THE PĀṆḌYAN KINGDOM

From the Earliest Times to the Sixteenth Century

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DIACRITICAL MARKS.

LONG vowels are indicated thus : ā. Generally, c represents च ; but forms well established in usage like Chola Chidambaram, etc., have been retained. The following may also be noted : ḍ stands for ड ; ḷ for ள ; ḻ for ழ ; ṇ for ண ; ñ for ஞ ; ṟ for ற ; ś for श ; ṣ for ष and ṭ for ट. The form Pāndya is used, though, strictly speaking, it must be written Pāṇḍya. The Tamil passages quoted in the text have been, with a few insignificant exceptions, transliterated in the Additional Notes at the end.

PREFACE

THIS book is an amplification, with such revision as has been found necessary, of lectures delivered by me at the University of Madras in 1926.

Pāndyan antiquities have, somehow, failed to interest scholars as much as the history of the Pallavas and the Cholas. The relative seclusion of the country, and the fact that the Pāndyas had at no stage any great influence on the main course of Indian history, may account for this comparative neglect. A complete view of the story of South India, however, cannot be obtained until the history of the Pāndyas is fully worked out.

Though the last twenty or thirty years have been marked by the discovery of much new material for the reconstruction of Pāndyan history, we are still by no means sufficiently equipped to attempt a full and satisfactory account of the Pāndyan Kingdom. This work makes no claim to be considered such. It aims, rather, at a preliminary survey of the present state of our knowledge on the subject, suggesting tentative reconstructions wherever possible, and furnishing an outline to be filled in by further study and research. Much attention has necessarily been devoted to chronology and political history; society, religion and government have been, however, briefly discussed in relation to each section of the study.

Much work yet remains to be done before the history of the Pāndyas can be fully understood. The internal chronology of the Śangam Age, the history of about two centuries before the Pāndya restoration under Kadungōn and the transition from the conditions of the Śangam Age to those of the First Empire, the detailed history of

the Kings of the Pāndya line in the Chola-Pāndya period, and the dynastic relations of the Kings of the Second Empire, are some of the larger problems that await solution. Many small questions relative to the wars and campaigns have to be settled before the changes in the political geography of South India can be traced with accuracy. The Kongu chieftains with Pāndya names and the Pāndyas of Uccangi present other problems of considerable interest and no less difficulty. Only recently has the publication of the *texts* of inscriptions been started, and a careful study of these is necessary for a complete understanding of the social life of the country, at least under the Second Empire.

Many friends have helped me in various ways in the preparation of this book, and to them all I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude. Sir T. Desikachari very kindly allowed the use of his library and of the list of Pudukkottah inscriptions and their texts (unpublished). Messrs. K. Swaminathan, B.A. (Oxon.), V. Saranatha Aiyangar, M.A., and C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., have gone through the book at various stages and offered useful suggestions. Mr. S. R. Balasubramania Aiyar, B.A., L.T., read the proofs, verified the references, and offered helpful criticism; he also assisted me in preparing the index. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar kindly discussed with me his views on the Kalabhras and some other matters. A special word of thanks is due to Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University Professor of Indian History, for much valuable advice and for the kind interest he has evinced in the publication.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY: SOURCES

IN recent years there has been a considerable accession of fresh material for the study of South Indian History in general, and of the Pāndyan kings in particular. But no attempt has been made till now to narrate the history of the Pāndyas in a continuous sketch and on scientific lines.[1] The period to be covered in this book ranges over several centuries and at every step we come across difficult questions that could be answered, if at all, only by a careful balancing of several rival points of view. The treatment of the subject must consequently be selective and such as to avoid fruitless controversy.

We have no need to concern ourselves with general questions of the origin of the Dravidians and their culture.[2] The student of Pāndyan history is not directly

[1] There is of course the valuable sketch of Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar in his *Ancient Dekhan*. A commendable attempt has recently been made by Pandit Harihara Aiyar of the Tirthapati High School, Ambasamudram, to present the story in Tamil in three small booklets. The old sketches of Wilson (*J.R.A.S.*), Nelson (*Madura Country*) and Sewell (*Antiquities*, vol. ii) are now much antiquated.

[2] The 'Dravidian problem' has been much debated from various points of view in the pages of the *Tamilian Antiquary* (defunct). See also Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction; M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, Essays I–III; Slater, *Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, pp. 49 ff., makes several guesses that do not appear to have received confirmation. The main questions are—were the pre-Aryans a homogeneous or composite race? Were they 'indigenous and aboriginal' (Fergusson) or were they immigrants, wholly or in part, from elsewhere? The attempt to support the Lemurian theory from references to Tamil literature, e.g. *Śilappadikāram*, xi, ll. 18–20, cannot be considered satisfactory.

concerned with the answers to questions like the following—who were the Tamils? Were they indigenous or foreign to the land where we find them in historical times? Did they come by land from the north or the south, or by sea? But it is necessary for us to be clear in our minds about the relation in which Tamil culture stands to the culture of the rest of India. The question relates not so much to the extent of culture among the Tamils before the advent of Sanskrit influences as to whether the blending of Aryan with pre-Aryan culture was in essence a different process in the South from what it was in Northern India. The persistent independence of the Tamil idiom (and to a less degree of other Dravidian languages) in the face of Sanskrit, is in striking contrast with the almost total disappearance of non-Sanskritic vernaculars in the north of India. On the other hand we have at present no traces of any literary work in the Tamil language, however ancient, which does not betray Sanskrit influence to some extent. We may conclude that the results of Aryan penetration into the south were more cultural than racial and the pre-Aryan inhabitants survived the 'conquest' in sufficient strength to retain their own language and many of their old habits and methods of life, with the consequence, that the resulting culture was a real blend of the Aryan and Dravidian elements which shows several points of difference from the culture of the remaining parts of India which were more thoroughly Aryanized.[1]

[1] See *Tamil Studies*, pp. 193–5; Kanakasabhai (p. 52) no doubt much overrated the attainments of Dravidians (and traced them to China!) while Caldwell (*Comparative Grammar*, pp. 113–4) is nearer the truth. Dr. Slater's book on 'Dravidian Elements' betrays many signs of an utter misreading of the story of Indian culture. The attempted reconstruction of a pre-Aryan Tamil Polity before the days of Agastya has not been a success. See, however, Senāthi-Rāja in *J.R.A.S.*, 1887, pp. 558 ff. and the *Tamilian*

The sources of Pāndyan history may now be considered. The value of indigenous literature for the historian of India has generally been somewhat underrated. There are, it is true, few professedly historical works of a contemporary character and for the most part we have to rely on casual references to historical events in works of general literature or to winnow a large mass of legend in search of a grain of fact. But with patience and care it may be found that many useful suggestions are derived from these works. The local legends centering round Madura exist in three versions of which the earliest dating from the ninth or the tenth century A.D. is the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr Nambi, the other versions being another and much later work of the same name by Paranjōtimunivar and the Sanskrit *Sthalapurāṇa* known as the *Hālāsyamāhātmya*. The two later works give a list of seventy-three or seventy-four kings forming one continuous line of rulers while the earliest version only mentions, and that very casually, seven kings of the family. The set lists of the later *Purāṇas* were very early recognized to be worthless for purposes of history;[1] in fact most of the names are, on the face of it, inventions of later times. But several of these stories have a quaint interest for the general student who sees here almost the same tendencies at work as produced the legends of Regal Rome. The older *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* thus gives a story (No. 12) in explanation of the name Māḍakkuḷakīḻmadurai which we find in

Antiquary. Also Mr. P.T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, 'Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture' in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. vii.

[1] For the lists see Sewell's *Antiquities*, vol. ii and Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pp. 128-9; also p. 121 for a short critique of the list. Nelson, *Madura Country*, part iii—contains an English version of the stories following the Sanskrit *Purāṇa* mentioned in the text. Other local *Purāṇas* like the *Kadambavanapurāṇa* have not been noticed.

many Pāndyan inscriptions as the name of the capital. Another story (No. 36) refers the name Madura to the fact that Śiva converted into sweet nectar the river of poison emitted by a giant cobra set upon the city by the magic of the Jainas. On another occasion these heretics sent an elephant against the city (No. 26) and the Lord petrified this beast in the form of the Ānamalai Hill, and as he used a lion-faced arrow on the occasion, the Pāndyan king made a temple for Narasimha on the hill. We shall have occasion later to notice the true history of the temple. Apart from such stories, which need not be further retailed here, these *Purāṇas*,—especially the earliest version, which has been engaging our attention more than the others,—may be found occasionally to contain hints of great importance. Thus the life of Māṇikkavāsagar is treated in such detail as to explain the occasions on which he sang particular hymns of his *Tiruvāśagam* and his life is narrated before that of Gnānasambandar; and in this order, this version is followed by the later versions also. It must also be noted that some of these 'sacred sports' are referred to in the works of early Tamil literature and it is significant that none of these early references shows any sign of hostility to Jains or Buddhists.[1] These local and traditional *Purāṇas* are often very well supplemented by references in quasi-historical and religious works like the *Periyapurāṇam*, while the few direct references to historical persons and occurrences furnished by the saints and poets of the *Tevāram* and the *Tiruvāymoḷi* are of inestimable value. Then, we have the Sangam works which form a class by themselves and contain much valuable information which still awaits systematic and

[1] See e.g. *Śilappadikāram*, canto 11, ll. 23-30.

scientific treatment by the historian; the task has been begun in the works of the late Mr. Kanakasabhai and Dr. Ś. K. Aiyangar and other scholars. The 'Age of the Sangam' however is one of the debated problems of South Indian History and will engage our attention presently.

