considered the earliest of the Vaishṇava saints and the works of the last two are noted for sweetness of melody and high thoughts. Torida-maṇḍalam contains 22 places sacred to Vaishnavas.**

noticed in the *Devaram* and the *Nalayiraprabandham*. T'irukkachchi-Ēkambam [1] and Nerikkaraikkadu[2] are celebrated in the hymns of Jnanasambanda who lived in the middle of the 7th century A. D. Merrali[3] is mentioned by Jnanasambanda's contemporary, Appar. Sundararaūrti, who could be assigned to the 8th century A. D., has sung in praise of Anekatangavadam[4] and Onakandanrali.[5] It may be said that the first three of these temples were in existence prior to the 7th century and that the last two attained notoriety in the interval between the time of Jnanasarabanda and Sundaramurti. Of these, the Ēkāmbaranātha temple contains the celebrated earth *ling a,* one of the five famous *lingas* of Southern India.[6] The ancient name of the modern Ēkambaranātha is Ēkamban and this name seems to be connected with Kambai, *i. e.*, the river Vegavati on whose banks the town is situated. In fact one of

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[1] This is the well known Ēkatnbranātha temple situated in Big Gonjeeveram.

2 It is now known as Tirukkāiāśvara and is near Vēppanguiam, one mile to the east of Conjeeveram. Later Chōḷa inscriptions found on the walls of it, call the temple by the name Tittikkāraikkāḍu.

3 This temple is in the weavers' street and contains four comparatively modern inscriptions.

[4] This temple is situated quite close to the Kailāsanātha and is called in its inscriptions Anaiyapadangāvuḍaiya-Nāyanār (SIX,' Vol. I, p. 117.)

[5] This is identical with the Ōnakantesvara temple, near the Sarvatirtham tank.

[6] The other four are *Ap* (water)-linga at Jambukesvaram, fire-linga at Tiruvannamalai, *Vayu-linga,* at Kalahasti and *Akasa*-linga at Chidambaram,

the stanzas in Jnanasambanda's hymns bears out this view. At present they trace the origin of the name Ekāmbaranātha to a single mango tree found in the temple. Oṇakāndan means the lover of the constellation Sravaṇa. Mēṟṟali should have been so called on account of its position on the western side. The significance of the term Anēkatangāvadam, is not apparent. Perhaps this temple was situated in a forest or garden frequented by a large concourse of people and was on that account called by the name which it bears. Besides the temples enumerated above, the Pallava king Rajasimha built of stone a Śiva temple called Rājasimhēśvara and this is now known as Kailāsanātha. An inscription found in it registers the fact that Vikramāditya, the "Western Chalukya king, when he invaded the Pallavd dominions, made some improvements to this temple. The shrine of Muktisvara, whose vicinity is now kept in a most deplorable state, is another Pallava structure, as clearly evidenced by an inscription of Nandivarman dated in the 28th year of the king[1], . According to this record, the ancient name of the temple was Dharmamahādeviśvara. It should have been called after Dharmarnahadevi, probably a Pallava queen. So far no epigraph refers to this lady. The sculpture representations on either side of the *mandapain* front of the central shrine of this temple bear bold outlines and fineness of touchy though very much damaged.

Among the Vishnu temples of the place, fourteen are mentioned in the songs of Aḻvārs, and Professor

1 No. 14 of 1893 in the Annual Report on Epigraphy.

Hultzsch has identified the following six of them from a study of their inscriptions.[1] Tiruppāḍagam[2], Tiruttanka[3], Attabuyagaram[4], Ūragam[5], Attiyur[6] and Paramēśvaravinṇagararn[7] are respectively the Pāṇḍava-Perumāḷ, Viḷakkoḷi-Perumāḷ, Ashṭabuja, Ulagaḷanda-Perumāḷ, Varadarāja and Vaikuṇṭha-Ṛeramāḷ temples of Conjeeveram. The remaining eight are Vēḷukkai[8] now called Mugundanāyaka, Niragam[9] now known as Jagganāda Perumāḷ,

[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1893, p. 5.

[2] Tirumalisai-Ālvār refers to this temple in his Tiruchchandaviruttara (stanzas 63 and 64) and saint Tirumangai in one of the stanzas of his hymn on Tirunaraiyūr and in the 127th couplet of his *Periya-tirumaḍal* It is also mentioned by Pudattalvar in the second *Tiruvandadi* (v. 94) and Peyalvar in the third *Tiruvandādi* [v. 30.]

[3] This temple is referred to by Tirumangai-Ālvār in two stanzas in one of which Viḷakkoḷi also occurs.

[4] Both Tirumangai and Pēyāivār mention Aṭṭabuyagram. In the last verse of the former's hymn on this temple, it is stated that the god was worshipped by Vayiramōgan, the king of the Toṛiḍaiyur *i. e.* a Pallava. Mr. Venkgyy has shown that this king must be identical with Dantivarman, son of Pallavamalla.

[5] Tirumalisai states that Vishnu assumes here a standing posture.

[6] Pūdattālvār refers to Attigiri in verse 96 of the second *Tiruvandadī.*

[7] Tirumangai contributes, in praise of the temple, ten stanzas wherein he describes the military achievements of N. Pallavamalla.

[8] Vēlukkai is referred to by Pēyālvār in the third *Tiruvandādi* (vv. 26, 34 and 62) and by Tirumangai in his *Periya-tirumaḍal* (127th couplet): In the last of these references the temple is said to be situated in the high-walled Kāñchi.

[9] These six temples are mentioned by Tirumangai-Ālvār*

Nilāttingaḷtuṇḍam,[1] Tiruvehkā[2] called also Yadōktakāri, Kāragam[1] *i.e.*, the modern Karuṇākara-Perumal, Karvanam [1], Kal var, *i.* e., Tirukkalvanar[1] the Varaha-Perumaḷ and Pavaḷavaṇṇar. [1] From an inscription in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple, we learn that its ancient name was Paramēśvara-Vishṇugriha and it is, therefore, evident that it was built by the Pallava king Paramēśvara, the immediate predecessor of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, whose military achievements are recorded in the hymns of the saint Tirumangai-Āḻvār[3] . The peculiar feature of this temple consists in its sculptures found on the four walls of the raised verandah running round the central shrine, all of which represent particular events in contemporary history of the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, as noted in the labels engraved below them.[4] The temple of Varadaraja is the biggest structure in Little Gonjeeveram. It is said to be literally covered with inscriptions, the decipherment of which will surely reveal valuable information regarding the history of the place.

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[1] These six temples are mentioned by Tirumangai-Alvār.

[2] Tirumaliśsai, Tirumangai, Poyālvar and Poygai refer to the temple of Tiruvahkā. The god is said to be lying down.

[3] The defeat of the Pāṛiḍya and several of the battles fought by Pallavamalla are here referred to. The saint was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman, who had the surname Yayiramōgan.

[4] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906, pp. 62 and 63. The mention of Muttaraiyan in one of the labels shows that he played some part in the civil war perhaps taking the side of Pallavamalla.

In the last quarter of the 8th century A. D. Kāñchipuram was subjected to the influence of Samkar'ācharya the powerful exponent of the Advaita philosophy. He is believed to have subdued the power of Kārnākshi who in the form of Kāḷi is said to have been doing havoc at nights till his day Sainkara is said to have extracted a promise from the goddess that without his permission she would not stir out of the temple. There is an image of the reformer in the Kārnākshi temple before which they halt the procession deity of the goddess whenever the latter is taken into the town in order that she may take permission. Whatever the truth of this may be, there is not much doubt as to Samkara's connection with Kañchi where he is said to have established his *maṭha.* That he was an ardent worshipper of Kāmakōṭyambika is also fairly certain. It may be added that but for the importance attached to the town as a place of religious activity from very early times, even the little of its history that is now preserved would not have come down to us.

Tamil literature often describes the place as being situated on the bank of the river Karnbai[1] which is another name for Vēgavati,[2] as being strongly fortified and resplendent with towering palaces,[3] as having high fort walls[4] which were surrounded by a deep

[1] *Ponmalarum Kambai-kkaraiy-Ēkambam-udaiyanai* occurs ia one of the hymns of Ēkambam.

[2] See Winslow under Kambai,

[3] Juanasarabanda has *Vinn-amar nedu-madam-ongh vilangiya Kachichi tannul* and Tirumalibai *Madanedu Kachchi.*

[4] ID one of the poems of Tirumangai we get *kallar madilsul* Kachchinagar.

moat[1] and as containing a number of weavers' families[2] and big streets tit for cars to run upon[3].

SECTION II—THE PALLAVAS.

We shall now make an attempt to trace the history of the city, which till the 9th century A.D. is closely connected with that of the' Pallavas. But before doing so, it may be advantageous to note the general traits of these people, their origin, and how they came to have possession of the place. Their history shows that they were a warlike race constantly at feud with their neighbours. While some writers look upon them as foreigners that c£me to India by the north-western route,[4] others are of opinion that they are an indigenous class formed in Southern India.[5] Puranas mention the Pallavas along with the Sakas and Yavanas[6] and Tamil inscriptions and literature use the terms Kāḍavar, Toṇḍaiyar and Kāḍuvetṭi as synonymous with the Pallava. Of these names, Toṇḍaiyar is an exact rendering of Pailavar and both come from roots which mean ' a sprout or creeper.' The term Kadavar might have been applied to them to denote the fact that they lived in a forest. The other name

[1] *Al'kidangu-'sul vayalam madil-pulqiy-alaq-amarum nenmaruqir-kali-Kachchi* (Jnanasambanda).

[2] *Sedar-ser-kali-Kachchi* do.

[3] *Terur nedu vidi-chchelun-Kachchi* (do).

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I., Part II, p. 317.

[5] Mr. V. A. Smith's *History of Ancient India,* p, 404. See also the late Mr. Venkayya's remarks in the Director-General's Annual for 1906-07, foot-note 5 on p. 219.

[6] *Bombay Gazetteer Vol* I., Part II, p.'317.

Kāḍuveṭṭi borne by them is also significant as it means that they cleared the forest, perhaps to make a settlement. Apart from other considerations, a reasonable conjecture may be made from these names alone that the Pallavas settled themselves in a remote age in some forest tract which they cleared and made habitable. At this time of their settlement, there existed, in the country round about Conjeeveram, an extensive forest which must have formed part of the great Daṇḍakāraṇya. The name Ārkkāḍu still reminds us of the state of the tract in those days.

Early records connect the Pallavas with the country in Northern India which was ruled by the kings of the Āndhra dynasty.[1] In course of years they appear to have exhibited martial spirit and administrative ability to such an extent that some of them were raised to the position of chiefs and ministers. As an instance of this, it may be pointed out that, in A. D. 150, the Āndhrabritya king Rudradāman had a Pallava minister by name Suviśāka who was entrusted with the rule of the provinces of Ānarta and Saurāshṭra.[2] King Gōtamiputra-Śātakarṇi, seeing that the Pallavas had grown to be a source of danger, took steps to drive them out of his kingdom.[3] Expelled by the Āndhrabrityas, the Pallavas set out to seek their fortune elsewhere and, as will be shown below, they came and settled near Conjeeveram. Established firmly at Conjeeveram, they soon assumed signs of royalty and

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I . . Part II, p. 317.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 48.

3 *Arch. Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV., p. 109.

founded a dynasty of their own. The grazing bull, the noble lion and the axe, all pertaining to the wood, appropriately figure in the insignia of their royalty. Though the bull emblem adopted by the Pallavas might be taken to indicate their leaning towards Śaivisra, yet a study of their history clearly shows that they had great religious toleration. We have already pointed out that Buddhist monasteries which were once abundant in and around Conjeeveram were probably built by the Pallavas. The names Buddhavarman and Aśōkavarman occurring among their ancestors also point to the same conclusion. It was a Pallava sovereign that built the Vishṇu temple sung by the saint Tirumangai-Ālvar Another king of the same line adopted the faith of the great Buddha at Dhānyakaṭaka [1]. A third supported the cause of an exiled Buddhist king of Ceylon [2]. The rock-cut shrines found scattered over different parts of Southern India owe their existence to the Pallavas [3]. It is worthy of note that some of these

[1] This is Naudivarman of the Amaravati pillar inscription.

[2] About Mānavamma, the exiled king of Ceylon, We **shall** notice more in the sequel.

[3] Eock-cut caves excavated by Pallava kings have so far been found in the Trichinopoly, North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput districts. At Mavaliveram, better known as the Seven Pagodas, there are several cave temples which, we have reasons to believe, had come into existence during the reign of Narasimhavarrnan. The cave at Śāluvanguppam is called in its inscriptions Atiranachaṇḍēśvara and is said to have been excavated by Atiranachaṇḍa *alias* Atyantakāma and Ranajaya *South Ind, Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 7. The rock-cut cave of Orukal-maṇḍapa at Tirukkaḷukkunrara bears an epigraph of Vātāpikoṇḍa.

are dedicated to Vishṇu, some to Śiva, and a few to other purāṇic deities; but most of these are found in the country round Conjeeveram. [1] In the excavation of huge rocks and in the art of shaping nice caves with an

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Narasimhapōtavarman, *i. e.,* the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I *(Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1909, p. 76.) Vallam in the Chingleput district contains a cave dedicated to Śiva. This, according to an inscription found in it, was excavated in the reign of Mahēndravarman I, who bore also the *burdas* Lalitankura, Śatrumalla and Gunabhara (*South Ind. Inscrs.,* Vol. II., Part III, p. 341). The cave temple of Vishṇu at Mahēṇḍravāḍi *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IV., p. 153), the rook-cut shrines of of Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara at Śiyamangalam in the North Arcot district *(Ep, Ind.,Vol..* VI., p. 320), Śatrumaltasvaralaya at Dalavanur in the South Arcot district *{Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905, p. 47) and those at Pallavaram (*Annual Report* for 1909, p. 75) and Trichinopoly *(South Ind. Inscrs.,* Vol, I., p. 29) were also excavated during the reign of the same king. At Panamalai in the South Arcot district there is a cave with a lithie record of Narasimhavarman II,

[1] At Nāmakkal in the Salem district there are two rock-cut temples both dedicated to Vishṇu. One of them, the Lakshmi-Narasimba-Perumāḷ temple consists of three finely sculptured oells with a verandah in front. Here are found neatly executed images in high relief, of Narasimha tearing open the bowels of Hiranyakaśipu represented as lying on his lap, the several deities attendant on Narasimha and the Trivikrama-avatāra. In the other cave god Bauganaība is shown as lying on his serpent couch with a number of attendant deities. In the cells to the north and south of the central one, there are images of Śankaranārāyaṇa and Trivikrama. As the second of these caves contains an epigraph which names the temple as Atiyendra-vishnugriha, it is fairly certain that it was the work of a Kongu king. And it is not unlikely that the other cave also came into existence at the same time. Both in the Pudukkotta State and in the Madura district, we find many

abundance of sculpture works, it may be said that none equalled them, though many imitated that art in Southern India. Even to the present day these cave temples stand as admirable monuments of ancient times. The Pallavas tried their skill in the building of sbructural monuments also and they were not found wanting. [1]

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rock-cub caves. In their inscriptions we have clear evidence that some of them were excavated by the Pāṇḍyas. The Vishṇu temple of Narasimha-Perumāḷ at Anamalai near Madura was the work of Madhurakavi, the minister of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍunjeliyan, The Subramaṇya temple on the hill ab Tiruppa-rangunram is another instance of a Pāṇḍya cave. It has a number of ceils cut in three different stages and the images in them are about the best in this part of the country. Though some of the caves in the Pudukkottai State such as those at Nārttāmalai and Kuḍumiyāmalai, were excavated during the time of the Ganga-Pallavas, there are others which appear to have been cut out by the Muttaraiyans, a local family of chiefs who ruled over a portion of the state in ancient times. To the last must be ascribed the Śiva temple at Malaikkoil. But, it must be said that none of these could stand comparison with the caves at the Seven Pagodas in neatness of execution, in technique or in boldness of design. The detailed workmanship displayed in the Pallava sculptures are conspicuous by their absence in most of the images found in the caves of the Chera and Pandya countries. Hundreds of Jaina figures are found cub on the sides of big boulder, but these are poor imitations of Pallava art.

[1] The temples of Kaiiasanatha, Vaikuntha-Perumal Muktiśvara and others of Kāñchi could be traced to Pallava times. At Tiruppattur in the Triohinopoly district there is a Śiva temple whose architecture closely resembles that of the Vaikuntha-Perumāḷ and on this account it has been pronounced to be of Pallava origin. At Kavirippumpattinam in the Tanjore district **there** was **a temple called** Pallavanīśvaram about which Jñāna-

Though in the long years that preceded the 1st century A. D,, a few Aryans had penetrated the natural barrier of the Vindhyas and traversed the region beyond, there was not a definite attempt at founding fresh empires or settlements in the Dekhan till that date. The Pallavas were almost the first people to acquire dominion in the south. Their success in this direction seems to have atractted their fellows in the north. Migrations followed migration, battles were fought in several parts of the country, victory now favouring the one side and now the other; but in the end the Pallavas made steady progress, The Chōḷas were driven further south and the Kalingas further north. All the tract of country that lay between the Chōḷas and the Kalingas was formed into a dominion and over this the Pallavas ruled.

Ever since the success of the Pallavas, the Dekhan became the coveted object of many an adventurous monarch of Northern India. Some of the Gupta emperors tried to acquire dominion here. Vijayāditya, king of Ayōdhya, made a successful settlement in the districts adjoining to the Pallavas on the western side. The Kāshṭrakūṭas and Gangas were not slow to take similar advantages. Thus in the course of a few centuries there were several dominions in the Dekhan in addition to the three original

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sambandba had composed hymns. This should no doubt have been built during the time of the Pallava supremacy in the Chola country. But no trace of the old building exists at present. The Yayalūr pillar epigraph and the Tiruppōrūr inscriptions, though fragmentary, clearly suggest that they originally belonged to some Pallava structural monuments erected near those places.

kingdoms i.e., the Chēra, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya. The new comets brought with them a mighty civilization the advantage of which they imposed on the people who were only quite willing to add it to their own or remodify that which was reared on lines which suited them best. One cannot but marvel at the institutions they started, the building works they opened and the arts they planted and furthered. Their activities gave employment for ages to thousands of people in the land and invited many more from outside. They improved the art of the land, the agriculture of the adopted country and opened a training ground for artisans and labourers. They increased the wealth of the country and brought under cultivation more of the rich arable waste lands. They opened up roads and wrought several beneficial changes.

The persecution of the Pallavas and their expulsion from Northern India had a far-reaching effect. Politically it is an event of great consequence and more so is it in other ways. It led to the spread of North Indian culture and art in the Dekhan on more definite lines than the spasmodic influence produced from time to time by the emigration of families and their settlement in the south. The prolonged wars which the Pallavas had to wage with the neighbouring powers, the clash of their arms and their rejoicing over victories gained, are liable to be forgotten and even overlooked in spite of the quiet life which the immigration of this people should have paralysed, and the stir it should have made at the commencement; but the rapid strides with which the south studded the country

with ecclesiastical buildings which remain even to the preseut day as permanent monuments of their rule in the Dekhan and which should have caused the original emigrants immence hoards of money and immeasurable human labour can never be wiped out; and the gain which the people of the Dekhan acquired in the enlargement of their views on building and in the arts must remain indelible for ever. When one stands before the Pallava relic of the Seven Pagodas, he is reminded of the innumerable skilled and unskilled artisans and labourers that; should have been employed at converting the bare rock into a store house of sculptures which mutely unfold the stories imbedded in the sacred books of the east.

The Pallavas had their own alphabet which is now known to us as the Pallava-G-rantha. Since the Chinese pilgrim says that it resembles the alphabet employed in mid India,[1] we may not be altogether wrong if we trace it to the country of their original settlement amidst the Āndhrabrityas. But Dr, Burnell calls it the eastern Chēra characters and states that it should have first come to be employed in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam in the 4th century A. D.

We shall note here the testimony of a few as regards the character and pursuits of the people of Kāñchi in ancient times. From the Tāḷgunda inscription Kākusthavarman, we learn that the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman went to the city of the Pallavas

[1] Boal's *Si yu ki,* p. 229,

i.e., Kāñchi with his preceptor Viraśarrnan to study the whole of the sacred lore,[x] but soon took to arms, showed great courage in defeating the frontier guards of the Pallavas, and establishing himself in the forest stretching to the gates of Śriparvata, he levied tribute from the great Bāṇas and other kings [2]. From this account of Mayūraśarman, we learn that Conjeeveram was, in those early times, a seat of highly learned men and the favourite resort of students. Eiuen Tsiang who visited Conjeeveram in the middle of the 7th Century A. D. found the people courageous and deeply attached to the principles of honesty and 'truth and that they highly esteemed learning.[3] The Śaiva saint Appar, who lived about the same time, states that the learning of the people of the city of Kāñchi had no bounds.[4] Poetess Auvaiyār writes that Toṇḍaināḍu abounds in wise and honest men.[5] Pugalēndi, the author of Naḷaveṇbā eulogises these people and says that they will not utter a single lie even if it be to get an empire.[6]

From the part played by the Pallavas, we can unhesitatingly say that they were a war-loving race and that they had enough of opportunities to show

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1 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII., p. 34, v. 10.

2 *Ibid.,* p. 28.

3 *Si yu ki,* p. 229.

4 See Appar's hymn on MttfKa.U where he writes *kalviyai karaiy-ilāda Kāñchimdnaqar.*

5 Auvai has *Toṇḍai-nan-ndḍu saṉṟor uḍaittu.*

6 *Vaiyam perinum oru poy uraikka mattar Ṭondai-nan-naṭṭar* are the words of Pugalendi.

their valour. As their capital Conjeeveram was situated in a singularly central place and was surrounded on all sides by great and powerful dominions, the martial spirit of this people was called into play from the very beginning of their career. On one side lay the dominion of the Kadambas and on the other that of the Western Chalukyas. Even the Banas who guarded the frontier part of the Pallava territory perhaps as their feudatories, could not have remained as such always without trying to assert their independence by raising the standard of revolt against their overlords when opportunities presented themselves. The territory to the south was guarded by the Chera, Chola and Pandya races. There were occasions when the Gangas and Rashtrakutas during the time of their supremacy crossed swords with the Pallavas. Such being the position of their little domain, every effort made by the Pallavas to extend it, was at once felt by the adjacent powers and resulted in a corresponding reaction to check the aggression. Their muscles were early exercised in contending against powerful rivals. To gain an inch of ground when they increased in numbers or thought of extending their territory, they were forced to openly and successfully meet on the one hand the superior intelligence of the Kadambas while the indomitable hardihood of the Western Chalukyas required the display of a like force in them. The ultimate end of the struggle was the extension of the Pallava dominions. In the zenith of their power, their territory included Bellary and a part of the present Mysore State, the modern districts of North

Aroot, South Arcot and Chingleput with a portion of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. In the north their arms were carried as far as Orissa. Such in brief is the general account of the Pallavas who ruled with their capital at Conjeeverarn till the 9th century A.D. And it will be useful to look at their dynastic list and note the achievements of some at least 'of them.

SECTION III:—GENEALOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.

The materials necessary for drawing up the history of the Pallavas have been chiefly obtained by the Madras Epigraphical Department and they consist of a number of copper-plate charters of the dynasty and a few stone inscriptions.[1] Side light is also thrown by the grants of the Western Ghalukya kings who were, from the very beginning of their career, the family foes of the Pallavas. Though much has been written about the Pallavas we have not yet got a connected genealogy of all or most of the members of the line known so far. Since Dr. Fleet wrote his account of them in his *Dynasties,* more epigraphs have come to light and these either confirm what is known already about them or add a few fresh facts.

Before we attempt a regular genealogy of the Pallavas, the first question that awaits solution is whether or not there have been two different branches

[1] Most of these have been critically edited. The exertions of Professor Hultzsch, Dr. Fleet, Rai Bahadur Venkayya and others in collating these materials cannot be adequately acknowledged.

of them ruling over two different regions, one somewhere in the north of the Madras Presidency near the modern district of Neilore where several Pallava records have been found and the other further south with their capital at Kāñchi. It may look reasonable to hold that in the ordinary course of events the Pallavas procfeeded slowly by first acquiring some ground in the Telugu districts which were not far from their original settlement in the Āndhrabritya country; establishing themselves there, they then moved southward into Kāñchi; rather than to say that as soon as the Pallavas left their northern home, two branches of them moved out, one to the east and the other to the south. But the facts may be far otherwise. Also if more records had been found, it might be possible to settle the question once for all. All that can be done now is to examine very carefully the records in our hands and make out a genealogy which it seems possible to do but which, we may say, has not been attempted by any with the result we have arrived at on page 33. The reasons for adopting this genealogy are given below. Still it is liable to alteration if fresh materials turn up and reveal facts militating against the conclusions suggested.

Mention has been made of the Pallavas of Kāñchi in very early records and these point to their occupation of the place at a considerably earlier period. One of such references is that which we find in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta of about the middle of the fourth century A.D. which states that among the kings of Southern India

overcome by him Vishnugopa of Kanchi was one [1]. The name Vishṇugōpa occurs several times in the genealogy of the Pallavas. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Vishṇugōpa defeated by Samudragupta was a Pallava king of Kāñchi as has been supposed [2]. From a careful consideration of the palaeographical and orthographical peculiarities the Mayidavōlu Hirahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman —both of which had been issued from Kāñchipura —have been pronounced to belong to much the same period [3]. The *ahamēdha* sacrifice said to have been performed by this king and the fact of his having had a subordinate at the distant Dhānyakaṭaka show that he was a powerful sovereign of the dynasty and that his territory was wide in extent [4]. The Madras Museum plates of Charudēvi, mother of Budhyankura and queen of Vijaya-Buddhavarman who was the son of Vijaya-Skandavarman, discovered in the north of the Presidency come next in point of time [5] We have already alluded to the part played by the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, *i.e.*, Mayūraśarman, the great grand-father of Kakusthavarman, in the affairs of the Pallavas of Kanchi [6]. Professor Keilhorn expressed his opinion that Kakusthavarman should belong to the first half of the sixth century A. D. [7]. From what

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1 *Gupta Inscriptions,* pp. 12 and 13.
2 *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, Part; IX, p. 319,
3 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, pp. 85-86.
4 *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXXVII, p, 282.
5 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 143 *ff.*
6 Above p.
7 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol VIII, p, 31,

has been said here, it can be gathered that the Pallavas had established themselves at Kāṅchi soon after their expulsion from Northern India, that they continued to hold it ever afterwards and that in the time of Śivaskandavarman, their territory extended as far as Amarāvati on the Krishṇa. It will be shown below that the kings represented in the copper-plate charters discovered in the Nellore district [1] are all mentioned by name among the ancestors of the Pallavas of Kāṅchi. This fact coupled with what is stated about Śivaskandavarman's having had a subordinate at Amarāvati indicates that while the Pallavas had their captial at Kāṅchi they had been sending out members of their family to administer distant provinces.

The Kāśākuḍi [2] and the Udayēndiram [3] plates of the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla furnish the following pedigree from Simhavishṇu for seven generations [4]. They mention six members of the line of Simhavishṇu's younger brother :

Simhavishṇu	Bhīmavarman
Mahēndravarman I	Buddhavarman

[1] The Pikira grant of Sini ha var man and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu have been edited by Prof. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 153 to 163 and 233 to 236. Dr. Fleet has edited the Uruvapalle grant in *[nd. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 *ff*,

[2] See *South-Ind. Inscrps.* Vol. II, Part III, 432 *ff*.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 361 *ff*.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I., Part. II, p. 323.

Narasimbavarman I	Ādityavarman
Mahēndravarman II	Gōvindavarman
Paramēśvaravarman I	Hiraṇyavarman
Narasimbavarman II	Nandivarman Pillai Vamalla,
Paramesvaravarman II	

The relationship between Simhavishṇu and Mahēndravarman I is not given in the former record but the latter states that they were father and son. Asokavarman, Skandavannan, Kalindavarmanb, Kaṇagōpa, Vishṇugōpa, Virakūrcha, Virasimha, Simhavarman and Vishṇusimha are also mentioned but their relationship is not specified [1]. Nor are we infortned who the immediate predecessors of Simhavishṇu were. What is not preserved in these records is happily furnished in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates which state that Simhavishṇu was the son of Simhavarman and grandson of Nandivarman [2]. Thus the genealogy of Simhavishṇu's line is carried back by two generations. Though the Udayēndiram grant has been pronounced as spurious on good grounds [3], Dr. Fleet is of opinion that the relationship of the kings therein mentioned can be accepted.[4] This grant which is said to have been issued in the first year of Nandivarman who is perhaps identical with

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[1] *South Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. LI, Part III, p. 356, line 15.

[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1911, Part II, paragraph 7.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 215, No. 9,

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 320-1.

Simhavishṇu's grandfather, gives the following dynastic list [1]:—

Skandavarman

Simhavarman

Skandavarman

Nandivarman

We thus get the names of three more kings who reigned one after another before Nandivarman ascended the throne. In enlarging the genealogy of Simhavishṇu, we have so far made use of only those records which undoubtedly belong to the Pallava kings of Kāñchi. We have the authority of Dr. Fleet for connecting the kings represented in the Udayēndiram grant with those mentioned in the Pikira, Māngalūr and Uruvupalle plates which were issued in the 5th, 8th and 11th years of Simhavarman, from Mēnmātura, Daśanapura and Palakkada[2]. These places seems to be situated in the Nellore district. [3] Even if they are there, there are enough grounds to suppose that the kings mentioned iu them are members belonging to the royal family of the Pallavas of Kāñchi because they figure among the remote ancestors of Pallavas in the Kāśākuḍi plates and are mentioned in the Vāyalūr stone inscription of Rājasimha [4]. As given in these charters, Simhavarman's genealogy is as follows:—

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[1] No. 621 of Prof. Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions* in Vol. VII. It was issued from Karachipura.

[2] *Ep.Ind,* Vol., VIII. p. 161.

[3] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905, p. 47.

[4] *Anmial Report of the Director-General of Archaeology* **for 1908-9, p. 121.**

Mahārāja Skandavarman
|
Vfravarman

„ Skandavarman
|
Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa
|
Mahārāja Simhavarman

This when connected with the Udayēndiram grant furnishes the following pedigree :—

Skandavarman

Vfravarman

Skandavarman
|
Simhavarman Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa

Skandavarman Simhavarman

Nandivarman

The Ohendalūr plates furnish four generations [x] of Pallava kings. Since the grant was issued from Kāñchipura, there is no doubt as to the connection of the kings represented here with the line wliich has been traced so far. The list of kings given iu them is as under :—

Mahārāja Skandavarman

„ Kumāravishṇu I

„ Buddhavarman
|
„ Kumāravishṇu IL

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 233-4,

In giving an account of the kings that preceded Nandivarman, grandfather of Simhavishṇu, the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates suggest the following dynastic list [94] :—

Kāḷabhartri (Kāṛiagōpa)

|

Chūta-Pallava

|

Virakurcba

|

Skandasishya

|

Kumaravishnu

|

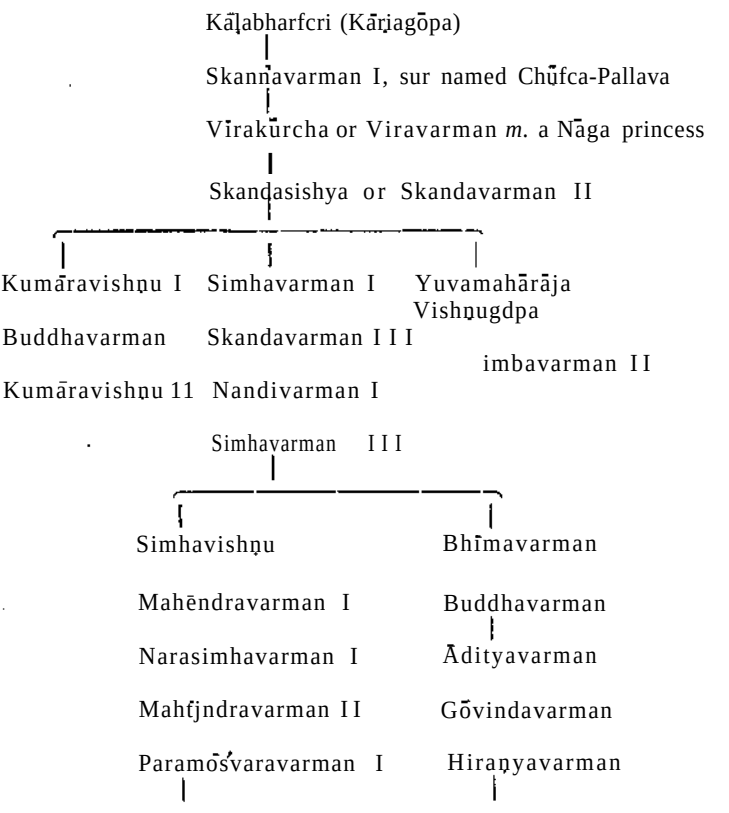
Buddhavarmaa

Since the first three kings of the Chendalur grant are represented here, it will be correct to add to the list Kumaravishnu II as the son and successor of the last member. To assign this group of seven kings their proper place in the Pallava pedigree presents but little difficulty. From a study of the Chendalur and other allied records it has been concluded that the Chendalur grant is later in point of time than the Uruvapalle and Mangalur charters issued in the reign of Simhavarman, son of the Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa [3]. This makes it plain that Kumaravishnu I of the Chendalur grant must be one of the sons of

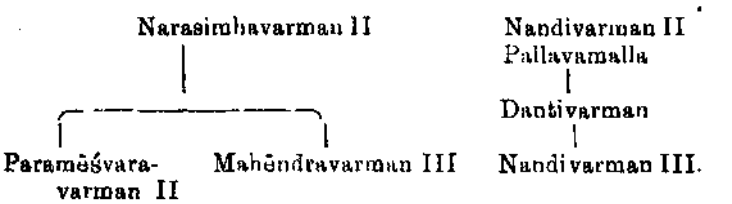
1 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1911, p. 61.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234. Prof. Hultzsch concludes that the four Pallava kings of the Chendalur plates should have ruled in the interval between Simhavarman and Simhavishṇu.

Skandaharrnan II. If this should prove correct, Viravarman [1] of the Nellore district plates must be identical with Vlrakūrcha of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates and Skandavarrrian I must have had the surname Chūta-Pallava. Now the whole pedigree of the Pallavas of Kānchi might be arranged as follows :—



[1] That there had been more kings than one bearing fche name Vfra amoug the Pallavas, is evident from fche Kāśākuḍi plate which mention Vlrakurcha and Virasimha among fche ancestors of Simhavishṇu.



SECTION IV :—AN ACCOUNT OP THE KINGS.

Having made out the genealogy of the Pallava kings, it now remains to add a few facts known about some of these sovereigns. First of all it must be remembered that Vishṇugōpa defeated by Samudragupta, Śivaskandavarman of the Hirahaḍagalli and Mayidavōlu plates, Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman mentioned in the Madras Museum plates are not to be identified with any of the kings in this genealogy as they appear to have lived much earlier. Their connection with the members of this pedigree still remains to be determined. Another factor to notice is that between Skandavarman II and Simhavishṇu, there had been *nine* kings for *four* generations and the throne of Kāñchi seems to have been occupied by members belonging to three branches. By the very nature of the case, we are inclined to think that there must have been internal dissensions during this period and we expect that future researches will clear the ground and furnish information as to which of these *nine* members actually held the rfeins of government, before Simhavishṇu ascended the throne. The title *Yuvamahārāja* given to VishṇugSpa even in later records suggests that he never reigned at all. He must have either resigned in favour of other claimants or

was excluded from the throne. It is even likely that he did not survive his two brothers, Kumāravishṇu I and Simhavarman I both of whom appear to have reigned as also their sons and grandsons. Elsewhere we have assigned to the beginning of the sixth century A. D. the Chōḷa king Karikāla whose Pallava contemporary had the surname Trinayana-Pallava [x]. This Pallava sovereign appears to have lived prior to Kumāravishṇu I, and he is reported to have been defeated both by the Western Chalukya Vijayāditya and the Chōḷa Karikāla, The defeat inflicted on Trinayana-Pallava by Karikāla gave the latter the possession of Kāñchi which he is said to have beautified witb gold.[2] The Śaiva saint Jnānasambanda refers to Karikāla in one of his hymns on Kāñchi.[3] An important fact revealed in the Velurpalaiyam plates is the capture of Kāñchi attributed to Kumāravishṇu I. This shows beyond doubt that the very capital of the Pallavas was lost by one of Kumāravishṇu's ancestors, probably by his immediate predecessor on the throne and it confirms the account given about Karikāla with regard to his occupation of Kāñchi. Kumāravishṇu I must have driven back the Chōḷas and got possession of his capital; else there is

[1] See *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XLI, pp. 144-9, where all the facts known about Karikāla are put together.

[2] This is mentioned in verse 42 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates discovered by the author and noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906, Part II, p. 67.

3 *Kaḷalin velvar Karikalanai nanṇuvar eḷil-kol. Kachchi-nagar,* etc., occurs in verse 7 of Jnānasarnbanda's hymo on Tirukkaohchiyēkambam.

not much significance in the boast of a Pallava king capturing his own capital.

Simhavishṇu.

From the time of Simhavishṇu we have to trace gradually the extension of the Pallava dominion further south and the conflict of the Pallavas not only with their family foes, the Western Uhalukyas, but with the Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and others as well. The Kāśākuḍi plates record that Simhavishṇu, called also Avanisimha, vanquished the Malaya, Kaḷabhra, Maḷava, Chōḷa, Paṇḍya, the Simhaḷa proud of the strength of their arms and the Kēraḷa [x]. It is doubtful if all the conquests here mentioned are established facts. If it be the case, Simhavishṇu must have been a powerful emperor having for his feudatories almost all the kings of the south and some of the north. So long as the names of kings whom he defeated and the places where he gained victories over them are not mentioned, we have to take them with some amount of caution. And before we can regard them as facts, it is necessary-to look for corroborative evidence from other sources. That he was a powerful sovereign, there is no doubt. The Velurpalaiyam plates say that he conquered he Chola territory which was sanctified by the waters of the Kaveri and resplendent with groves of areca-trees and paddy flats.[2] This conquest of his must be a fact, because we have an inscription of his son Mahendravarman I in the Trichinopoly cave [3]. As the latter is not re-

1 *South-Ind, Incrs.* Vol. II, Part III, p. 356, verse 20.

[2] *Annual Beport on Epigraphy* for **1911,** p. 61.

[3] This record states that Gunabhara *alias* Śatrumalla constructed **the** temple of Śiva on the top of the mountain **and**

ported to have contended against the Chōḷas, we have to presume that Trichinopoly came into his possession as part of his ancestral dominion, it having been conquered by his father. In this connection it maybe further noted that Kanjanūr in the Kurnbhakonarn taluka was called Simhavishṇu-Chaturvēdimangalam in ancient times and it was evidently so named after king Simhavishnu [1]. As regards the creed professed by this king,the Udayēndiram plates state that he was a devout worshipper of Vishṇu [2].

Mahēndravarman I.

Mahēudravarman I had many surnames such as Lalitāṅkura, Śatrumalla and Guṇabhara [3]. He appears to have been a pious and powerful monarch. In his reign were excavated most of the rock-cut caves of the Dekhan [4]. One of his *birudas, Chēttha-kāri,* shows that he indulged much in building temples [5]. The monuments that came into existence during bis time are found in the Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts [6].

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placed in it a *linga* and a sbatue of himself *(South-Ind, Inscrs.,* Vol I. p. 29). Mr. Venkayya has shown that Guṇabhara and Śatrumalla are the surnames of Mahēndravarman I. The village of Mahēndraraangalara in the Trichinopoly district should **have** been so called after this Pallava sovereign.

1 No. 265 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* **for 1907**'.

2 *South Ind. Inters.,* Vol. II, Part III, p. 370.

3 For these surnames, see his records at Trichinopoly, Mahẽndravāḍi and Pallaveram.

4 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905, p. 47.

5 „ for 1909, p. 75.

6 See note 3, p. 17/.

The principal event of his day was **the defeat** inflicted **by** him **on** his enemy the Western Ghalukya king Pulakesin II at Pulḷalur [1]. As Pulḷalur is situated in the Conjeeveram taluka, it looks as if the Chalukyan army had made an inroad into thePallava dominion before it was repulsed by Mahēndravarman 1[2]. Since Pulakēśin II figures as the opponent of Narasirnhaverman I, it may be said that the last years of Mahēndravarman I fell in the early part of the reign of Pulakēśin II. Mahēndravarman I was at first hostile to the Śaiva saint Tirunāvukkaraśu whom he persecuted, but afterwards turned back from hostility and embraced the faith of the victim [3].

Narasimhavarman I.

To Narasimhavarman I is ascribed the destruction of Vātāpi [4] *(i. e.,* the modern town of Badami in the Bijapur district) founded by the Western Chalukya Pulakēśi I. That this event is an accomplished fact is proved by the existence of a

[1] *South Ind, Inscrs,,* Vol. II, Part III, p, 343. Verse 21.

* [2] This view was expressed by Dr. Hultzsch in editing the Kāśākuḍi plates.

[3] Though the details of the perpecution recorded in the *Periyapurāṇam* may not be strictly correct, there is not much doubt that the saint was at first exposed to all the difficulties arising from royal disfavour. Curiously enough we find mention even in the *Dêmīram* the different kinds of torture to which Appar was subjected. The king, when he became a convert to Śaivism, is said to have demolished a Jain temple at Tiruppādirippuliyūr and built with its stones a Śiva temple at Tiruvadi.

[4] This fact about him is referred to in several inscriptions which introduce the king in the terms Fātāpi-foṃṭa-Narasingappōttaraiyar.

mutilated inscription of his found at Badami and by the mention of the event in the Tamil work *Periyapurāṇam,* which states that the Śaiva saint Śiruttoṇḍa served the Pallava king as general in his expedition against Vātāpi. The second great achievement in his reign is the defeat of Pulakē^i-vallabha *{i. e.* Pulakēśin IJ) in the fields of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimangala and Śūramāra.[1] As to the actual occurrence of Narasimha's encounter with Pulakēśin II and the part played by the Singhalese prince Mānavamma, we have corroborative evidence in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa* [2].

Here it is said that king Mānavamma of Ceylon having been exiled, while very young, went over to India with his wife Sanka and took up service under "Narasiha. He was greatly favoured by that king. At the time of his stay, a certain Vallabha invaded Narasiha's territory. Mānavamma took this opportunity to show his high talent in war and the great attachment he had for his benefactor. With the joint efforts of the two, Vallabha was completely defeated in battle. After this, the *Mahāwansa* goes on to narrate how Narasiha, pleased at the victories gained over his enemy, placed at the disposal of Mānavamma a large army to get back his throne by invading Ceylon ; how he was forced to flee a second time to India; and how, with the help of his former benefactor, he invaded again the island but this time

[1] See the Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman (*South Ind. Inscrs* , Vol. I I , pp. 370-l.

[2] See Chapter 47 of Wijesinha's translation of the *Mahāwansa* from which this account is taken.

with success. From the way in which the second invasion is described in the Singhalese chronicle, it can be inferred that Narasiha himself accompanied the exiled king with a large army. Inscriptions also record an invasion of Ceylon by Narasimhavarman I.[1]

Copper-plate.charters of the Pallavas mention the Pāṇḍyas among the powers with whom Narasimhavarman I contended and it is, therefore, meet that we say a word about the relationship that existed between him and his Pandya contemporary. We have seen that the long continued hostility between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas was pushed to a decisive end in this reign. Conquest of Vātāpi settled for once the fate of the Chalukyas. Either elated by this triumph or as a preliminary undertaking to that great event, the Pallava king appears to have crossed swords with the Pāṇḍya sovereign of his day by carrying on the war to the latter's dominion. The army that marched against the Pandyas came from the city of Vilvēli which is perhaps identical with Villivalam in the Chingleput district. If we can rely on the statement of a Pandya grant issued long after the event had happened, the encounter took place at Nelvēli which is probably the same as Tirunelveli, *ie.*, the modern Tinnevelly. Here, success seems to have been denied to the victor of Vatapi. This Pandya contemporary of Narasimhavarman is the same person who is celebrated in the Tamil work *Periyapuranam* as the 'Great Maran who

[1] Verse 22 of the Kasakudi plates states that Narasimhavarman I conquered Ceylon,

fought the battle at Nelvēli and won lasting fame in it.' The Vēḷvikuḍi grant also calls him Māravarman. And both attribute success to him. He was an avowed Jaina in the earlier part of his reign and his conversion to the Śaiva faith which was an important event of the time, was effected by Jñānasambandha who was sent for by the Pāṇḍya queen Mangaiyarkkaraśi and the Pāṇḍya minister Kulachirai-Nāyanār both of whom were staunch Śaivites and figure among the sixty-three Śaiva devotees. This king is variously called Kūn-Pāṇḍya and Neḍumāran. He had a malignant fever which is said to have been miraculously cured by the application of the sacred ash accompanied by the singing of a hymn on its efficacy.

Now as regards the length of Narasimhavarman's reign we get some help from the *Mahawansa.* It says that Mānavamma went over to the territory of Narasiha, while young ; that he had four sons and four daughters when he was under the service of that king ; that Narasiha seeing his friend grow old, placed at his disposal a large army, determined to make him king of the island; and that four sovereigns had ruled over Ceylon for a period of forty-five years, before Mānavamma obtained possession of it. These statements show that Mānavamma's stay in Conjeeveram was pretty long and that Narasimhavarman's reign extended over a period of nearly fifty years.

Mahēndravarman II.

Of Mahēndravarman II, son of the previous sovereign, history has not much to say, except attributing to him certain meritorious acts for the benefit

of temples and Brahmans[1]. The complete omission of his name in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates[2] perhaps shows that he did not reign at all, and even if he did, his reign was short and uneventful.

Paramēśvaravarman I.

To Paramēśvaravarman I, son of Mahēndravarman II, Conjeevaram inscriptions give the surnames Ugradaṇḍa[3], Lōkāditya, and I&varapōtavarman. It is said of him that he defeated the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655 to 680) at Peruvaḷanallūr and forced him to flee with only a rag[4]. He is also reported to have destroyed the army and town of Kaṇaraśika.

Narasimhavarman II.

Narasimhavarman II had the surnames Atyantakāma, Atiraṇachaṇḍa, Kālakāla, Raṇajaya, Śribhara and Kajasiinha[5]. Like Mahendravarman I, he was also a great builder. If we owe the rock-out caves of Southern India to the former, we have reasons to believe that a large number of structural monuments came to be erected during the time of the latter, in addition to a few rock-cut caves. The monuments of his time are to be found at Mahābalipurarn, Tiruppōrūr, Vāyalūr, Conjeevaram and other places. The temple of Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara, now called Kailāsanāthaat Kāñchiwasconstructedbyhim. Inscriptions

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1 *South Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, Park III, p. 342ff.

2 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1911, p. 61.

3 *South Ind. Inscrs.*, **Vol.** I, pp. 9 and 23.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 144/.

5 These names are disclosed by his records **at Conjeevaram and the Seven Pagodas.**

found in this temple state that his queen Eangapatāka built a lovely dwelling for Śiva and that the matchless temple of Mahēndrēśvara was erected near the temple of Kājasimhēśvara by Mahēndra(varman) who sprang from Ūrjita, *i.e.,* Rājasimha *alias* Narasimhavarman II.[1] The piety of the king is justly celebrated in copper-plate charters which state that he bestowed wealth on Brahmans and temples[2] and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.[3] Paramēśvaravarrnan II who succeeded Narasimhavarman II on the throne at Kāuchi, was not destined to rule long.

Paramēśvara varman II and Nandivaraman Pallavamalla,

Here we shall have to pause a while to consider the circumstances which within nearly half a century brought a change in the administration of Conjeeveram. On good authority we are informed that Paramēśvaravarman II who was the 7th in descent from Simhavishṇu reigned for some time before he was overthrown by Nandivarman Pallavamalla who belonged to a collateral branch and had **not** the least claim for the Pallava throne which had remained in the line of Simhavishṇu for fully six generations. We know that this Nandivarman was a lineal descendant of Bhitnavarman,[4] the younger

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[1] *South Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 23.

[2] See verse25 of the Kasakudi plates in *South Ind.Inscrs,* Vol. II, Park III.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 370 ff.

[4] The Udayēndiram grant makes Nandivarman Pallava-**malla** the son of Pramēśvaravarman II while the Kāāākuḍi

brother of Simhavishṇu by several generations and as the Pallava throne at Kāñchi had been held all along by Simhavishṇu's line until Paramēśvara II was ousted by Nandivarrnan Pallavamalla, we have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the latter had not even a pretext of a claim for the Pallava dominion. The fact the Paramēśvaravarrnan II was in charge of the government when he was removed from it, might suggest one of two things, either that his rule was oppressive or that he was considered too weak a monarch, when a powerful hand was required to be at the helm of government. We could infer that his rule was not thought to be a cruel one because records say that he followed the precepts of Manu.[1] And in favour of the latter supposition the plates report that Nandivarrnan was chosen by the people.[2] Not only this, the military officer of this time stood by him in all his difficulties and supported his cause.[3] It would be a gross misreading of history to believe that both the people and the military were influenced to take up the cause of one belonging to a collateral branch without any pretensions to the throne and choose him as their ruler thereby deposing a virtuous king,

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plates state that he was descended from Bhīmavarman; but it must be noted that the relationship of the members mentioned therein is not given.

[1] This fact is mentioned in the Velurpalaiyam plates of Nandivarrnan I I I (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1911, p. 61, paragraph?).

[2] Verse 27 of Kāśākugli plates.

[3] *South Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I I , Part I I I , p. 372.

merely because the former was a powerful man, were they not convinced also that the times required the services of such a one. The Pallava general Udayachandra seeing that Nandivarman was closely besieged at Nandipura by a number of Dramiḷa princes promptly came to his rescue, defeated his enemies and killed the Pallava prince Chitramaya. He is said to have bestowed the kingdom several times on Nandivarman[1]. A consideration of the circumstances which favoured Nandivarman Pallavamalla in securing the throne at Kāñchi would rather incline one to believe that he was quite young and full of potentialities at the time he usurped the kingdom and as such we can easily imagine that his reign could have been a long one as has been supposed by Di. Fleet who assigns him to the period A.D. 715—765. It is worthy of note that the Panchapandavamalai record dated in the 50th year of his reign has been assigned to Nandivarman Pallavamalla[2]. It is true that in his reign there were several wars, but this can not account for the shortness of his reign. On the other hand,when we look at his achievements we can safely credit him with a long rule. The Pallava dominion reached the utmost limit of its expansion during his time in spite of the defeats inflicted on Nandivarman by the Western Chalukyas and others as we shall see presently. (1) Vikramāditya II (A-D. 733—746) having resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy the Pallavas, reached with great speed the Tuṇḍāka-vishaya

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ep. Ind,*, Vol. VI, p. 137ff,

attacked and put to flight the Pallava Nandippōtfca-varraan who had come to withstand him, took possession of his banner and musical instruments and entered, without destroying it, the city of Kāñchi where he acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the Kāajasimhēśvara and other temples which Narasimahpōtavarman II had caused to be built.[1] (2) Kirtivarman II (A.D. 746-757), while he was yet a *Yuvarāja,* was entrusted with the command of an expedition against the Pàllava lord of Kāñchi in which the Pallava king came out to meet him but proved unable to fight in the open country: Kirtivarman II, thereupon drove him back into his fortress, broke his power and seized multitudes of elephants and rubies and gold which he presented to his father[2]. Kirtivarman's victory over the lord of Kāñchi is also mentioned in llāshṭra-kūṭa records. Inscriptions in the Kāajasimhēśvara temple at Conjeeveram mention Vikramāditya II as well as his son Kirtivarman and thus establish their conquests. What was it that made Kāñchi to become an easy prey to the dying Western Chalukya power at this time? May it be that the unsettled state of the country consequent on the civil war that was raging in the capital soon after the usurpation of the Pallava kingdom by Natidivarman Pallavamalla afforded a nice opportunity for the enemy to make a

[1] These are recorded in the Vakkaleri grant of the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya II whose inscription in the Rājasimhēś-vara temple proves the certainty of his conquest of Kāñchi (*South-Ind. Inscrs.,* Vol. I, pp. 146-7).

[2] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol, IX, pp. 2.01 and 201

raid on it and perform a feat which the greatest king of the Western Chalukya line could not dream of accomplishing with all his great resources ; or that the initial resources of Nandivarman Pallavamalla having been exhausted in overcoming the difficulties caused by the dethroned monarch, the way was made easy for even a weak enemy to march almost unopposed to the very capital of the Pallavas, capture it and plunder and carry away its riches ? Both the causes ought to have been at work to bring about this result. The fact that the Western Chalukyas were not permitted to hold Kāñchi for any length of time suggests that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was not slow to summon up his energy to regain his hold on the city. He rose even more powerful after the event of the capture of Kāñchi by the Western Chalukyas and made himself stronger than before. His general Udayachandra defeated the army of the dethroned Pallava king and his adherents in the battles at Nimbavana, Chūtavana, Sankaragrāma, Nellore, Nelveli, Suravalundur and other places [1]. The enemies overcome in these places are not mentioned, but some of them can be determined. At Nelvēli, Udayachandra slew in battle the Śabhara king Udayana and seized his banner. He pursued and defeated the Nishāda chief Pribhvivyāghra and drove him from the territory of Vishnurāja, *i.e.,* the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana 111 (A.D. 709—746). He defeated the army of the Pāṇḍyas at Maṇṇaikuḍi

[1] For this and what follow3 see p, 372 of *South Ind. Inscrs,* Vol. II, Part III.

after breaching the fortress of Kāḷidurga. The Vēḷvikuḍi plates report that the Pāṇḍya king Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman defeated the Pallavas at Neḍuvayal, Kurumaḍai, Mannikuruchchi, Tirumangai, Puvalur, Kodumbalur and Kulumbur [1]. The Sinnamanūr grant adds Sankaramangai to the list [2]. We are expressly told that this Arikēsari was the contemporary of Pallavamalla [3].

There is thus no doubt that the struggle between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas was fierce and long protracted. The Kāshṭrakūṭa kings who were contemporaries of Pallavamalla also claim victories over the Pallavas [4]. When we take into account merely the number of battles fought by Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his general, we are forced to admit that his reign must have extended over a long period and that he must have been quite a youth when he usurped the Pallava dominion. In the face of so many facts, it cannot be believed that he came out as a meteor, accomplished in the twinkling of an eye feats which would have taken years for ordinary mortals to perform and vanished all of a sudden. Again take into consideration the approximate date to which his son Dantivarman is assigned. He appears to belong to about A.D. 804 and is mentioned as having been overcome by the Kāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. This again would give his father,

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[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, p. 63.

[2] „ „ „ P. 64.

[3] See No. 6 in the genealogy given on page 66 of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 247.

who was a contemporary of the Eastern Chalukya Vishṇuvardhana III (A. D. 709—740) a long period of rule. It is held by some that none of the stone inscriptions so far discovered should be attributed to Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Though this novel idea has been put forth, no argument has yet been advanced to prove it. So far it rests completely on the assertions of those who hold the view and mere assertions, it is needless to say cannot form arguments. While we find stone records of the time of Mahēndravarmau I, Narasimhavarman I, Paramēśvaravarman, Narasimhavarman II and even of Mahēndravarman III all of whom preceded Nandivarman Pallavamalla, we are at a loss to know why we should nob reasonably expect records of Pallavamalla as well. Several places which admittedly were under the sway of this king have been surveyed and copies of stone epigraphs belonging to the reign of Nandivarman have been secured. It would be really strange if none of these belong to the time of Pallavamalla. Again when we have copper-plate charters of his time, it is not at all unreasonable to expect stone records of his reign among the collection of Nandivarman epigraphs. We have adduced enough grounds to show that Pallavarnalla's reign must have been long and highly eventful. While even the various incidents connected with his adventurous life are depicted in the sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram, with labels explaining them engraved below each [1] —a

[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906, Part II, paragraph 2/

rare thing in South Indian histftry and architecture —it would look singularly strange to say that no stone inscription of Pallavamalla has come down to us. But what may be safely hazarded iu connection with the epigraphs of Nandivarman is, that though there may be several among them that probably belong to the time of Pallavamalla, seeing that he had a long and eventful career, they have to be selected by a careful examination of their internal evidence, palaeography and other like considerations.

SECTIQN V:— LATER PALLAVAS & CHOLAS.

The future history of the Pallava kings of Kanchi is beset with difficulties and it may be useful to collect here what we know about them. A certain Dantivarman whose inscription has been found in the Triplicane temple, has been assigned by Mr. Venkayya to the period immediately following the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.[1] He took him to be the successor of Pallavamalla and said that he should have had the surname Vayirameġan. The first part of his surmise has been confirmed by the recently discovered Veḷurpaḷaiyam plates which state that Nandivarman Pallavamalla had a son named Dantivarman, by his queen Eṟṟa, who succeeded him [2].

There is not much doubt as regards the second surmise,[3] because it rests on the mention of the

[1] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol, VIII, p, 294.

[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1911,Barfc I I , paragraph 8,

[3] It is worthy of note that the Rāshṭrakfiṭa king **Dantidurga was also known by the surname Vayiramegan *(Ep. Ind,,* Vol.** Ill, **p. 169.)**

name in the hymns of the Vaishṇava saint Tirumangai-Āḻvār who was for some time a contemporary of Pallavamalla. Dantivarman was called Pallavakulatilaka or shortly Pallavatilaka, the ornament of the Pallava race [1]. The successors of Dantivarman called themselves *Pallavatilaka-hdodbhavas* to indicate their descent from this Dantivarman. At Tiruvelḷa-*rai in the Trichinopoly district there are two stone records, one of Pallavatilaka-Nandivarman and the other of Pallavatilaka-Dantivarman [2]. That these two are not far removed in point of time is shown by the fact that a chief named Vaśaiyanallūḷān and his younger brother Kamban-Araiyan figure in them [3]. We may have to suppose that these two kings are the descendants of Dantivarman and that they stand, most probably, in the relation of father and son. Two other inscriptions mention Mārambāvai, the queen of Pallavatilaka-Nandivarman.

When these successors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla were holding the reins of government, there were also other princes who appear to have governed parts of the ancient Pallava dominion and claimed Pallava ancestry. Professor Hultzsch has termed them G-anga-Pallavas. The Bāhfir plates give three generations of these, *viz.*, Danti, Naudi and Nripatunga. Other members, probably of this family, are Narasimha, Iśvara, Kampa and Aparājita.

The names Danti and Nandi occurring both among the Pallavas and Ganga-Pallavas, and

1 *Ed, Ind.,* Vol. VIII, p. 295 text-liae 1.
2 *Sp. Ind.,* Vol. XI, p. 156.
3 Sp. *Ind.,* Vol. XI, p. 165.

the fact that the inscriptions of both the families are found in the ancient Pallava dominion are apt to lead to the belief that the Ganga-Pallavas are not different from the regular Pallavas and that they have no separate existence. That Pallavatilaka-Nandi is different from the Ganga-Pallava Nandi is evident from the fact that the queen of the former was Mārambāvai[1] who, we need hardly say, is different from the Eāshṭrakūṭa princess Śanka,[2] the queen of the Gatiga-Pallava Nandi, Again, if Mārambāvai were the mother of Nripatunga, she would not have been introduced in her son's records in the way she figures. It is clear, therefore, that we are precluded from taking all Nandis, occurring in inscriptions, to be identical. To say that there were three different Nandis, it will be enough to mention that the queen of one of them was Rēva, of the secoud Mārambāvai and the third Śanka. Though the supposition, that all Nandis and Dantis are identical, is a good expedient to explain away easily the fact of the existence of their records found almost over the same area, yet the fact that there have been three different Nandis is, as shown above, beyond question.

The period of Ganga-Pallava rule seems to have extended roughly over a century and a half, the last years falling somewhere about the end of the 9th century A D-, in the reign of the Chōḷa king Āditya I,

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[1] She figures in twoc reords of the Ganga-Pallava king Nripatunga ab Tiruchehannampūṇḍi.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 180-1. Śanka was the daughter of the Eāshṭrakūṭa king Amdghavarsha *i.e.* Nripatunga and her son was evidently called after her father.

the son and successor of Vijayālaya, the founder of the revived Ghōḷa line at Tanjore. The large Leyden grant reports that by Āditya 'the sounding discusses of hostile kings were cast down/ hinting thereby that he was a great conqueror [1]. The earliest inscription of the Chōḷas found in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, *i.e.* the ancient Pallava country, of which Kāñchi was the capital, is of a Kājakēsarivarman. The late Kai Bahadur Venkayya with his usual sagacity attributed a record of this Kājakēsarivarman to Āditya 1 [2]. Information as to how Āditya I came to have possession of the Pallava territory was not forthcoming till recently. The Tiruvālangāḍu grant once for all settled the question, as it stated that Āditya defeated the Pallava Aparājita and took possession of his dominion[3]. We have inscriptions of this sovereign in the Chingleput district and they range in date between his 3rd and 18th years [4]. The defeat inflicted by Āditya must have occurred after Aparājita had reigned for eighteen years. Conjeeveram

[1] *Archceological Survey of Southern India,* Vol. IV. pp. 234 *ff.*

[2] *Madras Christian College Magazine* for October 1890. This inscription registers the renewal of a grant made by the Pallava king Skandaśisbya and confirmed by Narasimhavarmau I, the conqueror of Vātāpi.

3 These plates were discovered by the author in 1906. Verse 49 of these plates states that Āditya baving conquered in battle the Pallava with his brilliant army though he was Aparajita (*i. e.* the unconquerable), took possession of his queen, *i.e.* the earth and accomplished his object in this direction too.

[4] No. 351 of *the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908* and No. 435 of the same for 1905.

which thus passed into the hands of the Chōḷas, was not retained by them for a long time. Āditya's son and successor Parāntaka I, who was also a powerful sovereign, held it in his day. He reigned from A. D. 907 to 953 for nearly 46 years [1]. Towards the close of his reign an event occurred which resulted in the Chōḷas losing possession of Conjeeveram. About A. D. 945, Parāntaka I was engaged in crushing the power of the Pāṇḍyas and their ally the king of Ceylon who were giving him trouble again and again [2]. While he was thus fighting with these southern powers, he appears to have left Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in charge of his eldest son Rājāditya whose principal place of residence was Tirunāmanallūr in the South Arcot district, called also Rājādityapuram. The inscriptions of that place and those found at Grāmam reveal the fact that Rajaditya had a large army under his command which mainly consisted of soldiers enlisted from Malabar. At this time the Rashṭrakūṭas of Malkhed under the leadership of their king Krishna III and his Ganga ally Būtuga invaded Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and obtained possession of it [3]. Rājāditya made an attempt to drive out the invader and the armies of the two met on the plains of Takkōlam, a village in the Chingleput district, about A.D. 947 [4].

1 *Archaological Survey Beport for* 1908-09, p. 122 and footnote 1.

2 Conquest of Ceylon by Parāntaka is found for the first time in the records of his 37th year (^A.D. 944-45).

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 53/.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII. p. 195. The year two in the Śōlapurara record has been taken by Mr. Venkayya to refer to the second year after the conquestof Krishna III of Ton(Jaimaridalam

In the encounter which followed, Rājāditya while seated on the back of his elephant was killed by Būtugajtnd he is on that account called in inscriptions 'Anaimēṟṟunjinadēva' *i.e.* the king who died on au elephant's back [1]. The Rāshṭrakūṭa victor Krishṇa I I I styling himself 'Kachchiyum Tanjaiyum-koṇḍa Kannaradeva' *i.e.* Kannaradeva who took Conjeeveram and Tanjore, ruled the country for twenty-five years [2]. The above account shows that Conjeeveram was under the sway of the Rāshṭrakūṭas from A.D. 945 to 970. The successors of Parāntaka I, having had enough to do in putting down the Pāṇḍyas who were in a state of chronic revolt against the Chōḷa yoke,[3] were not able to retake the city, until the time of Uttama-Chōḷa. The existence of two inscriptions of this king in the Ēkambaranātha temple at Conjeeveram [1] is conclusive evidence that the city was under his sway, but how and when he got it are points on which no information is forthcoming at present. Prom a stone record of his found at Tiru-

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[1] An unspecified Chōḷa record of Parakēsarivarman found at TiruveḶarai refers to Ānaimeṟṟiinjinadēvar.

[2] The earliest of Krishna Ill's inscriptions in the Tamil country is dated in his 5th year and the latest in his 30th year.