Turning to foreign literary sources, some of the earliest references are furnished by the Old Testament of the Bible and the Greek and Roman writers like Megasthenes, Pliny, the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy. These references have been discussed out of all proportion to their intrinsic importance and much ingenuity has been spent in trying to press into service texts which are very obscure in themselves.[1] Then, there are occasional references in old Sanskrit works composed in North India, besides very passing references in the records of Chinese pilgrims which are not very helpful to our present purpose. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* contains several references to the Pāndyan kingdom and its affairs, but these must be carefully used as the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa* still rests on insecure foundations.[2] For mediæval Pāndya history we get some help from the Muhammadan historians of the time as also from Marco Polo.

The archæological evidence bearing on the subject of our study is very extensive. Epigraphy is the most fruitful source of ancient history. In the variety, wealth and occasional length of both its stone and copper

[1] See Kanakasabhai, *Tamils*, p. 54, connecting Megasthenes' story about Pandaia and Pliny's Pandæ who were ruled by women with *Śilappadikāram*, canto 23, ll. 11–13 which does not bear the interpretation given there. These classical references are collected together and briefly discussed by Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar*, especially pp. 88 ff. See also his *Tinnevelly*, pp. 17–22, on Korkai, Comorin, Paumben, etc.

[2] Hultzsch discusses these in *J.R.A.S.*, 1913 pp. 517 ff

inscriptions, South India is remarkably fortunate. The number of Pāndyan records registered in the Epigraphical reports of Madras and Travancore are now a few thousands; but not many of these can be referred to dates prior to A.D. 1000. There are no doubt many more still awaiting discovery and registration. It may be noted in passing that, since the rejection by government of Dr. Hultzsch's suggestion to prohibit the renovation of temples till the inscriptions in them have been copied, 'a more vigorous attempt had to be made to secure impressions of the inscriptions thus threatened with destruction.'[1] 'It was the practice in ancient times, whenever a temple had to be rebuilt, to copy the lithic records found on its walls into a book and then re-engrave them again on the new walls'[2] and it would be well if this practice were followed by the renovators of temples in our own day.

The bulk of the early inscriptions employ the script known as *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* in the Tamil parts and the grantha in the Sanskrit parts; *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* gave way to the present Tamil script about the time of the Chola conquest of the Pāndya country, say about the end of tenth century A.D.[3] or the middle of the eleventh. It may also be noted that several of the later inscriptions are in excellent verse while the longer records of the early Pāndyas attain to great literary merit as prose compositions.

[1] H. Krishna Sastri, Introduction to *S. I. I.* (*Texts*) vol. iv, see also *A. R. E. 1902*. 'What the Mussulmans did not destroy is being demolished by pious Hindus!'—Hultzsch. Mr. Krishna Sastri has remarked elsewhere (*A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 41), 'Some intelligent engravers on the stone helped by the members of the Archæological staff must, in my opinion, be enough to carry out this old scheme of preserving ancient records from complete ruin.'

[2] A.S.I., *1909–10*, pp. 128-9.

[3] See *A.R.E.*, 1905, p. 43; also *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol. i, p. 286.

Sometimes the set forms of the historical introductions in the inscriptions of particular kings help the historian in identifying the records and fixing their age.

Considerable light has been shed in particular on the history of the Pāndyas of the First Empire of the seventh to the tenth centuries A.D. by several important documents brought to light since 1906. These are the dated stone inscriptions from Ānamalai and Aivarmalai; the Trichinopoly and Ambāsamudram inscriptions of Varaguṇa; and the copper plate records known as the Śinnamanūr plates (two sets) and the Veḷvikkuḍi grant. The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman are now better understood than they were when they were published in 1893. All these records (except the Museum plates) are still new, and there is much room for difference as to their import at several points. Pāndyan affairs often derive elucidation from the records of the contemporary Cholas and among these the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and the Leiden grant of Rājēndra Chola deserve special mention. The Pallava grants are also occasionally very helpful.

One difficulty that is common to an interpretation of all Pāndyan records arises from the way in which they mention regnal years in double dates x years opposite y years. Several suggestions have been made but none of them is quite satisfactory, and the usual procedure is to treat the date as equivalent to $x + y$ years,[1] and calculate the date of accession accordingly. One instance

[1] The history of this question is very interesting and the curious reader is referred to the following:—Burgess and Natesa Sastri, *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 30, n. 4; Hultzsch: *I. A.*, vol. xx, pp. 288-9; Kanakasabhai, *Tamils*, pp. 59-60 and notes. More recently, Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao suggested (*Sen Tamiḻ*, vol. iv, p. 114) that in a date 'இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் காற்பத்திரண்டு' the first figure referred to the actual regnal year of the ruling prince and the second gave the date counting from the coronation of the previous ruler, and that this method was usually continued till the ruling prince was crowned. But this explanation fails in a

which may go to justify this practice is found in the larger Śinnamanūr grant where the regnal year இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் பதினன்காவது is rendered in the Sanskrit part of the grant by *Ṣoḍaśe Rājyavarṣē*. Again, some inscriptions give the regnal year and the number of days since the commencement of the reign or since the commencement of the current regnal year. And when we get to the numerous epigraphs of the mediæval and later Pāndyas, such difficulties increase enormously. Almost invariably the records of the Pāndyas who ruled in Tinnevelly in the period of the decline of the Pāndya power, i.e. in the fifteenth century and later are dated in the Saka era; on the other hand Saka dates are the exception in the inscriptions of the mediæval Pāndyas or the Pāndyas of the Second Empire as we may call them. But several records contain astronomical data which yield often strange and perplexing results. Many kings have been made and unmade by hasty calculations and equally hasty corrections and the student of history who is not a specialist in astronomy has great difficulty with the astronomers.[1] And when it is remembered that the texts of the bulk of these inscriptions still await

date like 'பதிமூன்றுவதின் எதிர் பன்னிரண்டாவது' *I. A.*, vol. xx, p. 288. And Mr. V. Venkayya could only say, 'The second figure in these double dates which are frequently met with in Pāndya inscriptions has been taken to refer to the actual reign of the king and the first either to his appointment as heir-apparent or to some other event prior to his coronation', *A. S. I. 1903–4*, p. 272 n). Mr. C. V. Narayana Aiyar (*Journ. Ind. His.*, vol. vii, part 2) assumes that the date opposite to which other dates follow must be constant in the case of the same king. Even this is not so. See, e.g., Nos. 548, 624 and 625 of 1926 which belong to the same king; also Nos. 159–63 of 1894 and No. IV in *Trav. Arch. Series* i, pp. 99 ff., l. 50–54.

[1] These difficulties will call for more attention later. But a few samples may be noted here. Inscr. No. 422 of 1917 is referred to A.D. 1357 in p. 112 and to A.D. 1445 in p. 113 of *A. R. E. 1917–18*. At p. 89, *A. R. E. 1923–24* we find Nos. 327 and 334 of 1923 with calculated dates A.D. 1278 and A.D. 1417 ascribed to the same king.

publication one gets some idea of the conditions under which this part of the subject has to be studied.

As pointed out in the *Epigraphical Report, 1913* (p. 85) : ' The subject-matter of the majority of the well-preserved inscriptions is, a gift made to a temple either of land or of money, for maintaining daily worship, special festivals, lamps, flower gardens and repairs; for feeding Brahmanas and providing jewels; or, it may be for supplying ghee of sheep and cows, to burn perpetual lamps in the temple. Lands were presented or, sometimes, sold to the temple by private persons and village communities. In the latter case, the sale amount was recovered from the temple treasury through the god Chandēsvara (the supposed manager of Śiva temple) and through temple trustees *(sthānattār)* (in the case of Vishnu temples). All land-gifts, whether sold or presented, were made entirely tax-free, the parties selling them invariably agreeing to meet the *iṟai* on such lands from their own pocket. Lands thus owned by the temple *(dēvadāna)* were in turn leased out to be permanently enjoyed as *kāṇi*, to select tenants or to the donors themselves (if cultivators), in consideration of a fixed amount of coin paid, or grain measured, at the temple treasury, regularly every year. Money gifts made to the temple were deposited with village assemblies and private individuals on permanent interest *(nilai-poliyūttu)* from which alone the temple had to meet the expenses specified by the donor. If the interest was not paid in any one year, the depositories agreed to pay it with the amount due for the following year together with a fine *(daṇḍam)* fixed for the default period by the officer *(dharmāsana* or *dharmāsanabhaṭṭa)* who was one of the members of the temple establishment. A curious condition was that the man who came to collect the arrears thus due was to be

fed twice every day till, perhaps, the amount was fully paid up. Sheep and cows granted to a temple for maintaining lamps were received by the shepherds *(manṟādis)* and the prescribed measure or measures of ghee supplied without fail. The cattle were, it may be noted, considered "never to die or never to grow old" for the apparent reason that they multiplied and increased in number. A very small percentage of the inscriptions treat of subjects other than the gifts specified above. Sale or exchange of land among private parties, inquiries into temple management made by officers *(adhikāri)* appointed by the king with a view to collect the outstanding arrears of a temple, assignment of taxes by kings or of tolls by merchants for the benefit of a temple, dedication of hereditary servants (men or women), settlements of disputes, specification of caste or communal privileges, memorials to heroes who died either in cattle raids or on battlefields and other public charities, such as the construction of a tank, the planting of a grove, the gift of a water-trough, etc., are also, sometimes, permanently recorded on stone.' It may be added that these records often yield information of value relating to land tenure, public revenues, village administration, and generally the state of social and political life, affairs and activities.