3 Parāntaka II and his son Āditya II fought with Vlra-Pandya. The former styles himself 'Pandiyanai-churam-irakkina', (who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest,) and the latter claims to have taken the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya. The title Madhurāntaka, assumed by Uttama-Chola shows that he had a fight with the Pāṇḍyas.

[4] Nos. 2 and 3 of *the Madras Epigraphical Collection for* 1906.

viḍaimarudūr[1], we learn that his accession took place in A. D. 970, the very year when Kṛishṇa III ceased to rule or died. His latest regnal year carries us to the date of accession of his successor, the great Rājarāja I (A. D. 985-1013)- This king had a' vast scheme of conquests which he successfully worked out and which extended the Chōḷa dominion to a limit unknown in the previous annals of any of the kings of the South. The complete conquest of the Raṭṭas, *i.e.* the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gangas was left to him. Rājēndra-Chōḷa 1 (A. D. 1011-1045), son and successor of Rājarāja 1, followed up his father's conquests. During his reign the Chōḷa arms were carried as far north as the Ganges and their territory included Kalingamaṇḍalam, *i.e.* the Circars, Ceylon, Burma and a few islands in the Ray of Bengal. It may be said that during the reigns of these two kings and of their successors Rājakēsari-Rājādhirāja I, Parakēsari Rājēndradēva and Virarājēndra, whose inscriptions are found in large numbers in the vicinity of Conjeeveram, no attempt was made to wrest this city from the Chōḷas. The people quietly submitted themselves to the Chōḷa authority. Rājēndra-Chōḷa is said to have transferred his capital from Tanjore to Gangaikoṇḍachōḷapuram. The Vikramāṅgacharita of Bilhaṇa informs us that, on the death of king Virarājēndra, there was anarchy in the Chōḷa dominion and that Vikramāditya VI on hearing it, weṇt to Conjeeveram, put down the rebellion and installed

[1] *Annual Report oil Epigraphy* for 1908, Part II, Paragraph 53.

his brother-in-law on the Chōḷa throne and returned to his dominion on the Tungabhadra[1]. Shortly after, the prince was murdered by his own subjects and the way was made easy for the Eastern Ghalukya king Kāj̄endra-Chōḷa II (who was a grandson of the Chōḷa king of that name by his daughter) to obtain the Chōḷa dominion. He appears to have made Conjeeveram his capital. After his accession to the Chōḷa throne, he changed his name to Kulōttunga I[2]. He had a Pallava feudatory in the person of Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān who distinguished himsdf in the war against Kalinga[3]- We have innumerable inscriptions in and round Conjeeveram dated in the reigns of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1073-1122), Vikrama-Chola (A. D. 1118 to 1135), Rājarājaн (A. D. 1146-1162) and Rajadhiraja II. The last of these is assigned to the third quarter of the 12th century A. D. Thus the town seems to have enjoyed the benefit of Chola rule from the middle of the 9th century A. D., for three centuries, but for the interruption caused by the Rashtrakūṭa occupation from A. D, 945 to 970. It witnessed a change of sovereign some time prior to A. D. 1196. But how the Cholas came to be dispossessed of their hold on Kanchi in the present instance is again a point on which no information has come down to us. About the begin-

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[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1892, p. 5.

[3] Inscriptions dated prior to his 5th year call him Rājōndra-Chōja.

[3] This war is described fully in the Tamil work *Ralingattuparani* arid is also referred to in Kulōttunga's inscriptions.

ning of the 13th century A. D. and even a little before it> Ofeingleput and North Arcot districts were in the possession of certain chiefs who appear to have been of Telugu extraction. They claim Karikāla as their ancestor [1]. Their records do not inform us as to how they got Conjeeveram. But this much is certain that Nallasiddha, the father's elder brother of Tammasiddbi, whose records dated in A.D. 1205 are found at Conjeeveram and its neighbourhood, captured Kāṇchi [2]. We shall soon see the part played by the later members of this family in the affairs of southern kings. Nallasiddha's occupation of Kāṇchi appears to have taken place in the earlier part of the reign of Kuloṭtunga **I I I .** This Chōḷa sovereign (A.D. 1177—1215) is said to have despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the north, and entered Kāṇchi [3]. That Kulōttunga I I I captured Conjeevetam is also mentioned in some of his stone records dated in A. D. 1201 and 1204 [4]. The northern kings whom Kulōttunga I I I is said to have overcome before he took Kāṇchi, are perhaps the T elugu-Cḥolas. These chiefs continued to hold possession of Conjeeveram and the surrounding parts even after the event, probably as feudatories of the Chōḷa sovereign. In the early part of the 13th century A. D., Conjeeveram was under the sway of

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[1] IC there is any truth in this, it can only show that Karikala's sway was acknowledged in the Telugu districts.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p, 122.

[3] *South, Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I l l , p. 207.

[4] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905, p. 53,

Rājarāja III and one of his inscriptions in the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple furnishes a Śaka date coupled with his regnal year[1]. According to it his accession to the throne took place in A.D, 1216 and this agrees with the results of Prof. Kielhorn. During the time of Maravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍaya I (A. D. 1216—1235), the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Rājarāja III, strenuous efforts were made by the Pāṇḍyas to extend their dominion. Rājarāja III being too weak to maintain the extensive Chōḷa empire, allowed the Pāṇḍya king to burn Tanjore and Uraiyur and to take away a portion of his territory and distribute it among his feudatories. The Pallava general Perunjinga, who remained submissive to Chōḷa rule till A. D. 1229—30, began to defy that power soon after. He grew so powerful that he even seized Rājarāja III and kept him in prison at Śendamangalam. When the news of this reached the Hoysaḷa king Vira-Narasimha who appears to have been the father-in-law of Rajaraja III, he fitted out an expedition against the rebel, defeated him in several battles, released Rajaraja and re-established him on the Chōḷa throne and thus earned the title of the establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom[2]. A similar title is also claimed by the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Tikka who, in the Telugu work, *Nirvvachārwttarartimayanamu,* is said to have defeated Samburaja, Karnata-Śomeśa and others and established the Chōḷa king

1 Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities,* Vol. I, p. 185.

2 The above facts are recorded in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. VII, pp, 160 *ff.*

on his throne.[1] A Nandalflr inscription, dated in the 13th year, of the Chōḷa king Virarājēndra-Chōḷa gives the genealogy of the Telugu-Chōḷas and confirms the account of the poet about Tikka, whom it describes as ruling from Vikramasingapura, *i.e.* Nellore, and as having captured Kāṉchi and defeated Sōmēśa at Champāpuri[2]. Tikka's capture of Kāṉchi is borne out by a record of his in the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple dated in Śaka 1156 (A. D. 1233-4)[3]. The almost similar claim of the Hoysaḷa Narasimha II and of the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Tikka to the title of the establisher of the Chōḷa country suggests that both of them must have helped Rājarāja III in his difficulties and as such it is reasonable to suppose that Narasimha and Tikka were on friendly terms. If this were so, it is inexplicable how Tikka claims to have defeated Karnāṭa Sōmēśa and Samburāja. The former is no doubt identical with the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Sōmēśvara, the son of Narasimha II; and the latter, we have reason to consider, was a feudatory of Rājarāja III.[4] After he was reinstated,

[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1900, p. 19.

[2] No. 580 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907. It is dated in Pingala-Samvatsara (=A. D. 1257-8.). See also *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908, p. 83.

[3] No. 34 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1893.

[4] Ammaiyappan Aiagiyasolan *alias* Edirilisola Śambuvarāyan figures as a vassal of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III during the latter part of his rule *(vide* Nos. 59-61 and 64 of the *South Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. 1). One of the records which mentions this chief states that he distinguished himself unaided by others in gaining a victory *(Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 38). This inscription, however, does not give the name of his enemy or the place where he

Rājarāja III was able to keep up a semblance of power for nearly a decade from A. D. 1232 to 1242 and during this period Conjeeveram was under his sway. Iu A.D. 1242 Purunjinga again grew powerful and was proclaimed king- Inscriptions, dated in A.D. 1252—62, are found in Conjeeveram, and establish his authority over the place. He claims to be a Pallava and if this is true we see that after a, lapse of five centuries the Pallavas have once again established themselves in their original capital.

For some time, Conjeeveram appears to have been under the sway of the Kākatīyas of Warrangal. But the exact date when it passed into their hands and the particular circumstances which favoured their entry into the place remain to be determined. Suffice it to say here that the existence of an inscription of Gaṇapati dated in Śaka 1172 (A. D. 1249) in Conjeeveram points to the fact that

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defeated him ; but it is not unlikely that this Śambuvarāya is identical with the Sambhurāja whom the Telugu-Choḷa Tikka claims fco have vanquished. It is not possible to decide as to who was the victor in this encounter and what the cause of the quarrel was. On the other hand, we have grounds to expect that they must have been on amicable terms because one of them claims to have been the establisher of the Choḷa kingdom, while the other actually figures as a vassal of Rajaraja III. As such, they must have made common cause with each other. May it be that Tikka who had helped the Chōḷa king in the earlier years had become a source of danger later on and merited the wrath of a vassal of that king V The only fact in favour of this view is the absence of Tikka's records dated later than A.D. 1233-4 and the mention of Śambuvarāya in Bājarāja's records dated from A. D. 1238 to 1243, as his subordinate.

already during the reign of Perunjinga the town had been included in the territories of the Kākatiya kings[1] and was ruled by their governors. And in the south, the Pāṇḍyas were making 'vigorous attempts to extend their kingdom. Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya 1 (A. D. 1251 to 1271), the greatest sovereign that Madura had witnessed, claims to have defeated the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati and to have performed the anointment of heroes and victors at Nellore where his inscriptions are actually found. Thus the Kākatiya hold on Kānchi was terminated by the Pāṇḍyas. It is worthj of note that the same Pāṇḍya sovereign claims also to have defeated another chief of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam *viz.* Gaṇḍagōpāla whose accession took place in A.D. 1250[2]. Perunjinga's sway was acknowledged in Conjeeveram up to A.D. 1278-9 and then it passed into the hands of Pratāparudra[3] who held it till the memorable invasion of Malik Kafur which, as we know, took place in A.D. 1310. A Kēraḷa king by name Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkhara, entered Kānchi in triumph and was crowned on the banks of the river Vēgavati in A. D. 1313. He boasts of conquests over Vira-Pāṇḍya and a certain king of the north[4]. The unsettled state of the country consequent on the Mussalman in-

1 *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXI. p. 197.

2 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1890, p. 2. This date is obtained from three records of Gaṇḍagōpāla found in Conjeeveram (Nos. 27, 35 and 36 of the year's collection).

3 In the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple there is an inscription of this king dated iu Śaka 1234 (-A.D. 1316.)

4 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IV, pp. 145 ff.

vasion and the confusion that prevailed in the land immediately after it seem to have offered a nice opportunity for the Kēraḷa king to seek his way to the place. But he was not destined to have it long, for we find that in A.D. 1316, the Kākatiya king Prataparudra despatched his able general Muppiḍi-Nāyaka to settle affairs in Conjeeveram, which he seems to have done by driving out the southern usurpur and installing one Mānavira as governor of the place Vfhe rule of Mānavira lasted but for a short time. The Śambuvarāyas who were vassals of the Chōḷa kings now asserted their independence. One of them, Venrumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya, seems to have been the earliest to throw off the Chōḷa yoke. He has left a stone record at Vēlūr in the North Arcot district which couples his 17th regnal year with Pramādi-samvatsara. This yields for his accession A. D. 1322. He appears to have reigned for 18 years, *i.e.* until A. D. 1339 when he was succeeded by Rajanarayana Śambuvaraya [2]. For him we have a date in one of the inscriptions of the Ulagaḷanda-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram. According to this, his 9th year corresponded to Śaka 1268 and the Vijaya-samvatsara (=A.D. 1346). He seems to have ruled until A.D. 1366-7. About this time Conjeeveram passed into the hands of the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar whose kingdom, we are informed, was constructed on the ruins of the fallen house of the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra which was brought to the brink of destruction by the Muham-

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol, VII, p. 128.

2 G. O, No. 355, dated J4th May, 1890,p. 2.

madans in the earlier part of the 14th century A.D. Conjeeveram remained under them till almost the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th and was greatly benefited by their rule. Some of the kings had their *tuṭabhāra* ceremonies performed here and others made munificent gifts to the place.

SECTION VI:—MUHAMMADAN OCCUPATION OF KANCHI.

Between the Hindu sovereigns of Vijayanagar and the Bahmāni kings of Golkoṇḍa there were constant wars and though the effects of these were mostly felt in the north of the Presidency, there were occasions when the south was also shaken to its very depths. We need recount here bat a single instance when Conjeeveram was exposed to all the horrors of an invasion by a foreigner having the least sympathy with the religious sentiments, social habits and the political institutions of the people whom he had the fortune to overrun. Even to the present day people remember the terrible results of a Muhammadan raid on their country and speak with awe of the shocking incidents that followed in its train. When they obtained scent of such an impending danger, they hurriedly had their effects buried underground, abandoned the country and lived in the neighbouring forests or betook themselves to distant places with their families and such objects of attachment as they did not wish to leave behind them. This traditional account is completely borne out by inscriptions and books. Corroborating the same we find in the temples of Southern India under renovation, undergrouud cells **filled with** stone **and** copper images, copper-plates,

etc., kept there to save them from the destructive hands of the iconoclasts. As regards the lot that befell Conjeeveram early in A. D. 1481, the Muhammadan historian Ali Bin Aziz-Ullah Tabataba gives the following description in his Burhani Ma'asir. (While encamped at Mālūr in the Mysore State), the Sultan (Muhammad II) was informed that at a distance of fifty farasakhs was a city called G-anja (Kāanchi) situated in the centre of the dominion of that malignant one (Narasimha), containing temples which were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels and valuable pearls besides innumerable slave girls. From the rise of Islam up to this time no Muhammadan monarch had set foot on it, no stranger had laid hand on the cheek of that idol temple ; and it was suggested that if the Sultan were to send an expedition against it, immense booty and treasure would doubtless be obtained. The Sultan with nearly 10,000 horse made forced marches from that place, and after they had for one day and two nights travelled a long distance through an uneven country, on the morning of the second day which happened to be the 11th of Muharram in the year 886 (12th March A. D, 1481) the Sultan with Nizamul-mulkBahri Khan-i-'Azam 'Adii Khan and 150 special slaves of the Sultan, outstripped the whole army and having surrounded the city of Kāanchi, entrapped the people of that city of sinners. Out of a number who had been appointed for the protection of the city and temples, some were put to the sword, whilst others by a thousand stratagems escaped with their lives, and took to flight. The royal troops moment by moment and hour by hour following one another were assemb-

ling till a large army was collected under the Sultan's standard. After that, at a sign from the Sultan, the troops took to plundering and devastating. They levelled the city and its temples with the ground and overthrew all the symbols of infidelity and such a quantity of jewels, valuable pearls, slaves and lovely maidens and all kinds of rarities fell into their hands that they were beyond computation".[1]

Plunder and lust, not dominion seem to have been the object of the invader and accordingly the town had a bitter experience of the Muhammadan invasion. It had submitted itself more than once to the aggressions of outsiders, but it must be said that the treatment meted out to it in the present case was quite different from what it had received on previous occasions. We have seen that in the commencement of the 6th century A. D., it was snatched away from the Pallavas by the Chōḷa king Karikāla. Instead of plundering and devastating the town, the Chōḷa king beautified the place by spending an enormous quantity of gold. In the middle of the 9th century A. D. it again fell into the hands of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II. Though he was not permitted to hold it long, this king is stated to have enriched its temples by munificent presents instead of depriving them of what they had already possessed. In the third quarter of the 10th century, the Rāshṭrakūṭas became its lords and we are not informed anywhere that they carried away its lovely maidens or molested its innocent inhabitants. A century later the Eastern Chalukya king Rājendra-Chōḷa (II) *(i.e.*

1 *Ind. Ant,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 289-90.

Kulōttunga I) occupied it and this time it had the fortune of becoming the capital of his empire. In all these instances, the invaders were not actuated by low motives. And again we cannot help thinking that if the Muhammadans had only wished for an extension of their dominion in Southern India and followed up their conquest in the present instance, they could have brought the whole of the Dekhan under their sway because it was quite a patent fact, which they could not have been ignorant of, that the last kings of the first Vijayanagara dynasty were weak and imbecile and their kingdom was just then in a tottering condition. By failing to do this they lost a nice opportunity, which never again returned to them. The farsighted general and minister Narasimha saw the position clearly and in order to save the empire from becoming a prey to the Muhammadans, usurped the Vijayanagara dominion soon after the Muhammadans had left Conjeeveram-

SECTION VII:—CONJEEVEKAM UNDER THE VIJAYANAGARA KINGS.

The wave of destruction that passed over the city having subsided, it soon recovered its original state and by means of royal favour, it rose again to importance. The kings of the second Vijayanagara dynasty made additions to its structural monuments and lavished some of their wealth by presents made to the city. They were more than a match for the Muhammadans whom they worsted in several encounters.

In the collection of Conjeeveram inscriptions noticed by Mr. R. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities* Volume I, pages 178 to 187, the following Vijayana-

gara kings are represented and the dates given for them are noted against each. A few important facts connected with them, revealed in the Conjeeveraminscriptions, are also mentioned at the end of the list:—

LIST OF VIJAYANAGAKA KINGS.

King's Name.	Saka dates with English equivalents of the inscriptions found in Conjeeveram.	No. in Mr. Sewell's list, pp. 178-187.
Sayana-Udaiyar. ...	24th year of reign. ...	(121).
Kampaṇa II ...	Kilaka (= A.D. 1368), Saka 1287 (1365) and S 1222 (wrong).	(13), (48), (63) (64), (75), (76) (105).
Harihara II ...	S1300 (= A.D. 1378) and S 1315 (= A.D. 1393).	(82), (120).
Dāvarāya ...	S 1349 (-A.D. 1427), S 1360 (-A.D. 1438).	(78), (80).
Mallikārjuna ...	S1325 (wrong) and S 1380 (=A.D. 1458). ...	(77), (80).
Narasimha ...	S 1409 (=A.D, 1487).	(104), (108).
Krishṇarāya ...	S 1432-(A. D, 1510), S 1436 (-A.D. 1514) S 1440 (= A. D. 1518) S 1451 (-A.D. 1529) and'S 1452 (-A.S. 1530).	(15), (84), (85) (107), (220), (228).
Achyuta ...	S 1451 (-A.D. 1529), Vikrita (-A. D. 1530), S. 1453 (=A. D. 1531). S 1454, (1532), S 1455 (= A.D. 1533) S. 1459 (-A. D. 1537), S.1461(-A.D 1539) S 1463 (-A. D. 1541) and S 1464 (=A.D. 1542).	(86 to 90), (103,) (II1-2), (115,6), (122) (J 35-6), (233 to 235).

LIST OF VIJAYANAGARA KINGS,—*Continued.*

King's Name,	Saka dates with English equivalents *of.* the inscriptions found in Conjeeveram.	No. in Mr. Sewell's list, pp. 178-187.
Sadāśiva ...	S 1465(= A.D. 1543), S 1474 (= A.D, 1552), S1478(= A D. 1556) S 1480 (-A.D. 1558).	91, (92), (117) (144), (241-3).
Tirumala ...	S 1494 (= A.D. 1572).	(93).
Śrīranga ...	S 1494, 1496, 1504, 1506 (= A.D. 1572, 1574, 1582 1584,)	(94), (123), (129) (138), (221).
Venkaṭapati ...	IS 1508, 1509, 1513, 1514, 1515,1517, 1518 and 1527 (-A.D. 1586, 1587, 1591, 1592,1593,1595,1596 and 1605).	(19), (20), (42), (113), (114), (223-5), (236), (281).

A glance at the list shows that Conjeeveram was under the sway of the Vijayanagara kings from almost the middle of the 14th century A. D. to the beginning of the 17th century. The list is by no means exhaustive. There is no doubt that there are many more inscriptions in the place. A few records, not included in this list, were secured by Dr. Hultzsch and some others were noticed by the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya in the pages of the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for 1902.

The earliest inscription in the collection before us is that of Sāyaṇa-uḍaiyar. His records at Mopur in the Cuddapah district are dated in Śaka 1273 (A. D. 1351) and 1283 (A. D. 1361) and state that he was the son of Kampaṇa I by Mangadēvi. If his

date of accession is known, the Conjeeveram inscription will perhaps give us the latest year of his reign.

Kampaṇa II is supposed to be the first Vijayanagara sovereign that interfered in the politics of the southern kings and acquired dominion further south. From other inscriptions we know that he contended successfully against the Muhammadans. Two inscriptions of this king at Conjeeveram, secured by Dr. Hultzch, are dated in Śaka 1288 (A.D. 1366) and 6aka 1297 (A.D. 1375). The fact that Harihara II constructed the *vimāna* of the Kāmākshi temple in Śaka 1315 (A.D. 1393) is revealed in one of the inscriptions of Conjeeveram and confirms the statement in the copper-plates that he made munificent gifts to many of the temples of the south, Kāñchi included. Two records of Bukka II found at Tiruppa-ruttikkunru, which in ancient times formed part of Conjeev.eram, furnish us with the information that Irugappa, the king's general and minister, built a maṇḍapa to the Jaina temple of Vardhamāna at the instance of his preceptor Pushpaseña, in A.D. 1387. Mallikarjuna, the last real sovereign of the first dynasty, called also Praudhadēvarāya (Nuniz's Padea Eao), is also represented in the collection. His latest date, so far known, is Śaka 1405 (A.D. 1483). He was soon after deposed by Narasimha his general who, as we have already noticed, fought with the Bahmani king Muhammad I I. This Narasimha has also left a record in Conjeeveram which very probably belongs to the first or. 2nd year of his reign. The Jaimini-Bharatam tells us that Immadi-Naraslmha decorated with precious stones the temples at Kanchi,

Krishṇarāya, Achyuta and Sadāśiva of the second Vijayanagara dynasty are all amply represented in the list. One of the records of Krishṇarāya registers the gift of a golden *vimāna,* made by him for the merit of his father. Quite in accordance with what is stated in the inscriptions of Krishṇarāya, a native chronicle relates that after having first settled the Dravida country about Conjeeveram, he crushed a refractor king in the Mysore territory, *i. e.,* an Ummattiir chief[1] . Achyuta's queen Varadādēvi and his son Venkaṭādri are mentioned in one of the records given above and his southern campaigns are noticed in a few others. Śnranga and Venkaṭapati of the third dynasty had their hold on the city and the latter is known to have had his coronation ceremony performed at Kānch with great *eclat* by his spiritual *guru* Tātāchārya.

The history of Conjeeveram has been brought up to the beginning of the 17th century A.D. The narrative shows that the city was the capital of the Pallavas from the earliest times to almost the middle of the 9th century A. D., with a slight interruption in the beginning of the 6th century when it passed into the hands of the Chōḷas but was soon recovered; that the Chōḷas, who obtained possession of it afterwards, had it under their sway till the middle of the 13th century, if we omit the Eāshṭrakūṭa occupation of the place for 25 years from A. D. 945 to 970; that the Kākatiyas of Warrangal and the Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs from the north then took the place but found competent rivals in the rising Pāṇḍya kings of Madura ; that, conse-

[1] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VII, p. 18.

quent on the weakness of the later Chõḷa kings and the confusion caused by the Muhammadan invasion of Malik-Kafur, several feudatory families asserted their independence ; and that the Vijayanagara kings finally took possession of it in the 14th century A.D. and retained it till the beginning of the 17th.

BOOK IL

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PANDYA COUNTRY.

SECTION I:—SOURCES.

WE TRACED the fortunes of one of the most ancient cities of the Dekhan in the book on the early history of Conjeeveram. There we had occasion to notice the part played by the Pallavas, one of the powerful dynasties of kings that wielded the destinies of the people of a portion of Southern India, for several centuries. In this book, we propose to sketch the history of another old city of the south, *viz.* Madura, and to give an account of the Pāṇḍyas who were its rulers from the earliest times till a very late period and who are, as will be shown below, a more ancient people than the Pallavas.

Our principal sources of information are the following :—(i). Copper-plates and stone inscriptions. Till recently owing to the absence of early inscriptions in Madura and other places of the Pāṇḍya territory, historians despaired of ever being able to reconstruct the history of this people. But fortunately the discovery of the Sinnamanūr copper-plates [x] and the

[1] The contents of these are noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907.

information furnished in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant [x] removed the veil of oblivion that shrowded the actions of these early sovereigns and brought them to the forefront. The light which the Pāṇḍya history and with it the literature of the early Tamils has received from these grants cannot be over-estimated. With the help thus obtained, it is possible to assign approximate periods to the Pāṇḍya kings referred to in the Tamil classical works. Nearly twenty years ago, the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya published in the *Indian Antiquary,* the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman. In addition to these a number of early stone records of the family have been obtained; and of these, two deserve special mention, *viz.* the one at Aivarmalai and the other at Ānaimalai near Madura [2]. Being dated in Śaka and Kali years, they afford valuable help in working out the chronology of the kings mentioned in the copper-plates noticed above. All these furnish us with information regarding the ancient kings who ruled over Madura.

(ii) Secondly, the early literature of the Tamils contains a valuable account of the Pāṇḍya kings and this has been, to a great extent, collected by the late Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai in his *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.* But as that writer confined himself to a certain period, he has left out of consideration, as being outside the scope of his undertaking, a few more points of information which these books supply.

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1 See the *Annual Beport on Epigraphy* for 1908.

2 The Ānaimalai record is published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. VIII.

These also we shall collate, since they contain a vivid picture of the times to which they refer and are, therefore, very important for our purpose. In his articles on the date and times of Nedunjeliyan [1] and Karikāla, [2] the author has attempted to show the importance of some of these books, and with the help of the new Pāṇḍya grants proved that they belong to a much later period than what they have been assigned to.

(iii). The third source of information is the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa.* Here are found some references to South Indian kings. We shall have occasion to note all those references which relate to the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura and show where they fit in with the accounts furnished by other sources.

(iv). Inscriptions of Chōḷa kings of the time of Parāntaka I down to Kulōttunga I I I enable us to determine the part played by the Pāṇḍyas in Southern India during the rule of these sovereigns. The efforts of Professor Keilhorn, who showed wonderful skill in evolving correct English equivalents from the astronomical data found in some of the later Pāṇḍya records of the 13th and 14th centuries, and those of Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai in the same field [3] afford great assistance in following the career of the Pāṇḍyas till the 15th century A.D. At this stage, we get dated stone inscriptions for later members who held but a limited tract of country and who shared even this with several other claimants.

[1] *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XL, pp. 224 *ff.*

[2] , VOI XLI. 144 ff.

[3] ,,

(v). For the history of the period immediately preceding that mentioned in (i), we have to be content with the notices made by several writers both Indian and foreign. These throw a flood of light on the state of the country, the commercial intercourse of the people with outside nations, etc., and are valuable in the absence of an account of the kings that reigned during the period.

SECTION II :—REFERENCES TO THE PANDYAS IN EARLY WORKS.

The earliest epigraphical record that bears in a way on Southern India shows that nearly two thousand one hundred and seventy years ago, while the Buddhist king Aśōka, whose kindly influence of love and mercy was felt through his missionary efforts not only in India but Europe as well, was holding the reins of Government, his dominions included a large portion of India and extended in the south as far as Siddhapura in the Mysore State. The extreme south of the peninsula was then under the rule of a few independent families, the principal one of which was the Pāṇḍya. That these Pāṇḍyas formed a highly civilised race even in much earlier periods might be gathered from the reference in the epic of Vālmiki that the monkey soldier of Kārna was directed to go to the kingdom of the Pāṇḍya, the gates of whose city are described as being richly embellished with gold, pearls and jewels. The antiquity of the kingdom is further attested to by the mention of it in some of the *Purāṇas* and by the statement in the *Mahābhārata*

that Sahadēva, the youngest of the five Pāṇḍavas conquered the Pāṇḍya king. Professor Bhandarkar in his able disquisition on the early history of the Dekhau assigns Patanjali to 150 B.C., Kātyāyana to 350 B.C., the Aryan settlement of the Southern Peninsula to the period immediately following the 7th century B.C., and the grammarian Pāṇini to the 7th century B.C. He further states that the *Makābhārata* must have been written prior to Pāṇini's grammar and that the *Bāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki is even earlier. It is specially worthy of note that, except Pāṇini, all others mention the Pāṇḍyas. The description given of their capital in the *Bamāyaṇa* furnishes us with the state of the country in the earliest times, the taste of the people and illuminates the civilisation of the early Tamils. The earliest derivation of the term Pāṇḍya is to be found in the *Vārtikas* of Kātyāyana who says that " one sprung from the individual of the tribe of the Pāṇḍus or the king of their country should be called a Pāṇḍya. Those who do not wish to give an Aryan origin to the term, derive it *irompaṇḍu* which means ' olden times' and say that the Pāṇḍyas were so called because they were the oldest inhabitants of the south. It is needless to state that Kātyāyana's view is supported by the facts that the Pāṇḍyas are also called the *Panchavar* and *Kauriyar* and belong to the *lunar* race. Though this derivation points to the Aryan origin of this most ancient stock of the Dravidians, no learned writer has ever gone the length of asserting that the Tamils had not an independent individuality of their own which was different from that of **the**

Aryans. From the account which we are able to gather of them, we see that the very genius of this people took a different turn from that of their northern brethren. In the glowing picture we find of them in their works, there are clear evidences to show that they were a matter-of-fact people who took the pleasures of life as bounteous nature afforded them and exulted in their full enjoyment. In this character they were quite unlike the Aryans who are represented as wrestling with nature to learn its hidden secrets by a labyrinthine course of investigation displaying all the subtlety of thought which eventually resulted in the evolution of a wonderful system of philosophy and metaphysics. In early times when the Aryans penetrated the fastnesses of the Dekhan and came in contact with the races of people inhabiting it, they saw them already in possession of a cultured language and a high degree of civilisation so much so that nob only were they not able to impose upon them their own language and culture but had to assimilate a few fresh ideas and sentiments hitherto unknown to them. History has impressively shown the fact that no two nations can come in contact with each other for any length of time without mutual influence, and the benefit derived by the Dravidian races through the Aryan contact was the absorption into their language of words expressing abstract ideas of philosophy, religion and science. The Aryan emigration in successive generations gradually modified the life of the southern race and moulded or rather remodelled its religion.

There is a tendency now-a-days to trace every thing Indian to what was in use in the country of Magadha at the time of Aśōka and this in the case of the Dravidian alphabets is to be discouraged. Of course points of resemblance between any two characters could be made out by a stretch of the imagination and this alone cannot be sufficient authority to warrant the advancement of a theory that one was borrowed from the other. If, as some think, even the very alphabets of the Tamils were derived from the Aśōkan, it becomes impossible to account for the development of a separate Tamil language able to stand by itself without the help of the other. Again the recent discoveries in the Tamil country, especially in the territory of the Pāṇḍyas, of a number of lithic records dating back to the time of Asoka and sometimes even earlier, show that* the Tamils were acquainted with the art of writing as early as their northern compeers. It is not contended here that the script in which these lithic records are engraved is the parent of the Tamil alphabet. It is reasonable to suppose that the Tamils and the Aryans derived their alphabets from a common stock and developed them in their own way, just as they had done in the case of their language and culture. The South had earlier opportunities of coming in contact with civilized nations such as those of Persia, Egypt etc., which the North had not; and it is but natural that they should have borrowed their alphabets from any one of them, if borrowing is to be admitted. The close similarity between the Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the Sussanian perhaps indicates a Persian origin of the Dravidian

alphabet, though it is not at present clear when they got it [1]

The Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa* states that Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon landed in the island on the very day of the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, *i.e.* about B. C. 478. He married a daughter of the Pāṇḍya king to whom he was sending annually rich presents. If there is any truth in this, it shows that the Pāṇḍya kingdom is earlier than Ceylon. The Greek ambassador Megasthenes, writing in the 3rd century B.C., gives a curious account of the origin of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. He states :—" Next came the Pandoe, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Herakles having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants ruled over 300 villages and commanded au army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants." There is no doubt that the Greek ambassador has given us a distorted version of a legend concerning the foundation of the Pāṇḍya territory. It is believed by some that the *Yadavas* after their fall in Gujarat came to Southern India and settled in the extreme south of the peninsula and founded the city of Madura. [2]

BUDDHISM IN THE PANDYA COUNTRY.

There are a number of early Buddhist remains of the 2nd century B.C.. scattered over different parts of the Pāṇḍya country. They consist of

[1] *Madras Manual of Administration,* p. 49.

[2] Dutt's *Ancient Hindu Civilisation,* **p. 219.**

natural caverns which present a noble outlook and afford a cool resort for mendicants to meditate on the deity. They are sufficiently removed from villages to be free from the disturbing influences of life. At the time when these were occupied by recluses, they appear to have been provided with railings and other protective works raised in front to shield the monks from exposure to the inclemencies of the weather. The rock-cut beds in these caverns, which sometimes amount to two or three dozens, determine the number of their occupants. When the large collection of inscriptions secured from these caverns are deciphered, they will reveal the names of the mendicants who once occupied them.

It is enough to mention here that Buddhism counted thousands of followers in the Pāṇḍya country in the 2nd century B. 0. and that the spread of that religion was mainly clue to the Singhalese missionaries. There are grounds for thinking that even in earlier periods the Pāṇḍyas must have kaown the tenets of the new faith through their intercourse with the island which dates from the 4th century B. C. For a more detailed account of Buddhism in the Pāṇḍya country, we would refer the reader to a contribution on the origin and decline of Jainism and Buddhism, in *the Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XL.

SECTION III :— ROMAN INTERCOURSE WITH SOUTHERN INDIA FROM THE FIRST CENTURY B. C. TO THE SIXTH CENTURY A. D. [1].

We now pass on to trace the relationship of the Pāṇḍyas with the civilised nations of the west especially with Rome, in the early centuries of the Christian era. As the records relating to the Pāṇḍya kings prior to the 6th century A. D. are completely wanting in their own country, we are obliged to look for information from external sources. The first in this direction is to be found in the writings of the Greek and Roman historians and geographers. The account which they have recorded is only second hand* having been obtained from the navigators of the ancient seas who could not bave cared much for the accuracy of the information which they furuished to their countrymen at borne. But in the absence of all other sources, they are entitled to a notice here. Except in rare instances of invasion by foreign aggressive sovereigns, Northern India had less opportunities of coming in contact with outside nations than the South which had several ancient ports regularly visited by ships from Greece, Egypt, Rome, Persia, Arabia and China. Egyptian sailors had the benefit of Indian trade up to the time of its conquest by Rome which took place during the reign of Augustus in about B.C. 30. Till then Rome had no direct communication with India but Indian products were received in Italy through

[1] The account given in this section is based on Mr. Edgar Thurston's *Coins of the Madras Museum,* Catalogue No. 2 and the information of the Roman historians.

Egypt. Efom the time of the first'Eoman Emperor, however, Eoman vessels regularly touched the ports of Southern India for commercial purposes and more articles began to be carried to their country. This kind of busy intercourse between the two nations lasted till almost the beginning of the 6th century A. D.', when the mighty Kornan empire became a prey to the Teutonic races who established independent kingdoms in Italy and elsewhere. The abundant finds of gold and silver coins throughout Southern India of almost all the Roman Emperors from Augustus to Zeno furnish us with links with the past of a kind that we look for in vain in the written records of the East or the West. They afford conclusive proof of the long maintained commercial relationship between the two countries and supplement to a great extent the scraps of information supplied by the Roman historians. The principal ports of Southern India frequented by the Roman vessels are mentioned by the ancient geographers and Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai has identified them in his *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.* He was best fitted to do this both on account of his thorough mastery of the Tamil works and of his visit to almost all parts of the Presidency. We, therefore, omit to go over the same ground here. Tamil literature and Eoman historians are at one in stating that in ancient times ships were propelled by the wind. *Maduraikkanchi* has:—"Big ships with flying sails attached to long posts, propelled by the wind blowing on tha sheets which became bent on that account, brought to the Pandiyan territory wealth-yielding articles of merchandise

for consumption by the people of the inland districts." The following extract from a Roman historian confirms the statement herein made:— "Every year about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of an hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Mois Harmos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days to reach the ports of India or of Ceylon. The ships returned with rich cargo which, as soon as they were transported on the back of camels from the Red Sea to the Nile and descended the river as far as Alexandria, was poured without delay into the capital of the Roman empire." We are credibly informed that there was considerable demand in the western world for pepper, ginger, cinnamon and in short for the whole tribe of aromatics. Besides, the fancy which the Romans had for diamonds, pearls, jewels and silk was so great that they were prepared to pay any price for them. Attracted by the hundredfold gain which trade with the east promised in those days, several people took to navigation, nothing daunted by the labour and risk involved in it. The articles enumerated above were mostly supplied by the Pandya and Chera territories which produced an abundance of them. Kumari, Korkai, Kayal and the Pamban yielded an enormous quantity of pearls the sale of which and also some of the aromatics which were grown largely in the hills bordering the Travancore State, gave the Pandyas their Wealth in ancient times. In the beginning of the Christian era the splendour of the oriental traffic

loomed large in the eyes of the Romans themselves. In their estimation, pearl received the first rank after diamond. Roman women considered it a luxury to wear garments of silk a pound of which was obtained in exchange for a pound of gold. Jewels made of pearls and other precious gems were largely obtained from Southern India to satisfy the craving of the Roman ladies for ornaments which followed in the wake of the conquest of the east. We learn further that aromatics were largely used in religious worship, in funerals and in sharpening their palate even on ordinary occasions. The Pandya country was one among those which met the demand of the Romans in this direction. The Tamil classical works expressly state that pearls, jewels and aromatics were exported in large quantities from the Pandya territory[1]. The Romans set a very high value on beryl, a precious gem of sea-green colour exported from the beryl mines of Padiyur in the Coimbatore district, which even as late as 1819-20 supplied sixty *seers* of the gem valued at £ 1,200. These were probably exported from the ports of the western coast. As regards the drain on the Roman treasury, consequent on the craving of the times, we are informed that it was a complaint worthy of notice by the Senate that in the purchase of female ornaments the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away to foreign nations. Pliny observes that the Indian commodities were sold at Rome at a hundred times their original price and he computes the annual loss at upwards of eight lakhs of pounds sterling. The

1 *Ind. Ant.*. Vol. XL. p. 229.

loss of the one was a gain to the other. We thus get an idea of the profitable trade which Southern India kept up with Rome. If we could have a similiar statement respecting the annual trade amount of Egypt, Persia, Arabia and China with India, we could obtain a very fair estimate of the gain which Southern India derived by its commercial intercourse with these nations in ancient times. If it is remembered that there was not a proper outlet for the immense wealth which Southern India was hoarding by this means for five or six centuries as will be shown below, we can easily account for the fact that despite the want of natural sources of gold in the country, the south was remarkable for the possession of fabulous quantities of that metal as is revealed to us by numerous epigraphical records and as also attested to by the Muhammadan historians. At this stage we propose to give a list of Romau sovereigns represented by their coins in South India. They are :—

Kings.	Date.	Places where their coins were found and when.
I Augustus ...	B. C. 44-14 A.D.	Poḷḷāchchi(1888), Veḷḷalūr (1842), and Karūr (1878).
1 *a* Drusus (Senior).	B.C. 8	Vegaiūr (1842), Kalayamuttūr (1856).
I *b* Antonia (wife of I *a)*	...	Karūr (1806).
I *c* Germanicus ...	...	Veḷḷalūr (1842).
II Tiberius ...	A.D. 14-37.	Poḷḷācbchi (1800), Karūr (1806 and 1878), Veḷḷa-Kur (1842) Oannanore

Kings.	Date.	Places where their coins were found and when.
		(1851), Kalayamuttūr (1856).
III Caligula ...	37-41	Vellalūr (1842), Kalayamuttūr (1856).
IV Claudius ...	41-54	Karūr (1806), Vellelūr (1842), Kalayamuttūr (1856).
V Nero ...	54-68	Cannanore (1851),Kalayamuttūr (1856).
VI Vespesian ...	69-79	Kistna (1888).
VII Domitian ...	81-96	Madura, Kalayamuttūr (1856), Kistna (1888),
VIII Nerva ...	96-98	Kalayamuttūr (1856).
IX Trajan ...	98-117	Nellore (1787), Cuddapah (1838) and Kalayamuttūr (1856).
X Hadrian ...	117-138	Kalayamuttūr (1856), Kistna (1888).
XI Antonious Pius	138-161	Kistna (1888), Sholapur (1840),
XII L. Verus ...	died 169	Kistna (1888).
XIII Marcus Aurelius.	161-180	Do.
XIV Commodius ...	180-193	Kalayamuttūr (1856), Sholapur (1840), Kistna (1888).
XV Severua ...	193-211	Sholapur (1840).
XVI Caracalla ...	211-212	Kisbna (1888).
XVII Geta ...	212-217	Sholapur (1840).
XVIII Alex Severus ...	222-235	Kistna (1888).
XIX Cansfcantinus ...	323-337	Karūr.
XX Julianus ...	361-363	
XXI Velentian ...	364-375	Elliot's Collection.
XXII Theodosius and Eudocia ...	393	Elliot's and Tracy's Madura Collection and Seven Pagodas.
XXIII Honorious and Arcadus ...	395-423) 395-408	Scott's Collection.
XXIV Constans II ...	421	Madura (Tracy's).
XXV Zeno ...	**474-491**	Elliot's Madura Collection,

The list is by no means exhaustive. The coins that must have been consigned to the melting pot cannot now be estimated and there is no knowledge as to what kings were represented in them. The first name in the list is that of Augustus who was the first Emperor of Rome after the constitution of the second Republic. About his conquest of Egypt which threw open direct commercial intercourse with India we have already remarked. Even Drusus and Germanicus who did nob succeed him on the throne are represented in the collections above catalogued. They were admitted into the equestrian order and entrusted with the command of large armies under Augustus who, it appears, permitted the issue of coins in their names. Their coins found in Southern India are remarkable for their beauty as containing the nice figureheads of Antonia and Agrippina. Dr. Caldwell has shown that the Indian ambassador who visited the court of Augustus was probably sent by the Pandya king of the day. Fourth in the list is Claudius. During his reign the island of Ceylon was discovered by the Roman navigators and ever since its discovery it formed one of their principal marts in the east. The island was known to the Romans under the name of Taprobane which is an almost unaltered form of Tambapanni, the name given to it in the Singalese chronicle *Dlpavansa.* It is said that Claudius received ambassadors from India and Ceylon. Coins of Trajan are numerous in the South Indian finds. The reason for this is not far to seek. He had a highly prosperous reign during which he undertook an expedition against the east.

Driving before him the degenerate Parthians he crossed the river Tigris, entered Arabia and pillaged its principal ports. For once we hear of a Roman Emperor entering the Persian gulf with a large fleet bent on conquering the nations of the Orient. He vainly boasted that he reached the borders of India. The next sovereign but one *i.e.*, Antoninus Pius is said to have received an Indian ambassador in his Court; but it is not known by whom he was sent. Eighteenth in the list is Alexander Severus (A. D. 222-235). A perusal of the catalogue of the Indian commodities, which has come down to us as being subject to the payment of duty during his time, clearly shows that trade with Southern India was maintained unabated till the third century A.D. So far our coins have taken us without even a single break through all the emperors from the time of Augustus. The list is so perfect that one is inclined to believe that these coins were found perhaps in the cabinet of some coin collector instead of their having been introduced for commercial purposes. We note here the big gap of over a hundred years after Alexander Severus which suggests a temporary abeyance of trade between Rome and Southern India; and this is perhaps to be explained by the fact, that soon after the reign of that emperor, the Roman Empire was in a precarius condition, owing to the insurrections which broke out in almost all the provinces and the barbarian invasions of Italy on all sides, so much so that trade was naturally interfered with. When order and good Government were restored in Rome, trade with India seems to have revived. Accordingly, we find

the coins of Constantinus in the collection. Hereafter the list is not so complete as before. But even here we should not fail to mention two names in particular, *viz.* Julianus and Zeno. In A.D. 362 when the former was emperor, ambassadors from India and Ceylon again visited Rome, taking with them large presents. Zeno's coins carry us to almost the end of the Roman Empire. With the help of these shining tiny little bits, we have followed the commercial relationship between Rome and Southern India from the time of Augustus *i.e.,* a little before the Christian era to the end of the fifth century A.D. What is here said generally about Southern India is applicable to the Pāṇḍya country in particular.

Now, a few observations of some of the authorities who have had the opportunity of examining these coins immediately after they were unearthed, deserve to be noted. In several of the finds, the coins disclosed an excellent state of preservation just &s if they had been directly issued from the mint. This state of things indicates thai; they had not suffered damage by long circulation. Again the coins are not only found in the coast towns but are also met with in inland places. Most of them are excellently shaped in the purest gold and are rem-arkable for the beauty of ihe design and neat execution. Many of the heads are of striking individuality. Instances of attempts at perforating them for use as ornaments are not wanting and afford sufficient testimony of their having been worn as jewels. In spite of this fact, the large number of coins discovered in each find, which some-

times amounted to several thousands, cannot but lead us to believe that they must have formed part of the currency of the country. It is particularly worthy of note that so far no native coin of any Dravidian king ascribable to the period preceding the tenth century A.D. has been brought to light. Does not this circumstance lend support to the view herein expressed, since the people should of necessity have had a medium of exchange ? Added to this, the Tamil inscriptions give direct evidence on the point when they state that the Roman dinar and drachm had been in use among the Dravidians. One other point deserves to be mentioned. A large number of copper coins had been found in the Madura district and this is accounted for by Mr. Sewell and Dr. Caldwell who argue that there was probably a Roman colony stationed in the extreme south of the Peninsula. So far as we are aware no serious objections have been put forth against the acceptance of this view.

SECTION IV :—THE TAMIL CLASSICAL WORKS AND THEIR VALUE FOU HISTORICAL PURPOSES DISCUSSED.

In the absence of purely historical works in South Indian literature much importance is naturally attached to the Tamil classical works such as *Puranaṅuṟu, Pattwppaṭṭu, Padirruppattu,* the commentary on *Iraṿyanār Agapporul* and the like which furnish abundant materials for constructing the political history of the ancient Dekhan. **There**

is no doubt that these poetical works contain really trustworthy accounts of early kings of Southern India and present facts as they occurred, though they never throw light as regards the time when they lived or how long they reigned. The student is, therefore, confronted with difficulties when he attempts to arrange the kings mentioned in these works in some chronological order because the authors did not care to leave behind them even a hint from which it may be possible to form conjectures as regards the probable period when they flourished. But the way in which these poems are written seems to indicate that the writers cared more for presenting real facts than for a display of their imaginativeness ; for truly these interesting pieces of the ancient Tamils are completely void of all poetical embellishments which we find in the later day works. They are written in an ornate style of Tamil by contemporary bards and record the deeds of ancient kings in whose honour they are composed and do not fail to give us a true picture of the country as seen by them, so much so that some of their faithful descriptions could be verified even at the present day. Our opinion about them is that they can very favourably compare with the notes put down by Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang and are invaluable helps for the history of the times to which they relate. In this connection we would refer the readers to the minute description of the manners, customs and habits of the people of various castes, callings and professions, that inhabited the several districts of the ancient Pallava dominion, furnished in the *Perumbanarruppadai* of

Kaḍiyalūr Budranganṇanār to whom may indeed be adjudged the highest place among the early Tamil poets.

As has been remarked already, the dates when these poems were composed are not given anywhere. To settle this question with any amount of probability, we are naturally forced to look for information from external sources. Even in this direction, there was not much to help us till recently. The discovery of the Sinnamanur plates and the information supplied in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍya kings have placed a lot of reliable matter before the earnest student of ancient history, and a careful examination of their contents is sure to enable him to arrive at a satisfactory solution which has all along been sought for in vain. The previous scarcity of materials served only to mislead inquirers.

The credit of a critical analysis of all the ancient Tamil works and of laying bare the historical matter contained in them belongs to the late Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai. By a study of the various texls which deal with the kings of Southern India, he has made out a genealogy of the three great dynasties that held sway over parts of the Dekhan in ancient times. But following the track of the Honourable Mr. Komarasawmy, who pointed out that Gajabāhu mentioned in the *Ślappadigaṟam* must be identical with Gajabāhul of Ceylon who ruled from A.D. 135, he assigned dates to the kings mentioned in the classical poems which do not appear to be correct as they are not borne **out** by **the** facts **brought** to light by recent researches*

Dr. Hultzsch suspected this long ago and the late Mr. Venkayya shared the same view.

Many others also hold that the kings celebrated in these poems must be assigned to the 2nd century A. D. Writers on the early history of India general 13 adopt the date arrived at by Mr. K. Pillai for the Tamil works. It is high time, therefore, to review the whole position, briefly though it be, as it is necessary for our present purpose to assign approximate dates to a few of them.

But before doing so, it is necessary to make an observation as regards the kings and bards noticed in these works. We are led to believe that till the time of Peruudēvauār, the reputed author of the Tamil *Mahābhārata* which is popularly ascribed to the period of the last *Śangam*, these poems, written at various times, remained as stray pieces. The credit of collecting them is due to Perundevanar. Not only did he collect them together, which by itself was an important service, but he added an introduction and perhaps also supplied an annotation with a short accouut at the end of each piece as to when, by whom and in whose honour it was composed. We are directly concerned here with the account furnished by him of the kings and bards. Perundevanar's time is known to us by the mention in, his work of his patron, the Pallava king Tellarrerinda Nandipotavarman whom we may identify with Nandivarman III, the grandson of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. He appears, therefore, to belong to the beginning of the 9th century A.D. For histqrical purposes, we can at

best regard literary evidence as second rate; and, if it is remembered, that we are to make use of certain additional information about the kings which the bards themselves did not supply, it will be evident that we must be all the more cautious in utilising it. But though the authenticity of this information may be called in question, yet as the person who supplied it was not far removed in point of time from the poets and kings, we may safely presume that popular tradition, as current at the time when the poems were written, is accurately reflected in his annotations. Or it may even be that Perundēvanār found in the very manuscripts before him the information which he has given us.

For purposes of history we can freely adopt the accounts given in *PiirañanTiru, Pattappāṭṭu, Padirrupattu* etc These poems have been edited in an admirable v/ay by Mahāmahōpādyāya V. Swaminathier who gives now and then short notices of *Again* which has not yet appeared in print. Altough *Silappadigaram* and *Manimegalai* are classed among the *Śangam* works, serious doubts may justly be entertained as to whether they speak of contemporary kings and events ; and therefore great caution is necessary before utilising wholesale the materials contained in them. Several *savants* of Tamil literature would not like this remark. But all the same we wish to record here our reasons for holding this position. The two works in question contain a romantic account of a certain Kaṇṇagi famed for chastity and of Manirnegaiai, the daughter of a betaira of Kaṇṇagi's husband Kōvalan. Enraged at the

unreasonable murder of her husband, Kaṇṇagi miraculously sets fire to the city of Madura whereupon the Paṇḍya king struck down by remorse for the uujust act kills himself. A. heavenly palanquin is seen to descend to earth to carry Kaṇṇagi to the abode of the gods. The people who observed this, erected a shrine for her worship and this was at once followed by the initiation of the same worship in other countries both in and out of India. The romantic nature of the story will not fail to strike any one at the very outset. Under the circumstances it cannot be granted that it relates to contemporary events. On the other hand it would be natural to view the legend as a story spun out by the poets, if not wholly from their imagination, at least with liberal addition to traditional beliefs extant at the time, of events long past. Is it possible, we ask, that a person however virtuous he or she may be, would be invested with divinity even at the very moment of death? In our opinion, which we are sure will be shared by many, the story of the person should have remained in the memory of the people for a long time before any halo of divinity could gather round it. It passes one's comprehension to imagine that people should have set about erecting a temple for a heroine at or soon after the time of her death. We would ask further how long it would have taken for her fame not only to spread but to strike such deep root in other countries as to cause her image to be enshrined in costly temples. In this connection the reader will bear in mind that she was neither a royal personage nor a religious prophetess.

In all probability, if the story is due to a development of events taken from life, it must have been written long after Kaṇṇagi had been deified. As such we cannot assume the contemporaneousness of the kings mentioned in these works with the date of their composition. Our.view is that the authors, not knowing the time when the kings mentioned by them individually flourished have treated persons belonging to different ages as contemporaries and thus brought together a Gajabāhu, a Neḍunjeḻiyan and a Karikāla as living at the same time. By conclusive evidence it has been shown elsewhere that the last two kings should have lived at least a century apart. And we would further point out here that Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai's identification of Nūrrangannan mentioned in the *Śilappadigāram* with Śātakarni is entirely untenable, because there is no warrant for the reading Śatakarni of the name Śātakarni which we find in all inscriptions and coins. Though attempts at translating proper names are not quite uncommon, yet it would seem that in this case Nurrangannan is not a translation of Śātakarni. If the Tamil name was the result of perfect translation we should have expected Nūrrangādan instead. No foreigner has ever dealt with proper names in this fashion. We have the mention of Indian kings and geographical places by Greek and Roman writers and by the Chinese pilgrims who visited India. We may note that none of them has adopted the novel method. And again it is a wonder that a similar attempt at translation was Hot made in the case of the other name Gajabāhu

into Yānaikkai. We would further state that if you examine carefully the contents of *Maṇimēgalai,* you find mentioned in this work, assigned to the second century A.D., systems of belief and philosophy that could not have struck root till the eighth century.

The honourable Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai very kiudly furnishes the following note on the question of the date of *Śilappadigāram* and *Ghintāmaṇi*:—

" As regards the date of composition of *Śilappadigāram* I have found that the details given by Aḍiyārkunallār in nāḍukāṇkādai and the prophecy about " āḍi-ttingaḷ āriruḷ *palikattn* aḷalśēr *leuṭṭat-t-attaminanru velli-varattu"* etc. are satisfied in only one year between A.D. 1 and A.D. 1300, *i.e.,* A.D. 756- Similarly I have quite recently found that the details given in Jiakachintāmaṇi iu *Gandaruvatattaiijarilambagam* (text regarding the *Mulūrtham* for construction of Kānakkiḍanga and commentary by Nachchinārkiniyār on the 1st verse) are correct for only one year, A.D. 813.

" In either case the actual composition of the poems may have followed the respective dates by 60 to 80 years the ordinary period for which *Panchāngas* are preserved. My view is that the poets could have obtained the details only from a contemporary *panchānga,* if indeed they did not find the details in the materials used by them for the poems. In the case of Jivakachintāmaṇi there were materials on hand.

"The interval between this composition of *Śilappadigāram* and *Ghintāmaṇi* was only about 60 or 70

years or at most about 150 years not 700 years as supposed by-Kanakasabai Pillai and others/'

We can safely accept Mr. Svvarnikannu Pillai's date, A.D. 756 for *Śilappadigāram.* Still, we cannot but maintain that the matter contained in this and other works of a similar nature is useless for purposes of history. If we are asked to explain further why we adopt the accounts furnished in *Purananuru.and Pattuppatttu* as come down to us from the hand of Perundēvanār,—an author who cannot be said to have lived earlier than the date (A.D. 756) assigned to *Śilappadigāram*—we would say that Perundēvanār stands in the high position of an editor of some older and trustworthy historical documents of great merit, while the authors of *Śilappadigāram* and other similar works appear before us as mere story-tellers and that their compositions are full of improbabilities, impossibilities and inconsistencies.

SECTION V.-GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY PANDYAS.

We now proceed to notice the kings mentioned in the Tamil classical works and to state their probable periods. But as most of them could be fitted into the genealogy of the Pāṇḍyas mentioned in copper-plates, it is better to give their pedigree here and then discuss the facts connected with each king. As already stated, our principal sources of information in this direction are the two sets of copper-plates from Sinnamanūr, the Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman, land the Velvikuḍi grant of

Neḍunjaḍaiyan. The kings mentioned in these are indicated in the following four tables :—

I.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF JATILA-VARMAN.

(1) Māravarman, the destroyer of the Pallavas.

(2) Jaṭilavarraan ; fought the battle of Vinnam, Seliyakkudi and Velḷūr; put to flight Adiyan and his allies, the Pallava and the Kerala, at Ayirūr, Pungajiyūr and Āyiravēli; defeated the Western Kongu king ; destroyed Vilinam and subdued the king of Vēṇ.

II—SMALLER SINNAMANUR PLATES.

(1) Jayantavarman,

(2) Arikēsari Asamasamau Alamghyavikrama Akālakāla Māravarman ; performed *hiraṇyagarbha* and *gōsahasra* and *tulābhāra* ceremonies.

. . . . . ; fought the battle of Marudūr.

III.—BIGGER SINNAMANUR PLATES.

(1) Arikēsari Parānkuśa Māravarman ; conquered the Pallavas.

(2) Jaṭila

(3) Rājasimha

(4) Varaguṇa—Mahārāja

(5) Śrimāra Śrivallabha Parachakrakōlāhala

(6) Varaguṇavarman. (ascended the throne in A.D. 862)

(7) Paraṇṭaka Vlranārāyaṇa Sadaiyan

(8) Kājasimha II Māravarman

IV.—VELVIKUDI GRANT.

(1) Pārujya Palyāgasālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaludi
: Kajabhra inter-regnum
(2) Kadungōn
(3) Māravarman
(4) Śeliyan Śēndan
(5) Arikōsari Aśamasaman Māravarman ; fought the battle of Nelvoli: performed *tulābhara* and *hiranyagarbha* ceremonies.
(6) Saḍaiyan; fought the battle of Marudūr.
(7) Tār-Māran ; defeated the Pallavas, married a Ganga princess and subdued Malakongam.
(8) Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan (A.D. 770.)

We shall first consider the bigger Sinnarnaniir plate. It was issued in the second year opposite the fourteenth of the reign of Kājasimha, who is stated to have fought with the king of Tanjore. As Chōḷa copper-plates inform us that Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-953) defeated a Pāṇḍya contemporary of his, named Kājasimha, we can assign the bigger Sinnarnaniir plates to the 10th century A.D. It may be said here that the script in which the record is engraved does not militate against this conclusion. Another point in favour of this identification is contained in the fact that Varaguṇavarman, whose accession took place in A.D. 862, figures in the genealogy as the uncle of this Kājasimha and therefore not far removed from him in point of time. We may note also that the date of accession of Varaguṇavarman will yield for Jaṭila a date falling somewhere about the third quarter of the 8th century A.D. This suggests that the

latter might be identical with the king of that name whose record, dated in A.D. 770, has been found in the cave temple of Narasirnha at Ānaimalai in the Madura district. Now we shall see where this genealogy fits in with that furnished in the Tamil portion of the Vēḷvikūḍi grant which was issued in the third year of the reign of Parāntaka *alias* Neḍunjaḍaiyan *(i.e.,* Jaṭila). It records that the king's minister was the Vaishṇava saint Madhurakavi. The mention of the two names of the king and of his minister conclusively proves that he is none other than the king mentioned in the Ānaimalai inscriptions which also furnish the same names. It is thus evident that he is identical with Jaṭila the fourth ancestor of Varaguṇavarman. The combined genealogy of the bigger Sinnamanūr plates and Veḷvikuḍi grant as given by the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who has fully discussed their contents,[1] is as follows :—

TABLE V.

(1) Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaludi
⋮ Kaḷabhra inter-regnum

(2) Kadungdn.

(3) Māravarman

(4) Seliyan Sendan

(5) Arikdsari Asamasaman Maravarman

(6) Sadaiyan Banadhiran

(7) Tēr-Mārau

1 *Annual Report on Epigraphy,* for 1908,

(8) Neḍunjaḍaiyan

(9) Rājasimha

(10) Varaguṇa—Mahārāja

(11) Śnmara Śrivallabha

(12) Varaguṇavarman (13) Parāṁfcaka Vfranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan

(|4) Rajasimha

There is one other way of viewing the information supplied by the two sets of documents and it consists in supposing that Varaguṇa-Mahārāja of the bigger Sinnamanūr plates is identical with Nēḍunjaḍaiyan of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant. True that in this case we could avoid introducing into the genealogy a Bājasimha and a Varaguṇa about whom nothing is known. But the strongest objection to such an identification is that we have only a single sovereign between Neḍunjaḍaiyan of about A. D. 770 and Varanguṇavarman who ascended the throne in A. D. 862 and we are obliged to give him a reign of nearly one hundred years which is absurd on the very face of it. The only possible way of identifying the kings mentioned in the two sets of copper-plates is that presented here as table V [1].

A word may now be said as regards the kings mentioned in the smaller Sinnamanūr and the Madras Museum plates. Both appear to have been issued in the reign of one and the same king as is evidenced by the fact that they are both engraved by

i *A.* ft, for 1908 p.

a certain Arikēsari the son of Perumbaṇaikkāran. While the Museum plates give only two members of the Pāṇḍya family, *viz.* Māravarman and Jaṭila, we have reasons to believe that the smaller Sinnamanūr plates contained more names of which the earliest two are preserved, viz. Jayantavarman and Arikēsari Māravarmaa. Begarding the successor of the second, the plates report that he fought the battle of Marudūr. Neglecting for a moment the palaeography of the records, we see that in the combined genealogy obtained from the bigger Sinnamanūr and the Vēḷvikuḍi plates, these three names could be identified with Nos. (4), (5) and (6) who are respectively called Śēadan, Māravarman and Śaḍaiyan. It may be remarked that the name Jayanta is the Sanskritised form of the Tamil Śenda and of the last member the Vēḷvikuḍi plates state, like the smaller Sinnamanūr graut, that he fought the battle of Marudūr. The two kings mentioned in the Madras Museum plates may perhaps be identified with Nos. (7) and (8) of table V because as in the Veḷvikuḍi grant, the Museum plates give the names and surnames of the king, in whose reign they were issued, to be Parāntaka, Neḍunjaḍaiyan, Paṇḍitavatsala, Virapurōga, Vikramapāraga and Śrivara. The above consideracion shows that the missing plate or plates in the smaller Sinnamanūr set should have contained three names including that of the victor of Marudūr, if it is to be admitted that the engraver of this set, *viz.* Arikēsari son of Perumbaṇaikkāran, is the same person who is stated to have written the Madras Museum plates. We are thus led to suppose that the Madras

Museum plates and the Vēḷvikuḍi grant were issued in the same reign, the first in the seventeenth year and the second in the third year of Neḍunjaḍaiyan's rule, the interval of time being fourteen years. The earlier grant was engraved by Yuddhakēsari Perumbaṇaikkāran while the later was written by Arikēsari, son of Perumbaṇaikkāran. We might suppose that the former was the father of the latter. If the Vēḷvikuḍi grant and the Madras Museum plates were issued iu the same reign, it may be asked why the former omits to mention the several battles noticed in the latter. This is quite easy to answer and the reply consists in the fact that the former grant was issued in the third year of reign when the king had not fought the battles. In favour of the identity, it might be further said that, while the Veḷvikuḍi grant states that the father of Neḍunjaḍaiyan defeated the Pallavas in several battles, the Madras Museum plates call him Pallavabhanjana quite in keeping with the other.

SECTION VI:—PANDYA KINGS UP TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH CENTUKY A. D.

The Pāṇḍya kings mentioned in early Tamil literature are the following :—

(1) Vaḍimbalamba-ninra-Pāṇḍiyan.
(2) Paṇḍiyan Karuugai-oḷ-vā}-Perumbeyar Vaḷudi.
(3) ,, Arivuḍai Nambi.
(4) „ Palyāgajśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvajudi.
(5) Śittiramadattu-tunjina-Nan-Maran.
(6) Taiaiyālangānabtu-Śeruveara-Neḍunjeliyan.
(7) IlavandigaippaḶi-bunjina-Nan-Māran.

(8) Kūḍagārafctu-tunjina-Nan-Māran.

(9) Pāṟiḍiyan Kīrau Śātfean.

(10) Kānappēr-eyil-kaḍanda-Ugra-Peruvaḻurīi,

(il) Veḻḻiyambalattu-tunjina-Peruvaḻudi.

(12) Arikōsari Tēr-Māran,

(13) Ollaiyūr-fcanda-Pūda-Pāriḍiyan.

The first three of these belong to earlier times than those represented in the copper-plates. In one of the ten idylls, *viz. MaduraikMnchi* of Māngudi Marudanār, Palyāgasālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi and Vaḍimbalamba-ninra-Pāṇḍiyan are mentioned among the remote ancestors of Neḍunjeḻiyan, the victor of Talayālangānam.

Which of them is earlier is not stated here. But from stanza 9 of *Puranānūru,* which was written by Muḍattāmakkanṇiyār in praise of the Pāṇḍya king Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi, it is gathered that Vaḍimbalamba-ninra-Pāṇḍiyan is earlier in point of time. Tamil literature says of this king (1) that he made the river Pahruḷi which is no longer in existence, (2) that he performed a grand festival in honour of the Ocean God, and (3) that he made rich presents of gold to certain *vayiriyar* by which panegyrists or dancers are meant. When the smaller Sinnamanūr plates say that a Pāṇḍya king cast his spear for the return of the sea, when the bigger plates record that, though the ocean was disturbed on account of the end of the *Yuga,* it took refuge with the splendour of the footstool of a Pāṇḍya king, and when the Vēḷvikuḍi grant states that there was a deluge and that the Pāṇḍya king survived it, we have perhaps to understand that these

references are to Vaḍimbalamba-ninra-Pāṇḍya. For these considerations we regard him as a historical person.

PāṇḍiyanKarungai-oḷ-vāḷ-Perumbeyar-vaḻudi.—This king is represented by a single stanza in the *Pivranāṉuṟu* and it was composed by irumbiḍartta-laiyar. The poet was the uncle of the Chōḷa king Karikāla whom he is said to have helped in getting the throne. It seems, therefore, that this Pāṟiḍya king belonged to the time which immediately preceded the reign of Karikāla, *i.e.*, the beginning of the sixth century A. D. He was a powerful sovereign of some military renown and his wife was a model of chastity.

Pāṇḍiyan Arivuḍai Nambi.—One of the stanzas in *Puram* (188) is said to have been sung by this king and another (184) was composed by Piśirandai in honour of Arivuḍai Nambi. Both do not give us any information regarding the king. While the former states that there is nothing to be achieved by one who has no issues, the latter records that it is better to levy small taxation and utilize the amount to good purposes than heavy taxation turned to bad use-

Hereafter we are on more firm historical ground.

Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi,—There are five short pieces (vv. 6, 9, 12, 15 and 64) in the collection of *Puranāṉuṟu* composed in praise of this king by three contemporary poets, *viz.* Kaṟikiḻār, Neṭṭimaiyār and Neḍumballiyattanār. We gather from those that his fame was known in the northern regions beyond the tall and snowy mountain, in the

west and east beyond the seas, in the south beyond the river Kumari, in the regions below the earth and in the land of the gods (on account of the innumerable sacrifices performed by him). In rendering justice, he resembled the point of a scale. With his army, which consisted of huge elephants, he inarched against his enemies, took their fortresses, and brought home valuable jewels with which he rewarded many of those who sought him for presents. Through the streets, which were full of ruts caused by the frequent passage of cars, he drove herds of white mouthed asses and destroyed the fortifications of his enemies. He led his big cars, yoked to proud horses, into the cultivated fields of his enemies so as to devastate them by the stamping of their hoofs. He caused destruction to their fresh water tanks guarded by watchers by letting into them a number of thick necked, long tusked, proud-footed and angry-looking elephants. He was provided with a powerful army and effective weapons and when his foes marched against him intent on destroying these, they were themselves destroyed. There were several halls with sacrificial posts planted and fitted with the things necessary for the performance of *yagas*< So many were the sacrifices performed by him that the epithet *Palyagdmlai* came to be attached to his real name Kudumi. His crown was praised by *Brahmanas* versed in the *Vedas*. Such was his glory that the Banas did not feel it derogatory to put on him wreaths of lotuses and the poets did not feel the indignity of preparing his cars.

The performance of one thousand sacrifices attributed to one of the ancestors of the first king

mentioned in the smaller Sinnamanūr plates undoubtedly refers to this king. And we might perhaps trace another allusion to the achievements of this king in the bigger Sinnamanūr plates when they report that numberless kings and emperors who performed the *rājamīya* and *aśvamēdha* sacrifices passed away before Arikēsari ascended the throne. The Vēḷvikuḍi grant mentions him by his name and epithet, and thus clearly testifies to his having performed several sacrifices which we find recorded in the account given of him by contemporary bards. There is not much doubt as to his having been a powerful sovereign who by his valour subdued many hostile kings. And it is perhaps as a result of these successes that he undertook to perform the sacrifices for the vindicatioa of his strength and supremacy over other kings of the Dekhan. The Kaḷabhra invasion, which seems to have taken place immediately after the accession of his successor, was perhaps due to their having taken into their heads to wreak vengeance on the Pāṇḍyas for the aggression on the part of Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍuini-Peruvaḻudi. The period of his rule might be roughly placed at the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. The description given as to how he dealt with the territory of the kings overcome by him shows that he was actuated by a spirit of vengeance. When we look at the probable period of his rule we may presume that one of his immediate predecessors suffered defeat at the hands of the Chōḷa Karikāla and **this king** probably thought of retrieving that loss.

The Kaḷabhra inter-regnum which **followed** soon after the reign **of Mudukuḍumi does not appear to**

have lasted long. From the mention in the W. Chalukya and Pallava copper-plate charters of the Kaḷabhras along with the Pāṇḍyas, Chōḷas and Kēraḷas and from an account given in the Tiruviḷaiyāḍal-purāṇam about a certain Mūrti-Nāyauār, a devout Śaiva who is said to have felt much for the misrule and religious persecution of the Karnāṭa king who invaded and got possession of Madura, it has been conjectured that the Kaḷabhras may have belonged to the Kanarese country. At the time of which we are speaking, the Kadambas appear to have been very powerful in that portion of the land. In fact one of the kings of that dynasty claims to have taken the three crowns evidently meaning that he subdued the Chēra, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya contemporaries of his and this is Kākusthavarinan assigned to the middle of the sixth ceutury A. D.

Kaḍungōn.—This king perhaps reigned in the period A.D. 560-590, The Vēḷvikuḍi grant states that he, the Pāṇḍyādhirāja, appeared like the sun springing out of the stormy ocean and quickly removed the right" which other kings had over the goddess of the earth and established his own exclusive right over her, thus hinting that he put an end to the Kaḷabhra inter-regnum. The account given about him in Tamil literature is that it was during his time **that** the first academy of Tamil poets came to an end. In the collection of *Paranānūru* there is not a single piece written in his honour, But among the Chēra kings there was a sovereign by name Śēramān Śelva **Kaḍungō-vāḷi-Āthan** and he is celebrated by a stanza **written** by Kapilar. He cannot belong to this period.

Much is not known about his son the Adhirāja Māravarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi. It is said that he made the earth his sole possession and wedded the goddess of prosperity. We might assign him to A.D. 590 to 620. *Puranānūru* makes mention of three Māravarmans who respectively died ab Iiavaudigaippalḷi, Kūḍagāram and Śittiramāḍara. The contemporary bard of the last of these was Madurai Kūlavāṇiogan. Śāttanār. The first two appear to have flourished about the same time and more will be said about them after we deal with Seḷiyan Śendan, whose successor one of them was. As the plates report that Māravarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi lived in prosperous times we have perhaps to identify him with the one who died ab Śittaramāḍam because, as will be shown below, there was a severe famine in the reign of the other.

Śeḷiyan Śēndan.—(A. D. 620—650.) In dealing with the date of Maduraikkānchi and its hero in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XL., sufficient grounds have been adduced to show that bhis king is identical with Neḍunjeḷiyan, the victor of Talaiyālangānarn and that he should be ascribed to the period A. D. 620—650. As the Vēḷvikuḍi plates report, he was renowned for his heroism. He defeated the Ghēra and Ghōḷa kings of his day together with five potenbates. Neḍunjeḷiyan defeated the Chēra king Yānaikkaṭchēy-Māndaranchēral-Irumborai and captured him as prisoner and finally set him at liberty. This same Ghēra king is said to have fought a battle with the Chōḷa Rājasūyamvēṭṭa Perunatkiḷḷi. Another Chēra sovereign of the time

was Seraman Mavenko. That the Pandya king Ugra-Peruvaḻudi is either identical with Neḍunjeḻiyan, or at any rate is not far removed from him in point of time, is suggested by the fact that the contemporaries of these are celebrated in the songs of the same bards. If this identification could be established it would show that he captured the fortress of Kānappēr and died (in the temple) at Madura which is known as Veḻḻiyambalam. *Puranānūru* contains several stanzas sung in honour of Neḍunjeḻiyan of Talaiyālangānam fame by the four poets Kudapulaviyanār, Kallāḍanār, Māṅguḍikiḻār and Iḍaikunrūrkiḻār. That Vēḷ-Evvi and Vāṭṭārreḻini-Ādan were among the feudatories of Neḍunjeḻiyan, may also be gathered from some other stanzas in the same collection [1].

The defeat of the Chōḷa and Chēra sovereigns is one of the greatest achievements of this king It made him the sole monarch of the three ancient territorial divisions of the Dekhan, It is necessary to point out here that the Ch5laṣ had a very limited dominion in the south at this period, much of the northern portion having passed into the hands of the Pallavas and the south being occupied by the Pāṇḍyas. The crushing defeat now inflicted by the Pandya king on the Cholas once for all dispossessed the latter of the little hold that they had in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. There are reasons to believe that the Chōḷas thereafter confined themselves to Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary districts where they may have continued to rule as

1 For farther details the reader will see Ind. Ant. Vol. XL, on Maduraikkānchi,

Pallava feudatories. In favour of this supposition we note (1) that Hiuen Tsiang who visited India about this period locates his *Chu-li-ye, i.e.* Chōḷa, somewhere in the Telugu district and (2) that the inscriptions of the Chōḷas are actually found in this locality. That this was the case is conclusively proved by one other fact *viz.*, that the Pāṇḍyas had never more to fight with the Chōḷas which would have been the natural course open to them if the latter held any territory in the Trichinopoly district. On the other hand the enemies of the Pāṇḍyas were the Pallavas. The Chēras appear to have contended also with the Pāṇḍyas and it was left to the successors of Nedunjeliyan to deal with them. Having for ever driven the Chōḷas from their ancestral possession, the Pāṇḍyas seem to have assumed the title of Śembiyan and Śōḷan which, as we shall have occasion to notice, were borne, by more than one successor of this king. The appropriateness of this title to the Pāṇḍya kings is explained by the fact that they were governing most of the ancient dominions of the Chōḷas. If there were any remnants of the ancient Chōḷa family at Uraiyūr, which would necessarily have been the case, they do not appear to have had any vestige of power and do not, therefore, deserve mention. From what has been said above, it will be clear that the territory immediately to the south of the Pallavas was in the possession of the Pāṇḍyas at this time. Naturally, therefore, the successors of Nedunjeliyan in striving for the supremacy of the south had to encounter them for full eight generations. That

power had played its role of greatness for seVerkl centuries prior to the middle of the seventh cen- ttiify A.D. The oil which fed the lamp of Pallava powef was becoming spent. We see the last steady flame of it in the reign of Narasimhavarman I and we do not fail to perceive the dimness of the light during the days of his weak successors. Eventually presenting a bright glow at the time of the usurper Nandivarman Pallavamalla, it died out practically with his death. It is necessary to remind our readers that the contemporary history of the period following the feign of Nedunjeliyan is that covered by the rule of Narasimhavarman's effeminate followers culminating in the usurpation of their dominion by Pallavamalla and the collapse of that power soon after his death. Want of organisation and internal dissensions added to the weakness of the sovereigns had been the bane of Indian constitutions and they eventually contributed to their decline and fall. Extension of dominion always brought with it conflicting interests and an increase in the number of the ruled with different ideas of government, justice and internal policy. If the existing political institutions of a country, though sufficient to keep in check a limited kingdom, are not changed and better organisations started to suit the altered state of things, which naturally follows on the wake of an expansion of territory, disintegration begins to set in and this affords to-the subdued powers an opportunity to raise the standard of revolt for which they have been only waiting with a view to proclaiming their independence. Internal dissensions, it is needless to say,

are the cancerous sores in the body of a state and while they exist, the strength and resources of the country become completely exhausted, thus making the way easy even for a weak enemy to throw off his overlords. Such was the state of the Pallavas at the time of which we are speaking. It was not difficult, therefore, for the successors of Neḍunjeḻiyan, though they were not as powerful as he, to snatch from the Pallavas their newly conquered territory in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts.

Malakūṭa: Its identity with Miḻalai-kūṟṟam, one of the principal divisions of the Pāṇḍya country.

Here we must notice what the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the middle of the seventh century A.D., has recorded about the Pāṇḍya territory, its people and their pursuits. This leads us to take up the question of the identification of the *Malakucha* country mentioned by the pilgrim. Several persons have had their say concerning the identification of this locality. But it seems that the place has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Dr. A. C. Burnell has contributed a learned article on thp question, in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. V I I. pp. 39 ff. Here the author attempts to settle the point by first identifying Hiuen Tsiang's southern Charitrapura and his whole position may be summed up as follows:—

Ḥiuen Tsiang describes his southern Charitrapura as a port situated on the north-east of the kingdom of Malakūṭa. As the pilgrim returned to Kanchipura from Malakūṭa and thence proceeded to Konkaṇapura, it is evident that Madura and the

extreme south of India cannot be intended by Mala»kuṭa; and again if this be assumed to be Madura and Charitrapura be Negapatam, it is difficult to understand the statement that Charitrapura was in the north-east of the kingdom.

He admits that for a time the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura held in subjection what is now the Tanjore province and what was once the best part of the Chōḷa kingdom but questions if Negapatam could ever have been their northern limit. If by Malakūṭa Madura is meant, Hiuen Tsiang could hardly have said that the Malaya mountains are to the south of it. He should have put them in the west.

The distance given by Hiuen Tsiang must be left out of consideration because it is not possible to ascertain the exact measure of the *li* the pilgrim used, as it varied enormously even in China at different periods.

According to him, the only sure data from which we could find out the southern Charitrapura are : (1) It was in the north-east corner of Malakūṭa, and (2) Malakūṭa was the kingdom next on the south to Dravida of which the capital was Kāñchipura.

Basing his arguments on the information supplied by a Tanjore inscription that Malakūṭa-chūḍāmaṇi-chaturvēdimangalam is mentioned as a place in Āvūr-kūṟṟam, he concludes that Malakūṭa was the name of the kingdom comprised in the Kāvēri delta, that the name itself appears as a suburb of Kumbhakonam, which was probably the capital of the Chōḷas and that Charitrapura is identical with Kāvērippaṭṭaṇam the once famous port at the mouth

of the Kāvēri and mentioned by Ptolemy as *chabaris emporium.*

These are the considerations which led Dr. Burnell to locate Hiuen Tsiang's Charitrapura and Malakūṭa in the Chōḷa territory aud identify them with the places mentioned in the last paragraph. The learned Doctor's identification of Malakūṭa with the country surrounding Kumbhakonam or more properly Svāmimalai is generally accepted but there are strong grounds against it and the incorrectness of it will be quite apparent from what will be discussed hereafter. It must be said that at the time he wrote his article, epigraphical research had not advanced much. There were also other facts which the Doctor had not taken into account. Against his identification the following facts may be set forth :—

(1) That neither Svāmimalai nor Kāvērippaṭṭanam was in a district which bore the name Malakūṭa.

(2) There is no authority for the statement that Kumbhakonam was ever the capital of Chōḷas and that Malakūṭa was the name of a former suburb of it.

(3) The Tanjore inscription, which Dr. Burnell refers to, does not mention Malakūṭachūḍāmaṇi-chaturvēdimangalam. It refers to a place Manukulachūḷāmaṇi-chaturvēdimangalam in Avūrkūṟṟam which was a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu. Prof. Hultzsch has pointed out these inaccuracies.

(4) We cannot leave out of consideration the distances given by the pilgrim from one place to another for the mere reason that the measure of a *li* varied at different periods. Whatever might have

been the equivalent of it at different times, it could only have denoted a particular distance when used by one person. It is not very difficult to find out the modern equivalent of a *li* of Hiuen Tsiang. We cannot persuade ourselves to believe;that the pilgrim, who has taken pains to ascertain and note the distances of places, would have erred very widely in this direction and especially when he speaks about places which he himself had visited. There may be some slight discrepancies in the account which he has recorded from hearsay, but for this reason we cannot reject his distances as being entirely unworthy of credence. So far as we are able to find out the value of a *li*, its modern equivalent comes to very near a furlong. Accordingly, we have to look for the Malakūta country not in the immediate vicinity of Dravida but 400 miles to the south of Conjeeveram- It is clear, therefore, that this country cannot be located in the ancient Chola dominion, but must be in the territory of the Pandyas. The identity of Charitrapura with Kaverippattanam, as Dr. Burnell would have it or with Negapatam, is out of the question. Beal is of opinion that the separate existence of a southern Charitrapura different from the one in Odra (Orissa) is not warranted by the writings of Hiuen Tsiang. According to this author, Julian's interpretation of the passage, which involves a southern Charitrapura, is incorrect and he says that the correct reading of the original text is " going from Mount Malaya in a north-eastern direction there is a town at the sea-dividing." What that town is is not stated.

One reason which weighed strongly in the mind of Dr. Burnell about these places was that Hiuen Tsiang was not giving a random account of territories, situated far and near but was mentioning them one after another in succession. His data that Malakūta must be next on the south to Dravida is certainly correct and unassailable. But his supposition that the Chōla territory lay next to the south of Dravida at the time of the pilgrim's visit is a genuine mistake which led him on the wrong track. Hiuen Tsiang himself locates the Chola territory 1000 *li to* the south-west of Dhanyakataka i. e., Amaravati in the Kistna district which, as has been shown by others takes us to Kurnool, When the pilgrim himself has said this, we have no reasons to infer that the territory to the south of the Pallava dominion belonged to the Cholas. We have already pointed out that at the time of Nedunjeliyan, the Cholas were completely dispossessed of their ancestral dominion in the Triohinopoly and Tanjore districts and that the successors of his had never more to fight with them but only with the Pallavas- It seems that the latter fact is a clear proof that the Cholas had no hold in that locality, which appears to have been shared by the Pallavas and Pandyas. Thus there is no doubt that Malakuta must represent the Pandya country or be an important territorial division in it. The distance given by the pilgrim of Malakuta from Conjeeveram, *viz.* 3000 *li,* takes us to very near the capital Madura. In early times there was a clear, route to Madura which passed through Pudukkottat State and Kodumbalur is said to have been a place where travellers

halted on their way. As such, the people who supplied the information to the pilgrim could have known well the distance. One of the most important territorial divisions of the Pāṇḍya country in ancient times was Miḻalai-kūṟṟram. From the Tiruppūvaṇam grant it is gathered that this division had several districts in it. Two of these are Kiḻ-kūṟṟu and Naḍuviṟ-kūṟṟu which, as the names indicate, must have formed the eastern and central portions of the bigger division MṶalai-kūṟṟram which the Chinese traveller should have called Malakūṟṟa (Malakūṭa) deleting the intermediary letter *ia*. There are reasons to believe that this division covered a large area surrounding Madura. Again, the description given by Hiuen Tsiatig of this country, its people and their pursuits is quite characteristic of the Pāṇḍya and an uumistakable proof is here afforded that he meant only the Pandyas. He says :—" The land and fields are impregnated with salt. The produce of the earth is not abundant. All the valuables that are collected in the neighbouring islets are brought to this country and analysed. The temperature is very hot. The men are dark complexioned, firm and impetuous in disposition. They are wholly given to commercial gain." By the words of the pilgrim that all the valuables collected in the neighbouring islets are brought here, he must be referring to the enormous quantity of pearls which were collected from the sea and for which the Pāṇḍya country was famous from the remotest period, The third section of this book will amply bear out the statement of the pilgrim that the people were wholly

given to commercial pursuits. We need hardly say that the description of the people suits very well the Kaḷḷar and Maṟavar castes of the Pāṇḍya country. It may be further added that it will not be applicable to the people of the Chēra country, though it is possible to suppose that Malakūṭa may stand for Malai-nāḍu.

The pilgrim takes us from somewhere near Madura southwards to Tinnevelly province where he refers to the Malaya mountains noted for sandal-wood and *karpūra* trees and then he speaks of Potalika, *i.e.* the Podiyamalai giving us, as shown by Prof. Hultzsch, a distorted version regarding the sage Agastya, who is frequently mentioned in Tamil literature as the family priest of the Pāṇḍyas. With the pilgrim's words that serpents are seen twining round the sandal-wood trees of the Malaya hills compare Kāḷidāsa's parallel verse

भोगिवेष्टनमार्गेषु चन्दनानां समर्पितम् ।
नास्त्रसत्करिणां प्रैवं त्रिपदीछेदनामपि ॥

which speaks of the same mountain adjoining the Pandya country. lt is worthy of note that the description given about the Potalika would suit very well for either Kourtallam or Papanāśam. The seaport town to which he is referring has to be looked for to the north-east of this hill.

One other point must be made clear. The account of Hiuen Tsiang about Malakūṭa is not what he had seen but is what he had heard from others. Hwui-li seems to give the correct information when it says that he only heard of the Malakūṭa **country.**

This is assured by two facts which Hwui-li records: (1) that Hiuen Tsiang, when he was about to leave Conjeeveram for Malakūṭa, was informed of the death of king Bāja Būṇa Mugalan and (2) of the prevalence of famine in that country. The proper equivalent of Bāja Būṇa is Bāja Bhūshaṇa. We find this name in the list of the Pāṇḍya sovereigns preserved by tradition. Looking at the time of the pilgrim's visit to Kāṅchi, there is no doubt that he is referring to the death of Neḍunjeḻiyan who had perhaps the surname Bāja Bhūshaṇa.

It is an agreeable surprise to find in contemporary Tamil literature some account about the famine referred to in the Chinese account. Nakkirar, the contemporary of Neḍunjeḻiyan's successor Māravarman states, in his commentary on the Iraiyanār Agapporuḷ, that there was a severe famine in the Pāṇḍya country which lasted for twelve years, that the court poets of the Pāṇḍya king were sent away from the country to live elsewhere and to return when the draught terminated and the kingdom resumed prosperity. This affords ample reasons for thinking that, as Hwui-li states, the pilgrim was really prevented from visiting Malakūṭa personally and that by Malakūṭa is meant the Pāṇḍya territory.

It has been stated already that Arikēsari-Māravarman, the son of Neḍunjeḻiyan, was holding the reins of government of the Pāṇḍya country, when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang visited Conjeeveram. There is not much doubt regarding his identity with Neḍumāran, referred to in the *Periyapnrāṇam* as the contemporary of the Saiva saint Jñānasambauda.

And it will be shown here that he is also the hero of the commentary on *Iraiyanar Agapporul* This commentary celebrates the military achievements of a certain Māran *(i.e.,* Māravarman) who had several *birudas* and surnames such as Parāṅkusaṅan, Arkēsari, Ucchitan, Neḍumāran, Varōdaya, Vijayacharitan and Śatrudurantara. He is also called Pūḷiyan, Tenuavan, Panchavan, Vāṉavau and Śōḷan. One of the stanzas of this commentary is of special importance since it gives pointed reference as to who he was and gives grounds for the identification of this king. It is stanza 106 which states that this king, called here " Neḍumāran, spread the influence of his good rule throughout the world and was victorious in the battle of Nelvēli." An exact rendering of this occurs in the *Periijapurāṇavi* which says that Neḍumāran (the contemporary of Jñānasambanda) established his fame and gained victory in the battle of Nelvēli. The Vēḷvikuḍi plates state distinctly that this king was called Arikēsari aud Māravarman and attribute to him victory in the battle of Nelvēli. Thus the king mentioned in the three sources, *viz.,* the *Periijapurāṇavi,* the commentary on *Iraiyanār Agapporul* and the Veḷvikuḍi grant, is evidently the same person. The first two sources are silent as to whom he defeated at Nelvēli but the writer of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant informs us that Māravarman overcame the army of Vilvēli in this field. It has been elsewhere suggested that Vilvēli might be identical with Vilvala-(nagara) which latter place has been identified with Villivalam in the Ohingleput district then included in **the**

Pallava dominion. The identification of the place enables us to say that the Pallavas must have carried on an aggressive war far into the interior of the Pāṇḍya country, *i.e.*, as far as Tinnevelly. One other fact revealed by the Vēḷvikuḍi grant about this sovereign is the defeat inflicted by him on the Chēras. The places where he defeated them are not given; but these are preserved in the commentary on *Iraiyanār Agapporul-* A number of battles are here mentioned and in some of these the enemies overcome by Māravarman are also stated. We give below, with references to stanzas, the account which the book relates about eight battles.

(1) *Kbṭṭāru.* Stanza 36 states that Māravarman drove the Vānavan *(i. e.,* the Chēra) into the forest and captured the fortress of this high walled town.

(2) *Pūlandai.* Stanza 8 records that the Pāṇḍya king defeated several sovereigns who took up the cause of the *Vānavan, Le.* the Chēra. Stanzas 60, 62, 63, 64 and 66 add that the enemies were on the aggressive. The victory gained in this battle left the Pāṇḍya king in possession of the elephant troops of his foes.

(3) *Southern Śēvier.* Here the Pāṇḍya king defeated the *Śēralar* (stanzas 44, 46, 48 and 52.) The place is stated to be at the mouth of a river.

(4) *Ārrukkudi.* The Chera king defeated by the Pāṇḍya is said to have been the latter's son-in-law or sister's son (stanzas 43 and 54).

(5) *Vilinam.* The place is described as being situated on the seashore. Though the enemies

overcome in this battle are not given, we can presume them to be the Chēras, as the place is in their territory.

(6) *The southern Naraiyur.* The cause of the battle was extension of dominion. The Chēra king who had the sea for his protection, was defeated in this battle (stanzas 57 and 97).

(7) *Śennilam.* Here, the *Śilaimannar* i.e. the Chēras were defeated (stanza 58).

(8) *Kaḍaiyal.* The Pāṇḍya king defeated the *Śilaimannar* (stanzas 19 and 41), *Vānavan* (77) *Śeralan,* and took possession of all their wealth (24) and elephants (34); defeated also the *Kāḍar* and *Karuvar* (84). *Vanavan, Śilaimannar* and *Śeralan* are synonymous with Chēra.

The following five other battles are also mentioned, *viz.* Vallam, Maṇaṟṟi, Veṇmāttu, Nāṭṭāru and Kaḷattūr. The above account amply bears out the statement of the plates that Māravarman defeated the Kēraḷas.

The reputed author of the commentary on *Iraiyanar Agayporul* and four other poets *viz.* Madurai-Marudan-Iḷanāganār, Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam, Mūlangiḷār of Āvūr and Vaḍavaṇṇakkan-Periyaśāttan have written five pieces in the collection of *Puranānūṟa* in praise of a certain Māran. He is probably identical with Arikēsari Māravarman, the victor of Nelvēli. Nakkiraṟ, writing about him in *Puram,* says that he is the most renowned of the three kings of the south; that though he was powerful on account of his large army of elephants, horses, chariots and Marava soldiers, yet he was

justly known for his heroism, calmness and liberality. In anger he resembleḍ the god of death, in strength the god Gaṇēśa, in fame Vishṇu and, in successfully carrying out his intentions, the god Muruga. Being equal to these, nothing was difficult for him. He gave away rare ornaments to those who sought him for presents. The poet then concludes, " O ! Mara of victorious sword ! May you be pleased to conduct yourself well, drinking the cool and sweet-scented wine brought by the *Yauanas* iu fine bottles and which your ladies pour out in gold cups and offer you with their delicate hands jingling with bangles." He had a number of children who resembled him in prowess and who were capable of reducing the whole of the Tamil country. His queen wore rich jewels and long garlands and was much devoted to him. We have already referred to the twelve years' famine that raged in the Pāṇḍya country during the early years of his reign.

The king is said to have died at a place called Ilavandigaippaḷḷi. Let it be noted that we are precluded from interpreting Ilavandigaippaḷḷi as 'the Jain temple at Ilavaudigai' for the reason that Neḍumāran figures among the sixty-three Śaiva saints. *Periyayurañam* states that in the earlier part of his life he was an avowed Jaina. It further adds that, invited by his queen Mangayarkkaraśi and his minister Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, both of whom are also canonised Śaiva devotees, Jnānasambanda visited Madura, overcame the Jainas in disputation and converted the king to the Śaiva creed. The Pāṇḍya queen and minister as well as a number of Jaina

priests, who resided at Ānaimalai and other places, are mentioned in the hymns of Jnānasambanda on Madura. The probable period of this king's reign is A, D. 650-680.

To the same period we have to assign two other persons, *viz.* Kiran Śāttan and Māran Vaḻudi who died at Kūḍagāram and who were perhaps princes belonging to the Pāṇḍya family. These are celebrated in *Puranañurū* by a few pieces composed by some of the poets who have sung in honour of Neḍumāran. Kudirai-śākkayan, the other name of Kiran Śāttan, suggests that he was the chief officer who commanded the cavalry of the king. Here, our account of the Pāṇḍya kings represented in early Tamil literature ceases.

Arikēsari Neḍumaran was succeeded by his son Kōchchaḍaiyan Kaṇadiran. He had the titles Tennan, Vānavan, Śembiyan and Śōḻan which suggest that he was ruling the three Tamil kingdoms secured by his father and grandfather. Not content with this, he seems to have carried his arms against other kings. The titles Kongarkōmān and the sweet Karnāṭaka assumed by him show that he fought with the Kongu king of his day and perhaps with the Kadambas or Gaugas also. The Vēḻvikuḍi plates further report that he defeated the Mahāratha at a place called Mangalapura. By Mahāratha is perhaps meant the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. Of the two kings Vinayāditya and his son Vijayāditya of that family, the latter is not known to have contended with the southern powers, while of the first it is stated that, at the command of his father, he arrested the excessively

exalted power of the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and Pallava kings, reduced them and brought them to a state of peace and quiet. It is not unlikely, therefore, that he crossed swords with Vinayāditya. We cannot be positive about his success in the field. Mangalapura, where he is reported to have fought, might be the same as Mangalapuri whence the Balsar charter of Mangalarasa was issued in A.D. 731—32.[1] That it was a principal place in the Western Chalukya territory could also be gathered from the fact that the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Samarābhirāma, father of Pūdi Vikramakēsarin claims to have killed the Chalukyas at Adhirājamangala.[2]

Arikēsari Parāṅkusa Māravarman Rājasimha, the son of the last king, succeeded him. He may be assigned roughly to the period A.D. 710—740. Being in possession of the Chēra and Chōḷa territories in addition to the Pāṇḍya, he renewed the walls of the capital cities of Kūḍal *i.e.* Madura, Vanji *i.e.* Tiruvanjaikkaḷam and Kōḻi *i.e.* Uraiyūr evidently with the object of carrying on wars with the neighbouring powers. He is reported, in the Vēḷvikudi plates, to have performed numberless *tuḷābhtira, hiraṇyagarbha* and *gōsahasra* ceremonies, to have married a Maḷava princess and to have had by her a son named Jaṭila. He continued the wars undertaken by his father against the Kongu and Ganga kings. Grossing the river Kāvēri he subdued Maḷa-Kongam, worshipped the god Paśupati at Paṇḍi-Koḍumuḍi and presented heaps of gold and

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 374. 2. 4. 5, for 1908, p. 78,

jewels to it. He is said to have contracted relationship with the Ganga king and this suggests that he had had something to do with the Gangas- But his chief enemies were the Pallavas, who under the banner of Pallavamalla, repeatedly fought with this king in several battles. Victory over the Pallavas is claimed for the Pāṇḍyas in the following places:—Kuḷumbūr, Śankaramangai, Neḍuvayal, Kurumaḍai, Mannikuruchchi, Piivaḷūr, Tirumangai and Koḍumbāḷūr. As some of these places are in the Pudukkottai State it may be presumed that the Pallavas advanced far south during this period but were repulsed by the Pāṇḍja.

As much is not known about the Maḷavas, a word about them will not be out of place here, especially as the king is said to have married a Maḷava princess and subdued Maḷa-Kongam. There is no doubt that the Maḷavas formed one of the southern family of chiefs. They are mentioned in copper-plates along witli the Oḻola, Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, Haihaya and Āḷupa. It is sometimes attempted to convert Maḷava, occurring in these records, into Māḷava and to identify it with Malwa in Northern India. This is not tenable. Tamil classical works mention Maḷa-nāḍu among the ancient territorial divisions of Southern India. It has to be located on the borders of the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and it should have included a small portion of the Pudukkottai State also. In later times *i.e.*, during the reign of the Ghōḷa king Rajaraja I (A.D. 985—1013,) it was called Rajaśraya-valanaḍu and had in it several sub-divisions. Maganikudi, i.*e*, the modern hamlet of that

name, near Śamayaveram about ten miles north-north-east of Trichinopoly, was a place in Veṇkōn-kuḍi-kaṇḍam which was a sub-division of Maḷanāḍu. Mānguḍi was also a village in the same district. That the Kolli mountain was situated in this territory is gathered from Tamil literature which also informs us that it was subject to the rule of a Vēḷir chief who was subordinate to the Adigaimān kings of Kongu. That the kings of the Kongu country had some interest in this tract of land may be gathered from the discovery at Koḍumbāḷūr of early Kanarese inscriptions. These are so fragmentary that the king's names cannot be traced in them. In support of the view herein expressed we may state that there is a tradition which marks out the small river called Karaipōṭṭānāru as forming the boundary of Kongu, Chola and the Pandya territories. This river runs southwards through the Namakkal taluka and falls into the Kaveri at Śiḷaputtar, twelve miles west of Musiri. A large sized embankment carries the boundary from the river southwards. The fact that the lord of Mala-nadu was subordinate to the Adigaiman kings of Kongu explains how the subjection of this chief by Arikesari Parankusan, opened up the way for the Pandya king to Kodumudi, which ought to have been under the sway of the Kongu kings. As corroborating the statement that a part of the Pudukkottai State acknowledged the overlordship of the kings of Kongu, the following may be added.

According to the *Periyajpurāṇavi*, the Śaiva saint Iḍangaḷi-Nāyanār was a chief of Koḍumbāḷūr in

Konadu. He belonged to the family of Irungōvēḷ and was a descendant of a certain Āditya who ' covered with gold the pinnacle of the dancing hall of the god (Naṭarāja) in the temple of Śiva in Kongu'. The temple here referred to maybe that of Pērūr near Coimbatore. It might also refer to the temples at Karūr or Koḍumuḍi. Whichever it is, the reference clearly shows that the Veḷir chiefs of Koḍumbāḷūr had an interest in the Kongu country. May it not be that they were subordinate to the Kongu kings ? The Kongu kingdom consisted of several divisions in ancient times and its capital was Tagaḍūr, *i.e.* Dharmapuri in the Salem district. *Purananuru* mentions some of the kings who ruled from this place and it is very likely that this city was situated in the northern division. Maḷakongu was probably the eastern division which extended eastwards from Karūr. One of the stanzas in the *Devaram* states that Perur was situated in the Western Kongu. By Maḷavas we have to understand ' the people of Maḷa-Kongu or Maḷanāḍu which has also supplied one of the subsects of Brahmins. The independent existence of the chiefs of this place during the time of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-953) is known from a record of that king published in the *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II, Part III, p. 375' It records that Parāntakan Mādēvaḍigaḷār, one of the queens of Gaṇḍarāditya, the second son of Parāntaka I, was the daughter of a Maḷava prince (Maḷa[van]-perumān).

Parāṅkuśan Māravarman was succeeded by his son Neḍunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka. The Veḷvikuḍi grant

was issued in the third year of the reign of this king and we have given reasons for thinking that the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman were issued in the 27th year of this same sovereign and stated the opinion of the late Rai-Bahadur Venkayya that the Ānaimali record dated in Kali 3871 (A.D.769-70) also belongs to this king. We-shall first note here what is said about him in the Veḷvikuḍi grant, which seems to be the earliest epigraph so far known of his time. It gives for him the titles Tennan and Vānavan which, as we have already seen, were borne by his ancestors. His surnames were Śrivara, Śrimanō-hara, Śinachcholan, Punappuhyan, Vitakalmashan, Vinayaviśrutan, Vikramapāragan, Vīrapurōgan, Ma-rudbala, Mānyaśāsana, Manupama, Marditavira, Giristhira, Gitikinnara, Kripālaya, Kritāpadāna, Kalippagai, Kaṇṭhakanishṭhūra, Kāryadakshiṇa, Kār-mukhapārtha, Parāntaka, Paṇḍitavatsala, Paripūṃa and f¯apablru. Many of these names occur in the Madras Museum plates which also note that the vil-lage of Vēḷanguḍi in Ten-Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu was granted as a *brahmadēya* with its old name changed into Śrivaramangalam. The latter fact shows that the king had the surname Śrīvara. The earliest achievements of this king were the conquest of the Kāḍava at Peṇṇāgadam on the southern bank of the Kāvēri and the defeat of the Āyavēḷ and the Kurum-bas at Nāṭṭukkurumbu. A number of Kanarese epigraphs found in the Mysore State clearly shows that Pallavas are meant by the term Kāḍava. To enable us to identify Peṇṇāgaḍam, we may state that one of the inscriptions of Tiruviḍaimarudūr

registers the fact that this village is situated In Tanjāvūr-kūṟṟam.[1] As such we have to look for it very near Tanjore. From *Puranānūru,* we understand that Āyavēḷs were the chiefs of the Podiya mountains and that their town was Āykkuḍi, which may be identified with the village of that name now belonging to the Travancore State and situated very near Tenkasi in the Tinnevelly district. By Kurumbas are perhaps meant the hill tribes who formed the subjects of this chief. This gives a clue as to where we should look for Nāṭṭukkurumbu. At Viṇṇam, Śeḷiyakkuḍi and Vellūr, Neunjaḍaiyan defeated some un-named enemies. Like his father, this king had also to fight with the Kongu king of his day. The Museum plates record that he put to flight Adiyan, *i.e.,* the Kongu king Adigaimān of Tagadūr at Ayirūr, Pugaḷiyūr and Āyiravēli situated on the northern bank of the Kāvēri. The defeated king is said to have had for his allies the Pallavas and Kēraḷas, who fought on his side and sustained defeat with him. The successful Pāṇḍya marched in triumph to Kānchivāy-Pērūr, *i.e.,* Perur on the river Kanchi in the Coimbatore district where he erected a big temple for Vishṇu. Some trouble seems to have been caused by the king of Vēṇāḍu (Travancore). The enemy had to pay dearly for his aggression because the Pāṇḍya king caused the excellent port of Viḷinam to be destroyed and he is even said to have taken possession of all his elephants and riches.

In the third year of his reign he had for his minister the Vaishṇava saint Madhurakavi-Āḷvār

[1] No. 314 of fehe *Epigraphical Collection* tor 1907.

who bore the names Mārangāri and Madhuratara. He was also known by the designation of Mūvēnda-Mangala-Pēraraiyan and Mangalarāja which indicate that he was the chief of Mūvēndamangalam or shortly Mangala. He was a native of Karavandapura and the crest-jewel of the Vaidya family ; was well versed in the *Śāstras* ; was a poet and an orator. Karavandapura here mentioned is also known as Kaḷakkuḍi and Kaḷaudai and is identical with Kaḷakkāḍ in the Tinnevelly district. This minister excavated the cave temple of Narasimha-Perumāḷ on the Ānaimalai hill near Madura. He having died before completing it, his younger brother Māran Eyinan, who succeeded him in the office of prime minister, consecrated the temple, building for it a *Mukha-maṇḍapa.* We have already referred to the construction of another Vishṇu temple by the king himself at Perur near Coimbatore. This is said to have been built as high as a hill but no traces of it exist at present. There are no means of ascertaining if Maran Eyinan of the Ānaimalai record is identical with Mūrti Eyinan of the Madras Museum plates, though that is not unlikely. The following facts are favourable for the conjecture:

(i) The principal name in both is the same.

(ii) Both are said to have been natives of Kaḷandai also called Karavandapuram.

Yuddhakēsari Perumbaṇaikkāram, the engraver of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant, may perhaps be the father of Arikēsari-Perumbaṇaikkāran who wrote the later documents, *viz.* the Madras Museum and the smaller SinnamanQr plates.

SECTION VII:—FEOM A. D. 770 TO 900,

For a clear understanding of the history of the period which followed the reign of Nedunjadaiyan, it is necessary to know the political state of the Dekhan at the time. The mighty and warlike Pallavas, who had reared a great dominion from a very insignificant position, had become subject to the usurper Nandivarrnan Pallavamalla, owing chiefly to the weakness of the rulers of the main line. From what we are able to gather from the accounts that have come down to us, it appears that the names of Pallavamalla and his general Udayachandra acted as a charm in dispelling the hosts of enemies that came to cross swords with them. Just at the time Nedunjadaiyan shuffled off his mortal coil, the powerful Pallava usurper also died at Kanchi after a long reign of over half a century in which he successfully encountered iunumerable foes at a number of places and after bringing the empire to a limit unknown in the previous annals of the Pallavas. Immediately after his death several families rose with mushroom growth and ihe great kingdom soon fell to pieces. The successors of the usurper had not his strength or resources. The Western Chalakyas of Badami who were the family foes of this great power had also come to an end ; and in their place the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed and the Western Gan gas of Talakkad were striving hard for asserting their supremacy- It was apparent that just at this time if one had a powerful army at his command, the whole of Dravida could have been easily brought under the canopy of such an one. The only power that could have effected

this was the Pāṇḍyas who, as we have seen already, had been striving to do it for full eight generations ever since the time of Neḍunjeḻiyan's successor Arikēsari Māravarman. That the Pāṇḍyas attempted such a thing will be evident from the sequel but before they could lay claim to having accomplished the feat, there arose internal dissensions in the family which once for all decided that they were not to be the masters of the situation- During the last hundred years, Pāṇḍya arms were carried far and wide. They had, by their aggressiveness, created enemies all round. A coalition of these powers might be expected at any moment and one was formed already in the days of Neḍuujaḍaiyan and this they do not appear to have been mindful of. The times required, therefore, on the side of the Pāṇḍyas a strong and diplomatic ruler, who could avert a grand alliance and meet each power separately. The failure of the Pāṇḍyas was the success of the Ohōḷas who, alertly seizing the opportunity now afforded them, rose once again to prominence after a lapse of nearly two centuries. Such in brief was the political state of Southern Iudia at this period. We shall now proceed to notice the successors of Neḍunjaḍaiyan and the part played by them.

The reigns of Rājasimhall, Varaguṇa-Mahārāja and Śrimāra *alias* Parachakrakōlāhala seem to have covered about ninety years from A.D. 770 or thereabouts to A.D. 862. The plates do not furnish any information regarding Rājasimha I I, the son and successor of Neḍunjaḍaiyan. This was perhaps due to the fact that his reign was not very eventful. He

was succeeded by his son Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, who was a powerful sovereign and whose inscriptions are found in the Tanjore and Tinnevelly districts as well as in the Pudukkottai State. His Ambāsamudram epigraph registers the fact that the grant recorded in it was made when the king was encamped at Araiśūr on the Pennar river. This shows that he made a raid on the Pallava kingdom. Varaguṇa-Mahārāja's inscriptions found in the Tanjore district are a clear proof that the ancient Chōḷa kingdom or at least the southern portion of it acknowledged the overlordship of the Pāṇḍya. The information furnished in the Ambāsamudram epigraph coupled with the existence of his records in the Tanjore district go to confirm the tradition that he united the Chōḷa and Toṇḍai to Madura. It is not unlikely that the Śaiva saint Māṇikkavāśagar lived during his reign. We learn from other sources that he was a great devotee of Śiva. His son Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala succeeded him after his death. There is no dearth of information about the events that occurred during his reign. As the accession of his successor Varaguṇavarman took place in A. D. 862, it is fairly certain that this king reigned in the period immediately preceding it and we may, therefore, assign him roughly to A. D. 830-862. The Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa* states that Aggabhodi IX ruled for three years from A. D. 843 to 846 and after him his younger brother Silāmēgha Sēna I raised the canopy of dominion and reigned for twenty years from A. D. 846 to 866. Thus these two sovereigns are contemporaries of Śrimāra. We are told in the *Mahawansa* that during the reign of Aggabhodi's

father Dappula, his brother's son Mahinda was not raised to the rank of a governor as was the custom. It is said that this course was adopted in order to secure the throne to A.ggabōdi and Sēna. Mahinda and his brothers then went to the opposite coast (*i. e.* the Pāṇḍya country) for help and returned to the island when Dappula died. Dappula's sons Aggabōdi and Sēna killed them in a battle. This was probably the reason for the invasion of Ceylon by the Pāṇḍya king Śrimāra.

The following are the events of the war as narrated in the Singhalese chronicle. The king of Pāṇḍu came to the island with a great army to subdue the country. Taking advantage of the strife among the Singhalese ministers, he built fortifications in the village of Mahatalita and thereupon a great number of the Tamils joined his standard and thereby largely increased his power. When the hosts of Sena went there and gave battle, the king of Pāṇḍya went out into the field mounted on an elephant and on seeing his face the Tamils were filled with strength and courage and were ready to give their lives for him. The Singhalese army finding it unable to fight in the field broke their ranks and fled away on all sides, whereupon the Pāṇḍya hosts caused destruction in the land. When the Singhalese king heard that the enemy had defeated his forces, he collected all the treasures that he could lay his hands on and fled from the city to the Malaya. Of the two brothers of Sēna, Mahinda the sub-king killed himself, but Kassapa fought with the Pāṇḍyas and finally went to Koṇḍavāta where he was beseiged by the Pāṇḍya army. "The Pāṇḍyas took all the

precious things that were in the king's treasury and likewise also the things in the city and in the *vihāras.* All the jewels that were in the king's palace, the golden image of the teacher and the two eyes of precious stones of the sage, the golden covering of the *Tūpārāma chaitya* and the golden images that were enshrined in the different *vihāras,*—all these he took away and made Lanka of no value whatsoever ; and the beautiful city he left desolate, even as if it had been laid waste by evil spirits." This account of the *Mahāwansa* is clear evidence that the Pāṇḍya king Śrimāra, as related in the Sinnamanūr plates was completely successful in his invasion of Ceylon. Probably these events took place in the earlier part of the reign of Sēna *Le.* about A. D. 846, Further, the plates record that the Pāṇḍya king gained victories at Kunnūr and Vilinam. As he is said to have defeated the Kēralas, we may presume that these two battles were fought against them, A grand alliance of several powers appears to have been formed against the Pāṇḍya at the same time, Śrimāra is stated to have met the Ganga, Cbōla, Pallava, Kalinga and Magadha on the plains of Kuḍamūkku, *Le.,* Kumbhakonam and to have overcome them. We are further informed that Srimāra -defeated a certain Maya-Pāṇḍya. This shows that there were conflicting interests in the family. The names of two of his sons, *viz.* Varaguṇavarman and Parāntaka Viranarayana Śaḍaiyan are known from the copper-plate charters.

Varaguṇavarman succeeded Śrimāra in A.D. 862. This is gathered from a stone record discovered at Aivarmalai in the Madura district which is dated

in Śaka 792 coupled with the eighth year of the king. Early in his reign, he carried an expedition into the Tanjore district which, as we have seen already, was the bone of contention between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallava for a long time. The Pallava, *i.e.*, the Ganga-Pallava king Aparājita is said to have allied himself with the Western-Ganga Prithivipati I and met Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya in battle at Śripurambiya *i.e.*, Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbhakonam. Though the Ganga ally lost his life in the encounter, victory was on the side of Aparājita ; and Varaguṇa was forced to retire leaving the place in the hands of the enemy. The Trichinopoly cave inscription of this king claims for him the destruction of the fortifications of Vēmbil *(i.e.* Vēmbaṟṟūr near Tiruviśalūr). This might have occurred either before or after the battle of Śripurambiyam which is quite close to the place. Troubles arising soon in his capital, Varaguṇa was prevented from further prosecuting. the war in the Tanjore district.

From the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa* we learn that there were divided interests at this time in the Pāṇḍya family. A prince of the royal family of Pāṇḍu, the book relates, went to Geylon having formed a design to overthrow the kingdom because he had been ill-treated by the king. His cause was readily espoused by Sēna If (A. D. 866-901) who made that a pretext for invading the Pāṇḍya country. The ostensible object of the invasion was to place the Paṇḍya prince on the throne, but in reality the Singhalese wanted to recover the immense treasure which was carried away thither by Śrimāra. Accordingly, a large army was fitted out which on

reaching the opposite coast, laid waste the country, besieged Madura and set fire to its battlements, towers and storehouses. Thereupon the Pāṇḍya king, who heard of this, ran up to the capital and gave battle to the Singhalese army; but receiving a wound he fled away from the field and died in an obscure place. The Pandya prince who sought the aid of the king of Ceylon was then installed on the throne with due ceremony. The Singhalese, taking all their treasures, returned to the island. From the above account it may be gathered that the reign of Varaguṇa was put to an end by the Singhalese invasion. Since the copper-plates report that Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan, the younger brother of Varaguṇa, seized a certain Ugra, we may suppose that he was the prince set up by the Singhalese on the Pāṇḍya throne. Thus the reign of the usurper was a short-lived one. At the time when these changes were taking place, there ruled the powerful Chōḷa sovereign Āditya I iu the Vijayālaya line of Tanjore. He was a Rājakēsarivarman and his accession took place about A.D. 880. Of him the Tiruvālangāḍu plates state that he defeated Aparājita and took possession of his dominions. The inscription of this king found in the Chingleput district proves that the conquest over Aparājita claimed for him in the plates is not a mere boast. But it must be said that the Pāṇḍyas had not yet renounced their claim to the Tanjore district.

Before leaving Varaguṇa we may note that he had the title Māranjaḍaiyan. As this title was also borne by his younger brother Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan, who succeeded him, deposing

the usurper Ugra, we may not be far wrong, if we postulate that all the sons of Māravarman were called Māranjaḍaiyans.

Of Viranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan, we do not know much. That he continued the wars undertaken by his predecessors to gain possession of the Tanjore district there is little doubt. We think that the undated Rāmanādapuram (Dindigul taluka) inscription of Māranjaḍaiyan which refers to the expedition against Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country must be attributed to Viranārāyaṇa and not to Varaguṇa as has been done. It mentions an officer named Parāntakappaḷḷi-vēḷān *alias* Nakkampuḷḷan and states that he accompanied the king to Iḍavai. The first part of the name of the officer suggests that the king whom he served was called Parāntaka and this,,we know, was one of the surnames of Viranārāyaṇa. As he was also called Māranjaḍaiyan, there is not much doubt as to the identification proposed here.

One of the Tanjore inscriptions of Bājarāja locates Iḍavai in Maṇṇi-nāḍu and as such we have to look for this place on the northern side of the Maṇṇi river somewhere near Vēmbaṟṟūr which was also situated in the same sub-division. But there is no place answering to this name in that locality at the present day. Perhaps it has changed its name, The invasion of the Chōḷa country must have taken place at the end of the reign of Āditya I in about A.D. 900. Viranārayaṇa must have died soon after.

SECTION VIII:—A. D. 900 TO 1200.

The subsequent history of the Pāṇḍyas for another two hundred years and a little more, has to be made out chiefly from the accounts of the neighbouring kings such as those of Ceylon and the Chōḷa country. This was the period in which the Chōḷa kings of the Vijayālaya line of Tanjore strove hard for regaining their lost possessions in their ancestral territory which had been divided between the Pallavas on the one hand and the Pāṇḍyas on the other. The former having disappeared from the scene forever, the Chōḷas had to contend only with the latter and this they did. By severe contests all round, the Pāṇḍyas had lost their energy, and accordingly it was not very difficult for the Chōḷas to overcome them. But it must be remembered they were not the people to bear meekly the Chōḷa yoke. The account that has come down to us amply bears out the fact that they were in a state of chronic revolt against the Chōḷa overlordship from the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. and they eventually proved to be too great a match for them ; so much so that in contending against them it was found necessary for the Chōḷas to call in the aid of other powers. We shall see in the following pages how relentlessly the Pāṇḍyas fought with the Chōḷas even during the latter's best days, how the Chōḷas became so much reduced in their strength as to allow their own subordinates to get mastery over them and how at last they were forced to yield back to the Pāṇḍyas, in the middle

of thirteenth century A.D., the territory which they had taken years to obtain from them. We shall also see that it was the rise of the Vijayanagara emperors that finally extinguished the energy of the Pāṇḍyas whom they reduced to the position of vassals with little or no power to do any independent action. They were made to occupy a limited extent of territory and that too under the surveillance of the Vijayanagara viceroys. These are the general features of the period following A.D. 900.

The Pāṇḍya king Viranārāyaṇa was succeeded by his son Rājasimha. His accession to the throne may be tentatively placed at the beginning of the tenth century A. D. The bigger Sinnamanūr plates, issued in the sixteenth year of his reign, state that he was the light of the lunar and solar races. By this is evidently meant that his mother was a Kēraḷa princess. She is called Vānavanmahādēvi and her name clearly suggests that she was the daughter of a Kēraḷa king. The statement in the plates that the village of Narcheygaiputtūr *{i.e.* the modern village of Sinnamanūr in the Periyakulam taluka) was granted as a *brahmadēya* with the old name changed into Mandaragauravamangalam shows that Rājasimha had the surname Mandaragaurava. The plates claim for him victory over the king of Tanjore. But as will be pointed out presently there is not much truth in this boast of the king. The Chōḷa contemporary of Rājasimha was Parāntaka I who reigned from A.D. 907 to 953. Three wars were undertaken by him against the Pāṇḍyas. The first of these took place prior to A.D. 909 when the Chōḷa army crushed

in a great battle the Pāṇḍya king together with his elephants, horses and soldiers and took possession of Madura, his capital city. The success in this instance was the occasion for Parāntaka's assuming the title Madiraikoṇḍa *(i.e.* who took Madura) which we find mentioned in the inscriptions of his, dated in the third year of reign. The Singhalese chronicle *Makāwansa* confirms the results of this invasion when it states that while Kassapa V was ruling, king Pāṇḍu who had warred with the king of Chōḷa and was routed, sent many presents unto him, that he might obtain an army.

The second war between the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas took place in A.D- 918. The inscription which refers to this, mentions the battle of Vēḷūr (not yet identified) fought on this occasion. It also refers to the Pāṇḍya ally, *i.e.* the king of Ceylon. The Udayẽndiram plates record that having slain in an instant, at the head of his troops, an immense army despatched by the lord of Lanka, which teemed with brave soldiers and was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, Parāntaka assumed the title of Samgrāmarāghava meaning that he was a very Kāma in defeating the forces of the king of Ceylon. *Mahāwansa* again comes to' corroborate the results of the second invasion. We learn from it that when the Pāṇḍya king applied for help to the king of Ceylon, the latter sent under the leadership of his general an army for his aid. When it reached the Pāṇḍya country, king Pāṇḍu was greatly pleased and exclaimed, "Ali Jaṃbudīpa shall I bring under the canopy of one dominion." He led the two armies himself but did not succeed in conquering the Chōḷas as he was forced to abandon

the struggle and return to his place. The Singhalese general continued to fight with the enemy but died of a contagious disease which greatly thinned the Singhalese ranks. The king of Ceylon, when he heard reports of it, called back the remnants of his army.

The third invasion of tbe Pāṇḍya country by Parāntaka I, occurred at the end of his reign, i *e.* about A.D. 943. At this time, the Chōḷa arms were carried not only into Madura but further south to the island of Ceylon, perhaps to chastise the Singhalese for the shelter and assistance which they were giving to the Pandyas. The success in the present instance enabled Parāntaka I to change his title " Madiraikoṇḍa" into " Madiraiyum-Īḻamum-koṇda *(i.e.* who took Madura and Ceylon) which we fiad mentioned for the first time in the inscriptions of his, dated in the ṭhirty-seventh year of reign. Both the *Mahawansa* and the Tiruvālangāḍu plates are unanimous in stating that the Pāṇḍya king, fearing the wrath of the Chōḷas, deserted his country. Further, the existence of stone inscriptions of Parāntaka I ia the vicinity of Madura conclusively proves that the Pāṇḍya kingdom, deserted by its king, was occupied by the Chōḷas. The Singhalese chronicle makes us believe that the Pāṇḍya king sought refuge first in Ceylon and then in Kēraḷa. It states that when he arrived at Mahatitta the king of Ceylon received him well, gave him large possessions and made him live outside the city. And while the king of Lanka was preparing for war determined on helping the Pāṇḍya and conquering the Chōḷas on his account, a severe strife

arose among the princes of the island. Thereupon the Pāṇḍya king thinking that he would derive no benefit by staying in Ceylou, went to the Kēraḷa country, depositing with the king of Ceylon, his crown and other apparel. We cannot be sure if all these invasions took place while Rājasimha was the king of Madura, It is reasonable to hold that during the last invasion of Parāntaka I Madura had passed into the hands of a different sovereign.

After the death of Parāntaka I and up to the time of Rājarāja I, even the Chōḷa chronology becomes obscure. The large Leyden plates state that Parāntaka I had three sons, *viz.* Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya and Arinjaya. Though the account given about them would make us believe that these princes reigned one after another there are reasons for thinking that the eldest of them did not survive his father and that the reign of the other two did not last long. It is fairly certain that Sundara-Chōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II (son of Arinjaya) ascended the throne with the title of Rājakēsarivarman about A.D. 954-5 and reigned up to A.D. 970, when he was succeeded by his eldest son Āditya I I , who appears to have held the reins of government along with his uncle Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōḷa. This is suggested by the fact that both of them figure as Parakēsarivarmans. It may be remarked that Āditya II did not reign as long as his co-regent Uttama-Chōḷa but died five or six years after his accession in A. D. 970.

The next Pāṇḍya king about whose actions we get a glimpse in Chōḷa inscription is Vira-Pāṇḍya. There are also stone records of this sovereign. The

large Leyden grant states that at a place called Chēvūr, a fierce battle was fought between the Chōḷa king Sundara-Chōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II and Vira-Pāṇḍya. It resulted in great bloodshed and in the complete defeat of the Pāṇḍyas who, on this occasion, lost a large army. The Chola prince Ādityall *alias* Karikala is said to have fought valourously against the Pāṇḍyas and won laurels in thefield thoughhe was quite a youth. The defeated king Vira-Pāṇḍya was forced to flee and take shelter in a forest. The victory on the side of the Chōḷas gave Sundra-Chōḷathe occasion to assume the title " Pandiyanai-suram-irakkina" *i.e.*, ' who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest' which we find mentioued in his stone records discovered iu the Tanjore district. As the event appears to have happened in the 9th year of the reign of Sundara-Chōḷa, it may be assigned roughly to A.D. 964. The Singhalese chronicle states that there was a Chōḷa invasion ot Ceylon in the period A.D. 964-7'2 when Udaiya I I I was reigning. We are here given to understand that the Chōḷa king, having heard that Udaya was a drunkard and a sluggard, " his heart was well pleased and as he desired to take to himself the whole of the Pāṇḍu country, he sent emissaries to him to obtain the crown and the rest of the apparel that the king of Pāṇḍu left thére when he fled. But the king refused to yield them. Whereupon the Chōḷa king who was very powerful, raised an army aud sent it to take them even by vidlence." The result of the invasion was a complete success. The Singhalese general lost his life in the battle and the Chōḷa king took the crown and the other things and proceeded towards Rōhana which he was not able to enter. So the Cholas returned to

their own country. The period ascribed to Udaya falls in the reign of Sundara-Chōḷa. Accordingly we may suppose th'at during his reign, this invasion was made, perhaps as a consequence of the defeat inflicted on Vira-Pāṇḍya. So far we have not found any Chōḷa inscriptions which relate to this event but it is hoped that future researches may bring to light some, corroboration of it.

After the death of Sundara-Chōḷa and when Āditya II and Uttama-Cbōḷa were reigning together, Vira-Pāṇḍya appears to have again risen up in rebellion against the Chōḷas. Now an alliance was formed between the Ohōḷa, the Koḍumbāḷiir chief Vikrarnakē-sari and Parthivendravarman whose records are mostly found in the Chinglepet district. As all these claim to have taken the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya, it may be presumed that in the battle which took place between the allied forces and Vira-Pāṇḍya, the latter lost his life. The date of the event may be placed about A. D. 972-3, because this fact is mentioned even in the records of Āditya's second year of reign.

The earliest conquest of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I (A. D. 985-1013) seems to be that of the Pāṇḍyas, as the Tiruvālangāḍu plates mention this event first and state that the king seized on this occasion the Pāṇḍya sovereign Amarabhujanga. The Tanjore inscriptions record that Rājarāja I defeated the Ohēras and Pāṇḍyas together in Malai-nāḍu and carried away immense booty. It is worthy of note that the booty mainly consisted of gold and pearls and a small quantity of silver. Jewels were made out of these treasures and presented to the Tanjore

temple. From the above account of the Chola inscriptions, we learn the name of the Pāṇḍya king of the period and how he fared at the hands of Rājarāja I. There are reasons to suppose that the conquest of the Pāṇḍyas took place in the tenth year of Rājarāja's reign (A. D. 995), On this occasion the whole of the Pāṇḍya country was re-named Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu after the conqueror. That the Pāṇḍyas now acknowledged the over-lordship of the Cbōḷas is fairly established by the existence of Rājarāja's inscriptions in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts. The Tamil poem *kalingattupparaṇi* registers the fact that the fortress of Udagai was stormed.

Rājarāja I was succeeded by his son Rājēndra-Chōḷa I who reigned from A. D. 1011 to 1045. He was no less a powerful monarch than his father and added greatly to the dominion of the Ohōḷas. Like his father he had a wide scheme of conquests and during his lifetime the Chōḷa arms were carried into distant lands both in and out of India. For him, who was a'proved soldier that conducted successfully the war against the Western Ghalukya Satyāśraya during the days of his father, success was assured in all his endeavours. For the first time we hear of an Indian king setting out with a brilliant army to conquer the several small islands in the Indian Ocean and even distant Burmah, In India itself the king's authority spread as far north as the Ganges and the Singhalese bowed before the proud conqueror One striking feature about this king is that he was the first to notice that the Pāṇḍyas proved ever refractory in spite of several crushing defeats inflicted on them by

successive Chōḷa sovereigns from the time of Āditya I down to his own. To the credit of Rājēndra-Chōḷa it must be said that his clear eye did not fail to perceive the need for keeping under check the subdued provinces. It was he who for the first time invented the means of effectively preventing insurrections, by appointing his relatives as viceroys of the conquered territories. As soon as he was given the independent control of the Chōḷa empire, *i.e.* in the third year of his reign (A. D. 1014), he directed his arms against the Pāṇḍyas and Kēraḷas, subdued them and left them in charge of his son Sundara-Chōḷa on whom he conferred the title of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya, which indicated that he was a Chōḷa prince ruling the Pāṇḍya territory in the name of his father. None of the inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I mention the names of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa sovereigns overcome by him. One of the Tiruviśalūr records, dated in the third year of the king, registers gifts made by the queen of the Pāṇḍya Śrivallabha and we may presume for the present that he was one of the Pāṇḍya kings whom he subjugated. Besides this Śrivallabha, there were more Pāṇḍya princes ruling over parts of the Pāṇḍya territory. There are sufficient grounds to suppose that the simultaneous rule of five Pāṇḍya kings commenced about this period. Though this system came into vogue now, we do not find their inscriptions, because they had no real power, the country having been directly under the sway of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys. But from the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I whose nominal accession to the throne took place in A.D- 1018, i.e., seven years after that of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, and who

appears to have conducted the military operations of the latter so long as he was ruling the Chōḷa country, we learn the names of the other Pāṇḍya princes of the day. It is said (1) that Rājādhirāja I cut off on the battle field the beautiful head of Mānābharaṇa which was adorned with large jewels and which was inseparable from the golden crown; (2) that he seized in battle Virakēraḷa whose ankle-rings were wide and whom the Chōḷa was pleased to trample down under the feet of his furious elephant called Attivāraṇa; (3) that he drove to the ancient Mullaiyūr, Sundara-Pāṇḍya of endless great fame, who, having lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol aud his throne, ran away,—his crown dropping down, his hair being dishevelled and his feet getting tired. The prince Mānabharaṇa here referred to has left his mark in such names as Mānābharṇa-Chaturvēdimangalam, a village near Ambāsatnudram in the Tinnevelly district. One of the inscriptions in the temple at Tenkarai near Sholavandan refers to Virakēraḷa-Viṇṇagar which must be a Vishṇu shrine built by the Pāṇḍya prince Vīrakēraḷa. By the way it may be pointed out that the names of two Chēra sovereigns belonging to this period are preserved in the inscriptions of Mannārkōyil (Tinnevelly district). These are Rājarāja and Rājasimha. The latter built the Vishṇu temple of Gōpālakrishṇasvāmin and called it Rājēudraśōḷa-Viṇṇagar after his Chōḷa overlord. Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya's rule of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa dominions lasted from A.D. 1020 to ,1044. This shows that he died in the very year of his father's death. In the Tamil grammar VīraSSḻiyatn there is a reference to this king. That

he was not unmindful of the interest of the people entrusted to his care may perhaps be gathered from the fact that he built the temple of Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍiśvaramuḍaiyār at Perundurai in the Pudukkottai State. His inscriptions are met with throughout the ancient Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa dominions, *i.e.* in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts and in Pudukkottai and Travancore States.