But here a warning is necessary. The passage just quoted from the epigraphical report furnishes a comparatively harmless instance of a tendency to combine information from diverse sources, separated widely in time and space, and so to form a general picture of the social or political life of the country. This tendency has particularly unfortunate results in the study of institutions as it is likely to produce an appearance of flat uniformity and absence of change; it will also increase the difficulty of detecting the presence or otherwise of

any signs of change or growth. It is only by carefully limiting our observations to the time and place indicated by the sources of our information that truth can be served in the present, and perhaps future work rendered easier.[1]

We do not derive much help from numismatics for the study of Pāndyan history. Coins definitely attributable to the early Pāndyas are very rare. A few gold specimens are known[2] and these bear only the Pāndyan figure of the fish. It is very interesting that the name Kūna known only to tradition and not to epigraphy is borne on a copper coin figured by Sir Walter Elliot (No. 140). It is well known that Roman coins belonging to different periods have been found in several places in South India and the abundance of Roman copper of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. in and near Madura has sometimes led to the supposition that a local mint issued these pieces for daily use in a settlement of foreign merchants. Many Roman coins of the Early Empire have been found in and near Madura.[3] By far the largest number of coins belong to the mediæval Pāndyas and bear legends substantiated by inscriptions. These coins often show the influence of the Chola conquest by the presence of a tiger design or of Ceylonese influence indicated by the presence of 'a rude human figure, standing on the obverse, and seated on the reverse' (Elliot, p. 108). The earliest coins of the Ceylon type date from the eleventh century; 'it came into use in Drāvida only, at the time the Chola-Pāndyan dynasty were masters of the whole of it' (Elliot, p. 109). It

[1] Cf. similar remarks of Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in another connection, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 31-2.

[2] See Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 121.

[3] See Sewell in *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 595 and 600-15.

should also be observed that 'the constant warfare which raged between Chola and Pāndyan (rulers) not only renders it well nigh impossible at any particular time to fix the exact boundaries of their respective territories, but also causes considerable uncertainty in the identity of a large number of their coins.'[1]

This review of the sources indicates that there is a large mass of material for the history of the Pāndyas which awaits critical discussion and cautious summing up. Much good work has been done already; but more still remains to be done and it will be our endeavour in the following chapters to do something in this way.

[1] Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*, pp. 11-12. The most interesting of the Pāndya coins known so far have been described in this publication and Elliot, as also in the papers of Sir T. Desikachari in the *Tamilian Antiquary* and that of Hultzsch in *I. A.*, vol. xxi, pp. 323-6. The Roman coins are discussed by Sewell in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1904. It may be noted that Sir T. Desikachari mentions that gold coins with the fish design were found in South Canara; cf., in this connection, the observations of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 40.

CHAPTER II

EARLY REFERENCES: THE AGE OF THE ŚANGAM

EARLY REFERENCES

'THE oldest Dravidian word found in any written record in the world appears to be the word for "peacock" in the Hebrew text of the Book of Kings and Chronicles, in the list of the articles of merchandise brought from Tarshish or Ophir in Solomon's ships'[1] (Caldwell). 'In the ruins of Mugheir . . . not less than 3,000 years B.C., was found a piece of Indian teak.'[2] These references are calculated to give some idea of the antiquity of civilization in the Tamil land.

A verse in the *Kishkindhākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been taken to refer to the Kapāṭapuram of the Pāndyas famed in the Tamil legends of the 'Three Śangams'.[3] But even if the *śloka* bears the meaning attributed to it, it is notoriously unsafe to base any conclusions about chronology solely on the texts of the epics and there is still the possibility that the verse is not older than the age in which these legends grew. It is not altogether free from doubt if the grammarian Kātyāyana refers to

[1] Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88.

[2] Ragozin, *Vedic India*, p. 305 referring to Sayce. But see Kennedy, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 267, where a much later date, sixth century, seems to be suggested.

[3] *Rāmāyaṇa, Kish. Kāṇḍa*, canto 41, *verse* 19. It has been pointed out by Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangār that the import of this verse has been missed by Tīrtha and Rāma, the North Indian commentators, and correctly given only by Govindarāja. (Paper on 'Valmiki and South India' in the *Tamilian Antiquary*). But the Pandit seems to have mistaken Govindarāja's meaning, See also O. Stein, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. iv, p. 778. The *Mahābhārata* references are not much more reliable. See Dr. S. K. Aiyangār, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 60 n.

the Pāndyan country and its king as has been generally held on the strength of the opinions of two great Sanskritists of the last generation—Prof. Max Müller and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.[1] The original name of the Tamil country is பாண்டி (Pāṇḍi) and not பாண்டு (Pāṇḍu) which it should be, if Kātyāyana's rule referred to it. And there is the possibility that the Pāndya of the Sanskrit grammar may be derived from Pāṇḍu, the name of a people in the Madhyadesa in Northern India.[2] The name Pāndya perhaps came to be applied to the Tamil *Pāṇḍināḍu* in a process of Sanskritization on account of phonetic similarity and a Pāṇḍava origin invented for the Tamil ruling family. Whatever its derivation may be, we find the form Pāndya employed by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* and his references are clearly to the Pāndyas of South India and to their capital Madura.[3] The importance of these references will depend upon the view taken of the age and authenticity of the text of the *Arthaśāstra*. Likewise the reference in the *Mahāvaṁśa* to a Pāndyan princess who became the queen of Vijaya of Ceylon soon after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha is too vague and too much mixed up with legends to be of any value to the historian.[4]

[1] See Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 12 and Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 6. These writers were rather too much under the influence of the Aryan theory in its crude form and did not allow sufficiently for aboriginal influences.

[2] See Fleet's topographical list of the *Brihat-Samhitā*, *I. A.*, vol. xxii, p. 187; *contra* Caldwell, *Tinnevelly*, p. 12, who derives பாண்டி from Pāndya as a more Tamilized form.

[3] *Kauṭilya* ii. 11 refers to *Pāndyakavāṭakam* as a variety of pearl with which compare Varāhamihira's *Pandyavāṭa* (Fleet, *ibid*). Again at the end of the same chapter *Kauṭilya* refers to *Mādhuram* as a variety of cotton fabric, thereby showing the antiquity of the cotton industry of Madura.

[4] See Geiger's *Mahāvaṁśa*, pp. 59 and 61. Is there any connection between this story and that of Arjuna's (Vijaya's) marriage with a Pāndyan princess?

ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME

In fact the origin of the Pāndyas is, like all such questions of origin, involved in much obscurity. This line of kings is given in the legends two different origins which are not easy to reconcile. The story of the three brothers of Korkai[1] is of the Romulus pattern and perhaps indigenous. The connection with the Pāṇḍavas[2] and the moon is the result of another and a more ambitious type of legend which threw the more humble story into the shade in historical times. And it may be noted here that the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* of Nambi mentions the lunar origin of the Pāndyas only in the course of a restoration after a deluge (No. 47); and in this it is followed by the later versions which, of course, contain more embellished accounts (No. 49 in Nelson). None of the legends can be taken as proof, as has sometimes been done,[3] that the Pāndyas ruled from other centres like Korkai, Maṇalūr or Kalyāṇapura, before they made Madura their capital, as the very first king in all the lists of kings that have been handed down to us is said to have founded Madura.

There is no reason for thinking that the conquering expeditions of the Mauryan Emperors in the south reached the Pāndya country as has been suggested.[4] The earliest indubitable reference to the Pāndyan kingdom is still that in the Asoka edicts. Recently,[5] the existence of rock-cut beds and Brāhmi inscriptions in

[1] Caldwell, *Tinnevelly*, p. 12.

[2] Story of Arjuna's marriage; the names, கௌரியர், பஞ்சவர்.

[3] Smith, *Early History*, fourth edition, p. 468; *I. A.* xlii, p. 66.

[4] See Dr. S. K. Aiyangār, *Beginnings*, pp. 81 ff. and *Q. J. M. S.*, vol. xvi, p. 304 and the references given there.

[5] See *A. R. E.*, 1907 onwards and *A. S. I.*, *1909–10*, p. 125 and *A. R. E.*, *1909*, p. 71 for the quotations which follow. Also K. V. Subramania Aiyar in the *I. A.*, vol. xl, pp. 209 ff.

natural caverns in several places in the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts has been brought to light. 'None of these inscriptions have so far disclosed any king's name. But they show that the possession of an alphabetical system was one of the factors in the civilization of the Pāndyan kingdom in the second and third centuries B.C.', if not earlier. These monuments go also to show the presence very early in the south of strong Buddhist and Jaina influences. They seem to confirm the impression derived from a careful study of the Tamil classics that while Buddhism came in earlier, Jainism was perhaps the more persistent in its influence on Tamil literature. Mr. Krishna Sastri has observed that 'it is strange how these sects did not exercise any influence with their patrons in the matter of their being provided with comfortable rock-cut cells, during their retirement to the hills in the rainy season, as their compatriots of the north did. Perhaps, the South Indian kings of those times were inclined more towards Brahmanical institutions than Buddhist or Jaina.'

THE AGE OF THE ŚANGAM

The earliest historical kings of the Pāndya country are those mentioned in the early Tamil works that have come down to us in the form of the collections known as the Śangam works. It has been sometimes doubted if the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* belong to this group and the whole question of the age and historicity of the Sangam has given rise to controversies which do not seem to be justified on a calm review of the various lines of evidence available. It is unfortunate that the earliest account we have of this matter is enveloped in legends. This account occurs in the introduction to the commentary on the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ* which refers

to the three Śangams which lasted altogether 9,990 years and counted 8,598 poets including a few Gods of the Śaivite persuasion as their members and 197 Pāndyan kings as their patrons. The commentary that follows professes to be handed down through generations as Nakkīrar made it, but quotes profusely from Śangam works in their present form and refers to events that cannot by any means be placed earlier than the latter half of the seventh century A.D. Nothing can be made of this account.[1] We have only to dismiss it with the remark that we have here the same tendencies at work which made a number of Buddhas and Jinas out of one historic prototype and spread them over ages and aeons. Some of the names of the Pāndyan kings and the poets mentioned in this account are found in epigraphs and other authentic records; such names are Kaḍungōn, Ugrapperuvaḻudi and others; this only shows that some facts have got mixed up with many fictions in this story and no conclusions of value can be based on these references. But the existence of an association of poets, modelled on the Buddhist Sangha, for the promotion of Tamil literature can be easily understood if it is referred to an age when Buddhist influence was rather strong in South India.

The Śangam works are generally understood to comprise the two long poems, the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*, and the anthologies of occasional verses and short poems by different poets brought

[1] The late Prof. M. Seshagiri Sastri's little book on *Tamil Literature* (S. V. & Co., Madras, 1904) contains an acute but very elaborate, and occasionally perverse criticism of the legends relating to the Śangam. Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai summarily dismisses this commentary as 'apocryphal' by saying 'It is doubtful whether there existed any prose literature at all in the days of Nakkīrar.' *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol. ix, p. 128. For quite another view of this commentary see Dr. S. K. Aiyangār, *Beginnings*, pp. 250–6.

together in the well-known collections.[1] Even a cursory study of the many short poems and others of moderate length like the *Maduraikkāñji* will show two or or three things clearly. *Firstly*, we are dealing with a mass of literature that extends over three or four continuous generations or perhaps more. In the light of this internal evidence we may assign a length, of, say, 150 to 200 years for the period represented in these works. *Secondly*, the political geography of the country includes besides the 'three monarchies' of the south, a number of minor principalities ruled over by petty warrior chieftains, vying with one another in the arts of war and peace. *Thirdly*, the references frequently made to ports, ships and merchandise including foreign imports and exports remind us strongly of the notices of South India by the classical geographers and historians of the early years of the Christian era. The common references to ports like Muśiri, Koṛkai and Toṇḍi, to mention only a few, and articles like pepper, wine and silk cloth are too obvious to be missed. *Lastly*, the style and diction of these works undoubtedly bear close affinities to those of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* and are much nearer to these in point of time than to the hymns of the *Tiruvāśagam* or the *Tēvāram* and the two sets of works cannot belong to the same age but must be assigned to different periods which may be separated by centuries. This consideration gains in strength from the state of religious life which is reflected in the *Śilappadikāram* on the one hand and the devotional

[1] Perhaps it is worth stating that not much importance should be attached to the grouping of these anthologies into *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Paḍiṉeṇkīḻkaṇakku* especially as the second of these groups seems to take in several late and unauthenticated works. See in this connection V. Venkayya on the Ṉāladiyār and the Muttaryar in the *A. S. I., 1905-6*, p. 178 n.

hymns on the other. We have only to recall the enumeration of the temples in *Puhār* (canto 5), the *Vēṭṭuvavari* (canto 12) and the *Āycciyar Kuravai* (canto 17) in the *Śilappadikāram*[1] and contrast these with the fervid devotion to Śiva and to Viṣṇu coupled with an equally fervid hatred of the heretic sects of Buddhism and Jainism that mark the sectarian hymns of the *Tēvāram* and the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, and we at once realize that there is no difficulty involved in assuming an interval of some centuries between the two ages; on the other hand such an assumption seems to be forced on us by other considerations like the absence of any reference to the Pallavas in the Śangam works. It will now be clear that there is a strong *prima facie* case for accepting the chronological indications of the Gajabāhu synchronism and referring the Śangam works to the early centuries of the Christian era. And this arrangement could not be shaken except by arguments of equal cogency which do not conflict with the general probabilites of South Indian history.[2]

[1] The *Maṇimēkalai* is strongly tinged with Buddhism but does not appear to contain anything conflicting with the indications given by the *Śilappadikāram*. This work has been studied in its historical setting in a recent monograph by Dr. S. K. Aiyangār.

[2] I have made the discussion of this vexed question quite general and based it on broad considerations in order to avoid getting lost in minutiæ. Those who wish to pursue the controversy in more detail must go to Dr. S. K. Aiyangār, *Beginnings*, pp. 161-240 and 287 ff and his *Ancient India*; K. G. Sankara, *Q. J. M. S.*, vol. viii, pp. 34-60; K. G. Sesha Aiyar, same, vol. xvi, pp. 143 ff and on the other side L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. i and Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 91 ff. and the references given by these writers. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangār's arguments for a fifth century are refuted in detail by Mr. K. Srinivasa Pillai (see செஸ்ஸர் ஒசங்குடலெவர் of the Pandit and *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. xv, pp. 3-24). There is little to be said in favour of Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan's effort to explain one unknown by another in his Essay on 'The Kāvēri, Maukharis and the Śangam Age'. It is perhaps not possible with our present knowledge to explain the references to

We shall now briefly review some of the considerations which have been held to militate against this view. The late Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai said in his *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. i, 'Portions of the *Paripāḍal* anthology which deal with developments of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism seem to be more recent than the first century A.D. if we are to follow Dr. Bhandarkar and other eminent authorities' (p. 105). Again, Kanakasabhai's work would have to be renamed '*The Tamils 1200 Years Ago*'. 'These somewhat overdrawn pictures of the state of civilization in South India 1800 years ago will have to be revised in the light of our present day knowledge of epigraphy and chronology, and the scenes of the Madura Śangam will have to be transferred from the first century A.D. to the seventh and the early part of the eighth century A.D., the period which witnessed along with the decay of Buddhism, the rise of the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite teachers, Tirugnānasambandar, Śankarācārya, Nammāḻvār, etc.' Incidentally this rearrangement will explain the Tamil literary tradition which ascribes the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* to the same age as other Śangam works (p. 469). Lastly, the Kaṇṇaki legend may be as old as Gajabāhu I in Ceylon, but not older than the seventh or sixth century in South India. The contemporaneity of the kings mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram* is very doubtful as the figures of Karikāla and

the fights with the Aryans of the north of Karikāla (*Śila.*, canto. 5, ll, 89-110) and of Śenguṭṭuva (cantos 26-8); Dr. S. K. Aiyangār (Augustan Age) supposes that the southern kings helped the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Satakarni in repulsing the Sakas—but this assumption does not rest on much solid evidence and does not explain all the references in the epics. It is also worth noting that the Perundēvanār of the Śangam is an earlier poet different from the *protege* of Tellāṟeṟinda Nandipōta. See Venkayya in *A. R. E., 1907*, pp. 51-2 and *Naṟṟiṇai* ed. Narayanaswami Aiyar, introduction, p. 54; *contra* K. V. S. Aiyar, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-5; and Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 80.

Neḍunjeḻiyan are shadowy whereas Śenguṭṭuvan is the one bold figure. 'The fiction of writing a romantic poem under the pen-name Iḷangō-Aḍikaḷ was cleverly conceived' (459–60, n.).

That we read the history of religious faith in South India differently from Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai has been already indicated. It is not possible to see how that distinguished chronologist claims the support of 'Dr. Bhandarkar and other eminent authorities' for his view of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the *Paripāḍal* as on the one hand he has not given any indications that would enable us to test the statement, and on the other, Dr. Bhandarkar's work is full of the sense of the difficulties of marking exact chronological limits in the history of religions in India and leaves many points studiedly vague. At any rate the present writer is constrained to confess his inability to see Mr. Pillai's meaning and rest content with the remark that arguments which resolve themselves into differences of opinion cannot, with profit, be pursued far. He may however quote Bhandarkar and say 'there is nothing to show that Vaiṣṇavism had not penetrated to the Tamil country earlier i.e., about the first century' (p. 50). There is indeed a tradition which ascribes the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* to a Sangam but this very tradition seems to distinguish this Śangam from the earlier one and refer it to Poyyāmoḻi Pulavar.[1] That in a work of his brother we see more of Śenguṭṭuvan than of the two other monarchs who were his contemporaries in the Tamil land is only to be expected and does not need any special explanation; much less does it warrant the theory that Iḷangō-Aḍigaḷ is a fictitious pen-name. Lastly, when Mr. Pillai concedes that the Kaṇṇaki

[1] See M. Raghava Aiyangār, on 'Poyyāmoḻippulavar' in *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. v, pp. 512-13.

legend may be as old as Gajabāhu I in Ceylon he virtually gives away his case; for the 'Kaṇṇaki legend' was distinctly of South Indian, not of Ceylonese, origin.

It now remains to see if our present-day knowledge of chronology and epigraphy throws any new light on the age of the Śangam; or even if it renders the early centuries of the Christian era an improbable period for it. The astronomical data in the text of the *Śilappadikāram* have been held insufficient by many scholars for the purpose of calculating correctly the date of the events mentioned therein, and Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai's efforts to eke out the text by doubtful particulars from the commentary cannot be held to be satisfactory,[1] and his result has not been generally accepted. And there is no reason to think that the mention of a week day in a work must mean that it is later than A.D. 400 as has been maintained by those who advocate a late date for the *Śilappadikāram* and quote Fleet in their support. This has been made sufficiently clear by other writers who suggest a Chaldean origin for the Indian system. A recent writer has remarked[2] that 'the Hindu names (of week days) are the exact equivalents of the Roman names which came into use in the West about the beginning of the Christian era' and we know that there was active intercourse between the Early Empire and South India at the time.

We now come to the epigraphical evidence on the matter. The facts are—

(1) The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant mentions Palyāga Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi as the original donor of Vēḷvikkuḍi;

(2) This gift was enjoyed by the donee and his descendants for long (*nīḍu bhukti*) before the Kaḷabhra

[1] See in this particular the appendix to ch. vii in Dr. S. K. Aiyangār's *Beginnings*.

[2] G.R. Kaye, *Hindu Astronomy* (Memoir No. 18 of Arch. Department), p. 36.

interregnum at the end of which came the Pāndya restoration under Kaḍungōn;

(3) Kaḍungōn's grandson is called Silai-ttaḍakkai Kkolai-kkaḷiṟṟu Ceḷiyan Vānavan Śengōṟ-Cēndan;

(4) The larger Śinnamanūr plates begin the genealogy with Arikēsari Parānkuśa, evidently the king mentioned next to Śēndan in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, and refer to the battle of Talaiyālangānam, the translation of the *Bhāratam* and the establishment of the Śangam as among the achievements of the early Pāndyas whose names are not given.