Two of the successors of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I followed the latter's plan of governing the Pāṇḍya country by appointing their relations as Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys. It is said that Parakēsarivarman Kāj ēndradēva (A. D. 1052-64) conferred on his younger brother Mummadiśōḷan, the title of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya and that Rājakēsarivarman Virarājēndra (A D. 1062-70) granted Pāṇḍi-rnaṇḍalam, whose crown of jewels is exalted in this world, to his royal son Gangaikoṇḍa-Śōḷan along with the title Śōḷa-Pāṇḍiya, the leader of very tall elephants. One of these two Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys might be Vikrama-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya whose inscriptions have come down to us and show that he is not far removed in point of time from Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya. These were really very humiliating days for the Pāṇḍyas. From about A. D. 1014, they seem to have lost all power; their country wrested from them and themselves placed under the surveillance of princes of the Chōḷa family. Such being the case, they could not even contemplate gathering a small force and rising up in revolt. This state of affairs continued as shown above till A.D. 1070. But the time was not far off when they were enabled to shake of their bondage. Within a few years there was anarchy prevailing in **the** Chōḷa country and **the**

confusion caused by it gave the Pāṇḍyas an opportunity to rise up once more mustering all the strength they could gather. The dearth of princes in the Chōḷa family threw open the vast Chōḷa empire to the Chalukya-Chōḷa chief Rājēndra-Chōḷa II, who caught hold of his grand-father's throne and ruled from Kānchi. The freshness and vigour of the kings of the Vijayālaya line were completely wanting in the sovereigns of the Chalukya-Chōḷas who now took possession of the Chōḷa territory. To pursue the policy of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I towards the provinces, there was not in the new line a number of princes who could be appointed to the several viceroyalties. Thus the procedure of governing the Pāṇḍya country by Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys started by Rājēridra-Chōḷa I and followed by his successors Rājēndradēva and Virarājēndra, was abandoned. This gave opportunities for the almost dying Pāṇḍya power to revive ; but it must be said that they could do nothing of note for nearly one hundred years. We hear of them in connection with the war of succession which, as will be shown below, was waged principally in the Madura district. The details of this war are recorded in two inscriptions of the fifth and twelfth years of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājadhiraja II and they corroborate to a large extent the account given in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahawansa*.[1] Prof. Hultzsch speaking on the date of this war notes: As Rājadhiraja II ascended the throne in A.D. 1163[2] his fifth year began in A.D. 1167 and his twelfth year in A.D. 1174.

[1] **Bai Bahadur Venkayya has fully described the events of this war in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899,**

a *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. ix, p. 219.

According to the *Mahāivansa* (Ch. **76-7)** Lankāpura's expedition would have taken place after the sixteenth year of Parākrarnabāhu I, *i.e.,* after A.D. **1168-**9. The Ārppakkam inscription of Rajadhiraja II suggests that there must be a slight chronological error here, and that Lankāpura had invaded South India already before A.D. 1167 [1].

Parākrama-Pāṇḍya having been besieged in his capital Madura by his rival Kulaśēkhara, applied to Parākrarnabāhu, the king of Ceylon for aid. Thereupon the latter sent his general Lankāpura-Daṇḍanātha to go and destroy Kulaśēkara and establish Parākrama in his kingdom. The general was directed not to return without accomplishing his object. When he went as far as Mahatitha, the news arrived that king Kulaśēkara had taken the city aud killed Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, his wife and children. Parākrarnabāhu then ordered Lankāpura to seize the kingdom and give it to one of the offspring of the dead king. Lankāpura set out with a large army, got on board a ship at Talabbilla and after a sail of one day aud one night, he reached the opposite coast near a port of the same name when he found the army of the enemy ready to give battle. They rained their arrows on the Singhalese who successfully warded them off and landed in the place and seized it. Encamping here, the general fought four battles- The five chieftains Vaḍavalattirukkai-nadalvar, Kudayamutturayar, Paliavarayar, Anjukottai-nadalvar aud Narasihadēva, who fought with him, were defeated. A number of Tamils

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i *J.R.A.S.,* **July 1913, p. 519.**

was slain and their horses seized. Ramissaram was captured after five more battles were fought. Encamped at this place, the general fought nine battles. In the tenth he defeated the chiefs Silāmēgha, Narasinga-Brahmārāyar, Ilankiyarāyar, Anjukōṭṭairāyar, Paḷudiyarāyar, and the five already mentioned. He proceeded to Kundukāla, a place midway between the two seas and four leagues distant from Ramissaram. The men seized on this occasion were sent to Ceylon to repair the Ratnavāluka Chaitya which was breached by the Tamils. At Kundukāla, Lankāpura built a fortress with three huge walls and three trenches and named it Parākramapura. While he was stationed here, he defeated Kaḍak-kuḍaiyarāya, ChSḷaganga and others. Kulaśēkhara now sent Sundara-Pāṇḍya and Pāṇḍyādhirāja against the Singalese but these were also defeated in three battles. Charukatta was then taken and one other battle was fought in which the Singhalese gained victory over Āḷavanda-Perumāḷ. KoḷuvQra and Maruthūpa were taken and the army of Marava soldiers of the countries of Kanguṇḍiya and Kolura was subdued. Lankāpura then marched against the territory of Vīragauga, laid waste Kūnappunallūr and other villages and brought under subjection Maḷavarāyar. On his return to Parākramapura he fought with Āḷavanda and slew him at Vadali.

Kulaśēkhara finding it of no avail to send his chiefs to attack the enemy, determined to take the command himself. Collecting under his **standard Malavachakravarti,** Malavarayar, **Parut-tikkudaiyarayar, Tondamarayar, Tuvaradhipavelar,**

Virapperiyarāyar, Śenguṇḍiyarāyar, Nigaḷādharāyar Kurumrnalattarāyar, Nakularāyar, Panguṇḍanāḍāḷ-vār, Karambarāyar, Kaṇḍiyanāḍāḷvār, Thalandūr-nāḍāḷ vār, Kañgay a-N āḍāḷ vār, Viraganganāḍāḷ vār, Vimuvarāyar, Ālattūrnāḍāḷvār, the three Manniya-rāyar, Kaḷavandiyanāḍāḷvār Kētaḷasimhainuttara, and others and gathering a large army from the two Kongu countries that belonged to the two brethren of his mother and his own forces in Tirunāvali (Tinnevelly) and with many more chieftains such as Nichchavinōda-Mānavarāyar, Pattirāyar, Tenkuṭṭarāyar, Tompiyarāyar, Āḷavanda-Peramāḷ, Śōḷakōnāra, Tangapperutnāḷ, Aḷagiyarāyar, Mānābharaṇarāya, Avandiyarāyar, Muṇḍiyarāyar and Viṭṭara, he set out to Parākramapura to try issues with Lankāpura-Daṇḍanātha. He fortified the villages Erukōṭṭa and Iḍangaḷissara. Fifty-three battles were fought and in all these the Pāṇḍyas were defeated. The Singhalese general pursued the army of the enemy up to Kurumpan-dankali which he made his stronghold. Thereupon a fierce battle was fought which resulted in the loss of many Pāṇḍya chieftains and in the retreat of Kulaśēkhara. The Singhalese general proceeded to Erikkāvūr which he burnt, then to Vadali, thence to Dēviyapaṭṭana, (Dēvipaṭnam) which he took and afterwards to Siriyala. Capturing Koḷuvukōṭṭa and burning twenty-seven villages, Lankāpura stopped at Dantikaṇ and laid seige to Kōṭṭa and Vukka. Eemaining at Kundanneka, he brought under subjection many a Pāṇḍya chief and captured Vikrama-Sōḷappēr and Kamandakkōṭṭa. He then fought the battle of Maruttukōṭṭa. Taking Ḳangakoṭṭāna,

he proceeded to Paṇivakōṭṭa which he captured and returned to Kangakoṭṭana. He then went to Aṇivaḷakkōṭṭa where he fought a battle Then he took Neṭṭūr and sent a messenger to fetch Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākramȧ who, fearing Kulaśēkara, was staying in the Malaya Hills. This done, he defeated Maḷavarāya at Muṇḍikkara and subdued Kiḻmangala and Mēlmangala. In the battle of Mānāmadhura, he defeated a few chiefs, took the fortress of Patapata, set fire to some villages, went to Aṇivaḷakkōṭṭa, captured Toṇḍi and Pȧsa (Pȧsippaṭṭaṇam in the Bamnad Zemindari), went to Kuruṇḍankuḍi and thence to Tiruvēkambama. From there he proceeded to Śemponmāri, took it after a fierce battle, fought against the determined opposition of several forces. He gave the place to Maḷavachakravarti who now submitted to him. When the general was at Muṇḍikkara to tight a second battle, Maḷavachakravarti revolted and took possession of Śiriyala, Tiruvȧkambama and Śemponmari. Lankapura captured the last place once again and bringing Maḷavachakravarti to terms he went to Nettur. By this time Kulaśekhara collected the forces of Tinnevelly, those of the two Kongus and others and was ready to give battle. Jagad-Vijaya now arrived from Ceylon and was met by Lankapura at Anivalakkotta. The latter moved from Nettur to Muddrannadhana, fought two successful battles at Mangala and Orittiyur-Toṇḍama, burnt Siriyala and proceeded to Tirukkanapper. Jagad-Vijaya meanwhile destroyed the fortress of Manaviramadhura, Pattanallur and Sorandakotta and returned to Nettur. By an arrangement, the two generals met to confer on

the future plan of work. Battles at Tiruppali and Ponnāṭṭukkōṭṭa were then fought and the Singhalese gained the day. At Eajina, Kulaśēkhara was defeated and forced to flee to the fastnesses of Toṇḍamāna and several chiefs were reduced. The general went to Tiruppattūr and thence to Pon-Amarāvati, three leagues from it, aud after doing great havoc he returned to Madura. Now an order was received from Parākramabāhu that Vira-Pāṇḍya's coronation should be celebrated in a fitting manner and it was so done.

Meanwhile Kulaśēkhara joined Toṇḍamāna and gathering a large force attacked Mangala and took it from the chiefs who had submitted to the Singhalese. Leaving Madura, Lankāpura-Daṇḍanātha went to Mangalakōṭṭa, seized Vellinabha and Śrivilliputtūr. Kulasēkhara occupied the fortress of Śāntanēri with a large army. When Lankāpura and Jagad-Vijaya proceeded to attack him, he caused a great tank to be breached but this did not daunt the generals who, having rebuilt the bund, marched straightway, burnt Sirimalaka where Parākrama-Pāṇḍya was previously slain and went to Śōḷāntaka. Now Kulaśēkhara went to Pālankōṭṭa with all his forces. He was here joined by certain Chōḷa chiefs. The generals then proceeded to Palamcottah and took it. But Kulaśēkhara escaped to Madura and the generals pursued him thither, subduing on their way Nigalādharāya at Adharattēri. On hearing of their approach, Kulaśēkhara ran away to the Chōḷa country out of fear. Stationing Jagad-Vijaya at Pattanallūr, Lankāpura went to Tirukkānappēr. Now Kulasēkhara received a large force from the Chōḷa

king and this he sent to Tondi and Pasa. Jagad-Vijaya moved to Madura while Lankāpura marched from Tirukkānappēr to Kiḷa-Nilaya, where he defeated the Chōḷa forces, burnt Vaḍa-Maṇamēlkuḍi, Maṇa-mēlkuḍi and Manjakkuḍi and arrived at Vēlanguḍi. By this time Kulaśēkhara went to Pon-Amarāvati whither Lankāpura followed him and after a great battle, put him to flight. Finally giving to Virā-Pāṇḍya the whole of the possessions which the generals conquered and ordering the use of the Kahāpaṇa coins in the Pāṇḍya country, they appear to have returned to Ceylon. The king of the island built a city called Pāṇḍuvijayaka to commemorate the conquest and gave it to Brāhmaṇas.

Though the above narrative of the *Mahāwansa* cannot be thought to be incorrect, there are good grounds to presume that it is one-sided in its account. It does not even once admit that the Singhalese ever sustained defeat throughout this long protracted war. In all probability when the Chōḷas began to help the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara, the latter grew very powerful; the reverses of the Singhalese followed and finally resulted in their evacuation of the Southern peninsula. The *Mahāwansah* silent as to how and when the Singhalese generals left for Ceylon. When we look at the help which Kulaśēkhara was obtaining from all sides *viz.*, from his own chieftains and the Chōḷas and Kongus, in spite of the innumerable defeats inflicted on him, we are inclined to believe that his case was better than Vīra-Pāṇḍya's. There are several instances where chiefs who had been subdued and brought to terms by the Singhalese **generals, had taken to** arms soon

after the pressure was witherawn. Unremittingly they helped Kulaśēkhara. Vira-Pāṇḍya is described as being left without even a single supporter.

Confirmation of the general issues of this war is found in two stone inscriptions, one found at Ārppākkam and the other at Tiruvālangāḍu. The first epigraph states that Ediriliśōḷa-Śambuvarāyar, the father of Pallavarāyar, hearing that his son had defeated the generals Lankāpura and Jagad-Vijaya and rid the country of the enemy, presented a village to a Brāhmaṇa. The second inscription gives the additional information that a certain Śrivallabha, probably a Pāṇḍya, played the traitor in this war.

The war against Vira-Pāṇḍya was continued even after the Singhalese left India. Kulaśēkhara died and the cause of his son Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was taken up by the Choḷa king Kulōttunga III. His Tirukkoḷḷambūḍūr record states : " The Singhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea. Vira-Pāṇḍya himself was compelled to retreat. The town of Madura was captured and made over to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya."

The Pāṇḍya kings, whose achievements are discussed in this section, are Vira-Pāṇḍya, Amarabhujanga, Śrivallabha, Mānābharaṇa, Virakēraḷa, Sundara-Pāṇḍya, Parākrama-Paṇḍya, Kulaśēkhara, Vira-Pāṇḍya and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

In the next section we shall make an attempt to trace the Pāṇḍya expansion and therefore it will be useful to note here the names of a few of the sovereigns that held sway over the Pāṇḍya territory during the latter portion of the twelfth century A.D., though much is not known about them.

The latest king of this period is Jaṭāvarman Kulasekharadeva who, according to Professor Kielhorn, ascended the throne in A.D. 1190. He was for some time a contemporary of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The historical introductions of this king begin with the words *Puvin Kilatti.*

Inscriptions of these two sovereigns refer to an earlier member of the family, *viz.* Jaṭāvarman Śrivallabhadeva [1]. At Tenkarai and Kurivitturai in the Madura district, there are a number of stone records, engraved in the Tamil characters of the twelfth century A.D. and dated in the regnal years of Jaṭāvarman Śrivallabha, who may be identical with the king of the same name mentioned just now. The historical introduction prefixed to his inscriptions does not reveal any events connected with his reign; but the large collection of his records discovered so far, clearly prove that his reign was a prosperous one and that it was a time when attention was paid to the improvement of the internal administration of the country such as opening new irrigation channels, repairing other works that had already been in existence, building of temples and the like. That this king was near in point of time to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I, may be inferred from the fact that a certain Arivallabha-āchāri figures as a signatory in a record of the latter dated in his third year. The irrigation works mentioned in the Kurivitturai inscriptions are : (1) Parakrama-Pāṇḍiyapperāru, (2) Parakrama-Pāṇḍiyan-Kallaṇai, (3) Vira-Pāṇḍyan-kāl and Śrivallabapperāru.

1 *Vide* Nos. 683 of 1905 and]10 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection for* 1907,

The first three of these discloses the names of two other early sovereigns, *viz.* Parakrama-Pāṇḍya and Vira-Pāṇḍya, who were in all probability contemporaries of Jaṭāvarman Śrivallabha, at least during the latter portion of their reigns. Dewan Bahadur L.D. Swamikkaunu Pillai, in his paper on 'Some New Dates of Pāṇḍya Kings' contributed to the *Indian Antiquary,* gives the date of accession of a certain Jaṭāvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya as A.D. 1189-1190. This result has been arrived at from the calculation of the astronomical details furnished in two records, one from Pirānrnalai (Madura district) and the other from Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pudukkottai State). The details in both of them are not quite regular. We hope that future researches may bring to light a few records of this king giving correct data for verification. At all events Mr. Swamikkaunu Pillai's calculations prove that there was a Vira-Pāṇḍya at this time and we may suppose that he was the one referred to above. Parākrama-Pāṇḍya after whom the channel and dam referred to in the Kurivitturai records were called, is represented in the collection of inscriptions from Tenkarai, Kurivitturari and Vikkiramangalam. As one of the inscriptions of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya found at Vikkiramangalam introduces a general of Vira-Pāṇḍya, the contemporaniety of the two is in a way established.

SECTION IX :—P AND YA EXPANSION FROM THE 13TH CENTURY TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 14TH.

We have hereafter to trace the expansion of the Pāṇḍya dominions. Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, whose accession took place in A.D. 1216, is said to have burnt Tanjore and Uraiyūr, defeated the Ohōḷas and taken possession of their country and made a present of it. He proceeded as far as Chidambaram in the South Arcot district where he worshipped the god (Naṭarāja) and performed the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram in honour of his triumph. His inscriptions are found not only in Madura and Tinnevelly but also in Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Pudukkottai State. The existence of his records in the last three places shows the extent of his dominion and it also proves that his claim to have conquered the Chōḷas is not a mere boast. The latest regnal year found for him is in a record which gives his characteristic title " Śōṇāḍu-Vaḷangiyaruḷiya", and this is dated in his twenty-first year which corresponds to A.D. 1287-8[1]. In this year Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II ascended the throne and reigned up to A.D. 1251, which was the year of accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya 1. This last mentioned sovereign may be regarded as the greatest of the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura for it was during his rule that the kingdom reached the utmost limit of expansion, as will be pointed out presently. *Kōyilolugu* states that he defeated the

[1] Mr. Swamikkanuu Pillai assigns three inscriptions to Jatavarman Kulaśekhara II, and finds that the date of acoession of this new king took place between 16th June and 30tb **September 1237.**

Chēra, Chōḷa, Valĭaḷa and others, assumed the *biruda* ' who took every country' and made munificent gifts from the immense booty which he obtained from the vanquished kings. He constructed several *tulā-purusha-viandạpas* and other structures in the temple of Rangauātha, presented ornaments made of gold and the nine gems to the god. He is said to have expended eighteen lakhs of gold pieces for covering the temple with gold plates and another eighteen lakhs for other purposes and thus acquired the name *Koyil-pon-nieỹnda-Perumal* ¯' he who covered the temple with gold.' One of his inscriptions states that he was the ornament of the race of the moon, *i.e.* the Pāṇḍya, the Mādhava of the city of Madura, the uprooter of the Kēraḷa race, a second Rāma in plundering the island of Lanka, the thunderbolt to the mountain, *i.e.* the Chōḷa race, the dispeller of the Karnāṭa king, the fever to the elephant Kaṭhāka king *i.e.* (the Gajapati king of Cuttack, in Orissa), the jungle fire to the forest Vîra-Gaṇḍa-gōpāla, the lion to the deer Gaṇapati *{i.e.* the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati), who was the lord of Kāñchi, who performed the anointment of victors at Vikrama-singapura, *i.e.* Nellore. He is said to have taken Śrirangam from the moon of the Karnāṭa, which means the Hoysaḷa Virasōmēśvara. Still another record registers the following facts about this Sundara-Pāṇḍya. He destroyed the Chēra king and his army in a battle; levied tribute on the Chōḷa; by the strength of his arm he inflicted defeat on the Hoysaḷa king in the country which is watered by the Ponni *(i.e.* the Kāvēri) and cut oft his powerful cavalry **and infantry together** with **many commanders, such as**

Śingaṇa, who were renowned for their valour; killed the Chēra king who offered protection to the Hoysaḷa sovereign when the latter fled from the field ; captured Kaṇṇanūr ; received a tribute of elephants from the Karnāṭa; not accepting the tribute sent by the king of Ceylon, he seized him. He laid siege to Śēndamangalam which was protected by strong fortifications ; fought several battles which made the Pallava (Perunjinga) tremble, took the country which yielded rich produce of paddy, heaps of gold and innumerable huge elephants and horses and gave them to him *(Le.* the Pallava Perunjinga). He worshipped the two feet of the god Śiva who performs the sacred dance at Tillai *(i.e.* Chidambaram). En order to enrich the temple at Tiruvarangam *(i.e.* Śrirangam) which shines in the land enclosed by the Kāvēri, he performed there the *tulābhāra* ceremony several times. He was pleased to cover this temple with gold so as to make it appear like a golden mountain [1]. Sundara-Pandya's conquest of the Hoysala Viraśōmeśvara and the capture of his new capital Kaṇṇanār must have left him in possession of the Koṅgu country and what surrounded Trichinopoly. The victory over the Chōḷas and Gaṇḍagōpāla must have brought almost all the rest of the Tamil districts under his sway. The subjugation of the Gajapati king of Cuttack in Orissa and the Kākatiya sovereign Gaṇapati must have secured the Teluṅgu country for the invincible conqueror. His performance of the anointment of victors at Nellore is of great significance in history as it shows that

[1] The details above given are recorded in au inscription **published** in **the** *Sentamil.*

not only the southern portion of the Presidency but the north as well acknowledged his supreme power. We may note here the remark made by the Muhammadan historian that ' Ma'bar (the name by which the Pāṇḍya country was known to the Muhammadans) extends from Qui am *i.e.* Quilon to Nilawar (Nellore), nearly three hundred pharasangs along the sea coast; and in the language of the country, the king is called Dewar which signifies that he is the lord of the empire.' Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I seems to have issued coins bearing several legends. Some at least of those with the inscription Sundara-Piiṇḍyaare his. Prof. Hultzsch has adduced grounds to show that coins bearing the legend Ellān-dalaiyāna belong to him. Mr. Tracy has secured a coin which contains the characteristic emblem of the Pāṇḍyas *viz.* the double fish on the obverse side, while the reverse bears the legend *Ḳodaṇḍarama.* There are reasons to suppose that this coin is one of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I. In his historical introduction, the king calls himself a second Rāma in plundering the island of Lanka. There are also stone epigraphs of the same sovereign which provide for festivals called *Ḳodaṇḍaraman-kandi* and these declare that the festivals were called after the king himself. Nothing could be more convincing than the two grounds here set forth for the identity of the *Kōdaṇḍarama* of the coins with Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I [1].

It remains to make clear one point in the last extract from Sundara-Pāṇḍya's records, which is

1 This account is extracted from Kōyilolugu in the *Indian Antiquary, Vol. XL,*

liable to be mistaken. It is this. Sēndamangalam was the place where the Pallava Kōpperunjinga kept the Chōḷa king Bājarāja III in prison. The Tiruvēndipuram record states that the Hoysaḷa Narasimha II,—who appears to have been the father-in-law of the captive Chōḷa sovereign,—came to rescue him. He is said to have defeated the Pallava and to have re-instated the Chōḷa sovereign. In the account given in the previous paragraph it is recorded that Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I laid siege to Sēndamangalam and fought many a fierce battle which made the Pallava tremble ; and that as a final result of the undertaking, we are told that Sundara-Pāṇḍya took the country together with immense wealth and numberless elephants and horses and bestowed the kingdom on Perunjinga. It must be impressed that we are not to suppose that Sundara-Pāṇḍya fought against the Pallava, which the record seems to admit at the outset by the use of the phrase [1] which made the Pallava tremble.' The battle must be taken as having been fought against the Hoysaḷas and the words ' which made the Pallava tremble ' should be interpreted to mean that he was a witness to the fierce battles which the Pāṇḍya fought for him. This is made clear by the last statement that Sundara-Pāṇḍya bestowed the kingdom on Perunjinga. In favour of what has been said here, it may be pointed out that this Pallava chief figures as a feudatory of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in many a record.

The last year of reign of this illustrious Pāṇḍya sovereign takes us to A.D. 1271. During the major portion of his reign, his co-regent was Jaṭavarman

Vira-Pandya [1] who ascended the throne in A.D. 1254, *i.e.* three years after the accession of Jaṭā-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and ruled until at least A.D. 1271 like the other. He claims to have conquered Kongu, Ceylon and the Chōḷa-Maṇḍalam and to have performed the anointment of victors at Perumbarra-Puliyūr, *i.e.* Chidambaram. Since he was a contemporary of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, there can be little doubt about the conquests claimed for him ia his inscriptions. It is very likely that he distinguished himself in the wars undertaken by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and assumed the titles which he bears. His records are mostly met with in the Pudukkottai State and the Tinnevelly district and are totally absent in other parts of the country. They indicate roughly the extent of the territory that was under his direct rule.

Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I was anointed king in A.D. 1268 which falls about the close of the reign of the two previoas sovereigns and his latest year takes us to A.D. 1310. He is believed to be the Kales Dewar of the Muhammadan historians. This Kales Dewar is alleged to have been murdered by his eldest and legitimate son Sundara-Pāṇḍya, fe. Sunder-Pande of the Muhammadan accounts. In the period between A.D. 1270 and 1310 there were several Pāṇḍya kings as will be seen from the list appended below. Chief among them may be mentioned Jaṭāvarman Sundara-

[1] Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai was the first to arrive at the date of accession of this king and of another of this period, i.e. Māravarman Śrīvaltabha to whom he gives the initial date A.D, 1257. **There** was also a Māravarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya reigning at this time. His accession took place in A.D. 1258.

Pāṇḍya whose accession .took place in A.D. 1270 and another of the same name who ascended the throne in A.D. 1275-6. The latter king is styled Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II by Prof. Kielhorn. We may mention that there were no Chōḷa kings ruling at the time. They having become extinct, the Pāṇḍyas were left undisputed lords of the ancient Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya territories- In fact Jaṭāvarman Sundarar Pāṇḍya's records are met with in the Madura, Tinnevelly, Tanjore, Chingleput and South Arcot districts and those of the second king of this name are found as far north as Cuddapah district. In A.D. 1292 Marco Polo found a Sundara-Pāṇḍya ruling at Madura and we have the evidence of the Muhammadan historian Wassaf that this king died in A.D. 1293, [1]

The Singhalese chronicle *Mahawansa* states that when Bhuvanēkabāhu I (A.D. 1277-88) was reigning, there were certain Tamil foes in the island. ChSḍaganga, Kalingarāya, and others were among them. These had landed from the opposite coast, having been driven out by the Pāṇḍya king. " Then there was a famine in Ceylon and the five brethren who governed the Pāṇḍyan kingdom sent thither, at the head of an army, a great minister of much power who was a chief among the Tamils, known as Āryachakravarti, albeit he was not an Aryan. And when he had landed and laid waste the country on every side, he entered the great and noble fortress, the city of Subbhagiri *(i.e.* Yāpuva.) And he took the venerable

[1] The dates of accession of all these have been fixed by Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai except the one for Mar, Kulaśekbara IL According to him, Sundara Pāṇḍya of the Muhammadan historians is be who ascended the throne in-AD, 1302.

tooth relic, and all the solid wealth that was there, and returned to the Pāṇḍyan country. And there he gave the tooth relic unto king Kulaśēkara, who was even like unto a Sun, expanding the lotus-like race of the Pāṇḍyan king." Of Parākrabāhu III (A.D. 1288-93), we learn from the same source that he went to the Pāṇḍya country with a certain number of crafty men, and recovered the sacred tooth relic, which was afterwards enshrined in a big temple built by Parākramabāhu IV.

From the above account two points are specially worthy of note, *viz.*, (1) that the principal monarch of the Pāṇḍya country was a certain Kulaśēkhara who was one of five brethren, and (2) that the Pāṇḍya minister, though called Āryachakravarti was not an Aryan. It is not difficult to find out, from the materials available to us who this Kulaśēkara was. There was but one king of this name reigning at the time and this is Māravarmaa Kulaśēkhara I who ascended the throne in A.D. 1268, and had a highly prosperous reign of forty odd years. His verified dates carry his reign to A.D. 1308, and it is not unlikely that he lived for two years more, *i.e.* till A.D. 1310, when he was murdered by his eldest son Sundara-Pāṇḍya, as the Muhammadan historians inform us. The name Āryachakravarti is more a title than a proper name. It is a general appellation which a south Indian would have used to denote a king or a potentate of northern India. The statement of the *Mahāwansa* that he was not an Aryan strongly suggests that he belonged to a different nationality. The writings of the Venetian traveller Marco-Polo make us believe that this Pāṇḍya general was a

Muhammadan. Now turning to the pages of the Muhammadan historians, who have sketched the conquests of the various kingdoms of Southern India by Malik-kafur, the general of Alla-ud-din Khilgi, we find that, ab the time of which we are speaking, there were Muhammadan ministers employed under Pāṇḍya kings.

We are informed that the eminent prince, the Margrave of Hind, Taki-uddin Abdur Rahiman, son of Mohammadut Tibi, whose virtues and accomplishments have, for a long time, been the flame of admiration among the chief inhabitants of that country, (*i.e.* Ma'bar, a name by which the Pandya territory is referred to by the Muhammadan wiiters) was the Dewar's (Pāṇḍya king's) minister and adviser and was a man of sound judgment. In the year H. 692 (A.D. 1293) the Dewar *(i.e.* the ruler of Ma'bar), died and left behind him much wealth and treasure. His brother succeeded him. He had for his minister Malikia'zam Takiuddin. The reference given here completely corroborates the account of the *Mahāwansa* that the Pāṇḍya general and minister was not an Aryan.

From the Muhammadan writers again, we learn that during the time of rule of Māravarman Kulaśēkara I (Kales Dewar), no foreigner dared enter his country, and that he knew naught of any sickness which confined him to bed. The wealth of his dominion is described in glowing terms. He had two sons of whom the elder, called Sundara-Pāṇḍya, was legitimate, while the younger Tira-Pandya *(i.e.* Vira-Pāṇḍya), though illegitimate, was remarkable **for** shrewdness and intrepidity. Kulaśēkara having

nominated the Jatter as his successor, Sundara-Pāṇḍya was enraged, and in anger rashly killed his father towards the close of A.D. 1310, and was quickly crowned in the city of Madura. The array supported bis cause and helped him to carry away a portion of the treasure found in the capital to Mankul (Namakkal.)

Vira-Pāṇḍya, having resolved to avenge his father's blood followed Sundara, and met him in battle on tbe banks of the lake called Talachi. The result of the encounter was that Vira-Pāṇḍya, being wounded, fell into the hands of his enemy. Seven elephant loads of gold were taken by Sundara-Pāṇḍya, and he straightway obtained possession of the kingdom. Now Manar Barmul (Mānābharaṇa) the son of a daughter of Māravarman-Kulaśēkara, who was then at Karamatti *(i.e.,* Paramatti) near Kalul (i.e., Karūr), espousing the cause of Vira-Pāṇḍya, helped him with men and money. Collecting a large army, Vira--Pāṇḍya advanced against Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who now fled from his native country, and took refuge under Allauddin Khilgi of Delhi, leaving Vira-Pāṇḍya in undisputed possession of his hereditary kingdom, where he was now firmly established. When these events were taking place Malik-Kafur marched against Dur Samundar *(Le.* Dwarasamudra) and soon after, the Pāṇḍya country itself was thought of for an invasion. In A.D, 1310, the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, got possession of some of the towns, owing chiefly to the animosity that had lately arisen between the two brothers Sundara and Vira. But finally, a large army attended by numerous elephants of war. was sent to oppose the Muhammadans **which**

forced Malik-Naib to retreat. In April 1311, just at the time when Sundara-Pāṇḍya had vacated Madura, and fled away with all his queens, the Muhamrnadans reached that place and took hold of the two or three elephants left in the temple of Jaganar, *i,e.* Chokkanātha.

The Sundara-Pāṇḍya reported in the above account as having died in A.D. 1293, appears to be Jaṭāvarman-Sundara-Paṇḍya II, who ascended the throne in A.D, 1276. The parricide Sundara has been identified with Jaṭāvarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya IV., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1303, and his illegitimate brother Vira with the one of that name whose accession took place in A. D. 1296. Mauy of the records of this Vira-Paṇḍya, who had successfully withstood the Muhammadan invasion and lived for a comparatively long period, naturally speak of the reconsecration of temples destroyed and defiled by the Muhamrnadans.

Of the other Pāṇḍya princes of this period, Māravarrnan Vikrama-Pāṇḍya's records range between A. D. 1283-1291, Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha 1291-1316, Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya 1302-1318, and Māravarrnan Kulaśēkhara IL 1314-1345. Māravarrnan Vikrama-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions have been found in the Tanjore, South Arcot and Chingleput districts, while those of Māravarrnan Kulaśēkhara II are met with in Madura, Pudukkottai, Tinnevelly and Tanjore districts and indicate roughly the portions of territory which were under their sway. The former of these claims to have conquered Vira-Gaṇḍa-g5pāla and Gaṇapati and this shows that there was probably some revolt on the part of the northern

powers to throw off the Pāṇḍya yoke shortly after Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I passed away and that Vikrama-Pāṇḍya had to quell them. So far, with the help of the dates given for these Pāṇḍya kings, we have followed, though briefly, their career up to the middle of the 14th century A.D.

LIST OF PANDYA SOVEREIGNS OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES[1]

(1)	Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkham I.,	A.D. 1190-1216.
(2)	Māravarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I.,	1216-1237.
(3)	Jaṭavarman Kulasakhara II.,	1237-1260.
(4)	Māravarman Sundara-Paṇḍya II.,	1238-1255.
(5)	Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I.,	1251-1271.
(6)	Jaṭāvarman Viŕa-Paṇḍya,	1254-1271.
(7)	Maravarman Kulasekhara I.,	1268-1310.
(8)	Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya,	3270-1310.
(9)	Do. II.	1276-1292.
(10)	Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya,	1283-1291.
(11)	Jaṭavarman Śrivallabha,	1291-1316.
(12)	„ Vīra-Pāṇḍya,	1296-1342.
(13)	Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II,	1314-1345.

SECTION X.—CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER PANDYAS.

A number of inscriptions of Pāṇḍya kings belonging to the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries have, in recent years, been discovered. As some of them furnish both the regnal years of the kings and the corresponding Saka dates, it has been

[1] Beside the kings given in this lisb there appear to have been several others and the calculations of Dewan Bahadur Swamikkannu Pillai have brought to light five of them, These are Mar. Vira-Pāṇḍya (1252-3), Mar. Sundara-Pāṛujya (1294) Jafe. Vira-Pāṛiḍya (1296) Jat. Parākrama (1315) and Jat, Sundara (1318),

possible to fix the years of their accession. A few others contain astronomical detail from which also the initial dates could be ascertained. Two copper-plates belonging to the dynasty have been obtained. These give the genealogy of the family with some details about the reigns of a few of them. The following account is based on the inscriptions registered in the appendices to the *Annual Reports on Epigraphy of the Madras Circle.* As much is not known about their achievements we must be content with knowing their chronology. They do not appear to have had any real power which rested with the Vijayanagara kings and their Viceroys who had the actual Government of the country during the major portion of this period.

The earliest king for whom dated inscriptions are found is a certain Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. He appears to have ascended the throne in A.D. 1384. The latest regnal year for him is his thirty-sixth which corresponds to A.D. 1415. This is gathered from a stone inscription [1] which comes from Kuttalam in the Tinnevelly District. The next king is a certain Jaṭilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva whose accession took place in A.D. 1395 *i.e.,* eleven years later than that found for Parākrama-Paṇḍya. A record of his seventh year coupled with Saka-Samvat 1324 corresponding to A.D, 1402 has been copied at Karivalamvandanallūr. The date given to this king shows that he was co-regent with Parākrama for some time. It is not possible to say how long both these sovereigns

[1] No. 203 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1895.

reigned and whether their reigns extended up to the date of accession of the next king Māravarman *alias* Tribh. Vira-Pāṇḍya which took place in A.D. 1420-1. Inscriptions of the last mentioned king have been found in the Madura, Tinnevelly and South Canara districts and they range in date between A.D. 1420 and 1440- The king who reigned as co-regent with Vira-Pāṇḍya is Jaṭilavarman Arikēsaridēva *alias* Parakrama-Pāṇḍya whose accession also took place in the same year i.e. in A.D. 1420-1. He had a highly prosperous reign of nearly forty-two years extending up to A.D. 1463, when he is reported to have died. The principal work of his time was the construction of the big tower in the Tenkāśi temple and certain repairs and additions to the latter. The religious teacher Tattvaprakāśa was the recipient of rich gifts from the hands of this sovereign. His inscriptions are mostly found at or near Tenkāśi, which he seems to have made his principal place of residence. One of these records states that the O*lakka-Mandapa* in the temple of Visvanātha, which is perhaps identical with the exquisitely sculptured porch in front of it, was built by him. These sculptures which are worked on huge pillars display boldness of design, powerful skill, elaborate ornamentation, minute and detailed workmanship of the various parts and a high degree of polish. They are admirable specimens of Indian art and sculpture of the fifteenth century A.D., and appear to be superior in quality to the work of a similar nature found in the Tinnevelly and Krishṇāpuram temples. Of the sculptures in the *maṇḍapa* referred to above, two represent Naṭarāja, one

the goddess Kaḷi, the fourth Virabhadra, the fifth Manmatha with his characteristic weapons *viz.*, the sugar-cane bow and the lotus arrow, the sixth Ratidēvi, the goddess of beauty, seated with ease on the peacock vehicle and the seventh is a similar form to Virabhadra's but with the representation at his feet of the demon Apasmāra whom he kills with a sword. Another figure in the same group which is almost like Manmatha, has a flute applied to his lips and it is believed to represent the god Krishṇa. There are also two other female images which perhaps represent attendant deities.

Another king who was also co-regent with Arikēsari Parākrama, was his younger brother Aḷagan-Perumāḷ Kulaśēkharadēva. He appears to have ascended the throne ten years later and continued to hold the reins of government for forty-four years till A.D. 1473. His reign was more prolonged than that of his elder brother Parākrama. He completed the work in the big *gōpura* at Tenkāśi, which was left unfinished by his brother when he died in A.D. 1463. During his time a Vishṇu shrine was built in the Viśvanāthasvāmin temple by a Brahmin officer of the king named Tiruvāḷi-Śrirangarāja-Brahmādhirājan. This shrine is the one (now found closed) to the left of the principal shrine iu the temple. This has also a fine porch with some sculptures popularly believed to represent the Pāṇḍya heroes.

The next king for whom a dated inscription has been found at Tenkāśi is one who bears the double name Parākrama Kulaśēkhara. He was a Jaṭilavarman and ascended the throne in A. D. 1479.

His fifteenth year corresponded to Śaka-Saṁvat 1416 (A.D. 1494) and the twentieth year fell in Śaka 1421 (A.D. 1499.) It is not known who the Pāṇḍya king was that ruled during the six years that preceded the accession of this king. There is also an unexplained gap after the time of this sovereign and the next king Maravarman *alias* Sundara-Pāṇḍya, whose accession took place in A. D. 1530-1. Of this last named king only a single record has so far been copied. It is dated in his twenty-fourth year coupled with Śaka 1479 (A. D. 1555) and comes from Gangaikoṇḍān in the Tinnevelly district. Contemporary with him there reigned (1) Jaṭilavarman *alias* Śrivallabha who ascended the throne in A.D. 1534 and reigned until at least A.D. 1544 and (2) Jaṭilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān Perumāḷ Kulaśēkharadēva who revived the old times. To this king must be attributed an inscription dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1458(A.D. 1536) which Mr. Sewell notes in his *Lists of Antiquities,* Vol. I, p. 306. The third co-regent was Perumāḷ Parākrama whose fourth year fell in Śaka 1469 corresponding to A. D. 1546 and this yields for his accession A, D. 1542. One of the Tenkāśi inscriptions calls him Perumāḷ-Kulaśēkharadēva-Parakrama-Pandya and states that he was toe son of Jaṭilavarman Abhirāma-Parākrama-Paṇḍya. A record of this king found at Karivalamvandanallūr mentions Jaṭilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān Tirunelvēliperumāḷ born in the constellation Aśvati, as his son. He is perhaps identical with Jaṭilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍan Kulasekhara also called Dharma-Perumaḷ

and Tirunelvēli-Perumāḷ. His inscriptions are found at Sankaranainārkōvil, Tenkāśi and Karivalainr vandanallūr. He ascended the throne in A.D. 1550-1 and reigned until A. D. 1563. In his honour, a poem called *Viraveṇbāmaṭai* was composed. In his sixth year (A.D. 1557), Ativirarāma *alias* Śrīvallabha was crowned king and he reigned till A. D. 1596. He is said to have ordered the return of certain taxes wrongly collected, to the temple at Tenkāśi. A record in the Tenkaśi temple states that Aḷagan Śivalavēḷ, *i.e.*, Śrivallabha was crowned king iu A. D. 1564 *i.e.*, seven years later than the accession of the one last mentioned. It is, therefore, evident that he must be different from Ativirarāma Śrivallabha. This king receives the name Jaṭilavarman *alias* Ativirarāma *alias* Śrivallabha in several records. The latest known date for him is A.D. 1583-4 and it was in his reign that the Pudukkottai grant was issued. Prince Abhirāma Varatungarāma is mentioned in No. 528 of the *Collection* of 1909 and he is perhaps identical with Jaṭilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Abhirāma-Varatungarāma *alias* Vira-Pāṇḍya, whose record of the tenth year corresponding to Śaka 1517 (A.D. 1595) was found at Karivalamvandanallūr. According to this, his accession should have taken place in A.D. 1585-6. He appears to have ruled jointly with Ativirarāma Srivallabha mentioned above. One other king for whom dates are known is Ghṃarārna *alias* Kulaśēkbara also called Śivalamāran. His thirty-seventh year corresponded to Śaka 1574 (A.D. 1652), which yields for his accession A. D. 1615.

In this book we have noticed briefly the part played by the Pandyas in the early history of the

Dekhan from some centuries prior to the advent of Christ up to the 17th century A.D.; the commercial intercourse that existed between the Pāṇḍya country and the western world; their contention with the several powers of southern India; the expansion of their dominion and their final decline. This history has much to teach us in the several aspects which it presents, and these will be evident to the reader as he peruses their account. We have also shortly touched on some of the important features at the beginning of each section.

BOOK III.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE CHOLAS.

SECTION I:—INTRODUCTORY.

Tradition asserts that from time immemorial, the south was divided into three great kingdoms of which the Chōḷa was one. The earliest epigraphical reference to it is contained in the second and thirteenth rock edicbs of the Buddhist emperor Aśōka who flourished in the 3rd century B.C. The second edict speaks of the Chōḷa dominion as being oue of the outlying provinces of the Maurya, which has not been brought under Aśōka's sway ; and the thirteenth edict makes us believe that Buddha's moral teachings were respected by the people of that country. Notices about Chōḷas are also made in the *Periplus Maris Erythrae* .iud in Ptolemy. This indicates that it was known to the early Greek geographers. According to some of the *Purāṇas,* the Choṭa territory was one of those that composed the *Dakshiṇāpatha i. e.* the ' southern region'. Reference to this territory is to be found in the *Bamayana* of Valmiki, in the *Vartikasof* Katyayana and in Paṭanjali's *Mahābhāshya.* Kāṭyāyana tells us that one sprung from an individual of the Chōḷa tribe as well as the king of their country should be called Chōḷa. This leads us to infer that the term Chōḷa was first applied to a tribe and then

to the country and its king. The early Sanskrit poet Kāḷidāsa, in giving an account of Raghu's conquest mentions most of the kingdoms of Southern India and some of the rivers among which we find the Kāvēri. All these references help us to understand that the Chōḷa kingdom was one of the most ancient and civilised countries of the Dekhan, that it was inhabited by a tribe called the Chōḷa which lent its name to the country and its king and that it lay in the extreme south of the Peninsula. It appears to have comprised all that tract of country which lies along the east coast commencing from the northern boundary of the Pāṇḍya territory and extending up to the Pālāru.

We have not got a continuous dynastic account of the sovereigns of this early dominion prior to the middle of the 9th century A. D. when Vijayālaya started a new line with his capital at Tanjore. Inscriptions on stone and copper belonging to this later branch refer by name to a few of the members of the earlier line and the Tamil historical texts supplement to a great extent the meager information furnished in inscriptions- The names mentioned in these charters of the Vijayālaya line are (i) Seṅgaṇṇān, (2) Karikāla, and (3) Kiḷḷi. The order in which these names occur is different in different tablets. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates place Killi at the head, Karikala in the middle and Kōchchengaṇṇāu at the end while the Leydeii grant mentions Karikāla first, Kochchengaṇṇāu afterwards and lastly Kiḷḷi. This shows that at the time when these charters were drawn up, even the order in which these early sovereigns ruled, was forgotten and that there were no written records to indicate

their time. But it must be added that in spite of these difficulties which confront us at the outset there are materials available now which help to fix with some amount of certainty the period when these kings flourished. There are also records which give a vivid description of the state of the country in those early times and from them we learn much about the civilisation, the mode of warfare, the commercial activities and the like which we shall notice in the sequel.

SECTION II:—EARLIER CHOLAS.

Manu-Chōḷa:—This sovereign appears to be different from Manu, the great law-giver of India and must not be mistaken for him. To indicate the strictly just method of administration followed by him, the Tamil work *Periyapurāṇam* states that he put up a tower and hung a bell in it which any one who had been wronged and who desired redress might ring. So just was the administration in his day that never once was the bell rung. However on one occasion when the king had grown old, a cow caused it to beat. The king was sorely afflicted to hear the sound which indicated at once that there was miscarriage of justice in his kingdom. He ascertained from his unwilling ministers that the cow had been wronged by the king's own son who had caused the death of its calf by running his car unawares on it. It was suggested that the prince might be asked to perform expiatory ceremonies for the crime committed. But the king would not hear it as he thought that the punishment was too light and directed that the prince must be

run over by a car in the same way as the calf was. This was done but miraculously enough his life was saved by the power of the gods. This story of the *Periyapuranam* has a sequel in the *Dipavansa* when it describes the reign of Eḷēra. Eḷēra is said to have beenaDramila of the illustrious Uju tribe, that he invaded Ceylon from the Chōḷa dominion, put to death the Singhalese king Asēla and reigned righteously for 44 years from B.C. 205 to 161, The incidents narrated about his just ways compare well with those recorded about Manu-Chōḷa.

There is an account in the Tamil works which states that Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the author of the *Kural* had a friend byname Ēḷēlasingan, a very Craesus of his time and that his concerns were much on the sea. The latter part of the name *i.e.* Singan might perhaps indicate that he was connected with the island. The question is whether Manu-Chōḷa of the *Periyapuranam,* Ēlelasinga of the Tamil tradition and Eḷēra of the *Dipavansa* are identical. We want more evidence to settle the point which is really of very great interest.

Kōchchenganṇaṉ :—Tamil literature speaks of this sovereign as having fought with the Chēra king Kaṇaikkāl frumborai at a place called Kaḷumalam, where he defeated his enemy and took him prisoner and confined him at Kuḍavāyil-kōṭṭam. Kaḷumalam is not to be identified with Shiyali which also bore that name but must be looked for in the Cochin state and Kuḍavāyil-kōṭṭam is most probably Kodavasal near Kumbakōṇam. The poet Poygaiyār assigned by the late Kanakasabai Pillai to the 7th or 6th century A.D. celebrates the valour of this king in his poem

Kaḷavaḷināṟpadu. From this we learn that the battle of Kalumalam was a sanguinary engagement. It was fought on a forenoon. The Chērai was strong in elephants while the Chōḷa had a large army consisting mainly of picked archers and horsemen. The Chōḷa archers rained their arrows and killed a large number of the enemy's elephants. At the time of battle Śenganṇaṉ was young, valiant and terrible in war. He wore ornaments of gold and precious stones, a sword and a scabbard and garlands of fragrant flowers. In other places Śenganṇaṉ is said to have extended his authority over the Pāṇḍya and Chēra kings. He is reported to have settled a number of Brahmans and built for them houses at Chidambaram. No less than 70 temples dedicated to Śiva and Vishṇu in different parts of the Chōḷa country were constructed by him. The extensive building operations of this king are also referred to in the hymns of Jnānasambanda and in the Tamil work *Periyapuraṇam*. One peculiarity of the structures raised by him is that they had a top portion which resembled an elephant in its lying posture. This means that the tops of these buildings formed a long dome and it is not unreasonable to gather from this that the dome architecture which is considered rather a difficult piece of work was practised in Southern India with success in those early days. The inclusion of Śenganṇaṉ's name in the list of 63 Śaiva devotees has much to tell us about the character of this king. An image of his is always to be found in every Śiva temple.

From the poem Kaḷavaḷinarpadu, we learn that swords, Javalins, lances, bows and arrows were

largely used as weapons of war. Leathern sandals were worn by soldiers to protect their feet. Big drums were carried to the battle-field on the back of elephants and tall banners were borne on chariots as well as on elephants. The soldiers fought on foot and on horse back; the nobles and princes rode on elephants while the commanders drove on chariots. Umbrellas with straight handles and flat circular tops covered with white silk or cloth were taken behind the officers of the army as tokens of their dignity. Women went to the battle-field to recover the bodies of their slain kindred.

We have not got enough materials to fix the age of this king. That he lived in a much earlier period than the 7th century A. D. can be gathered from the fact that already during the time of the Śaiva saints Jnānasambanda and Appar, stories regarding the past birth of Śengaṇṇāṇ came to be circulated. In the writings of these we find that king Śengaṇṇāṇ Was a spider in his previous birth and that he wove cobwebs over the Śiva-linga at Jambukēśvaram; that an elephant removed it everyday, offered water and flower to the deity and that the spider on seeing this got into the nostrils of the animal and gave trouble. The story is not of much value as regards facts but this much we have to take from it *viz.*, that the lower limit of king ŚengSṇṇan is the middle of the 7th century A.D. when the writers lived.

Karikala.

Karikāla was one of the greatest sovereigns of the Chola dynasty. He it was that made Kavirippum-paṭṭinam the capital of the empire seeing its

advantageous position for trade. He appears to have improved its position to a considerable extent by building warehouses and appointing officers to collect the dues to government on the articles exported from and imported into the country. It is not unlikely that the seat of government was removed by Karikāla to this place from Uraiyūr, which he is said to have abandoned, finding perhaps that the latter place was not a central one and had not so much in its favour to be the capital of the empire as the flourishing port of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam. Karikāla was certainly one of the most powerful Ohōḷa kings that ruled from the city and his name is even to the present day known throughout the Tamil country and in the Telugu districts as that of a great monarch who looked to the welfare of the subjects entrusted to his care and as a patron of letters.

Inscriptions that mention him are indeed very few, but certainly not fewer than those that refer to the other great kings of the line. Except for the mere mention of him, Ohōḷa inṣcriptions do not throw much light on the events connected with his reign. This is because we have not as yet obtained any copper-plate grant relating to the dynasty to which Karikāla belonged, ail the charters hitherto discovered being only those of the revived Chōḷa line started by Vijayālaya in the 9th century A.D. Nor are we in possession of the facts which brought an end to the earlier line. It is not even known who the last great sovereign was. But there is not much doubt, however, that the Pallava expansion in the south and the establishment of the Ghalukyas were some of the causes which might have contributed to this end, not to say

the effiminacy and weakness of some of the Ch5ia kings, who do not appear to have persisted in maintaining their ground against the advancing northern powers. We have already stated that even the order of reigns of the earlier Chōḷas is not uniformly given in copper-plates. The Udayēndiram plates place Karikāla between Kiḷḷi and Śenganṇān, while the Leyden plates mention him prior to the other two sovereigns. The Telugu-Chōḷas claim descent from Karikāla. Though the materials furnished by inscriptions regarding his reign are scanty, yet there is no room for complete disappointment, for the literature of the early Tamils has on record many a reference which could be of use to the student of history.

The exact time when this king flourished is not given either in the copper-plates which mention him or in the Tamil works which describe his times. Scanty as the materials are for settling the question of his date, the approximate period to which this king should be ascribed can fairly be made out by a consideration of certain facts and events connected with his reign. These are :—

(1) Karikāla fought with Trilōchana-Pallava, and defeated him.

(2) He ruled from Kāṇchi, which he made new with gold.

(3) Karikāla was an ally of Avanti and an overlord of Vajra and Maghada.

(4) He brought a number of families from the Gangetic valley and settled them in the several districts of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

(5) He figures among the early ancestors of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs and the CbQlas.

(6) The battle at Venṉil, where Karikala defeated the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kings.

Copper-plate charters of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs attribute to Karikāla the building of high banks to the Kaveri river and the conquest of Trilochana-Pallava.[1] It may be stated that the former of these events is mentioned in the Tiruvālangāḍu grant [2]. The statement that Karikāla ruled from Kāṉchi making it new with gold might be taken to show either that the Pallavas had not settled themselves yet at Kāṉchi, or that the Chōḷa king's conquest of them gave him its possession. The conquest of Trilōchana-Pallava attributed to Karikāla suggests that the latter is more probable. It is not known, however, which king among the Pallavas bore the surname Trilōchana. Whoever he was, he is also said to have been defeated by the Western Chālukya Vijayāditya, who, in spite of the victory, is reported to have lost his life in the encounter.[3] As Vijayāditya, with whom the Pallava contemporary of Karikāla had to fight, is considered to be the immediate predecessor of Pulakesin I, and as the initial date of Pulakesin is fixed at A.D. 550, Vijayāditya has to be assigned to the earlier half of the 6th century A.D. And this must also be the time, when the Chōḷa king Karikāla flourished. It may be noted that Vijayāditya was a king of Northern India and came from Ayōdhyā in quest of a dominion in the south. We are not informed if Trilōchana-Pallava met his two opponents in the same battle or in different encounters.

[1] Page 17 of the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900.

2 *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-07, p. 67.

3 *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I. Part I I. p. 340.

If the Tamil work *Ṭoṇḍamaṇḍalaśadagam* can be relied upon, we may perhaps infer that Karikāla had something to do with the kings of Northern India, whence Vijayāditya also came. Here we find that Karikāla brought a number of Śūdra families from the Gangetic valley (and on that account said to belong to the *Gangakula),* settled them in the 24 districts *(kōṭṭam)* of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, and bestowed on them rich gifts.[1] This fact and the subsequent settlement of the Western Ohālukyas in Southern India on a more or less firm footing might perhaps be adduced to show that Trilōchana-Pallava had to meet the combined forces of Karikāla and Vijayāditya, and that the two last were on some terms of alliance, which are not quite plain. It is not unlikely, that some of the northern powers joined oae side or the other. Iu this counection it is worthy of note that Karikāla is represented in the Tamil work *Śilappadigaram* as an ally of Avanti, which is Ujjain in Malwa,[2] and as the overlord of of Vajra and Magadha.[3] It looks as if Karikāla was instrumental in permanently settling the Western Chālukyas in Southern India. The surmise made above gathers strength by the fact revealed in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates that Kumāravishṇu I, the grandfather of Kumāravishṇu II who is attributed to the 7th century A.D., captured Gonjeeveram. There could be absolutely no meaning in the boast of a Pallava king capturing his own capital if the place had not been lost by one of his predecessors.

1 Stanza 97, p. 38,

2 *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol.IV p. 246 and Vol. VI. p. 195.

3 Magadha denotes Southern Bihar in Lower Bengal,

The arguments adduced above show that Conjeeveram should have passed into the hands of Karikāla during the time of Skandavarman II the immediate predecessor of Kumāravishṇu I and that the latter should have wrested it from the Chōḷas in the reign of Karikāla. The defeat of the Chēraand the Pāṇḍya on the plains of Veṇṇil, and the confederacy of nine potentates and the Pallavas in some unnamed places should have left Karikāla as the undisputed lord of the Dekhan. The Chēra king overcome by him was Śēramān Perunchēral Āthan. He is said to have received a wound on his back and to have sought a voluntary death rather than being a monument of disgrace to his family.[1] That even the people of the Telugu districts acknowledged his sway is gathered from the fact that Karikala figures among the early ancestors of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs and the Chōḷas. Inscriptions of the Chōḷas are found in the Cuddapah and Bellary districts.

A word about Karikala's parentage deserves to be mentioned here. He was the son of Iḷanjēṭchenni called also Iḷanjenni or Iḷaiyōn. This name means " the young Chōḷa" or " the young prince." He was perhaps the heir apparent to the Ohōḷa throne and hence was known by that appellation. It may be noted that Iḷanchenni or Iḷaiyōn in something similar to *Ilangō, Yuvaraja* or *Ilavara'sa.* There is nothing to warrant our presuming that Iḷanjēṭchenni was a king of the Chōḷa dominion. He seems to have distinguished himself in the wars undertaken by the reigning king who, we might suppose, was his elder

[1] **The poets Kalattalaiyar and Venni-Kuyattiyar refer fco this king in Puranānuru, stanzas 65 and 66.**

brother. The title *Uriivappahrēru,* which we find prefixed to his name, shows that he resembled a lion in prowess. Sometimes the name Iḷanjēṭchenni is connected with *Neydalangānal* which denotes that the tract of country over which he was the lord, bordered on the sea and it was, most probably, near the mouth of the Kāvēri river. He married a daughter of Aḷundūr-vēḷ. Aḷundūr is identical with Tēr-or Tiruv-Aḷundūr near Mayaveram. He is credited with having defeated in battle the Chēra king of his day and taken from him a place called Pāmaḷūr[1]. Kuḍakkō-Neḍunjēral Āthan might be the person vanquished by him as we know that he was his contemporary.

From what has been said above, it will be evident that the accession of Karikāla to the Chōḷa throne is not quite regular, as he had no claim to it, if the reigning king had any issue. There are also grounds for inferring that on the death of Karikāla's predecessor, there were several claimants; to the Chōḷa throne and Karikāla succeeded in getting it through the aid of his uncle Jrumbiḍar-Talaiyār. The story that an elephant from Tirukkaḷumalam put a garland on Karikāla's neck, carried him on its back and placed him on the Chōḷa throne, when he was stationed at Karuvūr, perhaps tells the same fact. It is worthy of note that this story is quite similar to another recorded about Mūrti-Nāyanār, one of the Śaiva devotees who was raised to the rank of a Pāṇḍya king, when the Pāṇḍya country had no sovereign. If the interpretation of the name Karikāla

[1] Puṟam, stanxas 10 aod 203.

is ' scorched leg,' it is not unlikely that in the endeavour to get the kingdom, Karikāla happened to meet with an accident in which one of his legs was scorched.[1] Karikāla married the daughter of a *Vēlir* chief of Nangūr. A village of this name is celebrated in the Vaishṇava work Nālāyiraprabandham. Inscriptions state that it was the headquarters of a subdivision in ancient times. Tiruveṇgāḍu and Kāviripūmpaṭṭinam were places situated in it. It seems, therefore certain, that Kiḷ-Nāngūr in the Shiyali *taluka* is identical with it. It is, therefore, no wonder that Karikāla had a special liking for Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam which was only three or four miles from Nāngūr whence his queen hailed.

He might probably have witnessed the annual destruction which the Kāvēri caused when it overflowed its banks during high floods and it may have led him to undertake the stupendous work of constructing high banks to the river to prevent the recurrence of the evil. By the way, it may be said that the irrigation of the Kāvēri delta had engaged the attention of early Chōḷa kings more than of any other, Of the several branches which this river has, the Veṇṇāṟu and the Araśil date back to times earlier than Karikāla[2] and most of the rest are attributable to some of the members of the Chōḷa dynasty whose names

[1] **Another way of interpreting the name is ' he (who is) death to the elephants *[i.e.* hia enemies).' In this case the name shows how powerful he was. If Kalikāla is the name, it means ' the destroyer (of the evils) of the Kali (age).'**

[2] **The names Vermi-kuyattiyar and Arisilkilar assumed by persons indicate the existence of the two branches of the Kaveri,**

they bear even at the present day.[1] The course of the river seems to have changed at an early date giving rise to a new source of irrigation to the country. Paḷankāvēri was the name by which the original river was known to distinguish it from the new, but it is not known if this diversion of the river was due to natural causes, or if it was the work of any particular person. Paḷankāvēri and Koḷḷiḍam were in existence prior to the 7th century A. D.[2] In spite of the diversion of water in these branches, the Kāvēri seems to have carried much water and caused damage to the country during floods. Karikāla's services to the country in undertaking to build high banks and in opening new channels to improve the irrigation of the land, cannot.be over estimated. The banks are said to measure 1,080 feet in length, 40 to 60 feet in width, and 15 to 18 feet in height. They successfully prevented annual destruction for nearly fifteen centuries by the mere inertia of the storage of materials. It is not unlikely that the bunds constructed by him were improved periodically. In all probability the ancient custom of parcelling out a few acres of land irrigated by the source among a few families who were required to take out fixed quantities of mud or sand from the bed and throw them on the bund every year, was followed in the case of the Kāvēri also.

[1] It may be remarked that Virasolan, Kirtimartcandan, (Kirbiman), Uyyakkoṛiḍan and Muḍigoṛjṭḍaṇ, are the surnames of some of the Chōḷa kings of the 10th and 11th centuries.

[2] Several inscriptions mention Palaṅkāvēri. This and Koḷḷiḍam are referred to in the Dēvāram songs of the 7th century, A. D,

We have already referred to the impetus given by Kaṛikāla to commerce and trade and the king's contact with the northern powers which gave him an opportunity for settling a number of people in the south. The growth of civilisation during this period seems to have assumed a different turn. The impulse given to art and trade is specially noteworthy. The condition of the people improved to a considerable extent and every effort was made to increase their happiness and prosperity.

The following extract from *Paṭṭinappālai* gives a vivid picture of the state of the country and the life of the peoṕle at the time of Karikāla.

Extract from Paṭṭinappālai.

The Chōḷa country was irrigated by the Kāvēri river which never failed in its supply even when there was no rain. The fields yielded sugarcane from the juice of which jaggery was prepared, big bunches of plantains, cocoanuts and arecanufcs. Mango and palm trees abounded. There were also flower-gardens covering areas. The tanks of the country had high bunds resembling the form of the constellation Makha. Fragant flowers of a variety of colours were produced near them.

The villages in the country adjoined each other and the houses haḍ large compounds in front where they dried paddy. Here children amused themselves by dragging three-wheeled little cars. The doors of the houses bore tiger marks. The royal palaces were white but soiled by the dust raised by cars and horses which were ever moving in the streets.

There were big alms houses where large quantities of rice were cooked and served to people resorting to them. Also places where small tanks were made and grass served for cattle. Jaina and Buddhist temples were found in one quarter of the town while in another the Brahmans with plaited hair performed sacrifices and raised volumes of smoke. The Paradavar living near the sea-coast ate *irāl* fish and boiled flesh of tortoises, wore the flowers of *adumbu* and *āmbal* and indulged in setting goats to fight in the open and spacious court-yards. In the *purachchēri, i.e.* the quarter outside the town low-class people reared pigs and fowls.

On holidays the Paradavar of Pugār abstained from going over the sea to catch fish, allowed their nets to dry on the white sand in front of their low-roofed houses which were built on the soa-shore. They wore the *tālai* flowers and garlands, drank toddy drawn from the palmyra and paddy, and amused themselves in dancing around a post in which they invoked the presence of a god. Accompanied by their wives they bathed in the high waves of the sea to expiate their sins, then in the fresh water of the river to remove the salt, made images and had other enjoyments throughout the day. And in the night they abstained from drinking, stayed in their high palaces, heard music and witnessed dramatic performances, spent some time in the moonlight and retired with their wives to rest, removing the silk cloths which they wore and putting on thin white robes. Just before the dawn of day they slept on the sands of the shore.

Near the wide streets of the Paradavar and on the sea-shore where the *tālai* flowers abounded there were warehouses with good guards. Things poured in here from all quarters for being stored, eventually to be shipped. These, when removed from the warehouses, were stamped with tiger-marks and issued out on payment of a duty. Things landing from ships were similarly stamped with tiger-marks and duty charged. The officers who raised taxes on exports and imports were ever busy in their work.

In the upper stories of their houses, ladies of great beauty gathered near the windows with folded hands and joined palms to witness the festivities made for gods like *muruga, etc.,* which passed in the streets of the bazaars, to the accompaniment of music sounded by the *fallal, yah vmlam, murasu,* and the like. Their houses were storeyed, had raised pials and large court-yards where cattle played freely. At the gates and on the tops of buildings flags were put up. Men of learning and reputation also put up flags inviting combatants to challenge their scholarship. Attached to the masts of ships, in the port of Pugar, there were other banners. In the toddy shops in front of which fish and flesh were spread out to dry, there were flags seen hoisting.

To the city were imported horses of good gait, in ships which were propelled by the wind; diamond and gold from Mount Meru; sandalwood and *agil* from Ooorg; pearls from the southern ocean, coral from the eastern sea; the wealth of the Gangetio region; food-stuffs from Ceylon; eatables from Burma and incense from other places. Thus, the streets of Pugar literally bote the burden of rich merchandise

which were imported from several quarters. Here were also streets inhabited by people of various creeds and tongues who had abandoned their towns and settled in this city where they formed new acquaintances and relations. The *Vellālar* who cultivated the land and who were the source of prosperity to all classes of people, lived in great numbers.

Not statisfied with the wealth of his own country and what was paid to him as tribute by the feudatory chiefs, the great Chola, i. *e*. Karikala, whose *Jcalal* touching the crowns of other kings made them bright, and in whose chest the sandal-paste was rubbed out by the embrace of his wife and children, started on a tour of conquest with his elephants, horses, etc., destroyed his enemies' regions and killed their army in great numbers. He made the *arnvalar* obey his commands and the northern kings wither, caused trouble to the *Kuḍavar,* cut away the progeny of *Poduvar* and destroyed the Irungoveḷ. He demolished the forests in the Choḷa country, inhabited them, converting them into habitable lands, increased the wealth, abandoned Urandaiwith its brilliant palaces, built temples, set up families, opened small and large gates in the huge walls of the city, stored bows and arrows and showed his anger against the Pandya who was powerful in arms.

Killi.

It will be useful to examine the evidence contained in Tamil works regarding the kings bearing the name Killi. As a result of our enquiry we find **that** it is a mistake to take each king of that name as a separate sovereign and to allot him a place in **the** Chōḷa genealogy.

One of these kiags, Śolaa Kulamurrattu-tunjina [1] Kiḷḷivaḷavaa [2] is said to have laid siege to Karuvūr aad conquered thė Chēra kiag of his day. No less thaa eleven poets, including Kōvūr-kiḻār, sung in his praise. This poet is the author of stanzas 44, 45 and 47 of *Purananuru* which speak of Kariyāṟṟu-tuujiua Neḍua-Kiḷḷi of Uṟaiyūr aad of his friead Iḷaadattaa. Ia *Puram* 373, the same poet celebrates the glory of Śōḻaa Kurāppaḷḷi-tuajiaa Kiḷḷivaḷavaa who is also credited with haviag destroyed Karuvūr owiug to an hostility with the Chera, This Chola kiug's frieadly Pāṇḍya coatemporary was Velḷiyambalattu-tuojiaa Ugra-Peruvaḻudi. [3] Kōaāṭṭu [4] Erichchalūr Māḍalaa Madiraikkumaṇaa, oae of the poets of the time of Kurāppaḷḷi-tuajiaa Kiḷḷivaḷavaa is also the author of (1) *puram* 61 which speaks of Śolaa Ilavaudigaippalli-tuajiua Nalaukilli-Śēṭcheaai, [5] the coatemporary of Neḍuakilḷi; (2) of *puram* 167 ia praise of Eaadi Tirukkilli and (3) of *puram* 180 ia favour of Irāttūrkiḷḷāu Tāyaa Māṟan who fought for his over-lord. It thus appears that all these Kiḷḷis beloag to oae period.

Another Chōḻa kiog celebrated ia Tamiḻ literature is Peruaarkiḷḷi. He is referred to as one of the ancestors of the Cholas ia the large Leyden

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[1] The meaning of the word *tunjina* is ' who died.'

[2] *Valavan* ia a synonym for the *Chola.*

[3] *Valudi* is a synonym for Pāṇḍya.

[4] Kōṇāḍu is a territorial division in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. During the time of the later Cholas, it was called *Kadal-adaiyad-llangai-konda-Chdla-Valaṇadu.*

[5] *Senni* is a synonym for Chola,

plates, the Tiruvālangāḍu grant and the Udayēndiram charter of Prithivipati II. He performed the Rājasūya ceremony, and was, on that account, known by, the epithet Rājasāyamvēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi. With the help of Tiruveṇmalaiyan and perhaps also of Śēramān Māvfeṇkō, who was his friend, he defeated the CheraMandarancheral-Irumborai(puram 16,125, 365 and 367) who was the lord of the Kolli mountains, who rescued the village of Viḷangil, who was the friend of the poet Kapilar, and who was taken captive by the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālagaānattu-śeruvenṟa-Neḍunjeḻiyan and was subsequently set at liberty *(puram* 4, 17, 20, 22, 53, 125, 129). It is said that Kānappēr-kaḍanda Ugra-Peruvaḻudi, one of the royal personages that adorned the last academy of Tamiḻ poets of Madura *(puram 21,* 367) also belonged to the same age. If this Pāṇḍya king is identical with Veḻḻiyambalattu-tunjina Ugra-Peruvaḻudi, the second set of Kiḷḷi would also be of the same age as the first. In this case, we are inclined to take Perunaṟkiḷḷi who performed the Rājasūya ceremony, and perhaps one or two others as the real sovereigns of the time and that all the rest were members of the royal family who distinguished themselves in the wars undertaken by the reigning kings. The defeat of the Chēra and the destruction of Karuvūr are attributed to, several Chōḻa kings of this age. Mudiṭṭalaiḳō-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, whose Chēra contemporary was Śēramān Anduvanchēral Irumboṟai and Vēṟpahṟaḍakkai Perunaṟkiḷḷi, who claimed to have killed Śēramān Kuḍakkō Neḍunchēral Āthan, probably refer to the same king.

The facts set forth above clearly show that the Pāṇḍya kings Talaiyālaṇgānattu-śeruvenṟa

Neḍunjeḻiyan and Ugra-Peruvaḻudi, the Chōḷa sovereign Rājasūyamvēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi and the Chēra Māveṇkō and Māndaranchēral Irumboṟai of elephant look, belonged almost to the same period. With the help of the copper-plate charters of the Pāṇḍyas, *viz.* the Vēḷvikuḍi grant and the Sinnamanūr plates and from the statement in the *Maduraikkanchi* of Mangudi Marudanār that Neḍunjeḻiyan of Talaiyalangānam fame was a lineal descendant of Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi, we have elsewhere attempted to ascribe Neḍunjeḻiyan to the first half of the 7th century A.D. If Kiḷḷi, referred to in the *Koyilolugu,* is identical with any of the kings bearing that name, who are contemporaries of Neḍunjeḻiyan, it is quite evident that he must belong to the same age.

According to Maṇimēgalai, the Chōḷa king Veṉṟivēṟ-Kiḷḷi, whose identity with any of the kings named above is not certain and who probably belongs to an earlier age, married a Nāga princess called Pilivaḷai, the daughter of Vaḷaivaṇan and became the father of a child who, it is said, escaped a sea disaster. There are grounds to suppose that this prince was Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiṟaiyan, the ancestor of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram. This account is interesting, as it shows the connection between the Chōḷas and the ancient Pallavas who had by this time advanced southwards and established a dominion near Conjeeveram- Evident traces of the rule of the Kiḷḷis in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts exist in such names as Kiḷiṉaluṟ, Naḷaṅkiḷiṉallūr and Kiḷḷikuḍi, *etc.* The abbreviated form of Kiḷḷi in the first two names supports the supposition

that the name Kiḷi which occurs in the *Koyilolugu* is only a shortened form of Kiḷḷi.

SECTION III:-CHOLAS DUEING THE INTEEVAL BETWEEN THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH CENTUEY A.D. AND THE MIDDLE OF THE 9TH CENTUEY A.D.

A little before the middle of the 7th century A.D. the Chōḷas virtually lost their hold on the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts which formed their ancestral dominion. The northern portion of this kingdom was taken by the Pallavas and the south was occupied by the Pāṇḍyas. Simhavishṇu was the first Pallava sovereign who tried to extend his territory southwards. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates'.say of him that he conquered the Chōḷa territory which was resplendent with areca groves, decorated by ranges of paddy flats and sanctified by the river Kāvēri. The fact that Kanjanūr near Kumbakonam was called in ancient times Simhavishṇu-chaturvēdimangalam might be taken to prove that this conquest was real. During the time of his successor Mahēndravarman I, the Trichinopoly district was under Pallava sway. This is proved by the fact that we have a stone record of his in the upper rock-cut cave at Trichinopoly and that there is also a village of the name Mahēndramangalam which should have been called after this king. At Kāvērippaṭnam, 12 miles from Shiyali, there existed a Śiva temple called Pallavanichcharam in the middle of the 7th century A. D. About this Jñānasambandha has sung hymns. It is not unlikely that this temple was constructed by one of the Pallava sovereigns that held the Gh5ḷa dominions. From what

has been said above, it will be clear that in the middle of the 7th century A. D. the Pallavas had completely dispossessed the Chōḷas of their possession of the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts. It is a matter, therefore, of no wonder that Hiuen Tsiang who visited Southern India about this period locates his *Clm-li-ye i.e.* Ghōḷa, 1000 *li* to the south-west of Dhānyakaṭaka *Le.* Amaravati in the Kistna district. This description of the *Chu-li-ye* takes us to the Kurnool district. The pilgrim says that the country was 2400 *li* in circuit; its capital was 10 *li* round and adds that " going from this southwards we enter a wild forest tract". Passing through this for a distance of 1500 *li* we come to *Ta–lo-pi-cha i.e.* Dravida. Now, this extract from the Chinese traveller's account tells us that the Chōḷas, after being expelled by the Pallavas, moved northwards to the tract of country surrounding Cuddapah and Kurnool and we also gather that it must have been originally a forest tract just like the portion to the south of it.

Inscriptions belonging to the Chōḷas, subsequent to the middle of the 7th century A.D., have to be looked for in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and here we actually find them. A copper-plate grant discovered in this locality gives the following genealogy :—

Nandivarman of the Kāśyapa *Gdtra*

Simhavishnu | Sundarananda | Dhananjayavarman

Ghōḷamahārāju called also Navarāma, Mahēndravikramavarman, Mudibasilākshara, lord of the Pāṛiḍya, Ohōḷa **and** Kêraḷa kingdoms.

Guṇamudita — Pōrmukarāma-Purusbasaṙduḷa Puṇyakumāra.

The grant was issued in the 5th year of Puṇyakumāra. Stone records are also discovered of the time of this king, of his predecessor Chōḷamahārāja and of a few other members who are not mentioned in the genealogy given above. They are Chōḷamahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya, Satyadutunru, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya and Vikramāditya Chōḷamahārājulu. These kings are said to have belonged to the solar race, Kasyapa-gōtra and the family of Karikāla and their emblem was the tiger. As such, we need have no hesitation to declare that they are lineal descendants of the Chōḷas. Judging from the characters in which these records are incised it has been said that they are anterior to the 8bh century A,D. When we look at thenames Nandivarman, Simhavishṇu, Mahēndravikramavarman *etc.* borne by some of the early members of this branch of the Ohōḷas, one will be inclined, and we may say correctly too, that they should have at first held a subordinate position under the Pallavas who dispossessed them of their territory in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. The other name Vikramāditya which occurs as part of the name of three other members suggests that later on they became the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. When all the inscriptions of the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts are secured, it may be possible to carry the genealogy of this branch further down to the 8th and 9th century A.D. and to know also the achievements of the sovereigns that ruled **during the period.**

Either the Chōḷa king Nandivarman, who is the first in the genealogy given above, or Sundara-Nanda, his second son, is probably the same as Nanda-Chōḷa referred to in the Tamil work *Koyilolugu* as having contributed his share of charities to the temple at Srirangam. Other early sovereigns known to us from inscriptions and literature are Manu-Chōḷa, about whom we have already given an account, Dharmavarman and Śrikaṇṭha. The second of these is mentioned in the *Koyilolugu* and in the *Dēvāram,* He must have flourished prior to the 7th century A.D- We know of a Chōḷa chief named Śrikaṇṭha, whose ancestors were Navarāma and Sundara-Nanda, and we meet with this name in the early Chōḷa inscriptions of Tiruverumbūr, of the 9th century A.D., where the village is called Śrikaṇṭha-chaturvēdimangalam. The inscriptions of the Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs would add Mahimāna-Chōḷa and Jaṭā-Chōḍa to this list of early sovereigns. They are described as the sons of Karikāla and probably, if they had left any inscriptions, they would be found in the Telugu country.

Whether or not there was any connection between the Chōḷas of the Kurnool district and those that established themselves at Tanjore in the middle of the 9th century A.D. it is not possible to say at present. But this much may safely be added that under the Pallava king Nandivarman III a Chōḷamahārāja served as minister. This was not long before the breaking up of the Pallava dominion and the establishment of the Chōḷas at Tanjore. We have here to note the circumstances which favoured the rise of the Chōḷas as an independent power. In the last quarter of the 8th century A.D.

and the beginning of the 9th, the several powers of Southern India were in a state of restlessness being engaged in a desparate struggle with the others for the suzerainty of the Dekhan. At this time, Southern India witnessed the winding up of two great empires rousing the ambition of others to seize the oppor tunity to become all powerful. From the early centuries of the Christian era, the Pallavas of Conjeeveram played their part in Southern India. They waged wars with all the neighbouring powers. They crossed swords with the Kadambas and with the Chōḷas. Their contest with the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi for centuries together is unparalleled so much so that the ancient writers had termed the one as the family foe of the other and their feud was pushed to such an extent that both had become exhausted at the end of the 8th century A.D. The Western Chalukya of Bādāmi are not heard of after that date, though the Pallavas lingered on for a few years more and closed their career in Southern India. The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkaed got into the place of the former and were threatening to swallow up the dominion of the Pallavas. The Western Gangas of Talakkāḍ were also making rapid progress in building an empire in the south and about the period of which we are speaking they made some successful attacks on the Pallava dominion. But the more formidable enemy of the Pallavas after the Western Chalukyas had retired from the scene was the Pāṇḍya. Ever since the Chōḷas vacated Tanjore and Trichinopoly, these were presenting obstacles in the way of the Pallava expansion in the south. Countless battles were fought between the two powers

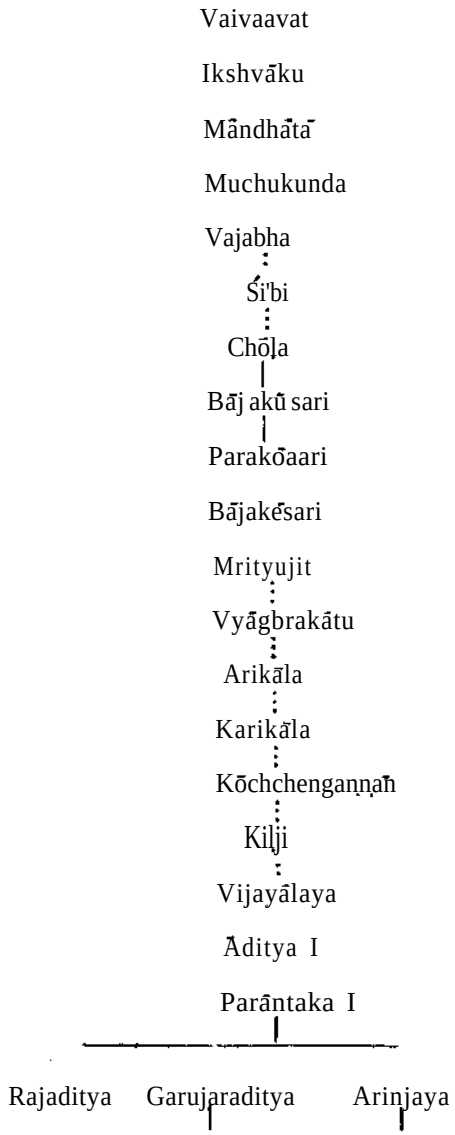
Naturally enough the Pāṇḍyas expected to becorbe the dictator of the South when the Pallava power collapsed. Thus at the time of which we are speaking, there were gathered on the plains of the Kāvēri banks, the Gangas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Pāṇḍya and the waning Pallava with his subordinate powers the Muttaraiyans and others. Now the Chōḷas thought it was a nice opportunity for rising into prominence again in this part of the territory which formed their ancestral dominion and which they had lost some two centuries ago. Fortunately for the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas allowed internal dissensions to creep into the family which once for all decided they could not become the all powerful in the Dekhan. As ministers and generals of the Pallavas, the Chōḷas could have had at their command a good army and what needed to re-build the empire.

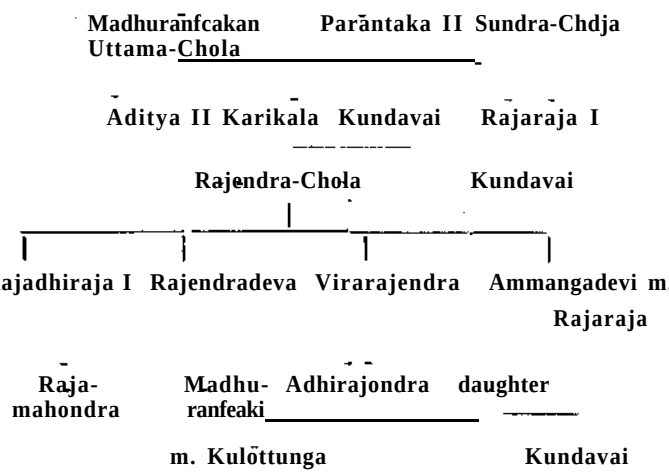
SECTION VI:—THE EEIGNS OF VIJAYALAYA, ADITYA I AND PAEANTAKA I.

Before we attempt to give the history of the Chōḷas of the Vijayālaya line, it is necessary to draw their pedigree first so that the narrative may be closely followed. The Ānaimangalam or the better known Leyden grant aud the Tiruvālangāḍu plates are the two reliable charters which furnish the names and relationship of the members belonging to the Chōḷa line from Vijayālaya up to Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.

Both the authorities start with a mythical genealogy and mention some of the earlier members belonging to previous lines and these are also noted,

below as given in the published Leyden plates, though they are not of much historical importance,





The genealogy from Rajendra-Chola downwards is mainly made out from stone inscriptions and copper-plates.

About Vijayālaya, the first member of this branch, who appears to have been known in his stone inscriptions only by his title Parakēsarivarman, which he assumed in common with several others belonging to his line (i.e., the alternate sovereigns of the Chōḷas of this period) the Tiruvālangāḍu plates hint that he captured the town of Tanjore from some enemy whose name however is not mentioned. But when we look at the period in which he flourished, it is fairly certain that he should have obtained possession of Tanjore from the Muttaraiyans, who are reported in their records to have been the kings of Tanjore just before Vijayālaya. During the reign of this king much was not accomplished by way of conquest except perhaps repulsing certain Pāṇḍya aggressive attacks. We might note in passing that at this time the Pāṇḍyas had completely allienated the

Chēras by their policy. This circumstance will be useful in understanding the future history of the Ohōḷas for three or four generations.

Of Āditya I, the son and successor of Vijayālaya, the Tiruvālangāḍu charter informs us that he fought against the Pallava Aparājita, defeated him and got possession of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. An inscription found at Tillaisthānam states that both the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman, who extended his conquests into Toṇḍai-nāḍu, by which is clearly meant Āditya I, and the Ohēra sovereign Sthānu-Kavi, who had a large army of elephants and the surname Kōkkaṇḍan, honoured a certain chief named Vikki-Annan by the gift of a feudatory throne, a fly-whisk, a palanquin, a drum, mansion, *ponagam*, a bugle, an army of elephants and the hereditary title of Śembiyan Tamilavel. From this record, we learn that the Chola Āditya I was on friendly terms with the Ohera king of his day *i.e.*, Kokkandan Sthanu-Ravi and that for some service rendered by Vikki-Annan *alias* Śembiyan Tamilavel, they honoured the chief in a fitting manner. It is not Unlikely that Āditya I was greatly helped by the Ohera king and this feudatory chief, in fighting againstJthe Pallava Aparajita and acquiring possession of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. This Pallava king Aparajita had in his earlier years for his ally the Ganga-Bana king Prithivipati I of Kolar with whose help he fought with the Pandya Varaguna a great battle at Śripurambiyam near Kumbakonam and gained a Victory, though he lost his friend in the field. It is certain that the Pandya king advanced as far as Kumbakonam, just like his predecessor Śri-mara-Parachakrokolahala had done, to contest the

possession of that part of the country. The victor in the strife having been successfully handled by the Chōḷa king, the position of the latter became very strong. The defeat of Aparājita is as signed to the end of the 9th century A.D. One of the inscriptions of Āditya I found at Tirukkalukkunram is dated in the 27th year of this king and here it is stated that he confirmed grants made by earlier Pallava sovereigns. This circumstance also proves that for the first time the Pallava dominions passed into the hands of the Chōḷas during Āditya's reign and that Āditya I respected the grants of previous sovereigns though they were not of his house.

Conquest of the Pallava territory was followed by the acquisition of some dominion in the Kongu country which was perhaps then under the Western Gangas of Talakkāḍ, We are informed by the *Kongu-dēśarājakkal* that Āditya conquered Kongu. Though the chronology of this work is not admitted to be very correct, it seems to tell us an historical fact when it attributed the conquest of Kongu to Āditya I. The discovery of stone inscriptions of Āditya's successor Parāntaka I in the Kongu country, which he does not lay claim to have conquered, goes a long way to establish Āditya's achievement recorded in the Kongu chronicle. The people of the subdued country appear to have borne the Ṣhōḷa yoke meekly. In this connection, we may note that a general of Parāntaka was a native of Kongu and there was a big road leading to that country perhaps from the Chōḷa dominions. These are referred to in inscriptions.

A stone record discovered at Tirumālpūr in the North Arcot district refers to Āditya I by tjbe epithet

Toṇḍaimān-Āṟṟūr-tunjinadēva which means that the king died at a place called Toṇḍaimān-Āṟṟār. This place is identical with the village of Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kālahasti because the inscriptions of the place refer to it by the name Toṇḍaimān-Pērāṟṟūr. Another fact revealed by the Toṇḍamanāḍ inscription is that a temple was built over or near the burial ground of Āditya I in that 'village. This shows that he was regarded as a pious king and worshipped in after years. In honour of the same sovereign another temple was erected at Melpāḍi in the North Arcot district.

Parāntaka I, the son of the late king, succeeded to the Ghōḷa throne with the title Parakēsarivarraao. His accession took place in A.D. 906—7 and he reigned for nearly 46 years *i-e.*, until A.D. 952-3- His earlier inscriptions refer to him in the words 'Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivaram' *i.e.* Parakēsarivarman who took Madura, while those dated in later years of his reign call him "Madiraiyum Iḷamun-koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman" *i.e.* Parakēsarivarman who took Madura and Ceylon. His other names are Viranārāyaṇa, Samgrāmarāghava, Dēvēndra and Paṇḍit avatsala.

First of all, we have to note the relationship that existed between him and the Chēras- As in the days of his father, during his time also, the Chēras continued to be on friendly terms with the Chōḷas and the following facts are worthy of mention in this connection.

Parāntaka I had for his queen a Chēra princess. The daughter of a Chēra king called Vijayarāghava, who was the contemporary of this Chōḷa sovereign, is

reported to have visited Tiruvōṟṟiyūr and made gifts to the temple there. The eldest son of Parantaka 1 *i. e.* Rajaditya had a large army which contained a number of soldiers enlisted from the Chēra country. It was during the reign of Parāntaka I, more than in any other, that we find a free intercourse between the people of the Chōḷa and Chēra countries. Thus, there are enough grounds to infer that the relationship of the Chōḷas with the Chēras was very cordial at this time.

Let us now speak of the warlike side of this king's reign. His father had defeated the Pallavas and obtained for the Chōḷas a more or less firm footing in the ancient Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam which included in it the modern districts of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot. But more work remained to be done here. The Chōḷas could not be the undisputed lords of this tract of land until the feudatories of the Pallavas had been overcome and made to bear the Chōḷa yoke. Accordingly, Parāntaka took on himself the task of reducing the Bāṇas, who were guarding the frontiers of the Pallava territory. He utterly destroyed the power of this ancient Pallava feudatory atid conferred on the Western Gauga Prithivipati II the territory of the former and made him rule it as his own subordinate. Another family of feudatory chiefs that had encroached on parts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was the Vaidumba. These were also the object of Parantaka's subjugation. But before he could effect it, he had to deal with a more formidable enemy *i, e.* the Paṇḍya. The resources of the Paṇḍyas were not scanty. Early in his reign, therefore, Parāntaka I directed his arms against them, At

this time he made a successful inroad into the Pāṇḍya country and captured their capital Madura. This event is referred to in the Udayēndram plates in the following words :—

" Parāntaka's army having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāṇḍya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants and the city of Madura." He then added to his title Parakēsarivarman the epithet " the capturer of Madura which we find for the first time in his records of the third year corresponding to A.D. 909-10. It is after this event that he appears to have fought with the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas and settled the affairs in the country conquered by his father,

The Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha, who was defeated by Parāntaka I in about A.D. 909-10, now sought the help of the sovereign of the neighbouring island of Ceylon who readily espoused the cause of the exiled monarch and sent a large army. The Singhalese chronich *Mahāwansa* speaking of the events of this period says :—

" King Pāṇḍu who bad warred with the king of Chōḷa and was routed, sent many presents into Kaśśapa V that he might obtain an army from him. And the king, the chief of Lanka, took counsel with his ministers and equipped an army; and appointing Sakkasēnāpati to the command thereof, accompanied it himself to Mahāṭitha. And he stood on the shore and brought to their mind the victories of former kings and gave them courage and then sent them into **the** ships. And Sakkasēnāpati carried them **safely to the other side of the** sea **and**

reached the Pāṇḍyan country. And when king Pāṇḍu beheld the army and the captain thereof, he was greatly pleased and exclaimed : " All Jambudipa shall I now bring under the canopy of one dominion " and then he led the two armies (his own and the Singhalese king's) fco battle. But he succeeded not in conquering the king of the Chōḷian race. And so he abandoned the struggle and returned to his own place."

As Kassapa V is assigned in the *Mahāwansa* to A.D. 929-939, the events recorded above must have happened in this interval, if the chronology of the book could be relied upon. Confirming the account above narrated, we read in the Udayēndiram charter of Prithivipati II (A.D. 921-2) that " Parāntaka I having slain in an instant at the head of a battle an immense army despatched by the lord of Lanka which teamed with brave soldiers and was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in the world the significant title of Samgrāmarāghava *i. e.* who resembled Rāma in battle." Also a stone inscription of Parāntaka 1, dated in his 12th year (=A.D. 918-19), refers to the invasion against the Pāṇḍya and the king of Iḷam (Ceylon) and the battle of Vēḷūr. If the three sources of information relate to the same event *Le.* Parāntaka's invasion against the allied forces of the Pāṇḍya and Ceylon, it should have occurred in or prior to A.D. 918 which is the date of the earliest record mentioning it. In this case, we trace an error of 11 years or more in the period of rule assigned in the *Mahāwansa* to Kassapa V. If, however, the error in the Singhalese chronology is not admitted the events in Parāntaka's reign will be as follow :—

(i) Conquest of Madura in A.D. 909-10.

(ii) Battle of Vēḷūr in which Parāntaka defeated the allied forces of the Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon,—A.D. 918 or earlier. The Udayēndiram plates (A.D. 921-2) may refer to this event.

(iii) Pāṇḍya king's soliciting the help of Kassapa V as related in the *Mahāwansa* and fighting with the enemy by the aid of his own army and that of the Singhalese and getting defeated by the Chōḷa Parāntaka I — A . D . 929-39.

In any case, the conquest of the Singhalese troops sent by their king to help the Pāṇḍya was not the occasion for Parāntaka's assuming the title "Madiraiyum Īḻamumkoṇḍa" which means "who took Madura and Ceylon." Hundreds of stone epigraphs of this king have been found dated in years later than A.D. 918and 929 to 939. Except those that are dated in A.D. 943-4, the rest do not mention the conquest of Ceylon. This fact strongly suggests that that event took place in or about A.D. 943-4. Parāntaka was greatly enraged at the constant trouble given him by the Pāṇḍya king succoured by the Singhalese and he therefore determined to invade the island in order to cut off the root cause of these troubles. We learn from the Tiruvalangāḍu plates about Parāntaka's conquest of Ceylon which is described in these words :—

"All the waters of the sea were not enough to "quench the fire of the Chōḷa king's anger, which "consumed the enemies and which was put out only "by the tears of the wives of the kings of Simhala, "cut and killed by the king's weapons."

The immediate cause of the invasion of Ceylon was the shelter given for a time by the king of the island to the Pāṇḍya sovereign who, fearing the wrath of the Ohōḷa, appears to have sought it. The followiug two quotations are worthy of consideration here:—

" The Pāṇḍya king intent, as it were, on extin-
" guishing the fire of the Chōḷa king's valour, entered
" the ocean deserting his hereditary dominion."—
Tiruvālangāḍu plates.

" Now at that time (Dappnla V's reign A.D. 940-952), king Pāṇḍu because he feared the Chōḷians, left his country, got into a ship and landed at Mahāṭitha. And the king sent unto him and was well pleased to see him, gave him great possessions and caused him to live outside the city. And while the king of Lanka was yet preparing for war thinking unto himself " now shall I make war with the Chōḷian king, take two sea-ports and give them unto king Pāṇḍu", it came to pass that a fierce strife arose from some cause among the princes of the island to the great misfortune of king Pāṇḍu. And the king of Pāṇḍu thought thus to himself "I shall reap no benefit by dwelling here." So he left the crown and other apparel and went to the Kēralaite."—Mahāwansa.

The two passages from different sources read above show not only the cause of Parāntaka's expedition against Oeyion but also bring to light some important facts. They are

(i) The Pāṇḍya was dispossessed of his kingdom.

(ii) That he could not even stay in Ceylon though the Singhalese king was prepared to undertake a war on Ids account against the Chōḷa whom he knew to be close on his heels. Hence the precipitate haste to go away to the country of the Kĕralas leaving even his crown and other apparel.

We must note that the Pāṇḍya country which was evacuated by its king was now occupied by the Ohōḷas. This fact is proved by the existence of the inscriptions of Parantakal, dated in later years of his reign, at Ānaimalai which is only 6 miles from Madura, the capital of the Pandyas, at Śiunamanur in the Periyakulam taluka of the Madura district and at Ambāsamudram in the Tinneveily district.

We must refer to one other event which appears to have happened in the latter part of Parantaka's reign. His general Śembiyan Śōḷiyavaraiyan of Śirukulattūr defeated a certain Śiṭpuli and destroyed Neliūr *i. e.* the modern Nellore. If the place of battle could suggest anything, it shows that the Eastern Chalukyas were defeated in this case. But it must be noted that the name Śiṭpuli does not occur anywhere.

After achieving all these conquests, Parāntaka I is said to have covered the small hall of Śiva at Chidambaram, with gold brought from the quarters which he had subdued. In dealing with the polity of ancient Dekhan, we shall show that this king was not unmindful of improving the internal administration of his country and we shall have reason to think that the south could very well be proud of this sovereign for the wise rules framed for the

guidance of village assemblies,—rules which will do honour to any nation at any time. Parāntaka built many temples at great cost and endowed others which required help. He opened new channels and improved the irrigation of the country. If Vijayālaya had the credit of starting the new line of Chōḷas at Tanjore and Āditya I. secured for them a position by extending the country into Toṇḍairnaṇḍalam and defeating the Pallavas, Parāntaka I can well claim to have laid the foundation of the greatness of the Chōḷa empire which made it possible to assume large proportions in later years under Rājarāja I and his son Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. It was Parāntaka that made the position of the Chōḷas secure in the ancient Toṇḍairnaṇḍalam by prosecuting further the designs of his father and defeating the Bāṇas. It was he that wrested the kingdom from them and placed it in the hands of the Gangaking Prithivipati II on whom he had conferred the title of Śembiyan-Mavaliva-narayan and whom he made his own subordinate. It was he also that saw clearly that his position was not safe until the aggression of the Pāṇḍyas was put an end to. With this object in view, he conducted many an expedition to crush that power, if that was possible. It was indeed a great achievement that he was able to expel the Pāṇḍya out of his kingdom and to successfully cross the sea and overcome the Singhalese who gave protection to the Pāṇḍya. The happy feature in the reign of Parāntaka was the opening of several irrigation channels and the attention paid to better the administrative measures of the country.

Though the reign of Parāntaka I was an unqualified success, there was a slight disturbance at **the**

latter part of his rule which will be mentioned in the next section.

SECTION V:—THIRTY-THBEE YEAES RULE OF THE CHOLA DOMINION i. e. BETWEEN A.D. 952 AND 985.

The future history of the Ohōḷas for about 33 years has not beeu made out. No less than six members are assigned to this period in the large Leyden grant. The stone inscriptions discovered do not as usual state definitely what the events of this period were. Owing to this want of information, several conjectures have been formed and some speculations which are not quite warranted. To sorne, " the irregular succession of the princes indicated that they fought among themselves for the throne " and accordingly it has been said that " Parantaka's death was followed by a crushing blow to the Chōḷa power which confiued that dynasty for half a century to its own ancestral dominion and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam." In his progress report on epigraphy, embodied in G.O. No. 452, dated 10th June 1891, Dr. Hultzsch stated that 55 years would not be a reasonable period to cover the reigns of five Chōḷa kings who ruled between Rajaditya and Rājaraja and the two quotations given above from the revised District Gazetteers are based ou his statement that " the irregular succession of these five kings proves that the time of their reigns was one of continual fights between different pretenders to the throne, none of whom appears to have enjoyed the sovereignty for any length of time, until matters became more settled at the accession of the great

Bājarāja". The confusion of ideas that generally prevails about the events of this period and the fact that the history of the Chōḷas relating to this interval remains unsettled or has been given differently by different writers necessitates our drawing attention to some of the incorrect notions put forth by others and to caution readers to avoid baking them for established facts.[1]

The account given below is based on the author's paper in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XII., pp. 121- but gives more details.

Before we begin to discuss the events of the period under review, it will be advantageous to have before us the genealogy of the Chōḷas as furnished in the copper-plates mentioned already *viz.* the Tiruvālangāḍu and Leyden grants. They attribute to Parantaka I three sons, Rajaditya, Gandaraditya and Arinjaya. The eldest of these was Rājāditya and the youngest Arinjaya. Rājāditya left no issues, Gaṇḍarāditya had a son named Uttama-Chōḷa and Arinjaya had for his son Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōḷa. This Sundara-Chōḷa had two sons named Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and Rājarāja I. The following table represents the relationship specified above :—

[1] With the object of nettling some of the doubtful points involved in this part of the Chōḷa history, I contributed in 1910-11 an article to the *Epigraphia Indica* on an inscription of Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Choḷa and tried to determine which of the kings mentioned in the earlier part of the Chōḷa genealogy given by Dr. Hultzsch in his *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III. p. 1*96 had actually reigned. Subsequently Mr. Venkayya gave in the Director-General's Annual for 1908-09, issued in 1912, the pedigree of the Chōḷas of this period and this is in accordance with what I had suggested in my paper on Sundara-Chōḷa submitted to him.

Parāntaka I

Rajaditva Gandaradibya Arinjaya

Parantaka II *alias* Sundara Ghoła

Ufctama-Chola | |

Ad itey a II Rajaraja I.

alias Karikāla

Our account relates to the six princes commencing with Rajaditya and ending wtih Aditya II. Many of the incorrect inferences drawn as regards the reigns and events connected with this period are in a large measure due to the adoption of the statements made in the Leyden grant without subjecting them to scrutiny and the omission to bestow the necessary consideration as regards the length of Parāntaka I's rule. It is proposed to enquire into the last question first, because on it depends much that will be said later on. Though the majority of Parāntaka's inscriptions are dated between his 3rd and 39th years, there are a few which belong to later years and these range between his 40th and 46th years of reign. By a calculation cf the astronomical details furnished in some of Parāntaka's records, it has been concluded that his accession should have taken place between approximately 15th January and 25th July, A·D. 907. The highest regnal year so far discovered of this king *viz.* 46, takes the end of his reign to A.D. 952-3. This makes it plain that during the whole of the first half of the 10th century A.D., the Ohōla dominion was subject to the rule of Parāntaka I. Now if it is remembered that Parāntaka died in or about A.D. 952-3, it becomes easy to understand that he was not succeeded by his eldest son Rājāditya as the

large Leyden plates lead us to believe. The plates report that "Parāntaka I, the one king able to "destroy the armies of his enemies, and submissive to "law, after protecting the ocean-encircled earth, "having goneto the sky, his valourous son Rajaditya, "whose two feet were worshipped by the crest of "rows of princes, was lord of the earth. This heroic "Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race, having "conquered the unconquerable Krishnarāja with his "army in battle, by his own sharp arrows filling on. "all sides and having his heart pierced while seated "on the back of his elephant by showers of sharp "arrows and being famous in the three worlds "ascended the car of the gods and went to the world "of heroes *(ViraloJca)."* From this it looks as if Rājāditya survived his father Parāntaka I and succeeded him on the Chōḷa throne; secondly that he fought a well-contested and sanguinary battle with Krishnarāja *i.e.* the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna **I I I** and met his death while seated on the back of his elephant. From the records of Krishna I I I we know that his encounter with the Chōḷa Rājāditya took place on the plains of Takkōlam in the North Arcot district. As the inscription which registers the above facts is dated ia Śaka 871 (=A.D. 949), it is plain that Rājāditya died in or prior to that year which is full 4 years before his father's death and must have happened while Rājāditya was yet a crown prince. This being the case, we are obliged to say that the plates give an incorrect statement when they record that Rājāditya became the lord of the earth after Parāntaka had died. During the major portion of the reign of Parāntaka I, victory attended all **his under-**

takings but about the close of his career when the conquest of Ceylon was attempted* in or about A.D. 944-5, the northern part of the Chōḷa dominion presented a vulnerable point to the enemy's sword, as the great king appears to have concentrated all his energy tothe south to crush the power of the Pāṇḍya and his ally the king of Ceylon. Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam seems to have been left in charge of Rājāditya. From the-inscriptions of Tirunāmanallūr, we may infer that this prince bad under his command a large army which mainly consisted of soldiers enlisted from Malabar and that his principal place of residence was Tirunāmanallūr which he renamed Rājādityapuram after himself. Soon after Parāntaka directed his forces against the southern kingdoms, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa I I I invaded the Chōḷa dominion and got possession of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. In the attempt to rescue it, Rājāditya lost his life. A study of the records of Krishṇa I I I found in the Tamil country reveals the following facts :—

i that he had effected his conquest prior to his fifth year.

ii. that the Vaidumbas, who seem to have entertained a spirit of hostility against Parāntaka I for the defeat which they had sustained at his hands in the earlier part of the 10th century A.D., helped the invader against the Chōḷas and

iii. that Krishṇa I I I continued to have possession of the conquered territory till almost the close of his reign *i.e.* for over 25 years after he got it.

The absence of inscriptions of Parāntaka *I,* dated in later years, in the Chingleput, North Arcot and

South Arcot districts shows that he was unable to expel the Rāshṭrakūṭa conqueror and was not able to get back the lost dominion. There is another way of settling the question as to when the Rashṭrakūṭas occupied Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam for the first time. It is by a consideration of the records of Krishṇa I I I found in the Tamil country. These range in date from his 5th to 30th year and are found almost throughout the ancient Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. Many of them mention his conquest of Kachchi *i.e.* Conjeeveram and Tanjaiṭ.i. Tanjore. The earliest date found for Krishṇa I I I in his dated inscriptions, is Śaka 862 which is equal to A. D. 940 and the latest is Śaka 884 (=A. D. 962) the period covered by the two dates being 22 years. But there are reasons to believe that he reigned until A. D. 967-968 which is perhaps furnished by the Lakshmīśvar inscription of the Western Ganga prince Satyavākya-Konguṇivarma-Mahārāja who was then or had been a feudatory of Krishṇa I I I[1]. As the highest regnal year furnished for Krishṇa I I I in his Tamil records is 30, it is probable that his reign commenced in about A.D. 937 and lasted till A.D. 967-8. Since we find him in possession of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam already in his 5th year, the natural presumption would be—and it will be shown that it is not correct—that the battle of Takkōlam was fought in about A.D. 942, if it is to be admitted that the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa I I I fought this battle before his actual entry into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. This will place the event of Rājāditya's death just at the time when his father Parnāṭaka was making preparations for his conquest of Ceylon. Here it is necessary to consider the facts

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, D. 419.

registered in a Śōḷapurain inscription published by Dn Huitzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. VII, p. 195. Regarding the date of this record the editor of it remarks :—

The date of the inscription is expressed in three different ways *viz.* " the year two," "the Śaka year 871" (in words) and " the year in which the emperor Kannaradēva-Vallabha, having pierced Eājāditya entered Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam." He adds that the second and third portions of the date furnish an interesting confirmation of the Ātakūr inscription according to which the Eāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III had killed the Chōḷa king Eājāditya at Takkōlam in Śaka-Samvat 872, current, the Saumya-Samvatsara = A, D. 949-50. He also expresses that "the year two" with which the Śōḷapurain record opens cannot refer to the reign of Krishṇa III because according to the Deoli plates the father of Krishṇa III had died and that the latter was reigning in A.D 940. And he concluded by saying that the year two could only refer to the reign of the Chōḷa king Rajaditya and that it might be provisionally assumed that Parāntaka I reigned from A. D. 907 to at least A. D. 946 and that Eājāditya was crowned in about A. D. 948 and was killed in A. D. 949. Mr. Venkayya gave a different interpretation [1] *viz.* "the year two oannot refer to the reign of Rajaditya, as it is evidently a record of the Eashtrakuta Krishna III. It is probably the second year after the conquest of Tondai-nadu by the Rashtrakuta Krishna III." Since the occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Krishṇa

[1] This was done after the author of this sketch had submitted his paper on Sundara-Chōja to Mr, Venkayya.

I I I was effected in about A.D. 942 as evidenced by the existence of his inscriptions in that part of the country dated in the 5th year of his reign, even Mr. Venkayya's explanation is not a satisfactory solution. We would therefore interpret the date portion of the Śōḷapuram inscription as follows:—

" Śaka 871 which is the second year of king Kannaradēva (calculated from the date when) he, after killing the Chola prince Rajaditya, passed through Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam."

One important fact made plain here is that the Rāshṭrakūṭa conqueror had a state procession in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam after he had killed Rājāditya and that this happened two years before Śaka 871 (=A. D. 949), It is this fact that the Śōḷapuram inscription prominently wants to convey and it is for this object the engraver of the record had inserted the third method which is merely an explanation as to what kind of regnal year is used in this particular inscription and it may even be suggested that the peculiarity in the way in which this record is dated is admitted by the engraver when he seeks to explain the term ' *yandu* ' which he has used at the beginning of the record in question. Accordingly, Rājāditya's death should have taken place in A. D. 947-8. The peculiar regnal year of Krishṇa I I I given in this inscription would make one suspect that all his other records in the newly conquered Tamil country are also similarly dated *i.e.* with the initial year in A.D. 947, though there is nothing in the other records to raise such a presumption. We shall give a little consideration to this and show the fallacy in holding such a view. The latest regnal year of Krishna I I I

found in his Tamil records is his 30fch as has already been stated. If the initial date be A.D. 947, this would correspond to A.D. 977. Krishṇa I I I doe? not seem to have reigned so far, because the earliest record of his successor Koṭṭiga is dated in A.D. 970 and this completely proves that such a view as the one here assumed for the sake of argument is untenable-

We must here say a word about Krishṇa Ill's entry into Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam mentioned in the Śōḻapuram record. That it is different from his first coming into the place, which took place in A.D. 942, is evident from the fact that the record places the other in A.D. 947. In all probability, the second is a triumphant State march through the conquered territory after the invader had killed the Chōḷa prince in battle when the latter came to drive him out of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam which he had taken possession of 5 years ago. That Krishna I I I assumed the title *Kachchiyum Tanjaiyum-konda* even in A.D. 942 haw already been pointed out. Other records state that he set up a pillar of victory at Rāmēśvaram. Since his inscriptions are not found further south than the ancient Pallava territory, we have to regard his claim as regards the capture of Tanjore and the planting of a pillar of victory at Ramesvaram, as a mere boast.

From what has been said above, it will be plain that the northern part of the Chōḷa country was subject to the rule of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa I I I from A. D. 942 to 967. We have incidentally mentioned that the Vaidumbas were the chief feudatories of that king. Some of the inscriptions of Krishna I I I mention the names of a few of these subordinates, One was Vaidumba-Mahārāja

Śandayan Tiruvayan. Another was Vaidumba-Mahārāja Śri-Vikramāditya. He has ruling Malāḍu, Vāṇagappāḍi, Śingapura-nāḍu and Veṇkuṇṛa-kōṭṭam. A third Vaidumba feudatory of Krishṇa I I I named Tiruvayan Śrikaṇṭan figures as donor in an inscription found at Grāmarn. Besides the above mentioned feudatories, the Rāshṭrakāṭa conqueror had for bis subordinate a Malāḍu chief called Narasimhavarman who was probably the builder of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukoilur.

Having pursued the history of the latter part of the reign of Parāntaka I and shown that his eldest son Rājāditya did not survive him, it now remains to settle whether Gaṇḍarāditya and Arinjaya did reign and if so with what titles. As no sure records attributable to either of them have been found, it would be safe to start from the reign of one whose inscriptions have been found and whose title could with certainty be fixed. And for this purpose we would take the reign of Parantaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōḷa. A few stone records of this king have been discovered in the Tanjore district and these give the name of one of his generals Parāntakan Śiriyavēḷar who was a native of Koḍumbāḷūr. He is reported to have died in Ceylon in the 9th year of the king's reign and he is therefore precluded from appearing in records other than those of Sundara-Chōḷa. Though none of Sundara-Chōḷa's inscriptions reveal whether he was a Rājakēsari or Parakēsari, the fact that this general of his, figures in a record of Rājakēsarivarman shows that that was the title borne by Sundara-Chōḷa. Now that the certainty of Sundara-Chōḷa being a Rājakēsari is thus assured, the statement in the Leyden

grant that the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari were borne by Chola kings alternately, helps us to say that Rājakēsarivarman Sundara-Chōḷa should have ascended the throne either immediately after Parakēsarivarman Parāntaka I or that two kings should have intervened between them, the first with the title Rājakēsari and the second with the title Parakēsari. We have thus two alternatives *viz* either to accept Gaṇḍarāditya and Arinjaya as ruling kings or to reject both as uncrowned princes. Though the complete absence of inscriptions of Gaṇḍarāditya and Arinjaya would point to the conclusion that neither of them ever reigned, yet the recognition of Uttama-Chōḷa's claim to the Chōḷa throne, even after two kings belonging to a collateral line had ruled, is clear evidence that his father Gaṇḍaraditya did reign, though it be for a short time only. If this is not the case, it becomes difficult to understand how Uttama-Chōḷa could lay claim to the throne which was at the time of his accession in the Hue of his father's younger brother and that there were claimants to it in that line. Thus it looks as if Gaṇḍarāditya held the reins of Government and after him Arinjaya.

We shall note here what we know of Gaṇḍarāditya. He was a Rājakēsarivarman. He had two queens *viz.* Viranāraṇiyār and Śembiyanmāddēviyār. The former of these figures as the builder of temples in the records of Parāntaka I dated in A.D. 931. She had no issue. Gaṇḍarāditya had a name for piety and good works. The Leyden grant attributes to him the foundation of a town on the north bank of the river Kāvēri which he is said to have called Gandaraditya-chaturvedimangalam after his own

name. This town is perhaps identical with the modern village of Kandaradittam in the Trichinopoly district. The plates call him a devine being. At Kōnērirājapuram in the Tanjore district there is a group of sculptures which represent Gaṇḍarāditya, his queen Śembiyan-mahādēvi and their son Uttama-Chōḷa. Gaṇḍarāditya appears to have been a Tamil scholar and one of his compositions is preserved in the collection of dovotional hymns known as *Tiruvisaippa.* In the last stanza of this poem he calls himself the son of the Chōḷa king who took Madura and Ceylon by which is clearly meant Parāntaka I. The omission of Śembiyan-mahādēviyār's name in Parāntaka's inscription which mention the other queens of Gaṇḍarāditya, is a point worthy of note. It suggests that Gaṇḍarāditya was wedded to this lady late in his life. She was a pious queen and her whole life was dedicated to the building of temples and in endowing them richly. Inscriptions which mention her as a builder of, or as donor of munificient gifts to, temples, are numerous. She lived up to the 16th year of the reign of Kājarāja I (A.D. 1001). Prom this it may be gathered that she lived for at least 48 years after the demise of Parāntaka I and that therefore she could not have been old at the time of Gaṇḍarāditya's death which soon followed and secondly that her son Uttama-Chōḷa was a mere child when his father passed away. Quite consistent with the surmises made above, the Leyden grant reports that Gaṇḍarāditya *having given birth to a son,* went to heaven, suggesting thereby that he did not live long after Uttama-Chōḷa was born. The points made clear above, furnish an explanation as to why

the Chola ctown passed on to Arinjaya and his line immediately after Gaṇḍarāditya died and it is needless to say that such a procedure would not have been followed if Uttama-Chōḷa were sufficiently old at the time. When Uttama-Chōḷa came of age, his superior claim was respected by the great Rājarāja I who according to the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, was not willing to have the crown as long as his uncle Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōḷa was fond of the empire. We have the authority of the same plates for the statement that the people desired to have Rājaraja for their sovereign just at the time when Madhurantaka's accession took place. Before leaving Gaṇḍarāditya, we have to say that the two records of Tirunāmanallūr which mention the officer Gaṇḍarāditya-Pallavaraiyan and of which one is dated in Śaka 879 (A.D. 957) and the other in the 3rd year of the reign of Parakesarivarman, are not records of Gaṇḍarāditya as surmised by some scholars because he was distinctly a Rajakesarivarman. They might belong to his successor Arinjaya, who was a Parakesarivarman. But even here we have to admit the overlapping of the reigns of Arinjaya and his son Sundara-Chola, as will be pointed out later on.

Of Arinjaya, who, according to this account, ought to have been a Parakēsari, nothing definite is known. He reigned during the minority of Uttama-Chōḷa as did his son Sundara-Chōḷa. Arinjaya's relationship to Parāntaka I is not stated in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates. But we know from stone inscriptions and the Leyden grant that he was a son ofParantaka I. The latter authority states that he was a forest fire to the wood

of hostile kings, meaning that he had won some military fame. From other sources we learn that his queen was a Koḍumbāḷūr princess, the daughter of Pūdi Vikramakēsari who, it is said, contended against Vira-Pāṇḍya, perhaps for his Chdḷa overlord. If this is the case, the troubles with Vira-Pāṇḍya ought to have commenced already during Arinjaya's time.

Now we pass on to the reign of Sundara-Ghōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II. He was a Kājakēsarivarman. His rule was so just that he was considered a Manu born again to govern the earth. The Leyden plates state that he was equal to Śiva, that he crushed the circle of hostile kings and pleasing his subjects by his own virtue, he ruled with ease the sea-girt earth. Further, we are informed that at a place called Chēūr he filled all the space by volleys of sharp arrows sent forth from his beautiful bow and produced manifold rivers of blood which flowed from the multitude of his enemy's elephants cut down with his sharp sword. Lithic records of his time say that he fought with the Pāṇḍya king and drove him into the forest. In confirmation of this, the Leyden grant states that his son Āditya II *alias* Karikāla played sportively in battle with the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya while he was yet a boy. These two statements put together clearly point out that the Pāṇḍya king with whom Siundara-Chōḷa contended was none other than Vira-Pāṇḍya who must be identical with the opponent of the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Vikramakēsari. A certain Pārthivēndravarman whose inscriptions are mostly found in the Chingleput and North Arcot districts also claims victory over

the same Pāṇḍya king. It will not be unreasonable to suppose that under the banner of Sundara-Chōḷa several chieftains fought against Vira-Pāṇḍya and gained a victory which gave all of them the title of 'the taker of the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya.' Of all the kings that are known to have reigned during the thirty-three years following the demise of Parāntaka I, Sundara-Chōḷa was the most powerful and his rule perhaps extended to a longer period than the rest. Though the principal event of his time was the war against Vira-Pāṇḍya, Sundara-Chōḷa appears to have fought with the king of Ceylon as well. The epigraphical confirmation of the latter event is contained in an inscription of Kāḷajarāja I where it is stated that Parāntakan Śiriyavēḷār, the general of Sundara-Chōḷa, died in the 9th year of the king in a battle-field in Ceylon. The *Mahāwansa* gives a more detailed account of this invasion of Ceylon. It is this :—

" Udaya I I I (A. D. 964-972) became a drunkard and a slaggard and when the Chōḷa king heard of his indolence, his heart was well pleased and as he desired to take to himself the dominion of the whole Pāṇḍu country he sent emissaries to him to obtain the crown and the rest of the apparel that the king of Pāṇḍu left there when he fled.. But the king refused to yield them. Whereupon the Chōḷa king who was very powerful, raised an army and sent it to take them even by violence. Now at this time the chief of the army was absent, having gone to subdue the provinces on the border that had revolted. And the king commanded him to return and sent him to make war. Accordingly, the chief

of the army went forth and perished in the battle. And the king of Chōḷa took the crown and other things." Though this may not be a colourless report of facts, yet much of it could be relied upon. The date assigned to Udaya in the Singhalese chronicle also falls within the period to which we have to assign Sundara-Chōḷa. It is not unlikely that this expeditiou to Ceylon was the result of the Chōḷa king's encounter with Vira-Pāṇḍya and it might even be supposed that the Singhalese supported the cause of the Pāṇḍyas as tbey had been doing during the time of Rājasiinha-Pāṇḍya.

One other question may appropriately be considered here. The title Rājakēsarivarman occuring in the name Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari,—about half a dozen lithic records of whose reign have been found,—precludes the identification of this king with Arinjaya, Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and Uttama-Chōḷa who are all Parakēsahvarmans. The fact that one of the records of Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsarivarman found at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr introduces as donor the prince Uḍaiyār Uttama-Chōḷadēva shows distinctly that he must be one of the kings that reigned between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I. As such, we have to identify him with Gaṇḍarāditya or Parāntaka II who were the only Rājakēsarivarmans during this period. Neither the plates nor even the stone inscriptions attribute to Gaṇḍarāditya any conquests. It will not therefore be safe to assign the records of Madiraikoṇḍa Rajakēsari to this king. Besides, we are not informed anywhere that Gaṇḍarāditya distinguished himself in the war of bis father against the Pāṇḍyas

as that at least would give him a claim to the title *Madiraikoṇḍa*- Since Sundara-Chōḷa was a Bājakēsarivarman and since he is known to have successfully contended against the Pāṇḍyas, the records of Madiraikoṇḍa Kājakēsari should be attributed to him. It being thus practically settled that; Madiraikonda Rajakesarivarman is identical with Sundara-Chōḷa, the Tiruvoṃyūr record which is dated in the 17th year of the kiṇg, may just reveal to us the fact that Uttarna-Chōḷa was sufficiently aged at the time.

At Karikal in the North Arcot district there is an inscription of the same king and it has been attributed to Uttama-Chōḷa by Dr. Hultzsch on the strength of the fact that the latter was called Madhurāntaka which is an equivalent of Madiraikoṇḍa. Tne incorrectness of the identification has been shown by others who at the same time think that the record is one of Ġraṇḍarāditya. Gaṇḍarāditya had nothing to do with Madura and the only king to whom both the titles Madiraikoṇḍa and Bajakēsarivarman are appropriate is Sundara-Chōḷa.

Immediately after his death, Sundara-Chōḷa was known by the name Ponmāḷigai-tunjinadēva evidently because he had died in a golden palace. An image of his was set up in the big temple ab Tanjore and provisons were made for offerings to it. Similarly also his queen Vānavanmahādēvi, who had committed *suttee,* came to be deified. An image of hers, was set up in the same temple by her daughter Ḳundavai. The fact that the images of these two were enshrined in temples shows in what esteem people regarded them for their meritorious acts.

The extracts given from the copper-plates that Sundara-Chōḷa was a Mana born again on earth and was equal to Śiva in protecting his subjects and that his wife committed *suttee* seem to have been the reasons for their deification.

Au important fact that could be gleaned from the identification of Madiraikoṇḍa Bajakēsarivarinan with Sundara-Chōḷa is that this king recovered Kanchi from the Rashtrakutas perhaps immediately after the death of Krishṇa HI or in the latter part of his reign. The existence of inscriptions of Madiraikoṇḍa Bājakēsarivarinan in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam is proof sufficient to show that the people of this part of the country acknowledged his sway, and since it is not stated about any of his predecessors that they got back the lost territory, it may be presumed that it was during his time that Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam passed again into the hands of the Chōḷas, after the short Bāshṭrakūṭa occupation of it. Two records of Uttama-Chōḷa found in Conjeevaram, show clearly that it was retained by him.

Now we pass on to the successors of Sundara-Chōḷa. According Lo the large Leyden grant, Āditya-Karikāla succeeded Sundara-Chōḷa and when that kmg died, Uttama-Chōḷa ascended the throne. There is not much doubt that the inscriptions of Parakēsarivarman who took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya belong to Āditya II and we have already remarked that all the records of Uttama-Chōḷa without any exception call him a Parakēsarivarman. If, as the plates report, Uttama-Chōḷa succeeded Āditya, it is difficult to understand why he is called Parakēsarivarman instead of Rajakesari. Here again, we have to

suspect the correctness of the plates. It may be said that because Uttama-Chōḷa was the son of Gaṇḍaraditya who was a Rājakēsarivarman, he assumed the title Parakēsari. But it must be said that this does not seem probable because no Chōḷa prince had a claim to the title of Rājakēsari or Parakēsari merely by virtue of his being a son of a Chōḷa sovereign. The title could only be borne by him when he became a king and even then he seems to have had no choise in the matter as the *succession* determined what title he should adopt. If the plates are correct in saying that the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari were borne alternately by the Chōḷa kings, we cannot be making a mistake when we say that Parakesarivarman Uttama-Ohōḷa should have succeeded a king who had the title Rajakesarivarman and similarly also that Aditya II should have been the successor of a Rajakesarivarman. Now as these two are the only sovereigns that reigned after Rajakesarivarman Sundra-Chola and before Rajakesarivarman Rajaraja I, the only way of accounting for the fitness of the titles borne by them is to suppose that both of them succeeded Sundra-Chola simultaneously or in other words that after the death of Sundra-Chola, these two sovereigns reigned over the Chola dominion one as co-regent of the other.

From the foregoing it will be seen that

(1) Parāntaka I reigned until A.D. 953.

(2) Krishṇa I I I took possession of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in about A.D. 944-945.

(3) Rājāditya was killed at Takk5lam in about A.D. 948-9 and therefore did not survive his father.

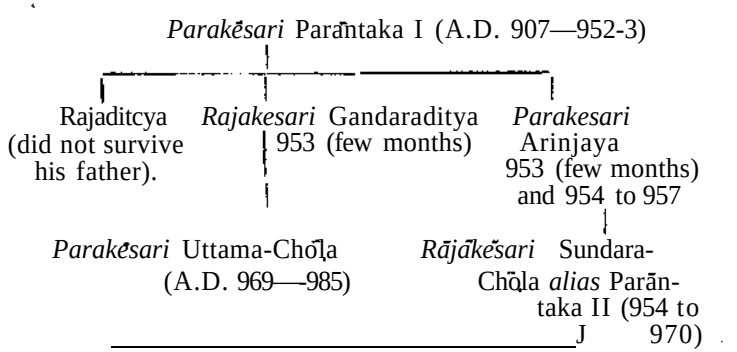
(4) Gaṇḍarāditya, Arinjaya and Sundara-Chōḷa reigned over the Ohōḷa dominion one after the other with the titles Rājakēsari, Parakēsari and Rājakēsari respectively.

(5) Madiraikoṇḍa-Rājakēsari is probably identical with Sundra-Uhōḷa.

(6) Āditya Karikāla and Uttama-Chōḷa reigned together as co-regents after the death of Sundara-Chōḷa. They were both Parakēsarivarmans.

It remains now for us to give the probable duration of each reign, and for this purpose, we have to start with the reign of Uttama-Chōḷa and work backwards. The highest regnal year furnished for him in his stone records is sixteen and as he was the immediate predecessor of Rājarāja I, who reigned from A. D. 985 to 1013, it is certain that the last years of his reign fell in or about A. D. 985 and that he should have commenced to rule in A. D. 969. This was actually the case, is proved by some dated inscriptions of his. One of them was discovered at Tiruvidaimarudūr in the Tanjore district. It couples Kali'4083 (A. D. 981-2) with the 13th year of reign and yields A. D. 969-70 for the king's accession. As Āditya II was a co-regent of Uttama-Ohōḷa, his initial date should also have fallen in the same year. And since the latest regnal year found for this sovereign is 10, it may be said that his reign lasted from A.D. 969 to 979. Against the possibility of Āditya's co-regency with Uttama-Chola in later years, it may be pointed out that he was sufficiently aged at the time of Sundara-Chōḷa's death and perhaps even earlier, because the Leyden plates

report that he fought against Vira-Pāṇḍya in the war undertaken by his father and distinguished himself by valourous deeds. Since Sundara-Chōḷa was the immediate predecessor of Ubtama-Chōḷa and since his highest regnal year was seventeen we have to place his accession in A.D. 953—perhaps at the close of that year. We have already said that Parāntaka I should have died in A.D. 953 and that his two sons Gaṇḍarāditya and Arinjaya should have reigned after him, one following the other. Now we have to suppose that Parāntaka I died in the early part of the year 953 and his two sons ruled for the rest of the same year—each for a few months only. The pretty long reign of Parāntaka I must account for the shortness of the reign of his two sons who should have boen rather old at the time of their accession. Arinjaya seems to have nominated his son Sundara-Ohōḷa to the throne in about A.D. 954 and reigned 3 years longer. The pedigree of the Chola kings of the period 953 to 985 may be marked down as follows :—



A word more has to be added to close this account of the six princes. A certain Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditttan figures largely in the inscriptions of Bājarāja I. In some of these records, he is said to have made searching enquiries in several places regarding temple properties. Whenever he found any misappropriation of a temple land or money, he is reported to have rectified them and punished the offenders according to their deserts. Judging from the name alone, some have taken Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditttan for a member of the royal family and made him a son of Uttaina-Chōḷa. This conjecture rests purely on the basis of the fact that in ancient times a person assumed the name of his grand-father and prefixed to it that of his father. If Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditttan were a son of Ufctama-Ohōḷa as contended, it would make the latter sufficiently aged at the time of Gaṇḍarāditya's death (A.D. 953) a fact which we have already disproved- Supposing for a moment that this was the case, there arises a difficulty to account for the exclusion of Uttama-Ghōḷa from the throne immediately after his father's death and this, it will be seen, casts a serious doubt, amounting almost to a denial, of the conjectural relationship of Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditttan to the royal family. The denial becomes a certainty when we find that his name is totally omitted in the dynastic account of the Chōḷas given in copper-plates which mention even those members who did not actually succeed to the throne. The omission might be said to be casual, if it were found only in a single record. Since this is not the case, we are obliged to say that Madhurantakan Gaṇḍaradittan is not a member of the

royal family and at any rate is not a son of Uttama-ChOḷa.

SECTION, VI:—EXPANSION OF THE CHOLA DOMINION FEOM A.D. 985 TO 1070. EAJARAJA I.

Rājarāja I succeeded to the Chōḷa throne in A.D. 985. It has been already noted that the people were anxious to have him as their ruler when his elder brother Āditya II *alias* Karikāla died and that he stoutly refused to become king saying that so long as his uncle Madhurāntakan Utcaina-Chōḷa was fond of the country, he would not have the throne. When the authorities for Ohōḷa history report these facts and add that all the time his paternal uncle was bearing the burden of the earth, Kājarāja I was satisfied with the heir-apparentsbip, we see the wisdom of the youth. It tells us that he understood quite distinctly the situation of the Chōḷas and thought that it would be ruinous to allow even the least symptom of dissension in the royal House. Hence it was that in spite of the strong desire of the people, he wished to wait for his own turn to assume the imperial purple. He must have known that there was a strong feeling in favour of Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōḷa about whose superior claim to the throne we have already discussed. His heir-apparent-ship for the period of 10 years gave him the neces sary insight into the State affairs and this goes a long way to account for the greatness which he was able to acquire during his sovereignty.