In some discussions the following assumptions have been quietly made, though there is nothing in the epigraphs themselves to support any of them[1] and some of them are even opposed to indications in the records—(*a*) Mudukuḍumi ruled immediately before the Kaḷabhra interregnum; (*b*) the name of Kaḍungōn's grandson is Śeḷiyan; (*c*) this Śeḷiyan must be the same as the famous Talaiyālangānattu Neḍunjeḷiyan of Śangam fame especially because the Śinnamanūr plates which begin the genealogy immediately after this Śeḷiyan refer to Talaiyālangānam as among the past glories of the Pāndyas. But Mudukuḍumi could not have reigned immediately before the Kaḷabhra occupation, for if he did so, a man speaking centuries afterwards could not say that his gift was enjoyed for long before the foreign inroad. And the name of Kaḍungōn's grandson is not Śeḷiyan, which is only a common name for the Pāndyas, and occurs here in the midst of an ornate introduction

[1] See T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. vi, pp. 440 ff and K.V.S. Aiyar in *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 111 and the *I. A.*, vol. xl, pp. 224 ff. Unless I am much mistaken, Mr. Aiyar begs the question at p. 226, para 2 of *I. A.*, vol. xl, and simply assumes what he has really got to prove, viz. that the victor of Nelvēli was son of the victor of Talaiyālangānam. See also Krishna Sastri in *E. I.*, vol. xvii, p. 297, *contra* Venkayya in *The Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 3, pp. vi and vii.

to the king's real name, Śēndan which seems to be confirmed by the genealogy of the smaller Śinnamanūr plates which begins with Jayantavarman. Moreover it must be explained why, if this Śeḷiyan Śēndan as he is called by the epigraphists was the victor of Talaiyālangānam, a battle so famous in literature as to lend a prefix to the name of its hero, that historic fight is not mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant which gives a long account of the achievements of the kings it names. It thus seems clear that the mention of Mudukuḍumi and Talaiyālangānam in these epigraphs confirms in some measure the particulars we gather from Śangam literature, and that it throws no new light on the age of the Śangam. If anything, the reference to the long interval between Mudukuḍumi and the Kaḷabhra occupation, and the reckoning of the Śangam and the translation of the *Bhāratam* together with Talaiyālangānam among the legendary achievements which constituted the heirloom of the family, may lead an unbiassed student to the conclusion that these belong to an age altogether removed in the past from the kings whose history is recorded in these epigraphs.

We are therefore bound to assume,[1] until much stronger proof to the contrary is forthcoming than has been put forward so far, that the Śangam age lies in the early centuries of the Christian era and we shall do so in the following chapter which attempts a reconstruction of the age in so far as it relates to the Pāndyan kingdom.

[1] This conclusion has been accepted by distinguished writers like V. A. Smith, *Early History*, pp. 471–2 and n. 4 at p. 457 ; and Sir Charles Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. ii, p. 214 : 'Most Tamil scholars are agreed in referring the oldest Tamil literature to the first three centuries of our era and I see nothing improbable in this.' Hultzsch's objections to this date, *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 378, are too general and impressionistic to need separate discussion.

CHAPTER III

THE PĀNDYAN KINGDOM IN THE ŚANGAM AGE

THE normal extent of the Pāndyan kingdom in the Śangam Age corresponded to the modern districts of Tinnevelly, Ramnad and Madura, with the southern Veḷḷār for its northern boundary. About twenty names of Pāndyan kings and princes can be gathered from the Sangam works, but it is at present almost impossible to determine their order. Some attempts have been made to work out a continuous political history for this period, the most considerable of them being that of Mr. Kanakasabhai. But there is no doubt that an account like that goes far beyond what the evidence can sustain. We must rest content with gathering the chief facts known about the more important kings and simply narrating them as interesting but isolated events whose exact inter-relation cannot yet be determined. It has been indicated already that none of the kings of the Śangam, except one who is mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant as having ruled long before the Kaḷabhra interregnum, can be identified in the copper plates of the Pāndyas of the First Empire. Nor can the attempt to determine the date of Nakkīrar (a younger contemporary of the Pāndyan hero of Talaiyālangānam), by counting ten generations backward from the date of the king celebrated in the illustrative stanzas of the *Iṟaiyanārahapporuḷurai* be considered satisfactory.[1]

[1] See *I. A.*, xxxvii, pp. 193–8; also Dr. S. K. Aiyangār, *Beginnings*, ch vi. He distinguishes two layers in the commentary in its modern form. The reference to pp. 125 and 191 of Mr. C. W. Dāmodaram Pillai's edition by Dr. S. K. Aiyangār (at p. 253) is not easy to follow.

The *Maduraikkāñji* refers to two kings as the predecessors of the Neḍunjeḻiyan of Talaiyālangānam viz., a Neḍiyōn (l. 61) identified with Vaḍimbalamba Niṉṟavan by the famous annotator Naccinārkkiniyar and a Palsālai Mudukuḍumi (l. 759) no doubt the same as the first king of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. It is not possible to decide the distance in time between these two kings or between these and the Neḍunjeḻiyan of the *Śilappadikāram* known as Ariyappaḍaikaḍanda on the one hand and the other Neḍunjeḻiyan who is the hero of the Talaiyālangānam fight and of the *Maduraikkāñji*, as perhaps also of the Neḍunalvāḍai. We proceed to note the outstanding facts about each of these kings recorded in the literature of the age.

The king referred to as Neḍiyōn or Vaḍimbalamba Niṉṟavan is an almost mythical figure whose achievements find a place in the 'Sacred Sports' of Madura,[1] and also among the traditional achievements of the Pāndyan kings mentioned in general terms in the Vēḷvikkuḍi and Śinnamanūr plates. Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḻudi is a more tangible figure who is praised by three poets in five short poems.[2] One of them (*Puṟam* 12) refers to his foreign conquests as the basis of his liberality, and another by the same poet (*Puṟam* 15) contains a shocking description of the way he treated conquered territory ploughing it with white-mouthed asses and refers to the many big sacrifices he performed in his day. Another poem (*Puṟam* 6) contains a blessing coupled with extravagant hero-worship which claims all India as the territory ruled by this king. The king who ruled in Madura at the time of the story of the *Śilappadikāram*

[1] See Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyāḍal*, No. 21.

[2] *Neṭṭimaiyār*, *Puṟam* 9, 12, 15; *Neḍumpalliyattanār*, *Puṟam* 64 and *Kārikiḻār Puṟam* 6.

was a Neḍunjeḻiyan distinguished by the epithet Ariyappaḍaikaḍanda[1] for reasons that cannot now be traced. He is said to have died of a broken heart when the innocence of Kōvalan was proved to him by Kaṇṇaki beyond all possibility of doubt. There is a short poem (*Puṟam* 183) ascribed to him which puts learning above birth and caste. His viceroy at Koṟkai and perhaps his son and successor was another Śeḻiyan, called Veṟṟi Vēṟceḻiyan or Iḷanjeḻiyan, who wreaked terrible vengeance on the goldsmiths by sacrificing a thousand of them in one day to appease the great goddess who had been Kaṇṇaki.[2] This occurrence which seems to be historical in substance must be ascribed to about the time of Gajabāhu I of Ceylon, somewhere in the second century A.D. It seems probable that the only other figure that stands out boldly from the rest, the victor of Talaiyālangānam,[3] was later than the rulers mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram*. He came to the throne as a youth and early in his reign proved more than equal to a hostile combination of his two neighbouring monarchs aided by five minor chiefs. The decisive engagement took place at Talaiyālangānam which has been, with great plausibility, identified with a village of almost the same name, Talai-Ālam-Kāḍu, eight miles north-west of Tiruvālūr,

[1] See end of *Maduraikkāṇḍam*, *Kaṭṭurai*, ll. 14–18.

[2] *Śilappadikāram*, canto 27, ll. 127 ff.

[3] There are numerous references to this king and it will be well to bring them together here. Kallāḍanār in *Puṟam* 23, 25, 371; Iḍaikkuṉṟūr Kiḻār in same Nos. 76 to 79 all referring to the great victory of the reign and No. 76 giving also the alternative name of the king Paśumpūtpāndiyan; Kuḍapulaviyanār in *Puṟam* 18 and 19; Paraṇar in *Aham* 116, 162 and *Kuṟuntogai* 393; Nakkirar in *Aham* 36, 253 and 266; also *Naṟṟiṇai* 358 and perhaps *Neḍunalvāḍai* in the *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu*; Maduraikkaṇakkāyanār in *Aham* 338; Māṅguḍi Kiḻār, *Puṟam* 24, 26, 372 and above all the *Maduraikkāñji* of Māṅguḍi Marudan; *Puṟam* 72 is ascribed to the king himself and an excellent piece. *Naṟṟiṇai* 387 and *Aham* 175 may or may not be contemporary references.

in the Tanjore District.[1] There exists a simple poem of great force and beauty (*Puṟam* 72) in which the young king swears an oath of heroism and victory in the ensuing fight which he appears to have amply fulfilled. It seems that his enemies took the offensive, greatly underrating the strength of the youthful ruler and hoping for an easy partition of his territory among themselves.[2] Neḍunjeḻiyan had to begin his fights almost at the gates of Madura (*Aham* 116) and pursue his foes up to the scene of the decisive engagement in the Tanjore District. It must have been in this campaign that Māndaram Chēral Irumpoṟai, the son of the Chera King of the Elephant-look must have been captured alive, as is seen from *Puṟam* 17, in literal fulfilment of Neḍunjeḻiyan's vow referred to above (*Puṟam* 72). After thus surmounting his initial difficulties in the defensive war that was forced on him by his jealous and aggressive neighbours, Neḍunjeḻiyan appears to have taken the offensive in his turn and won substantial successes against his foes. Two separate campaigns seem to be mentioned, one against the Kongu chief, an Adigan, the chief event of the war being an engagement in a place somewhere near Uṟaiyūr;[3] and another against the Nīdūr chieftain Evvi which resulted in the annexation to the Pāndyan kingdom of the Miḻalaikkūṟṟam and the Muttūṟṟukkūṟṟam, apparently territories in the modern district of Tanjore.[4] That this

[1] P. Sundaram Pillai, *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol. ix, p. 117.

[2] *Puṟam* 78, ll. 5-6—'பெரியம்பாமே, கம்மிற் பொருதணுமினியன், கொண்டியும் பெரிதென.'

[3] The place is referred to as 'கூகைக்கோழி வாகைப்பறந்தலை' (*Kuṟuntogai* 393. Pandit R. Rāghava Aiyangār calls it the battle of வாகைப்பறந்தலை. *Ahanānūṟu*, Introd., p. 49. See also *Aham* 253.

[4] *Puṟam* 24, *Aham* 266. Perhaps *Muttūṟṟukkūṟṟam* was taken not from Evvi but some one else—*Puṟam* 24, ll. 20-23. It should be noted however that Evvi is called in this poem மாவேள் and that Muttūṟu is said

king was a follower of Brahminical Hinduism is clear from the reference to a vedic sacrifice performed by him with the assistance of Brahmins learned in the Vedas. Himself evidently a poet of no small merit, this king appears to have been also a great patron of the poets and is celebrated in the songs of many of them including Mānguḍi Marudan, Nakkīrar and his father, Paraṇar and Kallāḍanār.

The other Pāndyas of this period may now be more briefly noticed. Some of them may have been only members of the royal family who never ruled as kings—for example, Iḷamperuvaḻudi who died in the sea, the author of *Paripāḍal* No. 15, *Puṟam* 182 and *Naṟṟiṇai* 55 and 56; Nambi Neḍunjeḻiyan (*Puṟam* 239); Pāndyan Nalvaḻudi, the author of *Paripāḍal* 12; Cittiramāḍattu Tunjiya Nanmāṟan (*Puṟam* 59) and others.[1] Pāndyan Aṟivuḍai Nambi, suitably to his name, figures as the author of several wise little poems [2] and is the object of a beautiful address by the poet Piśirāndaiyār (*Puṟam* 184) on the economy of moderation in taxation. Another king who is glorified by renowned poets like

to have belonged to தொண்மூதிரைவேளிர். Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar's guesses about Yuan Chwang's *Malakūta* being the same as *Miḻalaikkūṟṟam* (*Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 115–22) are not warranted by literary and epigraphic evidence. And at page 120 he surely gives a wrong lead when he says 'this division covered a large area surrounding Madura.'

[1] For the sake of completeness, those omitted in the text may be noted down here.

(1) Aṇḍarmakan Kuṟuvaḻudi, author of *Kuṟuntogai* 345 and *Aham* 150 and 228.

(2) Pāndyan Pannāḍutaṇḍān *Kuṟuntogai* 270.

(3) ,, Mālaimāṟan ,, 245.

(4) ,, Muḍattirumāṟan *Naṟṟinai* 105 (refers to Kuṭṭuvan) and 228.

(5) ,, Māṟan Vaḻudi; author of *Naṟṟinai* 97 and 301.

(6) ,, Veḷḷiyambalattu Tunjiya Peruvaḻudi, *Puṟam* 58.

(7) Karungaiolvāṭperum Peyar Vaḻudi, *Puṟam* 3.

(8) Pāndyan Kīran Sāttan, *Puṟam* 178.

(9) Kūḍakārattu Tunjiya Māṟan Vaḻudi, *Puṟam* 51 and 52.

[2] *Kuṟun* 230, *Naṟṟinai* 15, *Puṟam* 188, *Aham* 28.

Nakkīrar (*Puṟam* 55–57) earned for himself the unenviable distinction of being pilloried in song by two poets (*Puṟam* 196, 198) for his illiberality and his name was Ilavandikaippaḷḷittunjiya Nanmāṟan. We do not know how the censure was provoked and how far it was justified. Famous as the contemporary of the author of the *Tirukkuṟal*, Ugrapperuvaḻudi proved the strength of his arm by subduing the chieftain of Kanappēr (Kalaiyārkōil) who had entrenched himself behind a strong fortress in the place.[1] He was a poet himself and is said in tradition to have caused the anthology of the *Ahanānūṟu* to be made. This king has been sometimes identified, not on quite convincing grounds, with the Neḍunjeḻiyan who expiated on his throne the murder of Kōvalan.[2] The last king we shall notice in this necessarily disconnected sketch will be Bhūtappāndiyan who took Ollaiyūr and whose queen is well known by her song on the occasion of her *sati*.[3] We know little about this king except from his own compositions (*Puṟam* 71, 246, 247 and *Aham* 25) and these present him as a loving husband who was lucky in the company of his cultured wife and dreaded separation from her, and a prince who valued his friends more than is the rule with princes.

The period of these 'numerous kings' with their 'clumsy names and titles', as Smith found it, is well portrayed in the literature of the age. A careful study of

[1] *Puṟam* 21, 367 and the pieces by the king himself viz., *Aham* 26, *Naṟṟiṇai* 98 and *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai* 4.

[2] Dr. S. K. Aiyangār, *The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature* in *Ancient India*, pp. 355–6.

[3] *Puṟam* 246; see also *Puṟam* 247, referring to same. Pandit R. Rāghava Aiyangār, *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. ii, p. 304 points out that Bhūta Pāndyan may be taken to be later than Neḍunjeḻiyan of Talaiyālangānam as he refers to Titiyan who was beaten in that famous battle.

this literature does not however support the view that 'the Tamils had developed an advanced civilization of their own, *wholly independent of Northern India*'.[1] Already the three northern religions of Brahminism, Buddhism and Jainism have made their influence felt, and the general conditions of cultured life appear perceptibly Aryanized. Brahmins like Buddhist and Jaina ascetics have come to occupy a distinct place in the social and religious life of the country and the pre-Aryan elements forced into the background.[2] We have already noticed the early performance of vedic sacrifices by Pāndyan kings. On the other hand it is possible that un-Aryan cults attained in Dravidian lands fuller and more independent development or survived in greater force than in the other parts of India more thoroughly colonized by the Aryans. And the line of this development can only be guessed by its survival in some parts, if not the whole, of what is known as *Poruḷilakkaṇam*, and in references like the *Vēlan Āḍal* in the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaḍai* of Nakkīrar and the worship of the Veṭṭuvar described so graphically in canto 12 of the *Śilappadikāram*. It is remarkable how even in these references to manifestly pre-Aryan deities we are able to trace their progress towards securing good places for themselves in the pantheon of Hinduism. Thus in the *Veṭṭuva-vari* we see Koṟṟavai described as consort of Śiva and the incarnation of

[1] V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 457. Italics ours. His references to M. Srinivasa Aiyangār and even Kanakasabhai do not seem to support him to the whole length he lets himself go.

[2] Kanakasabhai (p. 56 of his *Tamils*) seems to have exaggerated the exclusiveness and the fewness of the Brahmins in South India in those days. Exact comparisons being impossible, only general impressions can be recorded and I am unable to see that the Brahmins were less numerous then (proportionately to the population) or more exclusive than in recent times.

Lakṣmi. And Murugan the son of Koṟṟavai, is described as the son of six mothers, the captain of the forces of the gods, and the wealth of the Brahmins.[1] Again a poem (No. 55) in the *Puṟanānūṟu* contains a beautiful reference to the story of the burning of the Tripura by Śiva and to the shrine of Subrahmaṇya in Śendil (Tiruccendūr) ; and the *Āycciyarkuravai* in the *Śilappadikāram* contains songs which embody the whole cycles of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa legends in terms which leave no room for doubt about the general prevalence of the mythology of Brahminical Hinduism in the Tamil land in those days. It has been suggested that stories like those of Kaṇṇappar, Chaṇḍēsvarar and Kāraikkāl Ammai may be considered to contain traces of pre-Aryan religious customs. It may be so. And the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* prove unmistakably the prevalence of Jainism and Buddhism side by side with the other cults and this indication receives confirmation, as has already been pointed out, from the early monuments of the Tamil land.

The form of government was, of course, monarchy. It is not possible to understand the exact import of the 'five great *Kuḻus*' and 'eight great *Āyams*' which are often referred to as part of the king's paraphernalia on ceremonial occasions.[2] These institutions seem to have been common to the three monarchies of the Tamil land and commentators differ as to their significance. The older annotation makes the five *Kuḻus* consist of the people (மாசனம்), priests (பார்ப்பார்), physicians

[1] See *Tirumurukaṟṟuppadai*, ll. 256–65 ; and Kuṉṟa Kuravai in canto 24 of the *Śilappadikāram*.

[2] See Index ஐம்பெருங்குழு and எண்பேராயம் in Pandit Swāminātha Aiyar's editions of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*.

(மருத்தர்), astrologers (நிமித்தர்) and ministers (அமைச்சர்) while a later gloss adds commanders, messengers and spies to the ministers and priests (புரோகிதர்) to make the five groups. Likewise there are two explanations given of the 'eight *Āyams*'; the earlier one makes them groups of attendants on the king's person like perfumers, dressing boys, etc.; a later account names more important groups of persons among whom are included the people of the capital city (நகரமாந்தர்) and the leaders of the elephant corps and of the cavalry. One should like to know more about these apparently ceremonial groups of attendants, officials and non-officials, before one accepts Mr. Kanakasabhai's statement that 'the council of representatives safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people'.[1] It is well known that the ideals of monarchy laid down in the *Kuṛal* are of a very high order, and these seem to have been constantly pressed on the monarch's attention by the numerous poets of the land in the age we are dealing with. Thus one poet (*Puṛam* 184) vividly contrasts the effects of moderate taxes which replenish the royal treasury periodically and make the king popular with those of oppressive exactions which impoverish the country and render the king unpopular; and illustrates his meaning by the difference in the cost of feeding an elephant from a barn and of letting him roam freely over fields ripe for the harvest. Another (*Puṛam* 55) stresses the need for impartiality in the king's justice, and valour, grace and liberality in his conduct in terms that deserve to be quoted in the original.