In the first decade of his reign, Rājarāja, who was bent on extending his dominion, directed his entire attention to the improvement of the resources of his country and to the preparation of an excellent army. He had soon at his command several regiments of skilled archers, men wearing coat of mail, large infantry, powerful swordsmen, mounted caviliers elephant troops, and others. The Vēḷaikkāras, a class of fighting men belonging to the right hand section, enlisted themselves under the king's standard and formed several strong detachments. All the regiments of the king were called after one or the other of the surnames of the king *viz.*, Alagiya-Śōḷa, Aridurgalanghan.a, Chandaparākrama, Nittavinōda, Vikramabharana, Ranamukha-Bhima, *etc.* Similarly, his cavalry, elephant troops, archers, mailed armourbearers and infantry in the last of which were enlisted the Telugu people, bore the names of the king. His officers, who were living in the two streets *Sirtidanam* and *Perundanam* of Tanjore, gathered themselves to render him willing service. He had a large retinue of servants and body-guards. These also stood by him in the hour of need. Numerous bodies of men were entrusted by the king with particular kinds of work and there were also several personal attendants on him.

Having got ready a large army and trained them for years, Rajaraja began to give them employment by engaging them in a wide scheme of conquests which he had planned. He set out first to subdue the southern powers *i.e.* the Chera and the Pandya. His army crossed the impenetrable fastnesses of the ghats **and** reached the country created by Paraiurāma

(Malabar) who had taken a vow to destroy all the Kshatriyas and which was considered inaccessible on account of the natural barriers *viz.* the mountains and the ocean that formed its boundaries. On his way, he dealt a heavy blow on the Pāṇḍyas who at once submitted to the conqueror, their king Amarabhujanga being seized in battle. The victorious army then marched to Malai-nāḍu where Rājarāja captured the fort of Viḷiuam and cut off the ships at Kāndaḷūr. This was the first campaign of the king. On this occasion, he took to his country immense hoards of silver, gold, pearls and coral for which both the Pāṇḍya and Chōra countries were famous.

After his return from the southern region, Rājarāja directed his arms against Gangavāḍi *i.e.* the country of the Western Gangas of Talakkāḍ, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu *i.e.* Coorg, Noḷambavāḍi *i.e.* the territory round about Bellary, Taḍigaipāḍi or Taḍigaivaḷi, Vēngai-nāḍu which is the territory ruled by the Eastern Chalukyas with their capital at Rajahmundry and further north, the territory of the Kalingas. In dealing with the reign of Parāntaka I, we said that that sovereign dealt a severe blow on the Bāṇas, took their country and conferred it on his Ganga contemporary Prithivipati II with the title of Śembiyanmāvalivāṇarāya. Taking advantage of the inability of the successors of Parāntaka I, the descendants of the Ganga kings perhaps thought they might throw off the Chōḷa yoke. It is not impossible that they committed some act of violence which provoked the wrath of Rajaraja and induced him to send an expedition against them. The Noḷambas claim to be of Pallava origin and as such they should have

carried their spite against the Chōḷas for the defeat sustained at the hands of Āditya I and Parāntaka I. It was given to Rājarāja I to overcome them also. The affairs of the Vēngi country were worse than any other. It was subjected to a state of anarchy for a period of nearly 27 years. Rājarāja interfered in its politics, put an end to the inter-regnum by appointing Śaktivarman a member of the Eastern Ohalukya line to the throne. To judge from the future history of that territory, it is fairly certain that he dictated some terms to him for holding the dominion under the overlordship of the Chōḷas. He sealed the compact by giving his daughter in marriage to the Eastern Chalukya prince Vimalāditya, called also Aṇiyanka-Bhima and Birudanka-Bhima. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates say that Rājarāja defeated the Andhra king Bbima and a certain Rajaraja. Two facts are worthy of note here *viz.* that Vimalāditya was in the North Arcot district in the second year of Rājārāja and that Vimalāditya's son and grandson also chose their queens from the Chōḷa family. While Rājarāja was engaged in settling the disturbed state of the Vēngi country, his attention was again drawn to the South. A second expedition was made on the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya dominions. Quiion the principal town of the former, fell into his hands and the victorious monarch now crossed the sea to subdue the island of Ceylon and destroyed the fortress of Udagai in the Pāṇḍya country. These conquests of Rājarāja I are proved beyond a shadow of doubt by the following circumstances :—

(i) by the existence in those countries, of innumerable monuments of the time of Rājarāja I,

(ii) by the re-naming of the Pāṇḍya country into Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu and

(iii) by the assignment of part of the revenue derived from Ceylon to the big temple at Tanjore.

This done, the Chōla sovereign set his eyes on the subjugation of the Western Chalukya empire *i.e.* Raṭṭapāḍi, which consisted of 750,000 villages. Satyāśraya was completely defeated and forced to give a large amount of money which the Chōḷa king took to his very capital. It is on record that on this occasion, the army of the Chōḷa king numbered 900,000 men, who pillaged the whole couutry of the Western Chalukyas ; slaughtered even women, children and Brāhmaṇas; and taking their girls to wife destroyed their caste. In spite of all these horrors of war, the conquest of the Western Chalukyas was not a permanent one. So was that over the Pāṇḍyas, because we shall soon find the successors of Rājarāja I engaged in severe contests with these powers. Still, the king had not sheathed his sword for, almost in the very last year of his reign, we find him subduing the 12,000 islands of the Indian ocean.

Great as was the military fame of Rājarāja I achieved by his conquest in several directions, the benefits which this king conferred on his people were none the less. He was a devout Śaiva in his creed and his piety won for him the titles Rājarājan and Śivapādaśēkhara. Immediately after the conquest of the Western Chalukyas, the great king undertook the construction of the big temple at Tanjore, one of the most admirable monuments of Southern India which supplied the model in after years for the Dekhan

builders and which gave employment to thousands of skilled labourers and improved the arts and crafts of the land. Besides this temple, many more were constructed during this period and these bear testimony to the building activity and the high skill of the sculptors of those times. We are informed by the *Kongudēśa-Baḷakkal* that Rājarāja J, like his great grand father Parāntaka 1, made large additions to the temple at Chidambaram by building *maṇḍapas,* shrines, and the like and bestowed immense money for the upkeep of festivities.

Irrigation had always attracted the particular attention of early kings. The branches of the Kāvēri river which bear the names Muḍikoṇḍan, Klrttimārtiṭaṇḍan, Śoḷachūḷamaṇi and Uyyakkoṇḍān which irrigate thousands of acres of land as well as several other canals of which many do not exist at present, owe their origin to Rājarāja **I. In A.D. 1010-11** this great king undertook a revenue survey of his country and the minuteness **with** which the work was performed will be **made** clear when we come to know that land as little in extent as $^{1}/_{52,\ 428,\ 800,\ 000}$ of veli *was* measured and assessed to revenue. He struck coins bearing on one side the inscription Rajaraja and on the other the standing figure of a man.

Incalculable and almost fanciful were the endowments which Rājarāja made to the new temple built by him and to others that were already in existence. The gifts themselves proclaim the wealth of the Chōḷa dominion in his day. Though a devout Śaiva, he **had** great toleration for other religious creeds **and**

in this connection we might mention his rich donations to the Buddhist temple built at Negapatam by a feudatory prince. Rājarāja and his elder sister, his queens and his son, his generals and officers, were the chief persons who made grants to the temple of Rājarājēśvara, which had become the one object of endearment in the whole territory. It is particularly worthy of note that the king and the royal household made these munificient gifts, which we may at once say the richest that ever was made by any past king or queen in the land, from the treasures that he had brought from the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra territories after defeating the hostile monarcbs at Malai-nāḍu and from the country of the Western Chalukyas after overcoming Satyāśraya. The jewels and vessels presented, give us a glimpse of the taste of the people, a description of the several kinds of ornaments made of pearls diamonds, rubies, coral etc fastened to gold and silver frames which were filled with lac and the use of the nine gems. Many of these ornaments have no representative in the modern jeweller's shop. The people of the Dekhan—at least those that were wealthy—adorned themselves in a surpassingly beautiful way from head to foot and used gold, silver and the nine gems profusely.

As a Śaivite he had great admiration for the stirring hymns composed by the Śaiva saints Appar, Jnānasarabanda and Sundara, the devotional songs of Māṇikkavāśagar and the various acts of piety of the other 63 Śaiva saints. He provided for the recitation of their hymns and set up also their images in the spacious temple built by him. Among such images

enshrined in the temple, we have to mention two in particular *viz.* those of the king's own father and mother. It has been already said that Rajaraja's father Sundara-Chōḷa was regarded by people as Mann born again to re-establish on earth his laws which had become lax on account of the Kaliyuga by which we have to infer that his rule was chatacterised by extreme kindness. Rājarāja's mother Vānavanmahādēvi had made her claim for being worshipped, by committing the meretorious act of *suttee* when her husband died.

Rājarāja took a keen interest in the arts. He brought from several places beautiful damsels famous for their skill in dancing, musicians of note, drummers, trumpeters, pipers and others, settled them in Tanjore and provided richly for their maintenance. He opened halls where these had to assemble and practice the *nāṭyaśāstra,* sing musical notes and play on the instruments. We are informed that a drama called Rājarājēśvara-naṭaka was enacted in the temple and this shows clearly the literary taste and attainment of the times. Colleges for the education of children existed and *men* proficient in learning imparted instruction mostly in temples and the king occasionally visited these institutions. Look where we will, we do not fail to observe that Rajaraja's time was one of unsullied prosperity, full of activities displayed in every direction. If we are to recount these, there will be no end. What has been said already will be enough to convince any one that the king's activities were many-sided. His warlike spirit is more than eclipsed by the impulse hegave to the cultivation of the arts, the improvement of irrigation works, the education of the

masses and the methods adopted to improve the official machinery the last of which became more elaborate than ever owing chiefly to the necessity of maintaining a large number of registers which we have reasons to believe were opened for the first time sifter the revenue survey had been undertaken by this king. It is not to be understood that till then there were no registers of the kind but only that more were started and better scrutiny exercised in respect of the State revenue, holdings of individuals, exemptions from payment of taxes and the like. Suffice it to say that we find mentioned in his records which can be counted by thousands, a number of accountants keeping various account books, superintendents of accounts, ledger-keepers, keepers of index registers, maintainers of boundary marks, persons in charge of books showing tax-free lands which were many in those times, settlement officers and secretaries of the king in charge of different sections of work. During the reign of Kājarāja I, we hear for the first time of officers and commissions appointed to enquire into the misappropriation of endowments made for charitable institutions who weut about from place to place, overhauling accounts, calling for witnesses, taking evidences and punishing the offenders and those at fault and setting right matters. These could have been possible to do, only in case the State had charge of the charitable endowments and maintained registers for the purpose. The king had a large number of bodyguards and those whose duty was to communicate his orders whenever they emanated from his mouth. The administration of the country was during his time, as in earlier ages,

entrusted to the village assemblies with ample powers and with a sort of salutary check exercised by commissioned officers.

Household of Rajaraja:—Among the elderly members in the household of the king, two deserve to be mentioned *viz.* his sister Kundavai and his aunt Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Śembiyanmādēviyār, both of whom appear to have been notable characters. To judge from their pious and charitable works, it is certain that they could not but have exercised a wholesome influence on the life and character of the reigning sovereign. The gifts made by them and the shrines which they constructed in the various parts of the country mark them out as high-minded ladies- Eājarāja had several queens and inscriptions reveal the names of five of them *viz.* Dantiśakti-Viṭanki *alias* Lōkamahādēvi, Iḷaḍamahādēvi, Panchavanmahādēvi and Vāuavaumahādēvi. All of them made costly endowments to the temple of Eājarājēśvara. In A.D. 1013, Tiruviśalur, a village near Tiruviḍaimarudūr, had the fortune of witnessing the grand festival of Rajaraja's *tulaḅharā* ceremony which being the one held after the king had finished all his conquests and won laurels in several fields, the whole country resounding with his fame, could not but have attracted crowds of people from all parts of the empire. The ceremony was performed in the Śivayōganathasvājmin temple where on the very occasion Rajaraja's chief queen Dautiśaktiviṭanki passed through a gold cow. Rajaraja had only one son Rajendra-Chola who was nominated to succeed him already three years prior to the death of the king. His only daughter was given in inarriage to the Eastern Chalukya king.

Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.

The actual accession of this king to the Chōḷa throne took place in A.D, 1013-4 when his father died, though his nomination was three years earlier. During Rājarāja's later years, the prince was engaged in some of his wars against the Western Chalukyas. Rājēndra-Chōḷa's conquests are given at great length in his records which carry his reign to A.D. 1044-5. They show that he followed up the war-plans of his father with success. Between his 3rd and 5th years, he conquered Iḍaiturai-nāḍu, Banavāsi, Kollippākkai. Maṇṇai and Ceylon. The first people against whom he directed his arms thus appear to be the Western Gangas of Talakkāḍ. As the 3rd year of the king already expired while his father was living, we have to regard that some of these conquests had been effected under the guidance and advice of Rajaraja 1.

Having settled the affairs in the Ganga and the Eastern Ghalukya territories, he turned his attention to the subjugation of the southern powers *i. e.*, the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra, the former of which was in a state of chronic revolt against the Chōḷa yoke from the very beginning of the reign of Āditya I. Even the thorough conquests of Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I the latter of which resulted in the renaming of the Pāṇḍya country into Rājarāja-Pāṇḍimaṇḍalarn, and the defeats inflicted on them by Sundara-Chōḷa, Aditya I I , Uttama-Chōḷa and their alliees were of little avail. The policy of the Cholas during the five generations immediately preceding the reign of Rajendra-Cnola I was to gradually weaken the strength of the Pandya who nourished the most inviterate antipathy to the Ch5la victors. It was

given to Rajendra-Chola I, therefore, to device a scheme whereby they could be kept under complete control, so as not to be a source of constant trouble and concern to the Chōḷas as heretofore. Accordingly, when he was placed in independent charge of his domain, he first attacked the Pāṇḍyas with the result that their king deserted his country from fear. Thereupon, the Chōḷa king established his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya as Viceroy of the Pāṇḍya territory. The appointment of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas as Viceroys of the South has much to say in its favour since it prevented the Pāṇḍyas from rising again and this left the Ch5ḷa king free to carry his military operations undisturbed in other directions.

Rājēndra-Chōḷa is further reported to have fearlessly crossed the Western ghats and made war with the Kēraḷa ruler. There arose a fearful baitle in which he came out successful. This done, he returned to his capital, appointing the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy to rule over the Kēraḷa dominion also. It may be mentioned that during this period, the state documents were issued in the name of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy and not in the name of the Kerala king who at this time was a certain Rājasiraha, the builder of the Gopālakrishṇasvāmin temple at Mannārkoil. The temple was called Rājēudra-Chōḷa-Viṇṇagar after the name of the Ch5ḷa overlord. Another Kēraḷa king who was probably the predecessor of this Rājasimha was Rājarāja.

The next expedition of Rājēndra-Chōḷa was directed against the Western Chalukya Jayasimha I I I with success on the Chōḷa side.

Elated by these triumphs, the Chōḷa sovereign determined to advance further north to the Gangetic region. Indraratha of the lunar race was quickly overcome, the wealth of Raṇaśūra was seized and the couatrj of Dharmapāla was subdued. The general, who distinguished himself in this war made the vanquished kings, of whom Mahipāla was one, to carry the water of the Ganges to the Chōḷa country for its purification. The same person on his way home, attacked Orissa and seized its king along with his younger brother. In some respects the military fame of Rājēndra-Chōḷa exceeded that of his father. While Rājarāja confined his activities to the Madras Presidency and Ceylon, Rājēndra-Chōḷa made plucky inroads into the several States of Northern and Central India. His arms were felt by the kings who ruled over the two Berars, the ruler of the Bastar country, the sovereigns of Bengal, Kōsala, Kalinga and Vēugi. Rājendra-Chōḷa made a dash against the Eastern Chaiukya country, defeated its king Vimalāditya who was his own brother-in-law and set up a pillar of victory on the Mahēndragiri hill- The Chōḷa emblem, *i.e.*, the tiger crest with the double fish in front showing that the Pāṇḍyas had been overcome by him, was also engraved on the same hill, to testify his conquest for all time to come. Not content with all these achievements, Rājēndra-Chōḷa crossed the seas and conquered the distant country of Kaṭāhai.e., Kiḍāram in lower Burmah. A pillar of victory made up, as it were, of the water of the Ganges was then set up in the Chola capital which was at this time Gangaikoṇḍachōḷapuram built in memory of 'his conquest of the north with a big temple constructed

on the model of the one at Tanjore and standing at present in a well nigh deserted tract exciting the admiration of antiquarians. Other minor conquests effected by our sovereign were the subjugation of several islands in the Indian Ocean *viz.* Nicobar, Pappālam and the like. Other Chōla sovereigns had engaged themselves in naval warfare in prior times, but they do not appear to have formed such a strong fleet as Rājēndra-Chōla I did ; neither do they appear to have undertaken distant expeditions in ships. The existence of Tamil inscriptions in Sumatra and Java afford conclusive proof that the conquests claimed for this king is real. The Chinese work *Sungshih* states that *shih lilo ch'a yin to lo chu lo, Le.* Śri-Rājendra-Chōla sent an embassy to China in A.D. 1033 and it is fairly certain that this embassy should have taken a sea route. The object of Rājendra-Chōla's courting the friendship of the Chinese emperor is not quite apparent- Perhaps he had more extensive military schemes in view than are revealed in his inscriptions.

Rājendra-Chōla is called Panditachōla in the *Kalingattu–parani* and the Tanjore inscriptions refer to an army called Panditasōla-terindavilligal *i.e.* the chosen archers of Pandita-Chōla evidently so termed after Rājendra-Chōla, if not after Rājarāja I. If this surname was given him by others, it must indicate the high learning which he had acquired- Tradition asserts that Rājendra-Chōla brought with him, when he returned from his northern expedition, a number of families belonging to the class who perform worship in temples and settled them in Southern India for doing eccliciastical duties, The king .reigned up to A.D, 1045,

Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018 to 1050.)

The computation of the astronomical details furnished in some of his inscriptions shows that Rājādhirāja's reign counted from A.D. 1018 between May and December. Though nominally he was the king elect for the Chōḷa dominion, he was for a good portion of his reign only assisting Rājēndra-Chōḷa in the capacity of a co-regent or general as he could not have acquired any independent royal functions till the latter's death in A.D. 1045. Hence we do not get records of this sovereign dated in earlier years of his reign than the 26th. In this year, therefore, which was the date of demise of his father, he became the actual ruler.

His inscriptions attribute to him a long list of achievements most of which must refer to events which happened during the lifetime of his father. These are :—

(i) Conferring on many of his relations governorship of the outlying provinces.

(ii) Conquest of the southern region: Of the three kings of the Pāṇḍya country, Manābharaṇa was decapitated, Vira-Kēraḷa was trampled under the feet of an elephant and Sundara-Pāṇḍya was driven away as far as Mullaiyiir [1]. This was followed by the killing of the king of Vēṇāḍu *i.e.* of Travencore, and three princes of Irāmaguḍam and the destruction of the ships at Kandalur-Salai.

(iii) A military campaign against the Western Chalukyas: Āhavamalla, *i. e.* Somesvara I (A.D. 1044-65) fled out of dread ; the generals Guṇḍappayya,

[1] **See. p. 152, above.**

Gangadhara and Kevuda fell in the battle-field; Vikki *i.e.* Vikramāditya VI, Vijayāditya and Sangamaya retreated like cowards and were seized by the Ghōḷa king along with their treasure and their army of horses and elephants.

(iv) An expedition against Ceylon : The Ch5ḷa king took the crowns of Vikramabāhu, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, who had entered the island after having lost his possessions in the Paṇḍya country, Virasalāmēgan and Śrivallabha Madanarāja.

The Chōḷa king having seized Virasalāmēgan's elder sister, daughter and mother and cut off the nose of the last, there ensued a hot fight in which the Singhalese king was put to death. *Mahāwcmsa* corroborates this information of the inscriptions and the records of Rājādhirāja, discovered in Ceylon, afford conclusive evidence that the island owned the sway of the Chōḷas.

(v) Lastly Rājādhirāja defeated four chiefs named Gaṇḍar-Dinakaran, Nāraṇan, Kaṇavadi and Madiśūdan. The palace of the Chalukya king at Kampili was destroyed on this occasion and a pillar of victory was set up there.

The king accompanied his younger brother Virarājēndra to the battle of Koppam where he lost his life. Thus ended the career of this king, who never appears to have sheathed his sword. Fighting seems to have been his pastime and he laid his life in a battle-field,

Rājēndradēva (A.D. 1052-62).

Some details of the war of Rājadhiraja I is obtained from the lithic records of Parakēsarivarman Rajendradeva, his younger brother. The latter, it is

said, marched with the van-guard of the army of his elder brother, who was then ruling the kingdom, into the battle-field and took possession of Raṭṭapāḍi, 7.} lakhs. Then he fought with the large army of Āhavamalla, which had advanced to Koppam on the banks of the great river, and converted them into heaps of corpses. Āhavamalla fled away from the field of battle out of fear and the Chōḷa king seized his elephants and horses, women and treasures together with the camels. He then performed the anointment of heroes and ascended the throne, and reigned from A.D, 1052 to 1062. His reign was not very eventful.

Virarājēndra (A.D. 1062—70).

Virarājēndra then came to the throne. To make his position strong he conferred certain honours on some of his relations. His elder brother, probably a cousin, received the title of Rājarāja. On Gangaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa, he conferred the title of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya and made him rule the Pāṇḍya country. A brilliant crown was bestowed on Muḍikoṇḍa-Ohōḷa along with the name Sundara-Chōḷa.

His principal enemy was the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya VI., with whom he had three engagements. In the first instance, the armies of both the kings met on the plains of Gangapāḍi. Victory was on the side of the Chōḷa. The forces of the defeated monarch were driven as far as the Tungabhadra. A large and powerful army wasihen marshalled by Vikramaditya and he sent this on an expedition against the Vēṅgi country. The army fared ill, the general Ghamundaraja having been killed and the

only daughter of his, named Nāgalai, who was the wife of Irugaiya, having had her nose cut off. The third encounter was the worst of all. Full of rage against the Chōḷa and anxious to retrieve the previous losses, the Western Chalukya king met his opponent at a place called Kūḍal-Śangama which was at the confluence of the rivers Tungā and Bhadrā. The result of this battle is described in his inscriptions in glowing terms [1].

Virarājēndra then directed his attention to other quarters and defeated the ruler of Pottappi, the king of the Kēraḷa country, the younger brother of Jananatha of Dhāra and the Pāṇḍya sovereign Śrivallabha and Virakēsari. A record of A.D. 1070-1 refers to this king in the following words :—

" The wicked Chōḷa who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Beḷvoḷa country and burnt the Jaina temples which Ganga-Permāḍi, the lord of Gangamaṇḍala, while governing the Beḷvoḷa province had built in the Annigere-nadu. * * * The Chola eventually yielded his head to Sōmēśvara I in battle and thus losing his life, broke the succession of his family."

The above statement clearly hints that there was no heir to the Chōḷa throne when Virarājēndra died in A.D. 1070.

Here our narrative of this dynasty must end. The revived Vijayālaya line of Chōḷas had no surviving member, who was capable of ruling over the vast dominion which had been acquired during the past 2½ centuries commencing from the second quarter of

[1] See *South Ind, Inscrs,* Vol. III. Part I, p. 37.

the 9th century and ending in A. D. 1070. As a result of constant wars waged all round, the Chōḷa dominion now included almost the whole of the Madras Presidency with Ceylon and a good portion of Mysore. Pudukkōṭṭai, Cochin and Travancore states were also comprised in it and the rulers of parts of Central Provinces, Bombay and Bengal were made feudatories of the Chōḷas. One of the effective checks made by the later sovereigns of this line was the appointment of royal Viceroys to administer conquered territories. This innovation was first adopted by Rājēndra-Chōḷa I with regard to the Pāṇḍya and Chēra territories and was afterwards largely followed by his three successors. Severe wars were waged against the refractory Western Chalukyas from the time of Rajaraja I., and the Cholas showed no remorse in dealing with them. Quiet administration was brought about in the Vēngi country by the interference of the Chōḷas in the politics of the Eastern Chalukyas. Systematic naval warfare and distant expeditions characterise the rule of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. As the empire was being built up rapidly, the Chōḷa sovereigns were also mindful of improving the administration of the country which was done by the use of all their resources. In fact the Chōḷas were the only people that attempted to devise better organisations called forth by an extension of dominion. In spite of all these precautions, the decline of the power was brought about almost at the very time when it reached its zenith owing chiefly to causes beyond human control.

There were, as hinted in the record cited above no princes in the direct line of the Qh5ḷas to succeed

Virarājēndra and the dominion was, therefore, left without a ruler at the moment of his death. It was the time for pretenders and rival powers to put forth their claim for the spoil. The persons in whose hands the Chōḷa empire fell after Virarājēndra had ceased to rule cannot be called Chōḷas, though they styled themselves as such. In later times an attempt was made to establish a lawful claim for these, the merits of which we have to discuss before closing this section.

According to the *Vikramāṅkwigaḍevacharita,* the anarchy in the Chōḷa dominion was put an end to, at the first instance by the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya VI who, it is said, as soon as he heard of the death of the Chōḷa king, hastened to Conjeeveram and installed a prince on che throne. The intervention of an outsider shows at once the weakness of the claimant and his claim. Quite naturally, therefore, this prince paid the price of his pretention, by blood. He was murdered soon after his coronation and the way was opened for the Eastern Chalukya prince Rājēndra-Chōḷa (II), who was the daughter's son of his namesake Rājēndra-Choḷa I to bring the extensive Chōḷa dominion under his canopy. The Tamil work *Kalingattiuparaṇi* states that Rājēndra-Chōḷa I adopted his grandson by his daughter and nominated him to the Chōḷa throne. In this connection it is also believed that Rājēndra-Chōḷa I had no sons. There does not appear to be much truth in these statements which, as had been surmised by others, must have been invented to establish some *locus standi* to the usurper. And neither could the Chola king have nominated the prince to

succeed him. To dispose of the last point first, we might at once say that there is almost a physical impossibility for the adoption of the step, because Rājēndra-Chōḷa II had reigned over the Chōḷa dominion for a period of 50 years from A.D. 1070 and this date falls nearly 30 years after the demise of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I during which period the Chōḷa empire was ruled by three successive kings *viz,* Rajadhiraja I, Rajendradeva and Virarajendra, all of whom are regarded as the sons of Rājēndra-Chōḷa L Supposing that the Eastern Chalukya prince was nominated by Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, what would have been his age at the time the latter made the choice. He could not have been more than a boy at best or a mere child at the worst. It is not possible to conceive how a person like Rājēndra-Chōḷa I could have decided upon such a course as has been suggested in the poem when there were a number of claimants to the throne in the direct Chōḷa line. Against the belief that he had no son, we may point out that the Tiruvālangāḍu plates report that Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya whom he appointed as Viceroy of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries, was a son of his. And if it was the decision of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I that Rājēndra-Chōḷa II should succeed him, how is it that we find that Rājādhirāja I was proclaimed to be the future ruler even during the life-time of the king and suffered to occupy the throne after him and that Rajendradeva and Virarajendra were allowed to come in regular succession afterwards. It is very unlikely that the adopted prince could have remained all this while without pressing forward his right. From what has been said above, it will be quite apparent that the

accession of Rājēndra-Chōḷa II was not settled at the time of his grandfather and it is evident that there was no necessity for the adoption of a prince from the Eastern Chalukya line, as most of the members that are mentioned in the epigraphs of Rājādbirāja I and Rājēndradēva I must have been living then.

BOOK IV.

KAKATIYAS :–A TELUGU FEUDATORY FAMILY.

SECTION I:—INTRODUCTORY.

In this book we propose to give an account of the Kākatiyas, one of the feudatory families of Southern India that played an important part in the history of the country for a little over two centuries. The interest of the student in the study of this history consists in the fact that it shows clearly how far circumstances favour the rise of a subordinate family to a state of independence, facilitate its acquiring power and dominion, and finally work out its annihilation, giving place to fresh families.

The term 'Kākatiya' with its variants Kākati, Kākata, Kākēta, *etc.*, occurs in inscriptions ; but its proper significance as applied to the family is not clear, because none of the records so far discovered affords any explanation on this point. This being so, anything that could be said regarding it would only be by way of conjecture, and the truth of such a conjecture could not be substantiated. The ordinary meaning of the word *Kakata* is ' a crow,' and Dr. Burnell says that the family name Kākatiya is said by Kumārasvāmin, the commentator on *Yamktibha-harana,* to be derived from the name of a local form of the goddess Durgā. (i) If the word Kākatiya be

connected with Kākata, and means a crow, we should suppose that that bird would have figured among the emblems of the Kākatiyas. But as yet we are not informed anywhere that this was the case. On the other hand the statement made in an inscription of Rudradēva, one of the members of this family, *viz.*, that his father Prōla, after he had conquered Guṇḍa, the lord of the city of Mantrakūṭa, had his head shaved and his breast marked with a boar, might be taken to signify that the Kākatiya emblem was a boar. The Sanskrit work *Pratāparudriya*, when it states that the crest of Pratāparudra—another member of the same family—was a boar, confirms the inference here drawn, (ii) The records of the Kākatiyas do not tell us that they were the worshippers of any particular deity such as Durgā. Though these chiefs showed great religious toleration, they appear to have built a large number of Śiva temples, and richly endowed them. The boar emblem might have been borrowed from the Chalukyas whose subordinates they at first were. It seems to us that the word Kākatiya must be traced to a shrub just like the term Pallava.

Two capitals of this family are mentioned in inscriptions *viz.*, Anmakoṇḍa and Warrangal, and both of them had several variants. Hauumakoṇḍa assumes the forms Anuṇaakuṇḍa, Anumakuṇḍe, *etc.*, and it is the present headquarters of the Warrangal division and district of the Hyderabad State- It is situated in 18° 1' N aud 79° 34' E near the stations of Kazapet and Warrangal on the Nizam's State Railway.[1] Though it is described as the former

[1] **Imperial Gazetteer Vol XIII; p. 22.**

capital of the Kākatiyas before Warrangal was founded, it had not lost its importance even during the time of rule of the last king of the line, as will be seen from the sequel. Inscriptions speak of it as a great city and as an ornament of the Andhra country. It contains some very interesting buildings of which the 1,000 pillared temple consisting of three spacious halls with a fine portico supported by 300 pillars, and a star shaped *mandapa* resting on 200 pillars was built in 1162 A.D. in the Chalukyan style.[1] It may be gathered from what has been said above, that, in the earlier periods, the places surrounding Hanumakonda were under the sway of the Eastern Chalukyas and the Andhrabrityas. These latter have left several monuments in that part of the country of which we may note in particular the Jaina images carved in the rocks close to the ruined temple of Anumantagiri near Hanumakonda. The fact that the earliest known member of the Kakatiya dynasty, *i.e.*, Beta was granted the Sabbisayira country and that he made Anumakonda his capital, shows that the town was situated in this division. Warrangal or Arangal is the form adopted by the Muhammadans of the original name Orungallu or Orugallu which we find mentioned in stone inscriptions with its Sanskrit equivalent Ekasilanagari, as the later capitial of the Kakatiyas. Both towns were constructed near a hill which commanded an excellent view of the country all round. The seat of the Kakatiya government seems to have been removed during the time of Rudradeva from Anumakonda to Warrangal. This king and his successors greatly

[1] *Ibid*, p. 23.

beautified the place by building many a temple and mansion, and strengthened its fortifications.

We shall notice here briefly the circumstances which favoured the rise of the Kākatiyas to an independent power just like some others who came into prominence in the beginning of the 12th century A.D., or a little before it, in the north of our Presidency, which from the 7th century was subject to the sway of the Eastern Chalukya kings of the line of Kubjavishnuvardhana. It must be remembered that the western portion of the Eastern Chalukya dominion was subject to the sway of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi and Kalyāni. Immediately after the death of the Eastern Chalukya king Dhana or Dhanārnava, there was an interregnum in the Vengi country, which lasted for twenty-five or twenty-seven years. This was put an end to by the intervention of the Chola king Rajaraja I, who set up Saktivarman on the vacant throne about the beginning of the 11th century A. D. Saktivarman's successor Vimalāditya and the latter's son Rajaraja I of Vengi had married Chola princesses *viz.*, Kundava and Ammangadevi respectively, probably out of some political necessity. The anarchy prevailing in the Eastern Chalukya dominion and the consequent interference of the Cholas in its affairs clearly show that the kingdom had become weak. Soon after the death of Vimalāditya's son and of the accession of his grandson Rajendra-Chola (who was also a grandson of the Chola king Rajendra-Chola I, by his daughter), there was anarchy in the Chola country. The way was thus open to the Eastern Chalukya king to lay claim to, and actually obtain, the vast Chola kingdom

which had been welded together by the kings of the Vijayālaya line, for three centuries. The acquisition of the Chōḷa dominion necessitated the presence of Rājēndra-Chōḷa in the south, and he was obliged to leave his own dominion in the Circars to be ruled over by his viceroys. The hold which Rājēndra-Chōḷa—who assumed the new name of Kulōttunga I after coming to the South, and who was a powerful sovereign—had on the southern country may be considered to have been firm; but during the rule of his successors, who cannot be regarded as having been as strong as he, the northern part of the Presidency presented certain difficulties, the real power being vested in the hands of a few feudatory families. The Western Chalukyas were not slow to take advantage of the absence of a monarch in the Eastern Chalukya dominion. The tendency on the part of these to encroach on the Vengi country (either independently or in combination with their subordinates) was resisted by the feudatories of the absent monarch, sometimes successfully and sometimes not. There were also constant fights between the several subordinate powers. The successful subordinate soon proclaimed his independence and such an one appears to have been the founder of Kakatiya family.

The Kākatiyas may be said to have belonged to the solar race. Their mythical genealogy included in it such names as the Sun, Manu, Sagara, Bagiratha, Ikshvāku and others of the Raghu family. Though a Kshatriya origin could thus be given to the Kakatiyas viewed from this point, yet as it is expressly stated in some of the inscriptions of the Nellore

district that they, like other families that rose to power along with them, belonged, to the Śūdra caste, we are precluded from ascribing to them a Kshatriya origin.

A few records state that Karikāla was one of the ancestors of the Kākatiyas ; and some others mention a certain Durjaya immediately before the first historical person Bēta. It is worthy of note that, like the Kākatiyas, several other families of the Telugu country also claim Karikāla among their early members. Since it is mentioned that this Karikāla built high banks to the river Kāvēri, ruled from the city of Kāñchi, and encountered Trinayana-Pallava in battle, there is not much doubt that he is identical with the ancient Chōḷa king of that name, who figures among the ancestors of Vijayālaya, and who in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, is stated to have beautified the town of Kāñchi by expending au enormous quantity of gold, and to have built high banks to the Kāvēri.

An attempt will be made to show how the name and fame of this early Ch5ḷa king were kept alive in the memory of the Telugu people, who included him among their ancestors. It has been pointed out that after the interregnum in the Vēngi country had been put an end to by the Chōḷa king Rajaraja I—which considered in itself was an important service—the princes of the Eastern Ohalukya line married Chōḷa princesses, perhaps from some political necessity. The sons and grandsons of Vimaladitya adopted Chola names in preference to those of the Eastern Chalukyas and Kulōttunga I and his successors when they removed to the Chōḷa dominion, freely adopted the

Chōḷa ancestry in which Karikāla was an important figure. This was probably due to the tendency on the part of the Eastern Chalukyas as well as their subordinates to give up tracing their ancestry to Kubja-vishṇuvardhana and in this way the name of Karikāla may have come to be included in their high sounding pedigree. The fame of Karikāla could not have been quite unknown in the north. Here it is worth remembering that, if the encounter in which Vijayaditya claimed to have gained a victory over Trinayana-Pallava is not different from the one which gave the Chōḷa king the capital of the Pallavas and the identical claim, Vijayāditya and Karikāla probably made common cause against the Pallava king of the day, whose surname was Trinayana, and that Karikala might have been instrumental in establishing the Chalukyas in Southern India in the first half of the 6th century A.D. If there is any truth in this, we can reasonably expect the people of the Telugu districts to have preserved the memory of the valuable services rendered by Karikāla. There is one other reason also for the Telugus remembering the achievements of this Chōḷa king. It is this. The Pallavas were not slow to recover their lost hold on Kāñchi. Kumāravishṇu is said to have re-taken it perhaps from one of the successors of Karikāla. In dealing with the Pāṇḍyas, we have conclusively proved that in the middle of the 7th century A.D. the Chōḷas were completely dispossessed of their ancestral dominion in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, partly by the Pāṇḍyas and partly by the Pallavas, and that they were ruling somewhere in the Cuddapah, Karnul and Bellary districts, as Pallava or Western

Chalukya feudatories, and it is here that Hiuep. Tsiang's description of Chu-li-ye, *i.e.*, Chōḷa takes us. These Cholas of the Telugu country described themselves as the descendants of Karikaāla, Having given some consideration to the question how Karikāla's name and achievements came to be known to the Telugu people, and why they included him among their ancestors, we now pass on.

Of Durjaya, the other ancestor of the Kākatiyas, inscriptions do not reveal any historical fact except that some of the families of the Telugu country traced their descent from him. The Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs, a certain Nambaya, and those belonging to the Chāgi race, claim to be of Durjaya-kula.

SECTION II.—GENEALOGY OF THE KAKATIYAS.

Before we attempt to offer an account of the history of the several members belonging to this dynasty, it is necessary to give their pedigree first, so that it may be easy to follow the narrative. Some of the stone records of the Kākatiyas state that in the family of Durjaya there was Bēta, called also Bebmarāja and Tribhuvanamalla. We may note at once that the names Bēta and Tribhuvanamalla occur among the Telugu Chōḷas. The father and son of this Bēta were both called Prōla. The variants of his name are Prōlarāja, Prōḍarāja or Poḷalarasa. The sons of Prōla II by queen Muppala or Muppama-Mahādēvi were Eudra and Mahādēva. The latter married Bayyamāmbikā, and their son was Ganapati, who took to wife two sisters, Narama and Perama, He had two daughters,

Rudrāmba and G-aṇapāmba. Of these the former was the daughter by Sōma and, it is said, she ruled after Ganapati under the male name Rudradevamaharaja. The second daughter became the wife of the Kōṭa chief Kēta, After Rudrāmba, the Kākatiya crown passed on to her grandson Pratāparudra, Prabāpatudra's relationship is not stated in inscriptions, but is noted in the Sanskrit work *Prataparudriya*, which mentions also the names of his father and mother, *viz.*, Mahādēva and Mummaḍāmba. The several members here given are noted in the following genealogy with some of their surnames,

Karikāla
⋮
Durjaya
⋮
Prōla

Bōta Tribhuvanamalla

Prōla II, Prōlarāja, Poḷalarasa or Prōḷarāja ra. Muppalamahādāvi

Budradēva — Mahādōva *m.* Bayyamāmbika

Mēlāmbika — Gariapati *m.* Nārama, Pērama and Soma

Rudramba or Rudradeva-Maharaja Ganapamba *m.* Keta

Mahādēva m. Mummaḍāmba

Prabāparudra

Beta.

In the above genealogy of the Kākatiyas, the first historical person is Bēta or Betmarāja. He bore the surname Tribhuvanama,lla, which was distinctly a Western Chalukya title. It is said that he ruled a portion of the Āndhra country, had acquired the five great sounds, and was a mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. His ministers were (i) a certain Vaija and (ii) his son* Pergaḍa-Bēta who was boru to his beautiful wife Yākaraabbe. The former of the two ministers is said to have beea prodigious in his fame and prowess, and it is added that he did a service to the king which won for him the applause of the world. He made Bēta bow at the feet of the Western Chalukya emperor, and rule the Sabbi, one thousand district, by the favour of that emperor. This statement of the inscription about the intervention of the minister of Bēta in order to make his lord (the king), who was the ruler of a portion of the Āndhra country, bow at the feet of the Western Chalukya emperor and obtain from him the Sabbi one thousand district taken by itself, cannot be considered a very great act, because, it brought on his master complete humiliation ; and if this is to be called a tactful and diplomatic act for which he deserved the applause of the world, the circumstances, must have been that Bēta had got into entire disfavour with the Western Chalukya king on account of some act of his and that he was on the point of being crushed by the latter had it not been for the intervention of the minister. We are not informed how he displeased the Western Chalukya emperor; but when we take into consideration the fact that Bēta was governing a part of the Āndhra dominions

before he incurred the displeasure of the Western Chalukya sovereign, it is possible that Bēta may have been one of those Eastern Chalukya feudatories who resisted the attempt of the Western Chalukyas to gain possession of a portion of the former's kingdom thinking the absence of the ruling king in that part of the country a favourable opportunity.

In favour of this view it may be urged that the Chōḷas as well as the successors of Bēta had to contend hard with the Western Chālukyas. We shall speak in the next paragraph, about the spirit of revenge which actuated the successors of Bēta against the Western Chalukyas, for the defeat sustained by Bēta at the hands of Vikramāditya VI. The second minister of Bēta continued to hold his office even during the reign of Prōla. The exact period of Bēta's rule is not known at present, but when we look at the way in which he is mentioned in inscriptions we are inclined to think that he did not acquire any independent power, and was not in a position to issue grants in his own name.

Prola IL

Prōla II succeeded Bēta. By a severe contest with the Western Chalukyas and some of the chieftains of the Telugu country, he raised himself to a position of independence which made it possible for his successors to increase the limits of the kingdom. Only a single record of his reign has come down to us. It was found at Anmakoṇḍa, the original capital of the dynasty, and is dated in the Chalukya Vikrama year 42 corresponding to A.D. 1117, which is thirty-four years earlier than the date of accession of Taila III. As has been already noted, he found himself in conflict with

Taila or Tailapa III (A.D. 1151-1163), whom he worsted and took prisoner, but finally set at liberty. Jagaddēva, the Sāntara chief of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura and a feudatory of three of the Western Ghalukyakings,—Jagadēkamalla II, Vikramāditya VI and Taila III,—who had won distinction in some encounters with the Hoysaḷa sovereign Ballāḷa I and Vishṇuvaradhana-Biṭṭi, is supposed to have laid siege to Anmakoṇḍa, the capital of the Kākatiyas. But it was of little avail. Not only was Prōla able to reduce this chief to subjection,but he carried his arms against a number of other feudatories or allies of the Western Chalukyas, defeated them and annexed their territories. A certain Gōvinda, also called Gōvinda-Daṇḍēśa was defeated and driven out of his kingdom, which was at once taken and given to Udaiya, a member of the Chōla family. Guṇḍa, the lord of the city of Mantrakūṭa,[1] also called Mantena, was next attacked and put to death, after having been made to suffer the ignominy of having his head shaved and his breast marked with a boar. The conquests achieved by Prōla suggest that his reign could not have been short. The facts that his Anmakoṇḍa record is dated in A.D. 1117, and that he defeated and brought under subjection Taila, who commenced to rule in A.D. 1151, go a long way to establish .this surmise. We may note in this connection that the earliest known epigraph of his successor Rudra is dated in Śaka 1084(=A.D. 1162), There must, therefore, be truth in the tradition which.states that Prōla ascended the

[1] This place has been identified with Mantena in the Nuzvid Zemindari of the Godavari district,

throne when he was a minor. We are not able to ascertain the truth of the other part of the same tradition which asserts that during his reign Orungallu *(i.e.,* Warrangal) was subjected to an invasion by the Gajapati king of Orissa, and that Prōla was killed accidentally by his son, thus fulfilling an old prophecy which foretold the fate of Prōla exactly as it occurred. The conquests of Prōla were confined to the Telugu districts. He appears to have improved the irrigation of the country by building tanks.

Rudra.

Prōla was succeeded by his eldest son Rudra. Two records of his reign have been discovered so far. Of these, one is dated in Śaka 1084 (=A.D. 1162), and the other in Śaka 1107 (=A.D. 1185). He was more powerful than his father and carried with him the spirit of hostility against the Western Chalukyas and their feudatories. Taila III having died soon after Rudra's accession *in* about A.D. 1163, there was not much trouble from the Western Chalukyas. Two other chiefs subdued by Rudra are Domma, who is stated to have been powerful on account of his cavalry, and a certain Mailigidēva, whose kingdom he annexed to his own. The last mentioned chief has been identified with the Yādava king Mullugi, the predecessor of Billama (A.D. 1187-91). A more powerful opponent of Rudra now rose in the person of Bhīma who seems to have acquired a portion of the dominion of the Western Chalukyas. It is said that this chief slew his own brother and a certain Gōkarṇa and seized the city of Chododaya,—on whom the late

king Prōla conferred the kingdom of Gōvinda, and who died in the early part of the reign of Rudra, just before the demise of Taila **III.** Bhima now advanced towards the capital of the Kākatiyas, took possession of a place called Vardhārnānagiri which was situated very near Anmakoṇḍa. Rudra marched against him, and forced him to abandon the place, and took it. The Chōḷas of Kundūr who had been the vassals of the Kākatiyas, having now become troublesome Kudra was forced to burn their capital. The conquests effected by this king largely extended the Kākatiya territory. Rudra is also said to have razed to the ground several cities, founded quarters at Orungallu under the names of the cities so destroyed, and peopled them with the inhabitants brought from there. He built temples called Rudreśvara at the places which he destroyed, and re-peopled them with fresh families. From one of his inscriptions we learn that the eastern boundary of the kingdom was the sea; Śriśailam marked its southern limit, Malayavanta formed the northern boundary, and the Western Chalukya dominion as far as the confines of Kataka was the western boundary.

Rudra is described in his records as being of a religious turn of mind and as a man of many virtues. He supported the learned liberally. He had a large army and he himself was a great general. Victory attended all his undertakings. The wealth and glory of his dominion increased during his reign. He built many temples and endowed them richly. His power was so great that all kings between Kānchi and the **Vindhyas sought his protection.**

RUDRA was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādēva, who was the second son of queen Muppala-mahādēvi. Since the reigns of his father and elder brother were of considerable length, and there is certainty about the accession of his son Gaṇapati to the Kākatīya throne in A.D. 1198-99 as will be shown presently, it is quite possible that Mahādēva's reign was short. The conflict with the Yādavas of Dēvagiri which commenced during the days of Rudra seems to have continued in this reign as well.

Jaitugi (1191-1209 A.D.), the successor of Bil-lama, claims to have slain a king of Trikalinga and seized his kingdom. He is also reported to have set at liberty Gaṇapati and conferred on him a territory which is probably Trikalinga. We are not informed who the Trikalinga king that was slain by Jaitugi was, how Gaṇapati came to be in prison and who imprisoned him. We shall not be far wrong if, with the facts before us, we make the sur-mise that the defeat inflicted on Mullugi by Rudra and the consequent loss of the Yādava dominion or a part of it, which the conqueror is said to have annexed to his own, induced Jaitugi to take up arms against the Kākatīyas after the demise of Rudra and in the reign of Mahādēva. In this case, Jaitugi must have slain Mahādēva, and imprisoned Gaṇapati for a time, and on the latter's coming to terms he must have restored to him his kingdom. The Kākatiya records naturally omit to mention the struggle of Mahādēva with the Yādavas, because the results of it were thoroughly disastrous to them.

Ganapati.

As many as forty inscriptions of the time of Ganapati have beeu secured so far, and there is no dearth of information regarding the history of the period of his rule, which was indeed very eventful. This king was the son of Mahadeva by his queen Bayyamambika. He had a sister named Melambika, who was married to the Natavadi chief Vakadimalla-Rudra, the second son of Buddha. He took to wife Narama and Perama who were the sisters of Jaya, also called Jayana, whom he appointed as his minister. To the Kota chief Keta he married his own daughter Ganapamba, By a different queen named Soma he had another daughter, *viz.*, Rudramba who was destined to play a distinguished part in the history of India. Many of the records of Ganapati are dated in the Saka era coupled with the regnal years, and from these it is possible to ascertain the exact year of his accession to the throne. One of his Tirupurantakam inscriptions[1] is dated in Saka 1182 and belongs to the 62nd year of reign. This shows that he came to the throne in A.D. 1198-9 and reigned until at least A.D- 1260-1, which is almost the last year of his rule. Ganapati seems to have gained strength by the marriages contracted with the Natavadi and Kota chiefs as well as with Jaya, whose family counted many a general and minister. Probably with their help he successfully fought with the Chola, Kalinga, Seuna, Karnata, Lata and Velanandu kings. After the death of the Yadava king Jaitugi, Simhana (1209-47 A.D.) ascended the throne. Hostilities between the Kakatiyas

[1] **No. 196 of 1905,**

and the Yādavas revived. In his inscriptions, Simharṭa claims to have overcome the Āndhra king and to have uprooted the water-lily, which was the head of the Telinga king. It is not unlikely that there is a reference here to his conflict with the Kākatiyas, Similarly also Gaṇapati lays claim to have defeated Simhaṇa. Other records of his, refer to the same event, when they say that he defeated the king of Seuṇa. Though each of these kings claims to have defeated the other, there are reasons for holding that in the present instance the real victor was the Kākatlya king Gaṇapati. This event seems to have happened before A.D. 1235.

The political condition of Southern India in the second quarter of the 13th century A.D., presented to the Kākatlyas an opportunity to extend their dominion- The Chōḷa kingdom was then governed by Rājarāja III, who was a very weak sovereign. In the latter part of his reign, some of his own subordinates began to throw off the Chōḷa yoke, and tried to assert their independence. One such rebel, the Pallava Perunjinga, even went to the length of putting the king in prison. The Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra under their king Narasirnha II, taking up the cause of the captive emperor, fought with the Pallava, defeated him in several encounters, released Rājarāja from captivity and reinstated him on his throne, thus earning the title of 'The Establisher of the Chola' This he seems to have done'because he had given his daughter in marriage to the Chola sovereign. After being reinstated in about A.D. 1232, the Ch5ḷa king continued to keep up the semblance of power for a few years more, *i.e,* till A.D, 3242, when a portion

of the Chōḷa dominion passed into the hands of Perunjinga, who proclaimed himself king in A.D. 1242. The wreck of the Chōḷa empire, which was brought about mainly by the weakness of its kings, presented ample opportunities for other powers to rise into importance. The Kākatiyas were not slow to take advantage of it. Accordingly, we hear of Gaṇapati claiming victory over the Chōḷas. That this is not a mere boast is proved by the fact of the existence of.his inscriptions at Conjeevaram and Kāḷahasti. How he came to have possession of these places is not stated, but it is not very difficult to find out. Almost at the end of the 12th century A.D. a branch of the Telugu-Chōḍas who were governing some part of the Nellore district with their capital at Vikramasingapura, *i.e.*, Nellore, moved southwards and took possession of Kāñchi. This was done in about A.D. 1196 by Nallasaddha who was the paternal uncle of Tammasuddhi. Inscriptions of the latter chief are found in Conjeevaram and its neighbourhood. When the records of the Chōḷa king Kulōttunga I I I state that he despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the north and entered Kāñchi in triumph, we have to understand that he defeated a member of the Telugu-Chōḍa family, who had occupied Conjeevaram. Even after this event, the chiefs continued to have possession of a portion of the North Afoot and Cbingleput districts where their inscriptions are found. Perhaps they ruled the country as feudatories of the Chōḷas after they were defeated by KulOttunga I I I. One of the members of this family was Chōḍa-Tikka. He is said to have ruled from his capital at Vikramasingapura, to have defeated the

Ramaṭa king Sōmēśa *(i.e.,* the Hoysaḷa Vīrasōmēśvara) at Champāpuri, to have subdued Śamburāja (i.e., Śatnbuvarāya), to have captured Kāṉchi and to have established the Chōḷa king on the throne. The last of these achievements is proved by the existence of an inscription of his, found in the Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ temple at Conjeevaram, dated in Śaka 1156 (=A.D. 1233-4). Tradition asserts that Manma, the son of this chief and a patron of the Telugu poet Tikkanasōmayāji, was ousted from his kingdom by his own cousins. The poet interceded on behalf of the exile with the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati, who, readily espousing the cause, defeated the enemies of Manma, and reinstalled him on the throne. This interference of king Gaṇapati in the affairs of the Telugu-Chōḍas must have occurred before A.D. 1249 corresponding to Śaka 1172, which is the date of his Conjeevaram inscription, and it is worthy of note that this inscription reveals the name of Sachiva, the minister, and Sānta-Bhōja of the Dōchi family, his general, both of whom distinguished themselves in the king's southern expedition. That there must be truth in this account of the tradition can perhaps be inferred from the fact that the Telugu-Chōḍas are mentioned among the enemies overcome by Gaṇapati and from the appearance in his records of a feudatory who bore the title Velanāṇṭi-Kulōttunga-Rajendra-Choda-Nistaraka[1] and who calls himself the ornament of the family of Manma, the protector of the kingdom of Jaṭā-Chōḍa. Another Telugu-Chōḍa chief, who figures as a feudatory of Gaṇapati, was Mallidēva

1 Nos. 160 and 161 of 1899.

of Kandukurin Pakanandu, who calls himself a descendant of Karikāla, and who made a grant of a village to the temple of Bhimēśvara at Ikshugrāma, *i.e.*, the modern Peddacherukūru, for the merit of king Gaṇapati. Yet another Telugu-Cbōḍa chief, who found favour with the Kākatiya king, was Ōpilisiddhi II, who had conquered Kammanāṇḍu, apparently from one of his cousins. An iuscription found at Koṇidena in the Kistna district registers the gift of a village by this chief and states that it was made for the merit of Gaṇapati. The Velanāṇḍu chiefs are also said to have been overcome by the Kakatiya sovereign, and this receives confirmation from the fact that the ministers and servants of that family figure in the inscriptions of Gaṇapati.[1]

In the earlier part of his reign, *i.e.*, in the first and second decades of the 13th century A.D., Gaṇapati was served by his able minister Jāya (Jāyaua or Jāyasēnāpati) and the king was pleased to grant to him in A.D. 1213 the village of Tāmarapuri, *i.e.*, Ghebrōlu iu the Kistna district, perhaps as a recognition of his services. This minister having repaired the temple of Paṇḍēśvara which Kulōituuga-Kājēudra-Gonka had built and named after his younger brother, king Gaṇapati made a gift of a village to it.[2] A Ghebrōlu record further states that Jāya built the temple of Chōḍēśvara, named it after his father and gave to it the village of Mrottukūru iu Velanāṇḍu.[3] He was also the builder of another Śiva temple, Gaṇapeśvara. The wife of Gangayasāhini constructed

1 No. 411 of 1893, dated inŚaka 1159 (-A.D. 1239).

2 No. 250 of 1897.

3 No. HO of 1897.

"the temple at Pushpagiri. [1] Ganapati's relations rendered him some kind of service or other. In A.D. 1209, the Kōṭa chief Kēta, who had married one of the daughters of Gaṇapati, reconsecrated the temple of Bhimēśvara.[2] In the same year, the king's sister Mēlāmbika, also called Mailala-mahādēvi, built and consecrated the shrine of Mēlāmbikēśvara in the Tripurāntakēśvara temple. [3]

About A.D. 1249-50 Ganapati had to contend against a certain Rakkasa and Dāmōdara, the latter of whom was holding a territory to the west of the Kākatlya kingdom and commanded a powerful army. The Kayastha feudatory of Ganapati, *i-e.*, Gandapen-ḍāragangayasāhiṇi, who was given the country between Ponangallu and Mārjavāḍi to govern over, is reported to have conquered these chiefs. Some of She inscriptions register gifts made for the merit of Gaṇa-pati, (1) by this chief,[4] (ii)by the minister Nāmadēva Paṇḍita,[5] who built a temple at Durgi,[6] and (iii) by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jannigadēva-mahārāja, who was governing a province of the Kakatiya dominion in the later years of Gaṇapati's reign.[7] The last men-tioned personage was probably a successor of Gangaya-sāliiṇi and belonged to the Kāyastha race. A Koṇidena record states that Bhāskaradēva was the commander of the elephant forces of Gaṇapati.[8] About the close of his reign another general of his, who belonged to the Chalukya family, fought battles on the banks of

[1] No. 304 of 1905.
[2] No. 244 of 1897.
[3] No. 204 of 1905.
[4] Nos. 176 and 283 of 1905.
[5] No. 231 of 1905.
[6] No. 571 of 1909.
[7] No. 208 of 1905,
[8] No. 178 of 1899,

the Godavari and took the head of a certain Goṇṭūri-nāgadēva,[1] who may be a descendant of Goṇṭūri-Nārāyana (A.D. 1255) and Gonturi-odayaraja (A.D. 1216) who are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kistna district together with their ministers Bāyaṇa,-Preggaḍa and Kuchana-Preggaḍa-[2]

It has already been noticed that the Kākatiya occupation of Kānchi must have taken place in or before A.D. 1249, which is the date of the Aruḷāḷa-perumāḷ inscription of Gaṇapati. In this attempt, the Kākatīyas found themselves in opposition to the Pallava rebel Perunjinga who asserted his independence in A.D. 1243 and was governing Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam, which he seized from the Chōḷas. Though the records of Gaṇapati are silent as to his conflict with Perunjinga, there is distinct mention in the inscriptions of the latter that he fought with the Telingar and drove them to the north. This reference means that he contended with the Kakatiyas successfully. But the complete conquest of them was reserved for the Paṇḍyas whose ally Perunjinga appears to have become after he was worsted by the Hoysaḷas.

In 1250-51 A.D., Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I ascended the throne and during his reign the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which from the end of the 12th century A.D. was slowly rising into importance from a position of insignificance, received a fresh impulse by the activities of this sovereign, who appears to have been a powerful warrior and a man of matured plans and determined intentions. By wars carried on all round

[1] No. 194 of 1905.

[2] Sewell'a list of Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 49.

with a strong army at his back, he was able vastly to extend his dominion. He it was that secured the greater part of the territory of the declining Chola power. During his reign the Pāṇḍya kingdom reached a limit which was unknown in its previous anpals. It is reported that he carried an expedition into the Telugu country and fought successfully with the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati and a certain Viraganḍagōpāla, The existence of his inscriptions in the northern part of the Presidency leaves no doubt that his claim to have performed the anointing of heroes and victors at Vikramasingapura, *i.e.*, Nellore, was true. The success of the Pāṇḍyas greatly crippled the power of the Kakatiyas and resulted in their losing possession of their dominion in the Tamil country. .

We shall note here a few facts of general interest concerning the reign of Gaṇapati. In 1244 A.D. the king remitted the taxes on certain articles of export and import [1] and favoured the merchants trading on the sea. In the next year Ḍachanapreggaḍa-gaṇapaya, who seems to have been an officer of Gaṇapati, made a remission of tolls payable on 300 pack-bullocks; No. 225 of the Epigraphist's collection for 1909 registers gifts made by Rudradēva, son of the Nātavāḍi chief Rudradēva-mahārāja and Mailalamahādēvi.

In 1250 A.D. Gaṇapati gave to the temple at Tripurāntakam the tax on sab manufactured in that year, [2] and a record of 1255 A.D, states that the central shrine of the Tirupurāntakēśvara was, under the orders of the king, built of stone by Śānta-Śambu, son of Viśvēśvarāchārya. Another work of this king was

[1] No. 600 of 1909. [2] No. 221 of. 1905.

the construction of a lake called Jagadāḷamummaḍi, *i.e.*, the Pakai lake[1]. From this it appears that Jagadāḷamummaḍi was one of his surnames. The Śaiva ascetics belonging to the Gōḷaki or Gōḷagirimaṭha made some grants to temples during this reign. An inscription dated in Śaka 1174 (= 1252 A.D.)[2] gives the name of one of them, *viz.*, Viśvēśvaraśivadēśika and states that he was the pupil of Dharmaśivāchārya. Another record tells us that the influence of the teachers of the *maṭha* extended over three lakhs of villages. In later years the members belonging to this religious institution established branches in the Tamil country, and it may be remarked that in those days *maṭhas* were the centres of learning.

To sum up, the reign of Gaṇapati seems to have been a prosperous one. He had a number of ministers and generals, who remained devoted to him and displayed their activities whenever opportunities occurred. The wars undertaken by the king spread his fame far and wide and resulted in the extension of his dominion, though he could not stand before the superior strength of his Pāṇḍya foe. In the course of the long years that he reigned, several buildings came to be newly erected and substantial additions were made to those that were already in existence. There was much religious activity at the time and learning also received a stimulus. Favourable taxation and remission of duties were made with a view to increase commercial enterprise or to remove the disabilities under which traders laboured. Charitable endowments received special care and due attention was paid to irrigation.

[1] No. 82 of 1913. [2] No. 223 of 1905.

Rudramba.

Gaṇapati had no sons but only two daughters whom he called Rudrāmbā and Gaṇapāmbā. Of these the former was born to his queen Sōma, and the latter was the daughter of Bayyamāmbikā and had married the Kōṭa chief Kēta, who played an important part in protecting the realm of his father-in-law. One of Gaṇapati's illustrious contemporary sovereigns of Northern India, Sultan Rezia of the Slave Dynasty was a talented lady. Seeing this instance, perhaps, the king, who had no male issue, decided long before his death, to leave the kingdom in charge of Rudramba, and with this object in view he taught her all that a king should know. When we look at the admirable way in which sh conducted the government of the country, we clearly see that her succession could not have been a work of pure accident, but that her father must have thought of putting her at the helm of government after his demise, and must have trained her in the art of governing, which during those troublous times was always beset with much difficulty. We may not be far wrong if we suppose that the title *Pattodati,* which an inscription of 1269 A.D. gives her, was borne by her already during her father's lifetime to indicate that she was the queen elect of the Kakatiya dominion. We are confirmed in our view by a statement in the Pratāparudriya that Ganapati, seeing that he had no male issue, decided that Rudramba should succeed him and gave her the male name Rudradeva-inabaraja.

Rudrāmbā was proclaimed ruler of the Kākatiya kingdom immediately after the death of Ganapati.

This took place in 1261 A. D. (corresponding to Śaka 1183). During the earlier years of this sovereign, the officers and subordinates of the late king continued to be in power. Accordingly, we find mention in her records of Januikadēva, the governor, and Bhāskaradēva, the commander of the elephant force, and some of the ministers of Gaṇapati.[1] Jannikadēva continued to be in charge of his province until A.D. 1269 or thereabout. This is gathered from an inscription[2] of Rudradēva dated in Śaka 1191 in the Gōpināthasvāmin temple at Durgi (Kistna district) which states that a Brāhmaṇa consecrated that temple and that Jannikadēva was the governor. One of the records of Drākshārāma is dated in Śaka 1184 (= 1262 A-D.) which falls into the reign of Rudrāmb'ā, Here the king is called Sakalabhuvauachakravartin Avanyavanasambhavamahārājasimha, which closely corresponds to Sakalabhuvauachakravartin Avaniyālappirandān Kōpperunjinga, who, as has been already stated, contended against Gaṇapati. It is not possible to say what kind of relationship existed between him and Rudrāmbā. A certain Gannamarasa, also called Gannamanaidu was the commander-in-chief of this Kākatiyaqueen in 1268 A.D.[3] The fort at Guḍimaṭla in the Kistna district is stated to have been constructed during the reign of this sovereign by a chief named Sāgi-Pōtarāju and Mr, Sewell notes that an inscription of Muktiyala gives the genealogy of the Ghagi (a variant of Saga) 'family, which includes in

[1] Nos. 194 and 207 of 1905 and 178 of 1899.