[1] See his *Tamils*, p. 109.

அறநெறி முதற்றே யரசின் கொற்ற
மதனுல், நமரெனக் கோல்கோடாது
பிறரெனக் குணங் கொல்லாது
ஞாயிற் றன்ன வெந்திற லாண்மையுந்
திங்க ளன்ன தண்பெருஞ் சாயலும்
வானத் தன்ன வண்மையு மூன்று
முடை யை யாகி.....
நீடு வாழிய நெடுந்தகை.

It is more interesting to notice the reference in the *Śilappadikāram* (canto 17, l. 7) to the supply of *ghī* to the king's household in Madura in terms which remind us of Megasthenes' statement that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, which was apparently a tribute in kind, consisting of provisions for the daily consumption of the royal household.

Social life especially in cities like Madura had attained a high degree of refinement as could be seen from the literature of the age. It may be noted in passing that this literature was not always the work of poets who pursued poetry for its own sake. Minstrelsy was a profession, and the roving bards of the time were often not easy to satisfy, and sometimes exceedingly sensitive. We have already noted instances of princes penalized by the scarcely veiled imprecations of poets who felt they had not been hospitably treated. A song in the *Puṟanānūṟu* contains a rather humble description of these organized bands of mendicants – some of them poets of real merit, some of them musicians with all kinds of quaint instruments, who moved about, with bands of female singers and dancers, from one little fortress to another, where their advent formed one of the few distractions of life for the chieftain, alternating with his hunting

expeditions and warlike raids.[1] These chieftains were not always models of courtesy or liberality, and some of them must have deserved the censures they provoked.

The *Maduraikkāñji* which is a long poem of nearly 800 lines contain many little pen-pictures of great interest to the student of the social life of the age. We cannot do more than draw attention to a few of these here. The descriptions of fights and fortifications (e.g. ll. 64–7) show evidence of a fairly advanced stage in the art of warfare. It is interesting that the Parathavar are mentioned as specially noted for their heroism in war (ll. 139–144) and they perhaps supplied good recruits to Neḍunjeḻiyan's forces. The account given of the port of Śāliyūr (in ll. 75–88) and its commercial activity strongly reminds us of similar accounts in the *Periplus* and of the mention of Yavana guards in the fortress of Madura in the *Śilappadikāram* and the frequent references to the use of imported foreign wines by kings and chieftains.[2] Koṛkai is referred to as the centre of pearl fishing (ll. 131–8). The long description of Madura with her ditch, walls and gateways, her crowded bazaars more than usually busy on a festival day, her temples and her debating halls defies reproduction and is best enjoyed in the original. Courtesans played an important part in social life and were then, as in later days, the custodians of the arts of music and dancing (ll. 570–83). But family life is also depicted at its best in a tender sketch of the daily routine of matronly duties which shows few traits that cannot be recognized in family life at the present day. And the contrast between the gay and voluptuous courtesan and the faithful and loving wife cannot be better drawn than

[1] *Puṟam* 47 and Selections from G. U. Pope in *Tam. Ant.*, i, 6, p. 68.

[2] Yavanas in *Śilappadikāram*, xiv, ll. 66–7 with which cf. *Mullaippāṭṭu*, ll. 59–66; for foreign wines see *Puṟam* 56, ll. 18–21.

in the portraiture of Mādhavi and Kaṇṇaki in the *Śilappadikāram*. Some women were also known as poets while others followed a life of religious seclusion. Brahmins chanted the Vedas early in the morning and the musicians practised on their favourite instruments much as they do now.

There is no doubt that many of these pictures are drawn by the poets of the age in obedience to literary convention; but such convention must have been reared on a fairly solid foundation in the facts of contemporary life. In this brief sketch, our attention has been given mainly to a part of this literature that can be definitely referred to the Pāndya country. But the unity of Tamil life in the three kingdoms and the many principalities can only be realized by a more extensive study which cannot be undertaken here.[1]

There appears to be no means at present of fixing the chronology of the Śangam age more exactly than we have sought to do so far. We are in the dark as to when and how the period came to a close. The data that have been gathered together from the Śangam literature may, one may venture to suggest, carry us to about the middle of the third century A.D. or perhaps a little later. When next the curtain rises, it is on a scene that belongs to the middle or even the end of the sixth century A.D. We thus seem to have in between these two periods, a veritable dark age of about three centuries of which we know nothing at present. Even the contemporary Pallava history of the age, into which we get some glimpses from various sources, seems to throw little light on the history of the extreme south.

[1] Still the best sketch is that of Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils*, ch. ix, but it is high time that another account which will keep more in touch with the sources of our information is attempted. There is scope for a good monograph on the subject.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSITION TO THE FIRST EMPIRE. THE KAḶABHRAS

WE have no information as to the exact steps by which the transition was brought about from the conditions reflected in the Śangam literature to those of the Age of the First Empire, as we propose to call it,—an age comprising roughly three centuries from, say, the beginning of the seventh century to the beginning of the tenth. And the great danger at this point of the story is the temptation to make hasty reconstructions by piecing together fragments from literature and epigraphy which at the first blush seem to have a connection with one another, but on closer scrutiny fail to support the superstructure they have been made to bear. Great impediments to a proper understanding of the records result sometimes from chance suggestions thrown out by authoritative scholars which are often repeated by their followers without the reservations with which they were originally given and occasionally even palpable errors are handed down as gospel.[1] In the present account no attempt will

[1] The brilliant epigraphist, Mr. Venkayya, did much good work on the Pāndyas. He always stated his results with caution. When he wrote, some mistakes were unavoidable in the study and interpretation of old records

be made to carry the story beyond what is exactly warranted by the state of our sources and the distinction will be carefully maintained between facts as such and subjective impressions. If in consequence we get an account which is discontinuous, that is unfortunately a result which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be helped.

which he handled for the first time. But his successors make a mistake when they fail to test his results independently for themselves before accepting them as established facts. But (1) Mr. Venkayya must in some measure be held responsible for starting the habit of confusing different kings with similar names. Thus he said, 'The names Neḍumāṟan, Neḍunjeḻiyan and Neḍunjaḍayan are quite similar, and one is almost tempted to think that they must have denoted the same individual', and though he took care to add 'Beyond this similarity of the mere names we possess no materials for their identification' (*I.A.*, vol. xxii, p. 65), some of his successors have not exercised the same caution—e.g. the so-called Śeḻiyan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant has been identified with Neḍunjeḻiyan by Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar (see chap. iii. above). (2) Mr. Venkayya also misread some of the names of the kings. He called Kaḍungōn's grandson Śeḻiyan Śēndan (*A.R.E.*, 1907-08, p. 51) in summarizing the Tamil portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. Again, in the same summary, he called the father of Parāntaka by the name Tērmāṟan; it is strange that Mr. Krishna Sastri should have followed this reading of the king's name and perpetuated the mistake in his edition of the grant in *E.I.*, vol. xvii. The king's name is only Māṟan; *tēr* should be read along with the preceding *mān* as a compound adjective to the king's name. (See K. G. Sankara, *I.A.*, vol. li, p. 214). By a similar mistake he recognized a Tēr Varōdayan besides Varōdayan in the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ* stanzas and identified the hero celebrated in those verses with his Tērmāṟan (*A.R.E.*, 1907-8, p. 57). In this, however, Mr. Krishna Sastri takes care not to follow him (*E.I.*, vol. xvii, p. 297). (3) Lastly he committed a somewhat serious error in the collation of the data from the larger Śinnamanūr and the Vēḷvikkuḍi grants and working up the genealogy of the Pāndyas mentioned in these grants (*A.R.E.*, 1907-8, pp. 54-55). This has been set right in a large measure by Mr. Krishna Sastri giving up the consideration which was the most vital in Venkayya's account of the matter, viz., 'that the Neḍunjaḍayan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant cannot be identical with his namesake of the Madras Museum plates, but that the former must be earlier than the latter' (see also T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *Sen Tamiḻ*, vol. vi, pp. 437-39). Gopinatha Rao's genealogy at p. 154 of *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i, is inaccurate and insufficiently documented.

The chief records which furnish data on the genealogy and chronology of the Pāndyas of the First Empire are—

1. The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan.
2. The Smaller Śinnamanūr plates.
3. The Larger Śinnamanūr plates of Rājasimha.
4. The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman.
5. The two related Ānamalai stone inscriptions of Māranjaḍayan (453 of 1906) and Parāntaka (454 of 1906), the latter dated in the Kaliyuga era and yielding A.D. 770.
6. The Aivarmalai Inscription of Varaguṇa dated in Śaka 792, i.e. 870 A.D. corresponding to the eighth regnal year of the King.