[2] **Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol, I. p. 57.**

[3] **See Sewell's Lists of Antiquities under Peddavaram**

it. the names of Durjaya, Pōta, Dhōrabhūpa and another Pōta. The builder of the fort may be one of the two Pōtas here mentioned. To the same family belonged Peddachāgi, Bhima, and Manma or Manmaganapati, which the Mangalapalli inscriptions mention. One of the records of Tripurāntakam dated in Śaka 1192 (-1270 A.D.) and in the reign of Rudramba, mentions a certain Śnkanta-Śiva, who may be a teacher belonging to the Gōḷaki-maṭha which received much support from Gaṇapati. Gaṇḍapeṇḍara-Triupurāridēva-mahārāja of the Kayastha family, who perhaps succeeded Jannikadēva in the office of governor, made a gift of gold ornaments and vessels to the temple at Tripurāntakam, in Śaka 1194 (=1272 A. D.). In this year Ambadēvamahārāja, another member of the same family, came to power [4] and exercised it till the close of the reign of Rudrāmbā, *i.e.,* until 1291 A.D. The capital of this governor was Kaṇḍikōṭa-manōrathapura. Seeing perhaps that the Kākatlya dominion was now under the sway of a female ruler, a few chiefs began to disturb the peace and they were successfully dealt with by Ambadēva. This chief conquered Śrīpati-Gaṇapati and assumed the title of Rājasahasramalla; defeated Eruvamallidēva; subdued Kēśava, Svāmidēva, and Alluganga; brought under subjection Dāmōdara and a certain Mallikārjuna, who is declared to be an enemy of the Brāhmaṇas and gods; and destroyed Kaḍavarāya. At Vikramasingapura. *i.e.,* Nellore, he established Maumagaṇḍagōpāla, who was dispossessed of his kingdom. Thus it is clear that Rudrāmbā found able supporters in the persons of her governors

[1] **No. 168 of 1905.**

Jannigadēva, Triupurāridēva-mahārāja and Ambadēvamahārāja. But for the few disturbances which were also easily put down, her reign was a powerful one. It was during the close of Rudrārnbā's rule that the Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the coast at Mōṭṭupalli near the mouth of the river Kistna. We have his testimony as regards the benefits conferred on the country by this remarkable lady. He says that the country was for forty years under the sway of the queen, a lady of much discretion. He assures us that during all that space of forty years she administered her realm as well as her predecessors did or better, and as she was a lover of justice, equity and peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before. If there is any truth in that part of the traveller's statement about the length of Rudrāmbā's reign, which he says was forty years, we have to believe that she was nominated for succession nearly ten years before the actual demise of Gaṇapati, for we know that she came to the throne in 1261-62 A.D., and reigned for a period of thirty years, *i.e.*, till 1291-92 A,D., which is the earliest date of her successor Pratāparudra. Our inference iu this respect made iu a previous paragraph receives confirmation here. And we would like to add one word more before closing the history of this distinguished lady sovereign of Southern India, that we shall be doing her an injustice if we suppose, in the face of this unsolicited testimony of a contemporary writer, that the Kākatiya kingdom was growing weak or that her rule was not a peaceful one.

The Venetian traveller stopped at Mōṭṭupalli on his voyage up the coast. He gives a glowing

description of the place and its commercial activity, particularly mentioning the trade in diamonds [1] and very fine cloth.[2]

[1] Marco Polo gives three interesting methods of obtaining diamonds adopted by the people—(l) When the heavy winter rains fall on the lofty mountains they produce great torrents, which flow down the mountains carrying pieces of diamonds and deposit them on their beds. These are Collected in plenty by the people after the rains are over. (2) In the summer season, when there is not a drop of water to be had owing to excessive heat and when there are huge serpents and other venomous reptiles, which prevent the seekers of diamonds from descending the inaccessible depths of the ravines where the gem is found, people have recourse to the curious process of throwing from the mountain heights lean pieces of meat into the valley beneath so that they may stick to them. It is said that the eagles which live on the serpents, immediately take the pieces of meat to the tops of mountains and begin to feed on them. By shoutsi they drive away the birds and take back the meat in which pieces of diamonds are stuck. (3) The third method is yet more curious. People go to the nests of these birds and find in their droppings pieces of diamonds. It is said that they also get them from the stomachs of the eagles which have devoured the gem along with the meat.

In these accounts there seems to be some amount of exaggeration, but it must be said that they may have been based upon figments of facts and as such they cannot be dismissed as fabrications unworthy of credence. Marco-Polo further states that the diamonds of his country are the mere refuse of the gems found in India, and that they cannot stand comparison with those obtained in Telingana. The best of the diamonds obtained in this country are further stated to be remarkable for their size and quality, so much so that the Great Khan and the other kings of the north get them in large quantities from here.

[2] In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams **and** those of highest price; in sooth they look **like**

We are informed by him that Rudrāmbā was a widow at the time of her accession to throne; perhaps her husband whose name is not revealed to us in the Kākatlya inscriptions was alive during the last years of Gaṇapati, when she was nominated to succeed him- We know from other sources that this queen had a daughter—perhaps the onlj issue of her£ —who was called Mummaḍamba. She married a certain Mahaḍeva, and their son was Rudra. When he came of age Rudramba abdicated the throne in his favour.

Prataparudra.

The earliest inscription of Prataparudra is dated in Śaka 1213 (=-1291 A.D.) which must be the year when Rudramba retired from active work. During the three years 1291-93 Prataparudra was known by the name of Kumara-Rudraḍeva-mabaraja. It has been sought to explain the appellation *Kumara*, by supposing that it indicates either his young age or his heir-apparentship. There is no doubt that Prataparudra was young at this time ; but that fact cannot be the reason why records belonging to these three years alone call him by that name. Neither is the other satisfactory, because the title *maharaja* assumed by him, and the fact that the charters are dated in his reign, show clearly that he was not merely an heir-apparent, but was actually ruling at the time. It seems that the correct way of explaining the prefix *Kumara* is to suppose that Prataparudra's grandmother *i.e.,* queen Rudramba,

tissue of spider's web. There is no king nor queen in the world but might be glad to wear them. Yule's *Marco Polo* I I I , xix. p. 296.

called ia her inscriptions Rudradēva-mahārāja, was alive at the time; and as she was alive, it was thought necessary to distinguish the two. This was effectively done by the addition of the epithet *Kumāra* to the name of the young king, which was the same as that borne by Rudrāmbā.

The names of a number of generals of this king are revealed to us in his records, which range from Śaka 1213 (=1291 A.D.) to Śaka 1244 (=1322 A.D.). In the first years of the king's reign, his general Sōmayāḷula Rudradēva made a grant to the temple at Julakallu in the Kistna district. The same general without the title Sōmayāḷula is referred to in a few inscriptions [1] of Durgi and Tripurantakam. A record of 1291 A.D. mentions Annaladēva, the son of the Mahāpradhāni Gannayapreggaḍa[2] who is perhaps identical with the Annayapreggaḍa mentioned as the general of the king in his records of 1306 A.D. (from Peddagalapalle) and 1317 A.D. (from Tirupati). A third general of his is one Aḍidemma who claims to have cut off the head of Manmagaṇḍa-gōpāla and had the title Miśaraganḍa.[3] A record of 1296 A.D. mentions the king's prime minister Pōchi-raju,[4] and another of 1299 A.D. states that Guṇḍa-Nayaka, who was the first lord of the elephant forces (Gajasahini) of the king and who bore the title Svamidrōharaganḍa, was ruling the districts of Gurisalastala, Piṅgalistala and certain other pro-vinces. Machayanayaningaru, who had also the same

[1] Nos. 45 of 1909 and 570 of 1909 and 572 of 1909.
[2] No. 238 of 1905. [3] No. 171 of 1905.
[4] No. 45 of 1909.

birudas together with the title of Immaḍi Niśśanka-vira> was another military officer of Praṯāparudra. He figures in records dated in 1303 and 1311 A.D. In the latter year he made grants for the merit of Guṇḍaya-Nāyaka and Mārayasāhiṇi, who are stated to have been commanders of elephant forces. About the close of the reign of this king, Devaranayaningaru, son of Machayasāhiṇi, who calls himself the rescuer of the Kāṯakaṯïya family, was ruling the country round Mahādēvicharla. We are introduced to a fresh general of Praṯāparudra, *i.e* , Muppiḍi-Nāyaka in his inscription of the Aruḷāḷaperumā] temple dated in Śaka 1238 (-1316 A.D.) Praṯāparudra had, as his *sarvādhikaṙi)* a certain Ellayareḍḍi; and his elder brother figures in a record of 1308 A.D.

One of the first acts of the king was to settle some disturbances in Nellore and this, as we have already stated, was done by his general Misaraganḍa Aḍidernma, who put to death the Telugu-Chōḍa chief of the place named Manmaganḍagoṗaḷa. In 1308 A.D, the Kākatiya kingdom was pitched upon for an attack . by the Muhammadan emperor of Delhi. One of their historians named Zia-ud-din-Barni informs that Malik Fakhruddin Juna Malik Jhaju of Karra, nephew of Nazaratkhan, had been sent with all the officers and forces of Hindustan against Arangal. When they arrived there, the rainy season commenced and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing; and in the beginning of winter they returned to Hindustan, greatly thinned in ranks. This ill-fated expedition was soon followed by another the result of which was a thorough success. The following is an extract from the account of the

Muhammadan chronicler Amir-khusru :—On the 25th of Jumadalawwal, A.H. 709 (=1309 A.D.) Malik Naib Kafur, the minister, was despatched on an expedition to Tilang *[i.e.* Telingana). The army of the general crossed several rivers, torrents, water courses and forests, and finally, eight days after they crossed the Nerbudda *(i.e.* Narmada), they arrived at Nilakantha (Nelgund in the Nizam's dominions), which was on the borders of Deogir and included in the country of Rai Rayan, whose minister Ramdeo was. Here the Muhammdans ascertained the stages in advance of them and proceeded after a halt of two days. They then crossed three plains and hills and arrived within the borders of Bijanagar (Baugnagar in the Hyderabad state ?) which was situated in the d*oab* of two rivers, one being Yashar and the other Baruja, and which was reported to contain a diamond mine. They then went to the fort of Sirbar (identical with Sirpur in the Hyderabad state), which was then included in the province of Tilang (Telingana). The place was attacked by the invaders, who put to the sword those Hindus that escaped the flames of their fire arrows. Ananir, the brother of the commander of the fort, was forced to surrender with all treasures. The Muhammadans then marched to Kunarpal (identical with Sunarpal in the Bastar State) and thence to Arangal *(i.e.* Warrangal). Prom the last place two chiefs were sent to occupy the hill of Anmakinda *(i,e.* Anmakonda), for from that place all the edifices and gardens of Arangal can be seen. The wall of Arangal, says the historian, was made of mud. So strong was it that a spear of steel could not pierce it; and if a ball **from** a western catapult were **to** strike against it, it

would reboand like a nut which children play with. The fort of Arangal, the entire circuit of which was 12,542 yards, was then besieged from all sides. A night attack was made on the Muhammadan camp by 3,000 Hindu horse under the command of Banak Deo, the chief of that country. It proved unsuccessful and the Ravats *(i.e.* the Rahuts who were the commanders of cavalry) were either slain or imprisoned. From those in prison the Muhammadans learnt that in the town of Dhamdum six pharasangs from Tilang (Telingana) three powerful elephants were kept. These they soon seized.

The Naib Amir gave daily orders to attack the chief of Laddar Deo (i.*e.* Rudradeva to demolish the wall and to reduce it to powder by throwing western stone balls. Many breaches were effected and the mud which fell in the trench filled it to half its depth. During the night, the Muhammadans mounted the walls by means of ladders and occupied three positions of the outer wall. In the space of three or four days, the whole of the outer wall was in the possession of the invaders. They then observed that there was an inner wall and an inner ditch. The success achieved so far filled them with courage and hope. And when the army reached the inner ditch, they swam across it, and commenced a vigorous attack on one of the stone bastions which so alarmed Rai Ladder Deo (Rāja-Rudradeva) that he offered terms of capitulation by despatching confidential messengers to offer an annual tribute. He also sent a golden image of himself with a golden chain round its neck in acknowledgment of his submission. Next morning the officers of the Rai returned with elephants, treasures

and horses before the Malik, who took the entire wealth. Ferishta computes the present at 300 elephants, 7,000 horses, and money and jewels to a large amount. A treaty was then entered into by which it was agreed that the Kai should send *Gizya* annually to Delhi. The Malik left Arangal on the 16th of Shawwal (March 1310 A.D.) with all his booty and 1,000 camels groaning under the weight of treasures. It is said that the Muhammadan general gave the king of Delhi, *i.e.*, Ala-ud-din, (in 1311 A.D.) 312 elephants, 20,000 *maunds* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and other precious effects which he carried from the land as a result of his expedition against the Hindu kings of the Dekhan. The Tamil work *Koyilolugu* confirms the statement of the Muhammadan historian, when it says that the Mussalman king of Delhi defeated Prataparudra, took possession of Tondairuandalam, Gholamandalam and other countries, looted temples and carried away images and treasures. Here also the event is ascribed to Śaka 1230 (=-1308-9 A.D.). The Yiidava king of Devagiri having neglected to pay for several years the annual tribute agreed upon by him, Malik Kafur came to the south in 1312 A.D. determined on punishing him and to receive the tribute from the Kakatiya king who was ready to pay it. The Muhammadan general now put to death the Raja of Devagiri, laid waste the country of Maharashtra and Canada from Dabul and Chaule as far as Raichur and Mudkal; realised the tribute from the Kakatiyas of Telingana and the Ballalas of Karnata and sent the whole to Delhi.[1]

[1] **Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. 1., pp. 378—9.**

Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the invasion of Malik Kafur, the Kēraḷa king Ravivarman Kulaśēkara obtained possession of Conjeevaram after defeating the Pāṇḍyas and a northern sovereign. The latter was probably a Telugu-Chōḍa chief ruling in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. This Kēraḷa sovereign was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavati in 1313. A.D. Three years after, *i.e., in* 1316 A.D-, Prataparudra sent his general Muppidi-Nāyaka to settle the affairs at Conjeevaram, which he seems to have done by driving out the southern usurper and installing one Mānavira as governor of the place. This was perhaps a necessary consequence of Prataparudra's taking possession of Nellore, the affairs of which place attracted his attention. The Kakatiyas were now able to push their way further south to Trichinopoly, as they were left without any rivals in the field. By this time the Chola power had completely vanished; the powerful Pallava rebel Perunjinga had died ; and the successors of Jatavarman-Sundara-Pandya, the Great, had not the skill or the strength of that sovereign. Hence Prataparudra did not meet with much opposition in his endeavour to acquire more territory in the south- About the same time one of Prataparudra's subordinates reduced the fort of Gandikotta, [1] and it is said in an inscription found at Upparapalle that a certain Gonkareddi was appointed to the governorship of this place and Mulkinandu. Tradition asserts that in the year Pramathin, corresponding to 1314 A.D., the fort of Warrangal was taken possession of by a son of Kapilendra- Gajapati of Orissa. There is not much doubt that about this

[1] Fo, 328 of 1905.

period the Gajapati kings tried to extend their dominion southwards. *Koyiloluyit* registers the fact that the lord of Oḍḍiyadēśa, *i.e.* Orissa, made an invasion of the South with a large army. It is not unlikely that the claim of Prataparudra's general, Dēvaranayaningāru, to the title of the rescuer of the Kakatiya family which we find mentioned in an epigraph of 1315 A.D., [1] rests on the fact that he freed the country from the aggression of the Gajapati ruler. It must, however, be noted that the list of the Kesari kings of Orissa [2] omits this name from among those of the sovereigns of this period. Prataparudra's latest date found in his inscriptions is Śaka 1244 [3], which takes us to 1322-3 A.D., when he apparently ceased to rule. Perhaps, it was now that he refused to pay tribute to the Muhammadan emperor at Delhi, and was taken prisoner, as some accounts have it.

In 1321 A.D., when Ghias-ud-din Taghlak was the emperor of Delhi, he sent his eldest son Mullik-Fukhr-ud-din-Joona, the heir apparent, entitled Aluf Khan, against Telingana. The cause of this expedition was the refusal of Prataparudra to send the tribute agreed to by him. This step was the result of certain disturbances that were caused at Delhi consequent on the change of government. The Muhammadan prince plundered the country in every direction and Prataparudra gallantly attacked him, but iu the end was obliged to retreat to his capital Warraugal, which was immediately invested by the Muhammadans. The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides; but the fortifications having been

[1] No. 586 of 1909. [2] No. 604 of 1909.
[3] Jewell's *Lists of Antiquities* Vol, II, p. 201 ff,

lately strengthened, no breach could be effected in them. The season having proved unfavourable to the Muhammadans, and an epidemic having broken out which carried off hundreds of men every day from their ranks, the Muhammadan generals were greatly disheartened. A rumour was spread that the emperor was dead which caused universal consternation throughout the army and the officers left the camp. The prince was therefore forced to raise the siege and to retreat to Dēvagiri, whither he was pursued by Pratāparudra sustaining great loss. At this stage, the falsity of the rumour was ascertained by the prince and he returned to Delhi taking with him as captive the authors of the false report, who, it is said, were buried alive. Two months after, the prince again marched to Warraugal with a large army. Beduron the borders of Telingaua was taken and a Muhammadan garrison was Rationed there. Warraugal was soon besieged and made to surrender; Pratāparudra and his family were taken prisoners and sent to Delhi; and having appointed a Muhammadan viceroy to rule over Telingana, Ulugh Khan returned to Delhi with immense booty. In A.D. 1327 Muharamad-Bin-Taghlak turned his thoughts again to the conquest of the several provinces in India, and Warraugal was now incorporated with the Muhammadan empire along with several others such as Dvārasamudra, Mabar (*i.e.*, the Pandya country) and the whole of the Garnatic.

The last days of the Kakatiya dominion.

Pratāparudra was the last great sovereign of the Kākatīya dynasty. His kingdom, after reaching its

zenith during his time, came practically to an end in 1323 A.D. The political condition of Southern India about the second quarter of the 14th century was very precarious. The Muhammadan invasions, undertaken by the generals of the Khilji and the Taghlak kings of Delhi, which were conducted with much skill and vigour, carried destruction throughout the Dekhan and left it void of all resources. The treasures taken away by the Muhammadans from the south knew no limit. The three great powers of Southern India *viz.*, the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, and the Kākatlyas of Warrangal were those who suffered most from these invasions, which, it may be noted, brought them to the brink of-complete annihilation. The confusion caused by the Mussalman raids, which resulted in the prevalence of anarchy in the Dekhan, offered nice opportunities for thfc generals and commanders of the forces of these Hindu sovereigns to rise into independence and to found separate kingdoms in the place of the subverted ones.

If the Vijayanagar kingdom was founded on the ruins of the fallen houses of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, and the Hoysala Ballālas, there are ample grounds for supposing that the Reddi kingdoms of the Telugu districts were founded on the wreck of the Kākatlyas of Warrangal. That the Reddis were originally under the service of the Kākatlyas governing some province or another is almost certain. lb has been pointed out already that the Sarvādhikāri (answering to the modern position of a private secretary) of Pratāparudra was a certain Ellaya-Reddi and it was also noticed that the governorship of

Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Cuddapah district was conferred on Gonkā-Reḍḍi. Tradition asserts that in 1225 A.D., one Donti-Allā-Reḍḍi was in possession of the fort of Dharaṇikōṭa close to Amrāvati on the-Krishna river, and that subsequently Prōlaya-Vēmā-Reḍḍi acquired power, defeated Pratāparudra at Dharaṇikōṭa, proclaimed himself independent, proceeded to Koṇḍaviḍu, rebuilt Puttakōṭa, and ruled from 1320 to 1331 A.D. From other sources we learn that this Vēmā-Reḍḍi was originally a commander in the service of Pratāparudra, and that when the Kākatiya king was taken prisoner by the Muhammadans, he declared his independence and took possession of the Virmkoṇḍa kingdom. Thus, we see that the Reḍḍis were the political descendants of the. Kākatiyas of Warrangal, just as the Vijayanagaras were of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷas.

In A.D. 1339-40 the Muhammadan emperor conceived the idea of making Dēvagiri his capital, as being a more central place, and thought that it would become an important base of operations in Southern India. Prom here, it is said, he directed his campaigns against the Rāja of Warrangal, and marched by way of Telingana to Mabar.

In 1344 Krishṇa-Naik, son of Pratāparudra who lived near Warrangal, revealed to Ballāl-Dēva, the Rāja of the Carnatic, a design of the Dekhan Muhammadans to extirpate the Hindus, and said that a strong combination should necessarily be made against them. Ballāl-Dēva agreed to this. He strengthened all his fortifications at once and built a new city in the mountain fastnesses which he called Vijaiyanagar, 'the city of victory'

and raised a strong army. They then reduced Warrangal and forced Irnoodulmulk, the governor, to retreat to Doulatabad. Several of the Hindu Rājas were induced to join them. The confederacy of Hindu Kings seized the country occupied by the Muharnmadans and expelled them from the Dekhan. Only Doulatabad remained in the hands of the Delhi emperor. Muhammad Taghlak was greatly exasperated at the receipt of this intelligence ; but he could take no effective step, because his hands were already full on account of the anarchy and famine that prevailed in-his realm. The Dekhan Hindus were thus left to themselves.

In 1370 A. D., Krishna-Naik and the king of Bijnagar made a final attempt to get back their lost possessions. They sent ambassadors to the court of the Bahmāni king, Muhammad Shah, demanding restitution of the territories taken from them and threatening him with an invasion in case of non-compliance. Muhammad Shah was not willing to cede any of the territories ; nor was he prepared for an invasion just then, as the times were not quite favourable for an undertaking of the kind, because there were dissensions among his nobles and his treasury was poor. He tried to gain time by retaining the ambassadors at his court, and sending others to the Hindu kings. Thus, he evaded a collision for a period of eighteen months by which time he had restored order in his kingdom. He then made an exorbitant demand from the Hindu kings and when this was not complied with, he led an expedition against Telingana.

Vinaik-Dēva, the son of the Rāja of Telingana was sent to recover Kowlas. He was assisted by **the**

Raja of Bijnagar. But the combined armies were completely defeated by the Muhammadan general Bahadur Khan, who devastated the country of the Rāja and forced him to accept a humiliating treaty.

In 1371, on the plea that some horse dealers had been dispossessed by Vinaik-Dēva at Vellumputtan of some of the fine horses which they were taking for the king of Kulburga, Muhammad Shah renewed the war against Telingana, and succeeded in entering Vellumputtan by strategic means. The Hindu Rāja being taken unawares retired to his citadel where he was afterwards besieged, taken captive and cruelly put to death. Muhammad Shah then took hold of all the treasure and jewels he could lay his hands on and levied an indemnity on the people. When he retired from the country, the Telingas mustered together the available forces and molested Muhammad Shah to such an extent that wlien he reached his country he found that his forces were greatly thinned in number.

The Rāja of Telingana being sorely afflicted by the death of his son, petitioned the emperor Firoz Taghlak of Delhi to send an army to help him in his wars against the Bijapur king. In return, he promised allegiance to him, a good tribute and the recovery of khe possessions of the Delhi emperor in the Dekhan. This proved to be of no avail as the emperor had enough to do in putting down rebellions in his dominion. Muhammad Shah then resolved upon the entire conquest of Telingana. It was with much difficulty that the Hindu Rāja purchased peace from the king of Bijnagar by which he agreed to pay a large sum of money, elephants and* horses. Muhammad

Shah then went to his capital leaving Bahadur Khan at Kowlas to see the terms of the treaty fulfilled. After some time, the Rāja of Telingana sent his agents to the Bijapur king praying for permanent freedom from disturbance and in return promised to present him with a curiosity worthy of a great king. Golkonda was made the fixed boundary between the two kingdoms, and Muhammad Shah received a beautiful throne set with costly gems valued at thirty-three lakhs of rupees. Not long after, the remaining members of the royal line appear to have left Telingana and shifted their residence to the Bastar State where they founded a small kingdom. Thus ended one of the powerful kingdoms of the Dekhan.

BOOK V.

ANCIENT DEKHAN POLITY.

SECTION I:—INTRODUCTORY.

Though the accounts which inscriptions and literature furnish about the kings of olden times is very important at the present stage of our knowledge about them, more instructive are the other details, they contain. These are the only sources from which we could ascertain (i) the state of the country and its administration, (2) the political institutions that existed in the land and the power and influence which they exercised, (3) the various offices under the king and the functions allowed to each, (4) the mode of holding lands, the method of irrigation, the payment of taxes, the system of levying and realising them, (5) the growth of the temple, which takes in India the place of the Church in the European countries, and its management and (6) the life of the people, their social habits and occupations. If it is remembered that the terminology used in early records for the offices that existed, the taxes raised and the books maintained in ancient times is not found in the extant literature of the south, nor even in the lexicons, it will be quite apparent that for a correct interpretation of the terms that occur in them, we have to bestow our careful attention to the usage made of them in a number of epigraphs—which, by the way,

it may be said, are by no means few—study their etymology and arrive at a satisfactory solution, if possible by also comparing the result with the probable significance of such of the terms or lingering traces of the old customs as are found now.

SECTION II:—ADMINISTRATION.

The ancients recognised the necessity of opening by common consent, certain institutions in which the interests of all classes of people were strongly represented. They are mainly intended to control the actions of men, to protect the weak from the attacks of the strong and to devise a code of laws for guidance. The Government of a country by the king and his council is the natural outcome of the obedience paid by the common folk to the elders and the strong, in primitive ages. The thinker and the athlete were held in high esteem for the help they rendered to the community. Almost all the political institutions of the world had grown out of these first principles of societies. The constitution of the country-moot, the town-moot and She Witanagemot, and the relationship of the English Parliament to them, unfold the history of the origin and growth of institutions in a general way. Among the Slavic, Keltic and other races of Europe similar institutions have developed out of such nuclii and assumed large dimensions. The early administrative assemblies of India take us several centuries back and the materials necessary for a study of their gradual development are not wanting. These have been in recent years explored and definite knowledge

gathered. The *Vedas,* the *Upanishads,* the *Mahabhārata,* the *Sūtra* literature and works like the *Arthakāstra* of Ohaṇakya have a special value to the person who sets out to understand the scope and development of the political institutions of India. The statements made in these authorities are well reflected in the epigraphical monuments of the land.

Under the kings of the last Vijayanagara dynasty and in the dark days of what is generally called the memorable invasion of Malik Kafur as well as during the period of rule of the kings of the Bahrnāni line, the political and social institutions together with the official machinery of Southern India which were in existence from the earliest times had been shaken root and branch. Sometimes they were destroyed without proper substitutes in their place. Still, some of the older forms have survived and are preserved to the present day though their significance has undergone a change from what it was originally. It might be said that even the distorted picture has its interest, since it is possible to touch it up and revive it to the original shape, with the help that we get from lithic records. The want of a continuous literature in South India dealing with the administrative terms is greatly felt when we begin to trace the past institutions of the Dekhan. The weak and imbecile rnonarchs in whose hands the ancient kingdoms of the Chera, Chola, Pandya and the Pallava, fell, parcelled out the dominion into portions and entrusted them to petty viceroys and chieftains without retaining in their hands the local administration, for hereditary management as their whims and fancies dictated and these in their own turn created a number of smaller

principalities which they gave away to some of their subordinates in return for military service to be rendered at a time of need or danger. These changes appear to have happened in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was during this period that the old systems vanished or lost much of their usefulness. But happily we have thousands of inscriptions belonging to earlier times to indicate clearly what the systems then in vogue were. Generally, the social and political institutions of India are judged from the later environments and this is a mistake. Though it might have been excusable so to judge at a time when the early inscriptions had not been secured and their proper import ascertained, to do so now is to persist in the mistake once committed. Ancient Dekhan institutions sufier to-day more by an improper estimate of them formed by hearsay and by the propagation of such views than by any lack of materials to arrive at a correct idea of them.

Every country in the Dokhan was divided in aucient times into large divisions called *maṇḍalam* ; these again into *Valanadu* or districts, *nadu* or taluks, *Ghaturvēdimangalam* constituting a number of villages, and *ūr* or villages. The king was recognised as the head of the government and his authority was held supreme. He was respected by all bodies of men who were entrusted with distinct and independent functions. He took a keen interest in all matters concerning the State, though his chief attention was directed towards the military and foreign departments. He had about him five great assemblies which consisted of ministers, priests or ecclesiastics, generals, envoys and spies; as well as

eight great bodies of men *viz**, accountants, artisans royal relations, guards, members of commerce and commanders of elephant forces, infantry and cavalry. A different authority states that the five great assemblies of the king are the *Maṅhajanas, Brāhmaṇes,* medical men, astrologers, and ministers. Epigraphs reveal the fact that ancient kings had at their command all the paraphernalia mentioned by the two authorities.

Some of the special traits or characteristics of South Indian kings as we find them in literature and lithic records may be noted here. They were highly renowned for their estimate of the learned, for the munificient grants which they made to scholars and for patronising arts and crafts. They lavished their wealth by building temples and other pious works with the object of securing merit, by making rich presents to them ; by digging tanks and wells ; and by opening canals, feeding houses and the like. Hospitality is an ingrained quality in them. They were ever ready to provide men of any nationality with food, clothing and residence and met all their comforts by gifts of lands, villages, revenues and even parts of their dominion. They were a warlike people and they properly valued the martial spirit of others. There is no parallel in any history for the religious tolerance which they always evinced. The natural barriers that separated the south from the north were of little avail to the Aryans, when they came to understand the nature and quality of the South Indian people and their kings. Larger and larger bodies of men emigrated to the south, being sure of a good reception. Never was there a faithful

servant who was made to repent for the service he had taken up. Discontent is a thing unheard of in ancient Dekhan. Every aspirant was richly rewarded according to his deserts. Service was rewarded with grants of the entire incomes of several villages and towns. As nothing could be more impressive than the citing of instances, we shall give a few of them to prove our point.

As regards the royal favour bestowed on literary men, it is perhaps sufficient to say at the outset that the poet was the friend and associate of kings in ancient times. He was better favoured than even the king's nearest relations and there was nothing to compare his status, honour and esteem.

The Chēra king Imayavarambau Neḍuujĕral-Āthan gave away as *brahmadeya* the district of umbarkāḍu which consisted of 500 villages and assigned part of the revenue on his whole dominion for38 years to a Brahmin named Kumaṭṭūr-Kaṇṇanār for composing a poem of 240 lines.

Another poet of great fame celebrated in Tamil works is Palaigautainanar who has lefs behind him a poem of 247 lines. He performed at the expense of the Chēra king Palyānai-Śelkeḻu-Kuṭṭuvan nine vēdic sacrifices, the financing of which should have cost a good deal. Both literature and tradition praise him as the poet who obtained heaven by his meritorious sacrifices.

The poet Kāppiyāṛṛu-Kāppiyaṇār received as reward for his composition of 178 lines, 40 lakhs of gold pieces and part of the revenues of the Chēra

dominion, from king Kaḷangāykkaṇṇinār Mūḍichchēral.

The poems composed by Paraṇar are very many. For having composed a piece consisting of 208 lines he was rewarded by Kaḍalpirakkōṭṭiya-Śenguṭṭuvan, with the income *(varuvāy)* derived from Umbaṟkāḍu and got also the king's son Kuṭṭuvan Śērai as hostage.

Kākkaippāḍiniyār Naehcheḷḷaiyar was a poetess of great fame who was rewarded for her composition of 200 lines, 9 *tulām* of gold and 1 *lakh* of gold *kāśu* by Āḍukōṭpāṭṭu-Śēral-Āthan for making jewels.

Here is an instance where a lady of great literary attainments appears in the horizon of ancient learning. Her observations are indeed very valuable.

Kapilar, a brahmin by caste and born at Tiruvādavūr in the Madura district, composed a poem consisting of 202 lines celebrating Śelvakkaḍungōvāḷi-Āthan and received as reward for it one lakh of gold *Kasu* and all the villages that were visible from the summit of a hill. He was the friend of many a king and chieftain. Two of his particular comrades in life were Paraṇar and Iḍaikkāḍaṇ. One of his royal friends having died leaving a daughter, he sought for her the hand of a chieftain ; and on being refused by him, he gave her in marriage to a Brāhmaṇa. This circumstance is of great value as it shows that though marriages were confined within the castes themselves, there were occasions when intermarriages between castes were permitted. The poems composed by him are many. He had a religious turn of mind, was **pure in** word, thought and action.

Arisilkilar composed a poem consisting of 181 lines in honour of Tagaḍūr-Eṟinda-Perunjēral-Irumboṟai and received as reward for the composition, 9 lakhs of gold k*asu* aud the throne which he sat on.

. He was also a friend and associate of several kings and chiefs of his time. He had composed a large number of pieces in Tamil.

There is a popular saying in Tamil which goes to show that in the State accounts the revenue demand on lands were deducted to the extent damaged by Kamban and his followers. Whenever Kamban travelled from one part of the country to another he was accompanied by so many of his followers that they could not possibly go on the road. They had of necessity to pass through fields which lay on either side of it causing damage to the crops. The crops so damaged were measured by the state and remissions were allowed. The royal favour on the poet was such that he was pleased to pass a general order to the effect that remissions should be granted to the extent of the crops that were despoiled by the poet and his retinue.

Though the king had about him for counsel the above said groups of men, he does not appear to have concerned himself at all times with the direct administration of the country. The latter was vested in the hands of the following assemblies:—

i. District assembly.

ii. Members of Commerce.

Hi Village assembly.

iv. and an assembly consisting of the principal residents of a village.

Of these, the third alone seems to have been composed entirely of Brahmin members. Their jurisdiction extended over what was called in ancient times a Chaturvēdimangalam which consisted of a central village with a number of hamlets and minor villages called *paḍāgai* and *Cliēri* as well as streets, all situated within a radius of nearly 10 miles. The assembly was divided into a number of bodies which shared among themselves the various functions connected with the administration. All the members of it were highly learned in the scriptures, science, arts and laws of the land. Among them there were persons who studied the four *Vēdas,* chaturvēdins as they were called ; men who knew two or three *Vēdas i.e., Dvivēdins* and *Trivēdins* ; those who had learnt the Kramapāṭha and acquired the title of Kramavits ; those who were familiar with the six branches of study and known by the designation of Shaḍangavids ; and others who had understood the rules regulating the conduct of *yagas* and *yajnas* and performed them, such as the Sōmayājins, Vājapēyins *etc.* Besides being learned, they had a permanent and abiding interest in the village in whose assembly they served, Particular care was taken to see that they were sound in body and mind and possessed sufficient vigour and energy to turn out good work, that they loved just methods and that they were well behaved and of good morals. The minimum qualification required for membership, the method of election and the formation o! Committees are given at some length in

a stone document of the 10th century A.D. and we give the contents of it below.[1]

The following qualifications must be possessed by a candidate who stands for membership in the village assembly:—

(a) He must own more than a quarter *vēli* of tax-paying land.

(b) He must have a house built on his own site.

(c) His age must be below 70 and above 35.

(d) He must know the *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* in such a way as to be able to teach it to others.

(e) Even if he owns only one-eighth *veli* of land, he shall be considered a fit candidate, in case he has learnt one *Vēda* and one of the four *Bhāshyas* and can explain the same to others.

(f) Among those possessing the foregoing qualifications,

i. only such as are well conversant with business and conduct themselves according to sacred rules shall be elected, and

ii. those who have acquired their wealth by honest means, whose minds are pure, and who have not been on any of the committees for the last three years shall also be chosen.

This proviso clearly points out that members, who had served once on the committee and retired, can stand for membership after a period of 3 years.

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[1] Adopted from the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899, pp. 24 ff,

Disqualifications:—

(g) i. Those who have been on any of the committees but have not submitted their accounts and their relations specified below are not fit for election as members.

ii. The sons of the younger and elder sisters of their mother.

iii. The sons of their paternal aunts and maternal uncles.

iv. The brothers of their mothers,

v. The brothers of their fathers,

vi. Their brothers,

vii. Their fathers-in-law.

viii. The brothers of their wives,

ix. The husbands of their sisters.

x. The sons of their sisters,

xi. The sons-in-law who have married the daughters of disqualified persons,

xii. Their fathers and

xiii. Their sons.

(h) i. Those against whom illicit sexual intercourse or the first four of the five great sins *[viz.* killing a Brahmaṇa, drinking intoxicating liquors, theft, committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher and associating with any one guilty of these crimes] are recorded ; and

ii. all their various relations above specified are not fit for membership.

(i) Those who have been outcasts for association with low people are not eligible until they perform the expiatory ceremonies.

(j) Those who are fool-hardy.

(k) Those who have stolen or plundered the property of others.

(I) Those who have taken forbidden dishes of any kind and who have become pure by reason of having performed the expiatory ceremonies, are not eligible to the end of their lives.

(m) Those who had been village pests and have become pure by reason of having performed expiatory ceremonies and those who had been guilty of illicit sexual intercourse and have become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies, are not eligible to the end of their lives.

It may be noted now how the election of members took place. At various con tres or wards of the village, pots were kept, probably with their mouths covered and provided with a small hole just sufficient to allow a voting card *i.e.* a palm-leaf ticket containing the name of the person nominated, to drop in. When all the voters had written on their tickets the names of persons whom they wished to elect and put them into the pots, the latter were taken to a place where the tickets were drawn. This place is stated to be the assembly hall. Here on the day of election, all the people of the village, the young and the old inclusive, gathered together with the temple priests then present in the village and the arbitrators. The contents of each pot were made into a bundle, provided with a cover and the whole emptied into a vacant pot and well shaken. A boy who knew nothing about what these tickets indicated was then asked to take out a card from the pot. It was received by the arbitrator on the palm of

his hand who did so with his five fingers wide apart, the precaution being to avoid any mischief. He then read out the name written on the ticket. The ticket read out by him was also read out by all the priests, this precaution being to detect immediately the mischievous and willful wrong reading of names. The name thus read out was declared elected. Similarly one man was chosen for each of the wards. The number of wards of a village depended upon its size. Thus Uttaramallūr in the Chinglepet district had 30 wards and Śendalai in the Tanjore district counted nearly double the number. When the required number of members had been selected in the manner described above, they were divided into several committees. Each of these committees was entrusted with the duty of supervising some administrative departments. The following are a few of the committees mentioned in epigraphs :—

i. Annual Supervision Committee
ii. Garden Supervision Committee
iii. Tank Supervision Committee
iv. Field Supervision Committee
v. Gold Supervision Committee
vi. Ward Supervision Committee
vii. The Pauchavāra Committee and
viii. The Committee for the Administration of Justice.

Of these, the first counted among its members those who had previously been on the second and third and those who were advanced in learning and in age. This shows that members are eligible to stand as candidates after the expiry of their first election. The second and third committees were,

chosen after an oral expression of opinion and the members of all the three committees held office for full three-hundred and sixty days and then retired. The *Panchavara* committee and the gold committee for the year served only a few of the wards. In the succeeding year the remaining wards came under the control of newly elected members of these committees.

As regards the appointments of accountants, it is said that only arbitrators and those who had earned their wealth by honest means should be chosen to write the accounts. It was incumbent on those to submit, at the end of their term of office, the accounts which they had been maintaining to the satisfaction of the committee in charge of the accounts and must be declared to have been honest in their dealings. The accounts maintained by one should not be closed by another and the re-appointment of accountants rested on proving their honesty in the past year.

Any accountant, who was probably suspected of professional misconduct, was required to undergo the ordeal of holding in his hand a red hot iron piece and to prove his innocence. If he came cut unhurt and established his purity thereby, he was honoured by being presented with sacred water and flower from the feet of the God.[1] If, on the other hand, he burnt his hand, he was declared to have made default and fined *10 kalanju* of gold. A similar case of trial by ordeal occurred in the 13th century A.D. and it is related as follows :—

[1] See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, pp. 115-6. The term *padasesha* has been taken to mean " one quarter of the surplus" revenue. With this view we don't agree. The term must convey some such idea as *nirmalya* and cannot have any referenee to surplus funds.

The *Pūjārīs* of the temple of Tirunalukkunram-Udiya-Nāyanārof Kuḍuraiyāmalai(in the Pudukkottai state), had made away with the cash as well as the jewels of the temple. One of them confessed to having taken a portion of the lost property and shared it with a carpenter. The other pūjāris denied all knowledge of the lost property but were implicated by the former. The lying *Pujaris* were ordered to be taken before the Court where they were required to handle a red-hot plough-share. The hands of all these were burnt and then they confessed their guilt. They were all ordered to be dealt with as sinners against the god.

These cases of submitting persons to trial by ordeal cannot, in the face of. the above regulations, be taken to reflect a crude and uncivilized society since such courses are commonly adopted in a country where divine interference in human affairs is considered probable at all times.

An important principle which was observed in forming these rules is that the members comprising the committees should change every year. After the expiry of 3 years since one last held office, he became eligible for re-election and, if selected, he was made to serve in some other committee than the one in which he was before. The anuual change of office-bearers gave every qualified and deserving men an opportunity to get acquainted with the details of village administration, and this acquaintance led him to take a keen interest in the affairs of the village. In course of time, the village assembly which consisted of all the residents of the village, both young

and old, became possessed of sufficient knowledge regarding every detail of the village administration and watched zealously their own interest as citizens and exercised a wholesome control over the doings of the various committees, which were freed, by the wise rules devised for their formation, from incompetent, ignorant, unscrupulous or undesirable members.

A few other committees in charge of the village administration, mentioned in early inscriptions, are (i) Gaṇapperumakkaḷ, called also Gaṇavāriyapperumakkaḷ and Āḷuṅgaṇavariyam, (ii) Śrikōyilvāriyam, (iii) Grāmakārya, (iv) Anjashṭa-sabhai, (v) Udāsinapperumakkaḷ and (vi) Bhaṭṭar. The principal duty of the first of these was perhaps magisterial function, of the second temple management and of the third general village supervision.

It may be worth knowing the punishments accorded for some of the criminal offences which we find noted in early epigraphs. They are :—

(1) A merchant of Jambai had a concubine whom a native of Nāvalūr attempted to outrage at night. The latter was stabbed by the merchant. The merchant could not be prosecuted. He combined with a relation of the deceased and gave gold for a lamp to burn in the temple at Jambai (A.D. 1012-13).

(2) A village officer demanded taxes from a woman who declared she was not liable. The former seems to have put her through an ordeal. The woman took poison and died. A meeting of the people from the four quarters, eighteen districts and the various countries was held and it was decided that

the man was liable. In order to expiate his sin, he paid 32 k*asu* for burning a lamp at the temple (A.D. 1054).

(3) A Śūdra went out hunting, missed his aim and shot a Veḷḷāḷa. The agriculturists from the seventy-nine districts assembled together and declared the Śūdra guilty. He was required to present 64 cows for burning two lamps in the temple.

(4) A man pushed his wife and she fell down and died in consequence. The 1,500 men of the four quarters assembled and declared the husband guilty. He was required to provide for lamps to the temple (12th century A.D).

(5) A Veḷḷāḷa and another were comparing their skill in arms. A third man, who was a relative of the former, also seems to have tried his strength, but he stabbed the second man. The relatives of the deceased were consulted and it was decided that the third man should prefent 32 cows for burning a lamp in the temple (A.D. 1126-7).

(6) A woman threw a stick at her daughter. But the stick hit another girl, who died on the 20th day after the occurrence. It was decided that a lamp should be burnt in the temple. Accordingly the husband of the woman, who hit the girl, presented 32 cows to the temple (12th century A.D).

(7) A man was hunting boar at night. He missed aim and shot a human being. For the merit of the deceased, the former gave 32 cows for a lamp to bum in the temple (A.D. 1225—6).

The above system of village administration is akin to what the Greek ambassador Megasthenes

records as being followed at Patna, during the time of Chandragupta's rule. He says that there was a commission consisting of 30 members which was divided into six departmental boards with five members each and that the war office was similarly under the supervision of another commission of 30 members also divided into six boards which had to look after the admiralty, transport and commissariat, infantry, cavalry, war chariots and elephants. Besides, there was an irrigation committee which controlled the distribution of water for agricultural purposes. Thus it looks as if the management of state business by committee system was a very ancient one and the south seems to have borrowed it from Northern India and used it with great elaboration. Though the names of committees indicate in a general way what their functions were, they do not appear to have been so completely restricted, because we find in records that gifts to temples had been left in the hands of more than one committee. The exact nature of their transaction of business is yet to be made out.

SECTION III:—THE TEMPLE.

Of all the institutions of Southern India, the most important was the temple. During the early days *i.e.* long before the advent of the Muhamrnadans, each big village could boast of an excellent temple built in the old style and picturesquely situated within a radius of one or two miles from the village in a very fine and ever-green grove of plantains, cocoanuts and areca-palms with a tank of crystal

water just in front of it. Novel as this idea may seem, it is not far from the truth. If we look at some of the most ancient temples of Southern India such as the Vēḍāraṇyēśvara, Vaṭāraṇyēśvara, Śvētavanēśvara, Madhyārjunēśvara and the like, the fact will become quite evident. All these temples were so called because they were situated in groves adjoining villages—not in villages themselves. Even at the present day, after a lapse of several centuries, it will not fail to strike even a casual observer that the temples are at a little distance from the habited villages. Though in later times the size and capacity of the temple increased several-fold by the ever new additions of spacious halls, of the innumerable shrines for minor deities erected in the covered verandah, of the huge *prākāra* walls built round the central shrine, one within the other and of the towering *gōpurax* which attract the eye of the traveller even from a distance and which the charitably disposed well-to-do persons loved to erect by expending enormous sums of money, the original structures, shorn of all later improvements, modest as they were, were not without a history of their own, memorable enough to be sketched by the gifted.

The earliest form of a temple consisted of three parts *viz.* the *garbayriha i.e.* the innermost apartment or the central shrine with two *maṇḍapas* one in front of the other. The middle portion called the *antarāla-maṇḍapa* is a passage leading from the more spacious outer *mukha-maṇḍapa* into the central shrine. While the worship was being conducted in the central shrine, the devotees gathered together in these two *maṇḍapas* and outside of them.

All rouud this simple structure of three stages which was known by the name of *traiydnga,* there were niches provided on the outside walls to accommodate some principal deities. The structure itself was built of five parts or *angas* called the *panchanga.* The five parts are known by the technical names *kaṇḍappaḍai, kumudappaclai, jagadippad.ai, uttiram,* and *vimānam.* In the central shrine of a Śiva temple, generally, a *linga* is found and this is sometimes replaced by stone images of Śiva and Pārvati comfortably seated tegether on a well decorated pedastal. The *linga* and *āvaḍai* within which it is fixed, represent the *parusha* or the universal spirit and the *prakriti* or primival matter and thus establish the idea of the evolution of the manifested world by their combination, resulting in a variety of-forrns. This idea it is that is prominently brought into the minds of the innumerable devotees that stand before the shapeless image wrapt in silence, perceiving how inseparably soul and matter are united together in this world of changes. The spontaneous outburst of thousands of stirriug hymns of the pious leaders of the Śaiva creed embodied in the Tamil *Devaram* often refer to this aspect and aniply bear testimony to the object with which the images were enshrined in temples. In the central shrines of *Vishṇu* temples, there are invariably placed huge sculptures of one form or another of the several manifestations of Vishṇu with a number of attendant deities with whom He is said to have been associated in the incarnations which He had taken in order to put an end to the cup of misery or the misdoings of the wicked when unrighteousness reigned supreme in the world, *Thę puranic* stories regarding

them are picturesquely delineated in the images enshrined in these temples and the devotees are made to profit by them. The niches accommodate in them the various forms assumed by the Almighty and furnish a visible explanation of the fund of knowledge stored in ancient lore. Such are the *Liṅgodbhava, Dakshiṇāmūrti, Ardhanāriśvara, Mahishāsuramardhani* and the like. To these were added the images of the principal devotees themselves, who by their perfect abstinence from the worldly ways and search after the imperishable one, praised in the books, by a severe penance, renouncing the pleasures of life, even to the utmost, had come to acquire a halo of divinity and regarded as the first servants of God. These are the Naudi, Bhringi, Chandēśa and others. In this connection, it may be pointed out that all transactions connected with Śiva temples were done in the name of Chaṇḍēśa, who is expressly stated to be the first servant of God. It was in his name that the sales of temple lands took place. It was he also that purchased all lands for the temple, leased them out or received the moneys paid into the temple treasury. Not a single Hindu is unaware of the life of this sage as vividly portrayed in the *Periapuṟaṇam* of Śēkkiḷar.[1] Various places of the Dekhan, connected with the lives of these sages, celebrate special festivals which keep alive their memory and the

[1] The veracity of his statements have been verified in several instances. Many a missing link in the history, made out from inscriptions, have been supplied by the accounts in this priceless work and these are sufficient proofs that the author, who was an official of the State, had at his disposal a mass of reliable matter from which he wrote his book.

miracles popularly attributed to them. Thus at Kâlahasti, Tiruvâlangâḍu, Chidambaram, Tiruvârûr, Shiyâli, Tiruchchangâṭṭanguḍi and others, prominence is given to the devotees of Kaṇṇappa-Nâyanâr, Karaikâlammai, Maṇu-Chôḷa, Jñânasambanda, Śiṟuttoṇḍa among the Śaivas; Poygaiyâḻvâr, Pûdattâḻvâr, Peyalvar, Tirumangai, Tirumalisai, Nammalvar and others among the Vaishṇavas. Many more instances may be given, but this will suffice to point out how useful information could be collected from lithic records of what are recorded in books. To return to our subject, we may state that in the grandeur of the massive shrines and in the exquisite sculptures, which strike the imagination in a way that could not be done by any other means, the temples of Southern India taught the people for centuries, lessons of purity and devotion.

Generally service in temples was conducted four times daily *viz.* at the dawn, in the midday, iu the evening and at midnight. Special worship in the nature of grand festivities on certain stated occasions was performed for a number of days in some months and rich provisions were made for the daily requirements on these special festivals. They are mentioned in several inscriptions in great detail and continue, though in a limited way, even to the present day. A record of the time of Bâjêndra-Ohôḷa I (A. D. 1010-1045) found at Kolar registers that the following classes of servants were provided for in the temple of Durga (goddess) at the place.

(1) A Brahmin to perform the sacred worship. Other records state, there were many a Śaivâchârya or Śiva-Brahmins to do this work by turns.

(2) Four bachelors to do the attendant work.

(3) One man to bring water for the bathing of the god.

(4) Two men to gather flower and make garlands.

(5) Three persons to keep watch in the temple.

(6) Two families to cultivate the flower garden of the temple.

(7) Four Yōgins.

(8) Three Bhairavas.

(9) Four Yōgiśvaras.

(10) For the singing troup the following persons were appointed. One to beat the wide mouthed big drum, two drummers, one to sound the *Karaḍigai,* one to beat the *Śegandi(a* big metal plate), one to sound the hand bells, two to blow the conch, one singer and one other to be dancing master.

(11) One accountant.

(12) Twenty-four dancing girls.

(13) One potter to supply pots for cooking.

(14) One washerman to cleanse the sacred clothes.

(15) One astrologer.

(16) One to expound the rhetoric *(Vyakaraṇa)* and Yāmaḷa.

(17) One superintendent or manager of the temple *(dēvakanmi).*

(18) One carpenter to execute repairs whenever necessary. Other inscriptions provide for several more. Some of these are, for singing the *tiruppadiyam, tiruvaymoli* and for enacting dramas.

The temple was in ancient times the busiest part of all the places in a village or a town. From the' early dawn till midnight we could see there, gathered from far and near, crowds of people, rich and poor. Bound by agreements, a number of shepherds and other classes of men, who were left in charge of land, money or livestock, which formed the donations made to the temple, brought to its court-yard, at fixed hours, ghee for burning lamps or for feeding Brahmins, flowers and garlands to the God, rice for offerings, cleaned and pounded several times, fruits of various kinds and vegetables, sandal pastes and incense, scents such as *pachchaiJc-karpūram,* musk, rose-water, etc., and in short all the requirements of the temple and gave them away to the authorities according to the terms of contract by which they were put in possession of temple holdings. In this connection, we may quote the words of one such contract which runs thus :— " If he (the donee) dies, absconds or gets into prison, fetters or chains, we, all these aforesaid persons (the sureties of the donee) are bound to supply ghee for burning the holy lamp as long as the sun and the moon endure." The contents of two other similar documents may also be taken note of. The first of them is the Śirpūr inscription which registers a grant of villages for the maintenance of aim-houses, the repair of breaks or cracks in the temple, the supporting of the servants of the sanctuary and for the Brāhmaṇas versed in the three *Vēdas,* Rig, Yajus and Sāman. The record enjoins that the sons and grandsons who succeed the Brahmin donees should be such as offer sacrifice to fire and know the six supplements

of the *Vēdas*, as are not addicted to gambling or other bad associations, as have their mouth clean and are not servants. If they did not answer or possess the above qualifications and if one dies also, such should be removed and in their places other Brahmins possessing the stipulated qualifications should be appointed. The substituted persons should be chosen from among the relations of the unqualified men and should be advanced in age while being learned at the same time. They must be appointed by their consent alone and not by an order of the king. The second states that in place of those donees (of shares allotted for the performance of specified services in temples) who die or emigrate, the nearest relatives of such persons have to receive the grant and do the service. In case the nearest relatives of such persons are not qualified themselves, they have to select others who are qualified and let them do the service receiving the remuneration provided for. And if there were no near relations to such persons, the other incumbents of the service have to select qualified persons for doing the same and the person so selected shall receive the remuneration in the same way as the person whom he represented had received it before.

Persons who held temple lands on lease were bound by agreement to bring to the court-yard of the temple the stipulated quantity of paddy or rice, free from dust, chaff, and unripe grains and give them in heaped measures. It can be gathered from the wording of the documents that they have to bear the incidental charges such as the wages of those who have to carry them to the temple and the tolls. In the temples, labour was divided ; each one had to do

a particular duty assigned to him and for which he received a remuneration. Here in a spacious *maṇḍapa* so constructed as to accommodate a large concourse of people, sitting on a pedestal in a prominent place, a famous scholar chanted the hymns of the *Vēdas* and expounded them to his ardent hearers. There in another *maṇḍapa*, the great epic *Mahābhārata*, which had moulded the life and character of the Hindus for ages was read and explained to the people. The *Dharma-Śāstra* embodying the rules of right conduct, the *purāṇas*, grammar, rhetoric, logic, astrology, astronomy, medicine and other special sciences were taught to those who thronged to learn them.

In the temple at Tiruvorriyur, *Vyakarana, Soma-siddhānta* and Paṇini's grammar were taught. There are references also to the recital and teaching of *Prabhakara, Rudra, Yamala, Pur ana, Śivadharma, Panchaṅga* and *Bharata*. Lands were granted to learned scholars and their future generations as *Vedavritti, bhattavritti, vaidyavritti* or *manrftuvap-peru, archanavritti* and the like. From all these it would be clear that the temple was the seat of free learning in ancient times and it was also the place where charities of every description were conducted. A record of the 12th century A.D. states that a big hospital existed at Tirumukkūḍal in the Chingleput district provided with a number of beds for the sick, with nurses to attend on them, with men to fetch fuel and medicinal herbs, with a good stock of many a patent remedy and with doctors, cooks and others. There is not the least doubt that other temples of the south had similar provisions. Among the Tamil hymns sung in temples, we may note those of the

Devaram, Nalayiraprabandham and *Tiruvachagam.* References to the recital of the *tiruppallaṇḍii, tiruvaymoli, tiruchchalal, tiruvembavai* and *tivuppadiyam* are often found in inscriptions. Among the musical instruments that were in use in ancient times, we may mention, besides *mattalam, karaḍigai, klgaṇḍi kaimaoii, parai* and *śangu* already noticed, *yāl* or *vinai, fallal, udnlckai, hidamula* and *kalam.* In the temples of Southern India there was invariably a spacious R*anga-mandapa.* On almost all days, dancing was practised here and on special occasions dramas were staged. The latter were divided into acts and scenes and the former consisted of several varieties of popular amusement conveying religious instruction. Besides being the scene of all the aforesaid activities, the temple was the principal feeding house of the village. All strangers, ascetics and men of learning were fed sumptuously in the temple. Fruits, ghee and sugar were largely used and people were served with several kinds of boiled preparations from raw vegetables by the addition of condiments such as pepper, pulses, mustard, turmeric, cumin, salt and tamarind, along with a few others, fried in ghee. Chillies did not go into their preparations, but asafœtida was largely consumed. Ancient inscriptions reveal the method of preparing several varieties of special dishes which are rarely done at present. For festive occasions, ample provisions were made and a large number of people fed. These occasions were not few and we give below some of those of Śiva temples .—

(1) Vishu iu the months of Śittirai and Aippaśi.

(2) Viśākha in the month of Vaigāśi.

(3) Pūsam in Ādi.

(4) Sravishtha in Avani

(5) Śatabhishaj in Puraṭṭāśi.

(6) Krittikā in Kārttigai.

(7) Ārdrāin Mārgaḷi.

(8) Pushya in Tai.

(9) Makha in Māśi.

(10) Uttara-Phalguni in Panguni.

(11) Sajikrānti in the two Ayanas,

(12) The hunting excursion of the god, the *rathotsava* or the car festival, the *vasaiitōtsava* and the like.

Most of the festivals enumerated, continue to be observed even at the present day; but they appear to have been more elaborate in the past and that on these occasions a large collection of men were fed free.

The temple was also the place where ancient kings performed their *tulābhāra* and *hiraṇyagarbha* ceremonies which attracted crowds of people from all parts of the kingdom. The greatest of the Chōḷa kings *i. e.* Rajarāja I had his *tulābhāra* ceremony performed in the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśalūr in his 28th year of reign *i.e.*, in A.D. 1013. On the very day, his queen Dantiśaktiviṭanki *alias* Lokamahadevi passed through a gold cow in the same place. It is stated in the Tamil work *Kōyilolugu* that Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-71), the greatest of the Pāṇḍya kings, built several *tulāpumsha-maṇḍapas* in the Śrirangam

teqaple and had his *tulābhāra* ceremony performed there, several times. Many of the Vijayanagara kings had the same ceremony done in the temples at Śrirangam and Conjeeveram. Almost in all the temples visited by the South Indian kings, special festivals, called after their own names, were ordered to be conducted annually on the asterism of their birth-day and rich endowments were made for them. To secure merit for the dead, to get success in a field of battle, to be rid of some sickness from which one was suffering or for obtaining prosperity, wealth and happiness in life, offerings were made to propitiate the god. On these occasions, the images in temples were bathed in 108 pots of water to the accompaniment of the chanting of the Vēdic hymns, were smeared with sandal-paste and taken in procession.

SECTION IV :—CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS AND TAXATION.

Names of taxes are mentioned in a number of published inscriptions which are in their nature, documents evidencing free gifts of lands or villages to Brahmins, to Śiva, Vishṇu, Jaina and Buddhist temples, or to other charitable institutions such as thQse established for imparting religious instruction to the people, and for reading and expounding the scriptures. The villages and lands granted to Brahmins were called *brahmadēyas*; those given to Hindu temples were named *ḍeoaddnas*; to Jaina shrines *pallichchanda;* others which were set apart for the feeḍing of persons were known as Śa*labhoga, murruttu etc.* For

a clear grasp of the various transactions involved in such gifts as are enumerated above, it is necessary to go through one at least of these documents. Where a village or land was made a free gift, it was not meant that the granted village or land was free from the payment of taxes, but that the taxes or other sources of income, which till the time of the grant replenished the treasury of the king, ceased to go to him. And it is expressly stated in these grants that the state relinquished its title or right to the incomes derivable from such lands and villages and made them over to the donees imposing at the same time certain liabilities on them. Thus when a village is said to have been made tax-free, we have to understand that the State refrained from levying taxes on it, but that the village itself was not free from the payment of taxes. Instead of paying to the state, the payment was made to the donee. If it was not the king that made the gift, the duty of freeing the land from payment of taxes devolved on the person who made the gift. It was sometimes done by paying a lump sum of money for compounding, as it were, the tax due on the land for all time to come and to have the land granted, declared tax-free. There are also instances in which the grantors bound themselves to pay the taxes when they made tax-free donations. Two cases, one of AD. 1193 and the other not far removed from it in point of time, are cited below.[1] In the first, it is said

[1] These are noticed in Volume IV of the Archaeological Survey of India, pages 11 and 13. One of the documents is dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekhara 1 {A.D. 1191) and the other in the 23rd year of the reign of Maravarman Parakrama-Pandya.

that the people of a village (Vikramaśōḷapuram i.e., Vikkiramangalam near Sholavandan in the Madura district) gave away as *đevaddna* to the temple in that village a certain piece of land, for enjoyment free of all taxes and that the grantors agreed to pay the tax (to the State). In the second instance, a grant (of 5 *mā)* of land was made as *đeoađana* to the same temple by a private individual (Jayangoṇḍaṉatha *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍya-Anantapāla) to meet the requirements of the temple. It is here stated that the *đevadāna* land shall be enjoyed tax-free and that the donor shall pay all items of taxes. The two cases make plain that if *dēvadâna* grants had been made by other persons than the king, whether they were a body of men or private individuals, the state did not forego its dues and that it was the duty of the donors to pay them, while the lands themselves were enjoyed by the donee free of all taxes. In some cases, the village assemblies exercised the right of collecting from private individuals making *devadana* gifts, a fixed sum of money which they lent out to interest and paid annually the income due to the State. It deserves to be noted that in the case of *brahṃadeỹa* and *dēvaddna* grants, the lands became the property of the donees subject to certain conditions for their proper upkeep and that they obtained the double right of getting (i) the rent from the tenants just as the State was doing and (ii) the other sources of income which will be enumerated below.

The following are some of the conditions or liabilities imposed on the donees in the case of charitable grants:—

i. For drinking and irrigation purposes, the donees shall cut channels from rivers and tanks, and

carry water from them, where they admit of easy flow. They shall receive k*olkalam* and *puludipadu* for the channels so dug.

ii. They shall not allow the water of these channels to be drained by baskets, by small lifts *(kurrēttam)* or by under-channels, and shall impose fines on those who do so. They shall not permit the fresh water (intended for drinking) to be spoiled by being used for common purposes.

iii. They shall erect houses, mansions and other big structures with burnt bricks and tiles.

iv. They shall sink big wells.

v. They shall have the garden lands planted with fruit-bearing and useful trees of various descriptions such as the cocoanuts palmyra, jack and mango and shall cultivate sweet-scented creepers and flower-plants like *(Hamanaka, maravu, iruv'eli, ' senbagam* and *' sengalunir.*

vi. They shall set up big oil presses.

vii. They shall not allow the cocoanut and palmyra trees, planted in the villages, to he climbed by the toddy-drawers.

These conditions, or more properly the liabilities, show that the *brahmadēya* lands and villages are not the exclusive possession of Brahmins, that is to say that in such villages there could be other classes of people than Brahmins. The setting up of oil presses indicates the existence in *brahmadēya* villages of *Vaisyas* of the oil-monger class. The cutting of channels, planting of trees and building structures

with bricks, show that the village should have contained men of various professions, artisans and masons. What could be reasonably gathered from these liabilities is that the donees should do all that is necessary to keep the village always in a flourishing condition favourable to the life of every class of people. Prom certain items of income which the donees derived and which will be enumerated below, it is seen that *brahmadēya* villages contained washermen, potters, goldsmiths, weavers, shop-keepers and others among the inhabitants of these villages. Further, it is expressly stated that in some cases of such grants, the previous holders of lands *i.e.* the tenants of the soil were not dispossessed of their holdings at the time when the whole village was given away as *brahmadeya*. This shows that the grant did not affect the life of other classes of men than Brahmins. Add to all these, it may be pointed out that we do not find among the items of rights conferred on the donees that they could dispossess the old tenants. On the other hand, it is clearly stated that the donees had only the right to receive the income, which the State derived from the village.

The rights conferred on the donees are mentioned in the following terms. They shall obtain such incomes as

nadatchi and *uratchi=fee* for governing the country and village; *pnta-nali=one nali* on every marakkal; *kusakkanam=tax* of (one) ka*nam due by* the potter; k*annalakhanam*= marriage fee ; *vannarapparai=tax* on the washerman's stone; *vatti-nali* = (one) *nāli* on every big basket (of grain taken for sale);

nir-kuli=water-rate; *ilaikkulam; tarippudavai* or *tari-irai=the* tax on looms paid in cloth ; *taragu=tax* on brokers; *tattarappattam=tax* on goldsmiths; *idaipattam* or *idai-putchi=tax* on shepherds; *nalla, narpasu, narkida,* and *nallerudu* ; *nadu-kaval*=watchmen of the country; *udu-pokku, mavirai, tiyeri*; *virpidi, ila-putchi=tax* on toddy-drawers ; *Valamanjadi; ilgu=tax* on toll-keepers; *Odakkuli=tax* on ferry keepers; *manrupadu* and *sabhaviniydgam=share* **for the** maintenance of village assemblies; k*uttukkal*=fines; s*ekkirai=tax* on oil presses ; *Brahmanarasakkanam=tax* of (one) k*anam* on the profits of Brahmins; *Sengudikkanam, Kannittukkanam, Kadirkkanam, Visakkanam, arikuli, neyvilai*=ghee-seller's fees ; *puttaga-vilai=fees* levied on sellers of cloths ; *pattigaihanam=fee* on cattle-sheds ; *nay add, tuduval, kanigarattigal, pannuppaleduppar, pudukkudiraikhurradu=tax* on horses ; *nattuvagai*=settlement duties, *padangali, kaiyal=tax* on retainers of servants ; *nedumbarai* = tax on those for whom big drums are **beaten** ; *panampakku*=tax on areca-nuts, *haranadandam, adikarana-dandam, kuvalaikkanam*.

SECTION IV *(a)*: - HOW MISAPPROPRIATION OF CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS WERE DEALT WITH.

Instances of misappropriation of charitable grants occasioned by conquests of adjacent powers which naturally caused confusion in the quiet administration of the country and the neglect sometimes of the conditions stipulated in the deeds resulting in the deterioration of the lands and villages granted, were not uncommon. In such cases, the authorities appear to have taken steps to remedy the evil by the appointment of officers of state to enquire into the matter. The Chōḷa king Rājarāja I was one of the early sovereigns of South India who devoted his attention in this direction. Early in his reign a certain Madhurāntakam Gaṇḍarādifctanār was appointed with a committee consisting of five members to inspect villages which had been made over to temples, Brahmins *etc.* to overhaul their accounts, to conduct inquiries and to rectify the errors. In A.D. 989 the commission was conducting inquiries at Tirumālpēru in the North Arcot district where they found that the endowments had been neglected and consequently the daily offerings had been reduced to 2 *nali* of rice and that the produce of the temple lands were being misappropriated. They set right matters by fining the men in charge of the store-room of the Agniśvara temple. In A. D. 992 this officer was at Tiruvallarn in the same district and noticed a similar defalcation. He observed that the offerings presented to the Āḻvār were only 2 *nāli* of rice, that the vegetable offerings, ghee, curds, *etc.* had ceased and] that the perpetual lamps

were neglected. He called for the Siva-Brahmanas of the temple and the members of the assembly to which the temple belonged and asked them to state the revenue and expenditure of the temple in accordance with the royal orders and letters.

In a record found at Tirumālpēru in the Conjeevaram taluka of the Chingleput district dated, it is supposed, in the reign of Āditya II *alias* Karikāla, the elder brother of Bājarāja I (985-1014), we are told that in the 21st year of the reign of Toṇḍaimān-Āṟṟūrttunjinadēva *i.e.* Āditya I, father of Parāntaka I (907-953), the village of Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr in Maṇayil-ṇāḍu had been granted as *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya* to the village assembly *(sabhai)* of Puduppākkam. The condition of the grant was that the donee should make over a fixed quantity of the produce of the village and a certain amount of gold every year to the temple of Mahadeva at Tirumalperu. In the next year, the boundaries of the village granted were determined and a deed evidencing the gift was drawn up. But the village was not entered in the accounts as a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya.* This mistake was rectified in the 4th year of Parāntaka I *(i.e.* in A.D. 911) and the village assembly of Puduppākkam were making over the stipulated produce and gold to the temple. In the 36th year of the same king's reigu (= A. D. 943) an additional item was made payable from the village of Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr to the same temple and entered in the accounts. The village assembly of Puduppākkam were misappropriating this item and the temple authorities made a complaint to the king while he was at Conjeevarara. The king sent for both the parties, and after due

enquiry satisfied himself that the village assembly had been guilty of misappropriating the revenues assigned to the temple at Tirumā̀lpēṟu. They were, accordingly, fined and the grant was restored to the temple. This account shows that already during the time of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-953) enquiries were instituted to ascertain defalcations. It also shows that there should have been account books kept for the purpose of entering *brahmadeya* and *devadana* grants and that the kings of old retained in their hands the right to punish those found guilty of misappropriation, in the case of charitable endowments.

SECTION V :—PROFESSION AND TRADE TAX.

Looking at the list of taxes enumerated on page, 343f, it is clear that all professional men among whom are included washermen, goldsmiths, potters, ferry-keepers, toddy-drawers, oil-mongers, toll-keepers, hawkers, betel leaf sellers, brokers, shepherds, maintainer3 of boundaries, ghee sellers, dealers in cattle, horses and elephants, areca-nut sellers, and others had, in ancient times, to pay a small fee or tax to the state. These taxes resemble to a great extent the profession and trade tax of modern municipalities, but very minutely and carefully ascertained. Although the number of taxes were many, they did not weigh heavily on the people, for, on the face of it, it is quite apparent that all these taxes were not paid by one and the same individual, and neither were all of them paid at all times. Some were realised only on particular occasions such as the marriage fees. But there is no doubt that these items **should**

have made a large sum to the state. The very names of the tax indicate in some cases, the quantity to be paid and these show that the demand was not very heavy. Here it is worth noting also that in ancient times, the state demand was only made on the amounts realised but not on what was taken for realisation. The Muhammadan historian Abdul Eazak observes:—"The officers of the customs department levy a duty on the goods, of one-fortieth part, *when a sale is effected* ; if they are not sold, they make no charge on them whatsoever." The terms used to indicate taxes are *kadamai, kuli, pattam, irai, kadan, amanji, ayam, vari* and *putchi-* The meaning of these is " share, duty, income or tax." While some of the items were paid in money, others were given in kind. It may be useful to note here what some of these items represented. A record of of Parāntaka I (10th century A.D.) found at Erode in the Coimbatore district registers the fact that the marriage fee to be paid by the bridegroom and the bride is $^1/_8$ of a *panam* and that each *kudi* or family had to pay ½ *a panam*. The former is the *kamyilak-kāṇam* and the latter is perhaps what is known as s*engudikkanam*. What is here given in money is elsewhere stated to have been paid in cloth. Another document states that in the case of marriages among persons belonging to the *kalla* caste, one *śēlai i.e.* cloth shall be received and nothing shall be obtained for the second and subsequent marriages.[1] A Chōḷa record

[1] **At the present day it is a custom in Malabar ta pay (faring marriage occasions a fee as *gramapanam* which goes to the temple. This is in all probability a reminiscence of an old practice.**

of Tirumejnānain in the Tanjore district fixes the fee to be paid by those who sell things in the bazzar by measures, weights and by number. It states that, when paddy, rice or other grains, brought from outside villages are sold by measures, there shall be received one *nāli;* for things sold by weight, one *palam* shall be taken; and in the case of betel-leaves and areca-nuts, the fee to be paid for each basket is one *parrit* and two nuts.

The term *vaṭṭi-nāli, ilai-huḻam etc* get an explanation from this record. *Vaṭṭi* is a big basket which could hold 6 kur*uni* or 48 measures of grain and one *nāli* paid for selling such a quantity cannot be considered heavy. And two nuts for selling a big basket of areca is almost nothing. A third record [1] dated in Kali 4431 Promōdūta falling in the reign of the Hoysala king Vlravallala gives a longer list of these items. The share of the city is here stated to be 10 *paṇam* for every elephant sold, one *paṇam* for a horse, two k*asu* for a cloth, 40 areca-nuts for one *podi* of it, one *alakku* for one *podi* of pepper, one *alakku* for one *podi* of salt, one *uri* for one *podi* of grains, two k*asu* for one slave, two k*asu* for *pachchavadam, etc.* Another inscription of the same king, dated in A. D. 1335, states that if a horse was sold, both the seller and the purchaser had to pay one *paṇam* each.

From the above, it may be gathered that every person knew what he had to pay for following a particular trade or profession, that all classes of people were treated equally, that the realisation of the state dues could have been effected without

1 No. 70 K of Kolar.

much inconvenience to the rate-payers, the mode of payment being in kind and also light. The last fact gave no room for grievance.

SECTION VI:—LAND ASSESSMENT.

We shall now see what portion of the produce was taken by the kings of South India as the Government share or in other words what the assessment proper on land was. First of all, it must be said that land assessment was mostly paid in kind, though payment in money was not absolutely unknown. There are instances in v/hich part of the assessment was paid in kind and the rest in money. In the last case it is not clear what the basis was on which they fixed the two kinds of payments. In Tanjore and the surrounding parts, assessment during the time of Kājarāja I (A.D. 985-1013) was 100 *halam* of paddy per *vēli*. As we are not in a position to ascertain what the exact measure of *kalam* and *veli* was, and the yield per *vēli* in those times, this information is not of much use. We have to look for more direct evidence on the point to know the proportion of the produce which formed the revenue or rent. Mr. L. Rice's Kolar volume contains an early record[1] which is dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Rājakēsarivarman Rajendra-Chola i.*e*. Kulottunga I. The importance of this inscription will be evident when its contents are discussed. It removes many of the misconceptions liable to be formed as regards the land assessment, not knowing the correct quantity of a unit of land as well as the unit of paddy

[1] **No. 492 of Mulbagal in the Kolar district,**

measure, because it gives in unmistakable terms the proportion of the assessment to the produce at the time of which we are speaking and thus affords a means of comparison with the rate prevalent at other times. The translation of the contents is as follows :—

The cultivators of Śōḷamaṇḍalam 18 countries, Jayangoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam 48,000 *bhūmi* and the great army of the *valangai* possessing large weapons belonging to all the countries under the sway of the king, having appeared before him, the following great settlement was made regarding the 18 countries of Rājēndraśōḷabhūmi. From the time when the Chōḷa family sprang up, cows and buffaloes had no taxes ; therefore, the officer Śōḷamūvēndavēḷār (in charge of the tax department) of these 18 countries, orders that no tax needs be collected on cows and buffaloes. For dry lands in which dry crops are raised, there shall be paid a *mēlvāram* (rentor's share of the produce) of one in five. For lands under tank, there shall be paid a *melvaram* of one in three. For every 15 *kuli* of land in which *Jcummari* or shifting cultivation is raised by the forest tribes *(vēḍar),* one *puṟavai* shall be received. The internal taxes such as *kumarak-kachchāṉam,* washermen's fees, good buffaloe, good cow *etc* shall be two kas*u* on each item or head. For petty taxes the *asuvi-makkal* shall pay one k*asu* per head.....(Here is a damaged portion) quarter *hāku* shall be received from each house of teachers *(uvāṭṭi),* of the men in charge of the temple and of the *talarar.* The houses set apart for *śiru-śungarn* are exempt. The lands shall be measured by rods of 18 *kāṇ* in length, a *kāṇ* being equal in length to.....(damaged).

Thus the 18 countries and the great army of *valangai* possessing large weapons received the order and had this document engraved on stone. Any one..... shall incur the sin of killing cows and Brāhraaṇas on the bank of the Ganges."

Mr. Rice's Bangalore volume furnishes two more early Tamil epigraphs. These are dated in the 33rd year of the reign of Rājādhiraja I and are thus very near in point of time to that of Rājarāja I. They furnish information similar to that supplied by the record translated above. One of them states that the *mēlvāram* in the case of wet lands *(nirdrambam)* was two-fifths of the produce and that for dry lands *(kāṭṭāṟambam)* it was one-fourth.

The usual imprecation that those who act against the rule laid down shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges is added at the end of this as in the case of the previous one. The other registers that Śannai-nāḍu in Taḷigaivaḷi *alias* Vikramaśōḷamaṇḍalam was given to the king's general Rājēndraśōḷabrahmārāyar as a *jivita i.e.* for enjoyment by himself and his progeny. In this district, the record states, that for wet lands *(nirnilam)* the ratio between *mēlvāram i.e.* (rentor's share of the produce) and k*ilvaram (i.e.* the cultivator's share) was 1 to 1½; and that for dry lands (*kattarambam)* the same was 1 to 3. This means that in the case of wet lands for every yield of 5, two was given away as the rentor's share, while 3 was retained by the cultivator; and that for dry lands for every yield of 4, one was given as the rentor's share and 3 retained as the cultivator's

portion. The sharing of.the produce between the rentor and the lessee here given, is just the same as in the former. We may state that the last record is an evidence on the question because in all *jivitas* granted by the king, the king had only the right to transfer his incomes to the holders of the *jivita* just as he did in the case of *brahmadeya* and *devadana* grants and as such the proportion expresses simply what existed between the king and the cultivators.

The three records just quoted make plain the following facts :—

i. That the State in those days realised what may be called the rent from the cultivators. The expressions *mēlvāram* and *Mlvāram* decidedly prove this fact.

ii. The proportion of the produce shared by the State and the cultivator was such that it could not have been considered hard on the latter.[1]

iii. That the payment of rent which was generally made in kind must have caused no hardship to the cultivator to pay the amount. Here it may be mentioned that there were State granaries in all villages.

iv. The State demand was only made on lands on which crops were raised. The statement in the record quoted above that *melvaram* was paid for *lands on which crops were raised (vilainda nilattukku)* might perhaps be taken to indicate that in cases

[1] In this connection, it may be said that at present the rentora of land take as much as half the produce and sometimes **even** more from the cultivator,

of failure of crops, the lands were exempt from paying the rentor's share. This will be made evident when we take up the question as regards the occasions when remissions were granted. But it may be noted here that if lands were left uncultivated by the tenants they were not so exempt because it is expressly stated in a number of records that for failing to cultivate and pay the rent, the lands were given away to others.

v. That Government realised rent from the cultivators of the soil at specified rates, which varied differently for different classes of lands such as wet, dry, forest, etc. and which were fixed with reference apparently to the advantages of irrigation, facilities of getting more yield, cost of cultivation etc., naturally takes us to the question whether there was in ancient times any ownership or property in land. This question probably receives its answer when we mention the fact the tenants had full right to mortgage, sell or otherwise transfer the lands either partially or in full.

It may be useful to note how lands were held in ancient times and the rents paid to the king. Each village had a kāṇiyāḷan who may be considered as a middleman between the king and his tenants. His duty was to see to the proper cultivation of all the lands in the village by letting them to reliable tenants and their successors, of course by the order of the king, and be responsible for the king's share of the produce. The officers of the king demanded the royal rent from the kāṇiyāḷan or through him from the tenants, and stored it in the village granary.

When the farming tenants neglected to cultivate the lands entrusted to them and thus let fall in arrears the rent due to the State, the kāṇiyāḷan reported the matter to the king through the latter's officers, and recommended the removal of the defaulting tenants and submitted proposals for giving the lands to other reliable persons and their families. His proposal was generally accepted and the former owner *i.e.* the tenant was replaced. If a proper tenant was not pitched upon and if there were arrears of rent due by the ousted tenant, the land was generally put in public auction, and sold to the highest bidder who offered to take up the land with the encumbrances. The above facts perhaps establish that there was private property in land. It is apparent that the kāṇiyāḷan should have been subject to the authority of the village assembly who really conducted the direct administration of the country. This system of land revenue seems to have been prevalent in the presidency even in the early years of the 19th century and in the scheme which made the kāṇiyāḷan responsible to collect the lump assessment of grain or money fixed for each village, there was certainly the element of a successful realisation of the State dues. It might be said that any system which makes the rentors subject to public control would adapt the revenue administration to the ancient institution of the country.

SECTION VII:—SALE OF LANDS.

Inscriptions register private and public sales of lands. . In the former, the parties to the transaction

agree among themselves, the one to part with his possessions or holdings, for a stipulated amount, which the other consents to give. In the latter case, the land of one is put in auction before a large concourse of people with a crier to announce the bid amounts. The reason for the sale of the land is perhaps first set forth and finally the land is knocked down after three calls, to the highest bidder. In all sales the vendor declares, on oath, the receipt of the sale money agreed upon. Then a conveyance is drawn up between the parties, which gives the extent of the property sold and a minute description of its boundaries, the full payment of the money to the vendor, the transfer of the property to the purchaser which is effected with libation of water, etc. All these transactions take place before an assembly constituted for the special purpose of registering documents. If the land sold was not the property of a private individual but formed the possession of a village assembly, it was necessary that some of the members of the assembly should order the sale of it. The wording of the deeds, as we find them specially in Tamil inscriptions of great length, shows how well conveyancing was done in those days. Every minute detail of the transaction involved, is clearly set forth in unequivocal terms and nothing is left to be desired to complete it. Generally the persons who drew up deeds were the village or temple accountants or the *madhyastas* (arbitrators). The final words of the document, which had been introduced to cover all omissions and which were intended to guard against litigation at future dates, deserve special mention. " This shall be the sale-deed and the receipt for the money paid.

Besides this, no other document shall be shown or seen for the complete payment of the sale money agreed upon. Fault of palm-leaves, mistakes in the use of letters, words or sense, shall not be deemed as real faults. Thus was the land sold after an oral declaration of oath. So long as the Sun and the Moon endure, the stone and the Kāvēri exist, and the grass and paddy grow on earth, the lands conveyed by the document shall be enjoyed by the purchasers, their sons, grandsons and their successors with the eight kinds of privileges such as the use of water and trees, stones and treasures buried underground, *akshiṇi,* and *agāmi,* etc., together with the right to the wells sunk down and trees growing up and all animals and birds attached to the land and trees. The purchasers shall have this document inscribed on stone and copper."

SECTION VIII:—SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT.

From a number of inscriptions we learn that all tillages had been carefully surveyed and measured, their total acreage and the correct extent of tax-free lands in them noted in the registers maintained for the purpose. For every village, both the extent of lands paying revenue or rent, and the quantity of paddy or other grain, of gold and *kāśu* to be given to the State had also been determined and entered in the books. In the Chōḷa country, Kājarāja I seems to have been the first sovereign to start a systematic land survey, which he did in the 16th year of his reign *i.e.* in A. D. 1004. In earlier times the approximate extent of lands in villages was known to the

authorities, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, the son and successor of Rājarāja I, appears to have ascertained the excess and deficiency in the measurements made prior to his time. Later on in the 16th year of the reign of Kulōttuuga I (A.D. 1086), that monarch undertook a re-survey and settlement. This was perhaps started owing to the appreciable differences noticed in the reign of one of his predecessors, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. Another re-survey was done in the 38th year of Kulōttunga I I I and this is referred to in the lithic records of his successors Rājarāja I I I and Rājēndra-Chōḷa I I I.

Lands Exempt from Assessment.

The following items which mostly consist of lands set apart for communal purposes—as being indispensable for the life and growth of the population and regarded as unfit for cultivation, are expressly declared to be exempt from taxation. The long list shows how carefully it had been made out. They are:—

Ūrnattam= village site; kuḷain-pond; kammāṇacheri=quarter of the carpenter; paraichcheri=quarter of the Pariahs; veḷḷānśuḍukāḍu and paraichchuḍukadu= burning ground of the Vellalas and Pariahs; ūrnilattai ūḍaruttuppōna vāykālgaḷ-the channels which passed through the lands of the village; śrikōyil - the sacred temple ; Aiyank5yil - the temple of Aiyan (village god); piḍāri-kōyil-the temple of the village goddess; kaḷani-kuḷangaḷ-the ponds dug in the fields; *Paraichcheri-nattam*=the site set apart for the Pariahs; *naiidavanam= the* flower gardens (attached to temples); *kudi-irukkai*

and *ur-irukkai=the* site covered by the houses in a village; ōḍai=streams or water courses ; iḷachchēri-the quarter of the toddy-drawers ; *vannarachcheri=* the quarter of the washermen; *paraikkulam kuli=* the pond and pools of the Pariahs; the urn burials of the ancients; punakkuḷam= the rain-fed tanks; peruvali=the highroads; tindacbcheri=the quarter of the polluted classes; *tirumurram* = the courtyard of temples; karkiḍai-kairns and kistaevans; *ūruṇi=* the fresh water tanks ; *kottagaaram=the* king's palace; kalam=the threshing floor; *agaiyaru; Devar-tiru-manjanakkulam* = the bathing tank of the god ; kanrumēy-pāl=:=the village grazing ground; śuḍu-kattukku pogum vali-the way leading to the burning ground; m*anai*=houses ; *manai padaippai=house* sites; *kaḍai*=bazaars ; *kaḍai ternvu=the* bazaar street; *manru*=the place where the assembly meets; *kiḍangu* -pits; *purru=ant* hills; *terri=big* trees marking the boundaries; *kadu*=forest; kalar, uvar=saline earth; aru=river; *aridu padugai=* land just on the bed of a river (which it washes during floods); *udaippu=lands* where breaches had occurred; mln-payil-pallam= marshy valleys where fish is found; and *ten-payil-podumbu=* forest tracts where honey is gathered.

Prom what is detailed above, it will be clear that in ancient times each village had a known area and that it was divided into cultivated land, cultivable waste, uncultivated land set apart **for** special purposes such as for communal benefit and those which were declared unfit for cultivation,

SECTION IX:—TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS, BOUNDARY MARKS, ETC.

In ancient times, territories belonging to the various dynasties of kings that held sway over parts of the Dekhau were divided into large districts called vaḷanaḍu or koṭṭam which included in them a number of sub-divisions or nadus. The latter comprised a number of villages and towns. Though there is much material on hand which supply valuable information for making out the ancient geography of the country, yet the published records alone are not sufficient to determine completely the districts and sub-divisions that existed at the time of which we are speaking. Still, it would be useful to put down a few points of general interest which could be gleaned from them. For making the boundaries of lands, villages and divisions, natural objects of a permanent nature were utilised. Among such objects were mountains, hills, rocks, ant-hills, rivers, streams, canals, stumps of big trees, trees and banks. Stones with boundary marks were also used for the same purpose. One of the territorial divisions of the Chola country at the time of Rājarāja I (11th century A.D.) was Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu and this district denoted the piece of land that lay between the two rivers Ariśil and the Kāvēri. Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu was the name given to another district of the same province and it included all the territory situated on the north bank of the Kāvēri. The villages on the north bank of the Kaduvaiyāru river, which flowed through the Tanjore district were comprised in the district of Vaḍa-kaḍu-vāy, while those of the southern bank of the same river formed the division of Ten-kaḍuvāy. The

former division was afterwards changed into Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu and the latter was called Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu. A number of other instances might be given to show that the banks of rivers formed the boundaries of districts. Such districts and sub-divisions existed in the tracts watered by the Pālāru, Tāmraparṇi, Pennar and the Vaigai. To know that districts had mountains and hills for their boundaries wherever these are found, the names of many of the k*ottams* of Tondai-mandalam might be instanced. Thus, Kunravardanam, Veṇkunram, Vēngaḍam, Mēnmalai and Naḍuvinmalai had given their names to districts. The high roads, which existed in the country and which were the trade routes of early days, also formed the boundaries of divisions. Examples of these are Vaḍakaḷavaḷi-nāḍu, Tenkaḷavaḷi-nāḍu, Vaḍavaḷi-nāḍu Vaḍugavaḷimerku and Perumbāṇappāḍi. The eastern boundary of the last was the high road leading to the Andhra country from Dravida. There was another high road leading to the Kongu country and this also formed the boundary of some districts. Though these general facts are known from published records, it is necessary to study a larger number of them to fix with any amount of certainty the district limits of ancient Dekhan which, in some cases, changed several times. There are instances where villages which once belonged to one district had passed into another later on.

The number of villages comprised in each territorial division or province was ascertained in ancient times. A large collection of inscriptions bear testimony to this fact. Gangavāḍi *i.e.* the

Ganga province had in it as many as 96,000 villages, while Nulambavadi had 32,000 and Rattapadi 7½ lakshas. The numbers given against each of the following divisions of the country show how many villages there were in them.

Rattapadi	7½ laksbas.
Nuḷambavāḍi	32,000.
Gangapāḍi	96,000.
Ballamkoṇḍa	300.
Kōgali	500.
Māsavāḍi	140.
Kaḍambaliṯge	1,000.
Kōṭṭūr	32,000.
Klmkāḍ	70.
Beliyanda	4,000.
Eḍadore	2,000.
Kuḍipāra	70.
Kukkanūr	30.
Punnāḍ	6,000.

SECTION X:—THE VILLAGES AND TOWNS; THEIR FORMATION.

For administrative purposes every village in the country was included in a small sub-division which in its turn belonged to a bigger district. It will be interesting to point out what the village unit was. It was not merely a village with a number of houses in it as at the present day. Places situated within a radius of 8 or 10 miles were grouped together and all of them received the name of the principal village. They had a regularly constituted assembly to control or look after the affairs. Thus in each group there were, besides the principal village, several other villages which were called the hamlets

(paḍāgai) of it, the latter being dependent oh the principal one for matters concerning their administration. Members for the village assembly were selected not only from the principal village but also from its hamlets. Besides the hamlet, there were a number of smaller settlements called chēris attached to each village. Both within the town and outside of it, there were big streets which were divided into several wards. The Tanjore inscriptions give the names of streets and quarters inhabited by men of various professions and these were situated within and outside of Tanjāvūr. The inscriptions of Tiruviśalūr and Tirrukkaḷittaṭṭai mention a number of *chēris* which formed part of Vēmbarṟūr- To give a further example, it might be said that in the 11th century A.D., Rajaraja-Chaturvedimangalam included in it the modern villages of Ambāsamudram, Kallaḍaikkuruchchi, Brahmadēśam, Tiruvāliśvaram, Āḷvārkurichchi, Kaḍaiyam and several others and had as many as twelve *chēris*.

A few villages are mentioned as *taniyūr*. In naming these, lithic records particularly omit to state the smaller sub-divisions in which generally villages are said to be situated, but furnish only the districts to which they belonged. The term *taniyūr* means a separate village We have perhaps to understand that this appellation was given them to denote that they were principal towns of the districts and that they formed a separate unit for purposes of administration.

Before closing this section a word may be said regarding the formation of villages and towns in ancient times which appear to have been done on

definite plans. Provision was invariably made for the growth of these in after years, owing either to an increase in the population or by fresh settlement of families from outside. Accordingly, in each village a few acres of land had been set apart as village-site and house-site and every facility was afforded to erect new buildings. There was absolutely no room for overcrowding and quarters were not muddled together indiscriminately. Every profession or caste had separate squares for residential purposes. And this system had its own advantage in the corporate life of the communities, each of which followed some profession or craft. The village was divided into a number of wards and their interest was represented in the village assembly. Each class of people had its own burial ground or burning ghat and there was a separate pathway for taking the corpses to these places. Spacious grounds were allotted for the grazing of the cattle and special precaution was taken as regards the supply of water for drinking purposes. It was strictly enjoined that it should not be used for common purposes. There were roads leading to and from each village, which appear to have been neglected totally when the administration of village assemblies ceased to be in existence after the 16th and 17th centuries. Every village had a temple in it. The popular saying is "no temple" "no village", In the case of towns, there were, besides all these mentioned above, a fort, a moat, palaces and a forest just at the entrance to them. There were big bazaars arid every article was also taken and sold house to house. There were city-guards moving to and fro to; keep peace and order. On the borders were cultivated

fruit-bearing trees of every description and sweet-scented herbs.

SECTION XI:—IRRIGATION.

In a country like Southern India where there are no large lakes and where the supply of water even in the rivers is precarious, and is more or less regulated by the rainfall, there must naturally be expected to be found a number of artificial tanks, wells or other contrivances made to store up water whenever that could be had. The Tamil classical work *MaduraikJcanchi* in describing the state of the Pāṇḍya country in about the beginning of the 7th century A.D., states that there were several big tanks in that part of the Dekhan which were fed by the water from the river Vaigai flowing through the country in a meandering course carrying an enormous quantity of water when in freshes. Almost all the rivers of the Tamil country are dry during the greater part of the year. Early kings of the various dynasties that held sway over the Dekhan realised the difficulty in this respect and set about rectifying it- They constructed tanks and wells, dug out canals, sluices and embankments. In the Ramnad district there are, even at the present day, several tanks which cover a large area, being some miles in circumference, but the channels which fed them with the water of the Vaigai have now disappeared. The Kurivitturai inscriptions, of the time of Jaṭavarman Srivallabha, of about the later half of the 12th century A.D., refer to stone anicuts, canals and water courses which existed at the time. *Kura-viMalladaippu* mentioned in one of these epigraphs is probably the head of a sluice, from the river Vaigai.

The anicut called Parākrama-Pāṇḍiyan-Kallaṇai must have been a stone embankment, connected with the irrigation system of the Vaigai, and it may be noted that the present Kallaṇai is not far from the Kuruvitturai temple. It is not unlikely that it refers to an ancient irrigation work at the spot, which is now improved or replaced by the modern Kallaṇai. A third source of irrigation in this part of the country was Vira-Pāṇḍyankāl, which must be a channel cut from the Vaigai to water the lands near Kuruvitturai. The Vikramangalam inscriptions also speak of some other works of the kind. One of the epigraphs of Jaṭāvarman Śrivallabha refers to the opening of a new channel called Parākrama-Pāṇḍyankāl, which had to be closed owing to an objection raised that it was cut just above a main canal.

In the Chōḷa country also, there were a number of tanks, besides a net work of canals from the Kāvēri and its branches, all dating back to very early times and covering almost the whole of the Kaveri delta. Veṇṇāru and the Ariśiliāru were in existence prior to the time of Karikāla who lived in the 1st half of the 6th century A.D. Paḷankāvēri and Kolḷiḍam are mentioned in the hymns of Tirujñānasambandar and Appar as well as in some of the inscriptions. Thus they appear to have irrigated the lands of the Tanjore district from some time prior to the 7th Century A.D. Of these, the name Paḷankāvēri indicates that the course of the river changed, giving rise to a new source of irrigation and it might have been so-called to distinguish it from the new. It is not known if this diversion of the river was due to natural causes or if it was the work of any particular person.

In. spite of the diversion of water in these branches, the Kāvēri seems to have carried an enormous quantity of water and caused damage to the country when in flood. And it was given to Karikāla to build high banks to the river and to open fresh canals to improve the irrigation of the country. His device successfully prevented the annual destruction for nearly 15 centuries. The canal called Virasōḷan should have been opened during the time of Parāntaka I (907-953) and it is mentioned in the records of that king. Other early irrigation canals mentioned in lithic records are the Kirttimārttāṇḍan, Uyyakkoṇḍān, and Muḍikoṇḍān. These must have been opened during the time of the early Chōḷa kings of the 10th and 11th centuries.

The benefits which the country derived from Pallava rule are varied in their character. They started a number of huge works which gave employment to skilled and unskilled labourers for an indefinite period. The Pallavas improved the several arts of the Dekhan and made the people acquire a high degree of prosperity. Among the monumental works left by them in Southern India may be mentioned the rock-cut caves and tanks. It will be enough to point out here that most of the irrigation works constructed under their patronage in the Tamil country were of immense capacity, and some of them continue to be in good repair. These are noticed by Mr. Vankayya in his able paper on 'The Irrigation in Ancient Times.' There was a channel cut from the river Pālāru called Perumbiḍugu-vāykkāl and this was probably cut in the beginning of-the 7th century A.D,, by the Pallava king Mahendravarman I,

one of whose surnames was Perumbiḍugu. The same king is stated to have constructed a tank in the town of Mahēndravāḍi, in the Chingleput district. This tank called Mahēndra-taṭāka is now in a ruined condition and is identical with the one on whose bank stands the temple [1]. Other irrigation works in the Chingleput and North Arcot districts which came into existence during Pallava times are Vayiramēga-taṭāka, Paramēśvara-tataka, Tiraiyaneri and Chitramega-tataka. It was customary in those days to parcel out a few acres of land irrigated by tanks, among some families and bind them and their descendants to do certain specir fied works connected with the proper upkeep of the tanks. The service, which these families rendered in exchange for the free enjoyment of the lands assigned to them, was the removal of a fixed quantity of silt from the bed of the tank and depositing the same on the bund; It is stated that there were boats kept for the purpose of carrying the silt. We need scarcely say that this ancient practice, while it increased the capacity of the tank in the course of a few years, also proportionately strengthened the bund. The popular Tamil saying " As the banks are raised there will be more water, as the water increases so will paddy, increase of paddy brings in more prosperity to the people, and with the prosperity of the subjects the king's dignity grows I" is quite characteristic of their practice.

At Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalaí in the Trichinopoly district there was a channel called Vayiraraēga-TSykkpiL Evidently this came into existence during

[1] A. B. **for 1896** p. 4,

the time of the Pallava king Dantivarman, the son and Successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. At Ālambākkam another village in the same district there was a big tank called Mārppiḍugēri which is perhaps identical with the one now existing in that village. At Tiruveḷḷarai, 12 miles from Trichinopoly, there is a big well which is so constructed as to give it the form of a *svastika.* An inscription engraved on the stone margin of this well registers the fact that it was conr structed by a certain Kamban Araiyan and was called Mārppiḍagu-perungiṇaru. In editing this inscription which is dated in the reign of Dantivarman of the Pallava Tilaka family, the author has shown that the well at Tiruveḷḷarai and the tank at Ālambākkam, referred to above should have come into existence in the 9th century A.D., and that they should have been called after Mārppiḍugti, a feudatory of the Pallava Tilaka Danti of the 9th century A.D. Construction of tanks was quite a common feature in ancient times not only in the Tamil country but also in the Kanarese and Telugu districts. We have only to open the pages of some volume of inscriptions to see how numerous were the works of this description undertaken in early times. Enormous sums of money seem to have been spent almost in every reign of the ancient kings of the Dekhan, both by the State and by private individuals of means, influence and power for digging new tanks, opening fresh channels, providing sluices or building Kalingu works, embankments and the; like. Whan private ;individuate undertook such a task and thus enabled the waste lands of the districts to be brought under cultivation, they were rewarded by the gifts of tax-free lands and

certain other concessions. While some of these works were undertaken to secure merit for the desi,d, others were taken up for the benefit of the public. A Hoskōṭe epigraph states that when a new tank wais constructed, it was ordered that all the lands under it were to be enjoyed as a *sarvamānya* for the first two years, and that in later years only 2 kudangai should be taken. This record also mentions the committee of great men in charge of the fields. Another inscription from the same place which is dated in Śaka 1253 (=A.D. L331) and in the reign of Hoysaḷa king Viravalḷaḷa, states that the sand that filled the pit to the east of the village was removed and a tank was constructed and on this account it was ordered that all the lands that were attached to it should be enjoyed as a *sarvamānya* as long as the sun and the moon endure- Another document from the Anikal Taluq registers the fact that the big tank at Suguni having breached, a private individual reconstructed the seven breaches at his own expense, and that in recompense for this act the mahajanas of the village assembled together and gave two Kudangai-kalani under the tank. Instances of this kind might be multiplied, but the few that are cited here are sufficient to show the custom or law of those times as regards the construction of tanks and how the lands under them were enjoyed. Construction of tanks, channels and other irrigation works was of daily occurrence and almost all kings, without any exception, seem to have done it.

SECTION XII:—OFFICERS AND THEIR DUTIES.

The following offices existed in ancient times:—

i. Tirumandiravolai: This word is made of tiru (sacred), *mandiram* (council) and *olai* (order). The primary meaning of the last is 'palm-leaf' and it denotes an order conveyed by a palm-leaf on which it is written. Thus the meaning of the compound *Tirumandiravolai* is the sacred order (of the king) and of his council. From being an order of the king, issued after consultation with his councillors, the term seems to have denoted the officer of the king who communicated it to others for being carried out. This is learnt by the fact that the term was assumed as a part of or prefix to the names of such persons. They were mostly personal attendants on the king and being the first to hear the orders issued by him, they committed them to writing almost in the very words of the king, signed and sent them to others for entry in books, kept for that purpose and for giving effect to them. There were some grades of officers of this class.

ii. Udankūṭṭam: This term is also met with largely. It means the body of men (going) with (the king). Among this body, there were several officers belonging to the department of taxes or accounts, besides the *pallichchivigaiyār* (palanquin bearers), *tirumunkotti* (the guard of honour going before the king), *talaiyeḍappār* (those who carry the royal emblem or insignia), *kattikkārar* (those who carry swords) and others.

iii. Tiruvāykkēlvi: This compound means those who hear (what comes from) the sacred mouth (of

the king). There were a number of persons of this class appointed in ancient times. Some at least of them ought to be in attendance on the king always to note down what he said. The king might give a suggestion or order while he is bathing, when giving charity, inspecting any place or institution such as colleges, temples or other buildings. Members of this class who were in attendance on the king by turns communicated first the royal orders to the *tirumandiravolai* officers.

iv. Puravuvari-tiṉaikkaḷam : This term is made up of *piiravu, vari* and *tiṉaikkalam.* The meaning of the first two words is ' tax ' and it is not unlikely that there was some difference in the use of the two, *Tiṉaikkalam* has to be taken to mean ' a department.' *Thus puravuvari-tinaiḳkalam* might be construed as indicating the department which dealt with the several sources of income of the king or in other words the account branch of the State. In this branch of the official machinery, there were several grades of officers and perhaps there were many departments for the various divisions of the country. The grades of officers are:—

Puravuvari-tiṉaikkaḷa—Kaṇkāṇi.
„ Nāyagam.
„ Mugavēṭṭi.
„ Varippottagam.
,, Variyilidu.
„ Paṭṭōlai.

Kankani might be taken to denote ' an examiner of accounts ' and *nāyagam* is probably ' a superintendent.' Mugarvetti is perhaps a personal noun derived from *mugavedu* which means ' an **index**' ***i.e.,*** **that**

which gives the first words. *Varippottagam* may be rendered as ' the tax register ' and it was perhaps in this book that all revenues, due to the State, were entered. *Variyilidu* is probably another form of *variyēḍu*. *Paṭṭolai* might be the register in which all orders of the king were filed.

Besides the books and accounts mentioned above, there appear to have been others of which two are known, *viz., ningal* and *irangal.*

To give a clear idea as regards the procedure adopted in communicating royal orders and the maintenance of account books, we give here the translation of an early record of the time of the Chola king Rājēṇdra-Chōḷa I which refers to the various details involved in the transaction. It occurs in connection with a grant made by the king while he was encamped at Vikramaśōḻapuram in Kaivāra-nadu, a division of Nigurilisola-mandalam. " The king ordered orally that the income or revenue of the village of Pirakkampaḷḷi which consisted of 176 *kalam,* 6 *kuruṇi,* 4 naḷi and 3 *ālāhhu* of paddy and 132 *Jcalanju,* 3 *manjāḍi,* 6 *viḍ* and 1 *hāṇi* of gold or coin, should be granted to meet the expenses of the temple of *Pidari* at Kuvalala (*i. e.* Kolar). In the very words of the king, a written order was sent. It was signed by two persons who bore the official designation *tirumandiravolai* and five others who heard the king pronounce the order. On receipt of this order, some of the officers. (*adigarigal)* issued instructions that the grant should be so registered in the account books *(variyiliṭṭukkolga)* and the command was reiterated by certain others who

belonged to the class of officers called uḍankūṭṭattu-adigārigaḷ, viḍaiyil-adigāriga̤l and *madhyastas.* As directed by all these, the officials belonging to the tax department *(Puravuvari-ṭiṇaikJcalam, Nayagam, mugavetti, varippottaga-kanakku, variyilidu* and *paṭṭo̤lai)* being present together, carried out the order and set their signatures in token of having done so."

It is interesting to note that the incomes which the king derived from each village is determined once for all and entered in the account books even to the minutest detail and that it consisted of both money and grain. The inscription states that the procedure involved took a long time to carry out. The order contained in it was issued in the 7th year of the king, but was carried out in the 13th. Though six years were taken to complete the transaction, effect was given to the order from the date when the king issued it. The titles *Sarvakratuyaji, somayāji* and *bhatta,* borne by some of the officers, show that they were men of high learning.

SECTION XIII-.—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Another point on which we get useful information from inscriptions is the weights and measures. Grain such as paddy, rice, pulse, etc., and liquids such as ghee, oil and curds were sold by measures. The standard measures in those days were called by the names of reigning kings, villages or gods. The Ambāsamudram inscription of Vavaguna-Pandya, and some of the Tanjore epigraphs are very valuable in this respect. From a study of these records, the following table of measures could be

made out. The smallest measure used was the śeviḍu, 5 śeviḍu made 1 āḷākku, 2 āḷākku made 1 uḷakku, 2 uḷakku made 1 *uri,* 2 *uri* made 1 nāḷi, 8 nali made 1 *kuruni,* 2 *kuruni was* equal to *lpadakku,* 4 *kuruni* or 2 *padakku* was equal to 1 *tuni,* and 3 *turn* or 12 *kuruṇi* was equal to 1 *kalam.*

1 kalam=12 kuṟuṇi or 3 tūṇi.
1 padakku=2 kuṟuṇi.
1 kuṟuṇi=8 nāḷi.
1 nāḷi=2 uri.
1 uri=2 uḷakku.
1 uḷakku=2 āḷākku.
1 āḷākku=5 śeviḍu.

From an inscription of Muḷ Bagai, we get the following additional piece of information which is very valuable as affording a means of comparison with the modern prices of articles :—(i) For obtaining two measures of rice 5 measures of paddy were required. Though by husking and cleaning one would get balf the quantity of rice from a given quantity of paddy, the Muḷbāgal inscription and several others state that rice was obtained for paddy in the ratio of 2 to 5. It may be inferred from this that the remainder *viz.* ½ a measure of rice was apparently set apart for the wages required to pound and clean 5 measures of paddy ; (ii) that ghee which is now in some parts sold by weight was in ancient times invariably exchanged by measures, and that curds were, as now, sold or given in measures ; (iii) one nāḷi of paddy could be exchanged for 1/16 nāḷi of ghee, 1 nāḷi of curds, 10 arecanuts, 20 plantain leaves or 1/16 nāḷi of oil. It is worthy of note that

paddy and curds were sold at the same price. And in purchasing the necessary articles of daily consumption, paddy was used. Generally paddy was the medium of exchange, though money was not unknown. The same record states the price of cloths for the god and goddess in coin or money and gives the paddy value of the kāśu required to purchase the cloth; (iv) the year is always mentioned to have had 360 days, and that in temples, worship (service) was conducted thrice daily.

As regards the standards used in measuring, it may be stated that in the village parts of Madura and other districts we still retain the names of the measures such as *kalam, kuruni,* padakku, tunj, nali and ālākku, and that they have even now the same relation to each other as in the times of which we are speaking. It is interesting to add that the smallest unit *i.e.* śeviḍu is now known by the term śōḍu and its corruption to this form is quite easy to explain.

The Mulbāgal record under reference, states that the *marahkāl* (the wooden measure) which was in use there, was called *Arumolidēvan* evidently called after one of the names of the Chōḷa king Bājarāja I. The Tanjore inscriptions give for the same measure the name *Āḍavallaṉ* which was the name of the principal deity in the big temple at Tanjore. We are further informed that the *Adavallaṉ* measure was equal to a *Bājakēsari.* The latter name was probably that of an older measure which the other replaced. At Vēdāraṇyam in the Tanjore district, the measure in usage was called Tirumaraikkadan after

the name of the village. Many more instances might be given but for our present purposes these are sufficient.

The standard weights used for gold, silver, copper and other metals were k*alanju, manjadi, kunri, ma* and k*ani*. The following is a table of these.

1 kaḷanju=20 manjāḍi.
1 manjāḍi-2 kuṇri.
1 mā-1/10 manjāḍi.
1 kāṇi = 1/40 manjāḍi.

Some of the proper names of standard weights are Viḍēlviḍugu, Daṇḍavāṇi-kal, Dakshiṇamēru-viḍangan and Āḍavallān. The first of these was called after a king, while the rest were named after the gods. It may be noted that for testing the carets of gold separate stones were employed.

SECTION XIV.-COINS AND ORNAMENTS.

As is the case in all early societies, money was sparingly used in the Dekhan. It was principally due to two causes.

i. The coinage of the country was not profuse,

ii. (a) Bartering in kind was not difficult.

(6) Payment in kind besides being easy, avoided much complications.

In the earliest times which could be taken cognizance of by history, the people of the Dekhan did not have recourse to minting; but they valued the precious metals such as silver and gold, especially

the latter. Sources of these were not abundant to them in their own land as it proved to be at some, later time. They were content with the collection of gold from the alluvial washings. The products raised in South India found a ready market in the then civilised countries and the people realised their gold by the sale of these articles. And hence most of the gold which they obtained were coins struck in foreign mints, principally Rome. These poured into the country so abundantly that the people were content with using them whenever occasions needed. In fine, Roman coins appear to have formed the currency of South India for centuries. Coins of foreign countries were made use of when the price of articles sold or purchased was high. But in simple cases, the process of bartering was by exchange of paddy, the unit of reconning being of course money which was quite common, though it did not come into play as often as one would expect. This procedure could not have caused any inconvenience to the dealers, since there were public granaries scattered all over the country, where they could readily convert grain into money, if need be. Mostly the paddy realised by the sale of articles was utilised by dealers in purchasing articles of export value. Considering the limited use of money, no inference regarding the backwardness of the people of ancient Dekhan could be drawn just in the same way as one would, iu the case of other countries, because the conditions were different.

In the early literature of the Tamils, which could at best be assigned to 5th to 8th centuries A.D., there are clear references to gold coins. These are pon,

kasu, kanam and *porkasu.* Though they are mentioned as having been frequently used, natural economy continued to exist till a very late period. There was thus no transition from the one to the other and there are strong reasons to think that since the 5th century A.D. up to the latest times Dekhan was under a natural economy and a money economy simultaneously. To show that coinage was not unknown to the people of the Dekhan, innumerable and conclusive evidences might be given.

It has been stated on the authority of old lithic records and the writings of the Muhammadan historians that South India, despite the want of natural sources of gold, abounded in a fabulous quantity of that metal. From the 1st or 2nd century B.C., Dekhan kept up a profitable trade with almost all the civilized powers of Europe and the East. Pliny informs us that in the purchase of female ornaments the wealth of the Roman empire was irrecoverably given away to foreign nations. He computes the annual loss, on account of commercial intercourse with India, at upwards of 8 lakhs pounds sterling. There was a large demand in Italy for pepper, ginger, cardomum, cloves, and in short for all kinds of aromatics which the Romans used not only on occasions of marriage and funeral but also in their daily meals. The country which supplied them these is expressly stated to be India. Silk garments and jewels made of gold, silver, pearls and diamonds were supplied from Southern India. These articles, it is said, sold at Rome at hundred times their actual price in India. A pound of silk cost a pound of gold. In

the eyes of the Romans, pearl took the first rank after diamond. It is unnecessary to go into farther details here. The flourishing ports of the Dekhan and Ceylon were the principal places, whence the Rornaus largely obtained these commodities. The Tamil classical work Maduraikkāñchi, ascribed to the 7th century A. D., states that pepper, ginger, pearls and jewels were largely exported from the Pāṇḍya country. It gives a glowing picture of the busy life at che time of the arrival of foreign vessels. Another poem which supplies useful information in this direction is Paṭṭinappālai for which a translation is given on pages, 197/, above. The commercial relationship maintained for a period of 7 or 8 centuries from the 1st or 2nd century B.C., between Rome and Southern India, gave the latter country immense quantities of gold which the skilled workmea of the place shaped into nice jewels which again found large purchasers in the Roman markets. In jewellery, the people of ancient Dekhan reached a high degree of skill. The variety and richness of the ornaments, mentioned both in the early literature of the Tamils and in a number of epigraphs, reflect not a little the fine taste of the people; and the profusion of jewels with which the images found in South Indian temples are charmingly decked from head to foot, vividly portray the aesthetic sense of the times. Some of the old ornaments have no representative in the modern jeweller's shop and even a mere list of them is not without value to the student who wants to form a picture of the ancient people. As such, it is given below. Many of these were made of gold and the nine gems and some were of silver.

Tiruppaṭṭani-diadem ; Tirumuḍi=sacred lock; Paḷḷittongal or mālai=garland; Dhavaḷachhatram or Koṟṟakkuḍai-white parasol or parasol of victory; Poṉpū-gold flower; tiraḷmaṇivaḍam=combination of strings; KaikkaṈai=arm-ring; Aḍikkārai-foot-ring; Annam-swan ; Kiḷi-parrot; Śōnagachchiḍukku-lock formed in the fashion of the Jonakas; Śōnagachchiḍukkin-kuḍu==the cover for the same; Vayiraśāyalam ; pādaśāyalam ; makuṭam-crown ; vāḷi and vaḍugavāḷi=ear-ring ; Bhadraui = auspicious mark; māttirai; śudagam-bracelet; nayanam or kaṇmalar-eye; śuṭṭi=a forehead ornament; pūṇūl = sacred strings ; tāli=marriage badge ; tāli-maṇivaḍam -the string for holding the same ; kaṇḍattuḍar *or* kaṇḍaṇaṉ-necklace ; pulligai-kaṇḍaṇaṉ==composite necklace ; purattudar with padugan and kokkuvay= outer chains worn at the back to hold the various ornaments of the neck; poṭṭu=forehead mark; kaṭakam=bracelet (set with jewels or corals); moḍirarn-finger-ring; paṭṭigai=a girdle ; muttuvaḷai-yal *or* ratna-vaḷaiyal=pearl or jewelled bracelets; Śrichhanda ; Bhasamala= garland of rays ; Panchasari *or* saptasari= ornament of 5 or 7 strings; Padakkam =breast plate ; kalavam=part of the above ; ekavalli; kalvadam=foot-strings ; Prabhai=an aureola; Kama-lam-lotus ; Śedi=shrub ; Baṉuval ayam=armlet; kumbhattagadu *or* mattagattagadu=forehead plate ; karkandu; tudar-chains ; Prishtakandigai=outer necklace; and uluttu.

We have given here a rather big list of ornaments. Yet it is not exhaustive. Many of these were made of silver, gold, pearls and the nine

gems. Pearl and coral were mostly produced in the Chēra and Pāṇḍya countries. In describing the people of the Malakūṭa country,—which we have elsewhere said must denote the Pāṇḍya territory,—the Chinese pilgrim Ḥiuen Tsiang says that they were wholly given to commercial gain and that the produce of the neighbouring islands were taken to that country for being analysed. The pilgrim refers no doubt to the pearls and corals that were collected in that part of the country for ages long past. Bpigraphical confirmation of the fact that the Pāṇḍya and Chēra countries had large quantities of pearls, corals and gold, is found in the Tanjore inscriptions, which state that the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, after defeating these two powers in the country of malai-nāḍu, took with him an immense treasure. He utilised part of it in making ornaments to the god set up in the Rāja-Rājēśvara temple built by him at Tanjore. The treasure consisted chiefly of gold, pearls and coral with a small quantity of silver. The varieties of pearls mentioned in these records are *vaṭṭam* (round pearls), *amivaṭṭam* (pearls with slightly curved surface), *oppumiittu* (those which are hollow within), *kurumuttu* (small pearls), *nimbolam,* and *payittam.* It is worth remembering that among the several kinds of pearls which were admitted into the treasury of the Magadha king in the 3rd century B.C., there were those produced from the Tāmraparṇi river, the Pāṇḍya country and from Paśa, a port in the Ramnad district.

Inscriptions speak of several varieties of diamond and the nine gems. These were produced in the

southern country and worked into ornaments. The beryl mines of Paḍiyūr in the Ooimbatore district are mentioned by the Romans, who refer to the gem as being of sea green colour. Others liken the colour to that of a parrot's feather and of water. It is called *Vaiḍūrya* and its varieties are *Pushyarāga* and *Gomēdaku.* These were largely obtained in the Malaya mountains and Malabar and sent out to distant parts. The Muhammadan historian Amir Khusru informs us that there was a diamond mine at Bijanagar and Morco Polo also refers to similar tnines in the north of the Presidency. All these mines appear to have existed even during the time of the Maurya emperor Chandragupta.[1]

The list of ornaments given above shows that they were made of different varieties and shapes. The formation of most of these could be imagined with reference to their modern equivalents; but the names of some have changed thoroughly, while the rest have, as noted already, no representatives at all at the present day. It is worthy of mention that the ancients wore jewels made in the form of flowers, shrubs, parrots, swan, etc. The ornament called *uliittu* is perhaps now known by the term *uruttu.* Some of the jewels were made out of gold and inlaid with gems, while pearls and gems were fastened to others.

Gold being a heavy metal, most of the ornaments had only gold covers which were filled with lac.

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[1] Kautiya's *arthasastra* pp. 86/.

Some ancient customs.

One of the most important ancient customs of Southern India revealed by the inscriptions, is the building of shrines and temples over the tombs or in honour of the dead. The literature of the Tamils contains a few references to this kind of practice which, as will be shown below, was generally prevalent in the Dekhan. *Silappadigaram* states that temples were erected in several parts of the Tamil country, nay even in Ceylon and Northern India, to enshrine the image of Kannagi and thus refers to an ancient custom. In the 10th idyll, Malaipadukadam of Pattuppattu, Perungunriir Kousikanar of Iranyamuttam writes that the country abounds in hero-stones planted with inscriptions to celebrate the fame of military men, who have given their lives in fighting to the last with the enemy, even when the whole army was put to flight, thinking it better to die in battle-field than brook the ignominy attending a flight. Similar references to this kind of monuments are found in Purapporuivenbamalai and Tolgappiyam. Inscriptions discovered in the Kanarese country amply bear testimony to the account given in the Tamil works just referred to. Some at least of these monuments belong to the 10th century A.D. Men of remarkable deeds, who had earned the admiration and respect of the people during their life-time, such as the Saiva Nayanmars, the Vaishnava Alvars and' a few of the kings of Southern India came to be deified in later times. The earliest reference to a temple built on the tomb of a dead person is perhaps the one at Satyavedu in the

Ponneri Taluka of the Chinglepet district. Two of the inscriptions of this temple are dated in the 4th and 5th years of the region of the Ganga-Pallava king Aparajita who appears to have flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. They call the temple, Mattangan Palli and this is perhaps to be interpreted as the tomb of Matanga. The word Palli occurring here cannot be taken to mean 'a Jaina temple' because it is still a Siva shrine. Popular tradition connects the temple with the sage Matanga-maharishi for which there is no warrant. At Tirunageśvaram near Kumbakonam, there is a mandapa in front of the Nageśvarasvamin temple and it contains an inscription of the time of Eajakesarivarman who has been identified with Aditya I. It mentions a shrine of Miladudaiyar Palli. The first part of this name might be connected with the Saiva saint Meypporul-Nayanar, who was the lord of Miladu *i.e.* the country of which the capital was Tirukoilur. It may be seriously doubted if the Tirunageśvaram inscription refers to a shrine built iu honour of the saint, because there is ample evidence in the sculptures found all round the shrine of the goddess in the Siva temple, that there was a big Jaina temple in the place from which these images should have been removed to the place where they are now found. Most of the images are certainly Jaina in their form. Besides the people of Tirunageśvaram say that the images in question were removed from a field near a ruined temple. The ruined temple should therefore have been a Jaina shrine and it might have borne the name Miladudaiyar-Palli indicating **that**

it was built by a Milāḍu chief, who was in all likelihood a feudatory of the Chola king of his time.

During the time of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1013), the images of the Śaiva saints Tirunāvukkaraśu, Jnāñasambanda, Suadaramuṟti and his two wives; Śiruttoṇḍa and his father and son; and several others were set up in the big temple of Rājarājēśvara built by him at Tanjore. The large number of images set up shows that the worship of the dead great, had become quite common at the end of the 10th century A.D. and the beginning of the 11th. One of the inscriptions of the Śiva temple at Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kāḷahasti in the Chittoor district, is very interesting to note in this connection. It registers the fact that the temple which bears the record under reference was erected as a *pallippadai (i,e.* a memorial over the remains) of the king who died at Toṇḍaimān-Āṟṟūr. Since the place itself is called by the name Toṇḍaimān-Pēṟāṟṟūr, there is little doubt that the king on whose behalf it was built died in the place and the temple was probably raised over the place of his burial. The king here referred to is spoken of, in an inscription at Tirumālpēru, as the immediate predecessor of Parāntaka I, indicating clearly that he is identical with Āditya I. The Mēlpāḍi inscription of Rajaraja I states that the temple of Arinjēśvara was erected as a *pallippadai* to the king who died at Āṟṟūr. From the very fact that the temple was erected in a place different from where died, it is certain that there is a clear reference to the construction of a shrine in honour of the dead king, not, being on his tomb but far removed from the place of burial We

have already noted that during the time of Rājarāja I, this practice had become quite common and we have also referred to the images of certain Śaiva-Nāyanmārs set up in temples. It is particularly worthy of mention that the elder sister of Rājarāja I had built shrines for Ponmāḷigaibtunjinadēva and for her own mother, set up their images in them and provided richly for their daily offerings. Some of the inscriptions of Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai show that Ponmaligaittunjinadeva (*i.e.* the king who died in a golden palace) is identical with Sundara-Chōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II and as such this shrine was erected by Kundavai for her father. Here then are instances of persons obtaining a halo of divinity soon after their death *i.e.* within a space of 30 years. When we look at the lives of these two persons, we see that there were some grounds for the step taken by Kundavai. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates state that the people believed Sundara-Chōḷa to be Manu born again in order to establish on earth his laws which had become lax on account of the *Kaliyuga* and that when that emperor was ruling the world, pain was a thing unheard of. The Leyden plates mention that he was equal to Śiva and that he pleased his subjects greatly. Kundavai's mother, whose name is not given in the Tanjore inscription noticed above, must be Vānavanmahādēvi, who, according to the Tiruvalangadu, plates committed *sahagamana* on her husband's death. The facts detailed above must have been the reasons for setting up the images of these two in the Tanjore temple. Rājarāja himself had earned an undying glory by the building of the stupendous structure and by his munificent gifts to it, of almost the

whole of the booty gained in his wars against the Pāṇḍya, the Chēra and the Chalukya kings. His fame in raising the glory of the Chōḷa family had spread far and wide. On this account, his image was set up in the temple at Tanjore. Instances could be multiplied without limit but as what have already noticed is sufficient to establish that hero-worship was prevalent in the land, during the period we speak of, there is no need for them.

Aryan Colonisation of the Dekhan.

The emigration of North Indian families into the south for purposes of making permanent settlements—by way of conquests or otherwise—and their final absorption into the southern race which gradually remodelled the life and customs of the people of the Dekhan, requires to be noticed. It is a subject on which also we get information from epigraphs. The glimpse that we get of the state of Southern India in the remotest ages, is that it was included in the region of a great forest, following closely upon a mountain system, which stretched from the Vindhyas to Cape Comorin and the Gulf of Maṇnar, and which, by a thousand ramifications, penetrated into almost every part of the country, dividing it into so many principalities with evident marks of self-protection. Throughout this region there were rivers and streams, which though not so

great as those in the Hindustan, were full, at least during some months of the year, and occasionally overflowed their banks and enriched the soil by depositing enormous quantities of silt. Many of these mountains, rivers and forests are mentioned in the Purāṇas and have, according to the conception of the Hindu mind, acquired a sanctity. While the interior was thus studded with such natural objects and had several spots here and there full of charm for the foundation of colonies which had all the elements of a successful and vigorous growth, the Dekhan was provided with a coast line on two of its sides which in those times had several excellent ports. This had left a distinctive mark on the country and its people. Besides serving as a bulwark against the easy attack of foreigners and separating the country from alien kingdoms, the coast of South India with its many ports determined the character and pursuits of the people. Ships from distant lands brought the South into constant contact with other nations of maritime enterprise and stimulated commercial and industrial activities. From the history of other nations,\ve gather that commodities of Southern India found place in the markets of China, Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome, and there is sufficient evidence in the extant literature of South India that articles from these countries found their way into the Dekhan and were widely used. The earliest kingdoms of the Dekhan were only three *viz.*, the Chera or Kerala, Chola, and the Pandya and these do not appear to have possessed any extensive territory in the early part of the Christian era, nor was the population dense. There were large tracts of land that could be easily

converted into admirable abodes by men of enterprise and skill. Now and again collections or todies of men set out from the north, succeeded in penetrating the fastnesses of the Vindhyas, settled on the banks of some great river as the Godavari, Kistna, Tunghabhadra, Kaveri and Tamraparni, a thick forest land, or on the sea borders, which they converted into happy and pleasant homes. These were mostly of Brahman or Kshatrya caste. They found in the kings and chiefs of Southern India persons who greatly valued learning and who patronised scholars by munificent gifts. Some of the authors of the Tamil collection known as *Padirruppattu* were Brahmans. The writer of the 2nd ten was a certain Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇaṇār, who, it is said, was rewarded for his composition by the gift of a *hrahmadeya* of 500 villages in Umbaṛkkāḍu and by the enjoyment of the income from the southern country for 38 years. The author of the 3rd ten was Palai-Gautamanar, who is credited with having performed 9 or 10 sacrifices. There are reasons to think that some other authors of this collection were. Brahmans. Such instances are also found in other works and these show that Aryans had come and settled in South India in very early periods and even obtained mastery of the language of their adopted country. The earliest inscriptions, so far discovered in the Dekhan contain verses written in Sanskrit and. afford incontrovertible proof that during the time when they were issued or even prior to it by a few centuries, northern families had emigrated into the south. A discontented prince of a royal house or a chief, who proved refractory to

his overlord, often thought of seeking his fortunes elsewhere. To such a one, the Dekhan afforded an asylum and the natural obstacles, that stood in the way, were of little consequence. It is reasonable to hold that, when they came and settled in South India, they brought along with them a number of adherents of their cause. In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., the Pallavas were driven out of their northern possessions by their Andhrabritya overlords and had to migrate to the Dekhan. They could not but have brought Aryan influence with them. It is also very likely that some families of Aryans followed them to the region beyond the Vindyas. The Prakrit charters of this dynasty of kings afford some evidence in this direction. The Sanskrit grants supplement it to a great extent. The early Chōḷa king Karikāla who flourished in the 1st half of the 6th century A.D., is reported in Tamil literature to have been an ally of Avanti and an overlord of Vajra and Magadha. Elsewhere it has been shown that he and Vijayāditya should have jointly encountered Trilōchana-Pallava ia battle and defeated him. Vijayāditya is reported to have been the lord of Ayōdhya and that he came in quest of a dominion in Southern India. Karikāla is further stated to have brought a number of families from the north and settled them in the 24 districts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Some portions at least of the early copper-plate charters, which contain an account of the kings of the Pāṇḍya country, dating back to the 8th century A.D., are written in Sanskrit and show how well that language was cultivated in the extreme south of the Peninsula *i.e.* in Madura,, The Pāṇḍya king

Palyagasalai'Mudukudumi-Peruvaludi, assignable to the end of the 5th century A.D., is reported, both in Tamil literature and in the Vēḷvikkudi plates, to have performed several sacrifices, and this indicates that Aryan influence was greatly felt in the Dekhan. Though the works of the Sangam period, which are ascribable to the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries A.D., are written in a chaste and ornate style of the Tamil language, we could trace words derived from Sanskrit even here. The late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai was of opinion that there are words in Tamil which could be connected with those in use in Northern India, and this led him to suppose a migration of people southwards from Hindustan in very early times. In Purananuru, there is a reference to an early Cher a king, who is believed to have fed the army of the Pāṇḍavas in the Bhārata war. This may be entirely incredible taken by itself, but it has its own significance.

Inscriptions speak of collections of men settled in various parts of the Dekhan. The Tiruvelḷarai inscription of Dantivarman of the Pallava-Tilaka family, published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. X, says that the 3700 of that village had to protect the charity recorded in it. Other inscriptions refer to similar collections of 48,000, 8,000 *etc.* That later members living 3 or 4 centuries after, called themselves as belonging to 3700,48,000, and 8,000, goes to prove that they must refer to bodies of men, who came and settled in the places with which the numbers are found associated; and to these bodies, later members traced their descent. In the expression Tillai-Muvayiravar (*i.e.* three-thousand of Chidambaram),

another such instance is found. From these cases there is a strong impression created that the sections of Brahman communities represented by the terms, *ashtasahasra,aruvelu,* and the like, refer to the original number in the collection of men or families that came and settled in the south. In course of years, they forgot the names of places where they settled at first or did not care to preserve 'them by adopting them to their names. Some other collections appear to have retained the names of the places of their first settlement and to have given up the numbers. Such are the families of Śeṭṭalur, Kumaṇḍur, Kandaḍai, Dvēḍaigōmapura, Taṭṭai, and Krancha. Inscriptions frequently mention persons with these place-names prefixed to their proper names, besides giving also the village where they further went fór residing. An important factor that is noticed in all these cases, is that each separate collection claims to be of the same *gotra and* are practically so even at the present day. For instance the Kandadai people, mentioned in the lithic records of different ages, belong to the Vadhulagotra, the Kumandur family to the Eausika-gotra, and the Śettalur to the Bharadwaja *gotta.*

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1. The following abbreviations are used :—ch = chief, co = country, di = division or district, *Do.=ditto, dy* = dynasty, f=female, Jat. =Jatavarman *or* Jatilavarman, k = king, m = man, mo = mountain *or* hill, Mar = Maravarman, n = foot-note, Parak= Parakesarivarman, Rajak =Rajakesarivarman, ri-river *or* channel, *s.a.* = same as, *sur* = surname, te — temple, Tribh = Tribhuvanaohakravartin and vi = village *or* town.

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