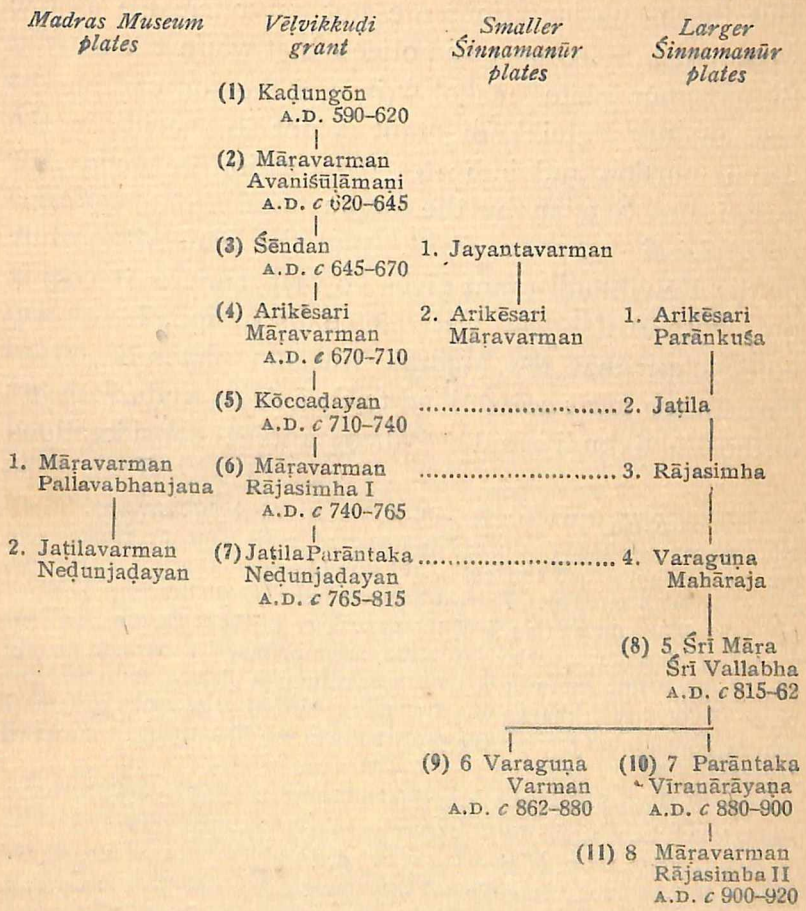
The first thing to do with these records is to settle the genealogy of the dynasty with the aid of the copper plate grants which give particulars enabling us to do this and to assign these grants themselves to the respective kings to whose reigns they belong. It has been generally accepted that the Sanskrit portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant mentions only the last four names in the list contained in the Tamil portion which extends over seven generations and the last king Parāntaka *alias* Jaṭila of the Sanskrit part is identified with Neḍunjaḍayan the last king of the Tamil part and corresponding identifications made in regard to the three preceding generations. It has also been generally accepted that this Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant is the same as Jaṭila, the second king of the Sanskrit portion of the larger Sinnamanūr plates—whose name has been unaccountably passed over in their Tamil part. But this arrangement leads to a duplication of kings with the same name for which there seems to be no warrant or explanation. On the other hand, if we identify Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant with Varaguṇa

Mahārāja of the larger Sinnamanūr plates, this difficulty is avoided. And we have ample support for this course. Parāntaka is coupled with Neḍunjaḍayan by the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and with Māṛanjaḍayan i.e. Śaḍayan the son of Māran by the Ānamalai records; and the Trichinopoly inscriptions (413 and 414 of 1904) of the reign of Māṛanjaḍayan call the king Pāndyādhirāja Varaguṇa.[1] By this identification of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan with Varaguṇa, not only is the perplexing duplication of Rājasimha avoided, but Varaguṇavarman and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa become the grandsons of Parāntaka *alias* Varaguṇa Mahārāja which seems quite natural. It also seems to me—this is only a personal impression—that the campaigns indirectly referred to in the Ambasamudram inscription of Varaguṇa Mahārāja[2] are best ascribed to Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan of the Veḷvikkuḍi grant, who according to that grant fought and won battles on the banks of the Kāvēri early in his reign. One apparent objection to this course is found in the chronological indications given by our records and this has been held[3] to be fatal to the arrangement of the genealogy of the Pāndyas suggested here; but we shall see presently that the difficulty, if there is one, is not insuperable. It may be well at this stage to give the genealogy of the kings as fixed by the identifications proposed hitherto.

[1] There can be no doubt that the *āṇapti* of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant is the same as the excavator of the Ānamalai temple and that consequently these two records belong to the same king. Mr. Venkayya was inclined to ascribe the Trichinopoly records to Varaguṇavarman, the elder son of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, but he stated no reasons for his view which he said was only provisional. (*A. R. E.*, 1907, p. 53, para 21.)

[2] Edited by Venkayya, *E.I.*, vol. ix, pp. 84 ff.

[3] See Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 103–4.



Before taking up the chronology of the period for discussion, something must be said about the smaller Śinnamanūr and the Madras Museum plates. These two sets are engraved by apparently the same scribe and this justifies the assumption that the records must be assigned to the same reign, especially as the writing in the smaller Śinnamanūr inscription is held to resemble

that of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman.[1] But these considerations are not as conclusive as one would wish. It must be noticed that while the smaller Sinnamanūr plates make Arikēsari the son of Jayantavarman, the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant is not so specific in the Tamil portion and indicates the relation between Arikēsari and Śēṇḍan by the vague phrase 'மற்றவர்க்குப் பழிப்பின்றி வழித்தோன்றி',[2] and the Sanskrit portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant gives no help here as it begins only with Arikēsari. After some discussion, it has become clear that the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman too must be ascribed to Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. Palæographical considerations

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1907, p. 52 and K. V. S. Aiyar (*op. cit.*, pp. 103–4). Nothing can be stated finally about the smaller Śinnamanūr grant. The grant is incomplete and the text is still unpublished. It is not known how many plates are missing. There is however just a possibility that the grant belongs to Kōccaḍayan (No. 5 of the genealogy in the text), the king who fought at Marudūr, in which case the engraver may be taken to be the grandfather of the engraver of the Madras Museum plates. But there can be no doubt that Venkayya was strangely misled by vague palæographical considerations into ignoring the probability of the identity of Śēṇḍan and Jayanta.

[2] Mr. Krishna Sastri gets over the difficulty by saying *வழித்தோன்றல்* means 'son'; I am afraid that this gives no help in interpreting the expression quoted which is *not* *வழித்தோன்றலாகி*, but *வழித்தோன்றி*. Nor is Mr. K. G. Sankara's suggestion that Arikēsari was the son of a daughter of Śēṇḍan easy to accept. If, as is not unlikely, the smaller Śinnamanūr plates are earlier than the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and belong to the reign of Raṇadhīra, then their evidence must be preferred to that of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. But after all, it may be that the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant itself is not in conflict with the Śinnamanūr plate. For some reason the Sanskrit part of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant begins only with Arikēsari and the Tamil part, for the same reason, may be taken to make a fresh start with this king, Arikēsari, though he was the son of the immediately preceding Śēṇḍan (*E.I.*, vol. xvii, p. 365, n. 5 and K. G. Sankara, *I.A.*, vol. li, p. 213 and *Q.J.M.S.*, vol. x, p. 178). It may be noted in passing that nothing has turned up to justify Mr. Venkayya's suspicion that the kings of the smaller Śinnamanūr and the Madras Museum plates may not belong to the main line of the Pāndyas (*A. R. E.*, 1908, p. 55).

which were once held very strongly to militate against such a view have not stood the test of further criticism.[1] On the other hand, several weighty considerations can be urged in support of the view now taken of this grant. *First* several surnames of the ruling king occur in both

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1908, pp. 50 and 55 and H. K. Sastri in *E.I.*, vol. xvii, p. 293. Mr. Venkayya said, 'The characters of the Sanskrit portion (of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant) are older than those of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman and of the two Śinnamanūr ones.' Again, 'the numerals which are marked in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant are very old, while those of the Jaṭilavarman plates bear a close resemblance to the corresponding symbols used in the larger Śinnamanūr plates.' Mr. Krishna Sastri in editing the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant enumerates the differences in the Grantha (Sanskrit) portions of the two sets of plates; but a careful study of them does not seem to justify his conclusion that the Tamil portion in both the grants formed the original 'grants proper in both' cases, and 'the insertion of the Grantha portion in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant might have been somewhat earlier than that in the Madras Museum plates.' The only proof for this statement that is furnished by Mr. Sastri is in 'the remark that the Sanskrit portion (of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant), by its brief notice and the very meagre historical material which it supplies in the form of a general introduction, could not have been contemporaneous with the Tamil portion.' As against these statements it may be pointed out: (1) a glance at the Vēḷvikkuḍi and Madras Museum grants (in the plates published in the *E.I.* and the *I.A.*) does not support the view that the Sanskrit parts are later insertions; (2) the differences in the Sanskrit portion enumerated by Mr. Sastri are not serious and may be only due to the facts (*a*) that different scribes were employed to engrave the two sets of plates and (*b*) there is an interval of at least fourteen years between them so that in any case the Sanskrit portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant will be 'somewhat earlier than that in the Madras Museum plates'; (3) without the Sanskrit portion, the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant will begin with ஒகல்யாதீ and the Madras Museum plates with அன்னைஞிய, and we may take it that no inscriptions could have begun so inauspiciously or so abruptly; (4) the meagreness of the historical particulars in the Sanskrit part is only to be expected because that part was intended only to be a general introduction to be read together with the Tamil portion; it should be noted there is not merely a Sanskrit introduction but also a Sanskrit epilogue to the two sets of plates; (5) lastly, arguments from palæography are always open to doubt and much more so in the case of early South Indian palæography owing to the scarcity of the records available for comparative study.

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that of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman.[1] But these considerations are not as conclusive as one would wish. It must be noticed that while the smaller Sinnamanūr plates make Arikēsari the son of Jayantavarman, the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant is not so specific in the Tamil portion and indicates the relation between Arikēsari and Śēndan by the vague phrase 'மற்றவர்க்குப் பழிப்பின்றி வழித்தோன்றி',[2] and the Sanskrit portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant gives no help here as it begins only with Arikēsari. After some discussion, it has become clear that the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman too must be ascribed to Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. Palæographical considerations

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1907, p. 52 and K. V. S. Aiyar (*op. cit.*, pp. 103-4). Nothing can be stated finally about the smaller Śinnamanūr grant. The grant is incomplete and the text is still unpublished. It is not known how many plates are missing. There is however just a possibility that the grant belongs to Kōccaḍayan (No. 5 of the genealogy in the text), the king who fought at Marudūr, in which case the engraver may be taken to be the grandfather of the engraver of the Madras Museum plates. But there can be no doubt that Venkayya was strangely misled by vague palæographical considerations into ignoring the probability of the identity of Śēndan and Jayanta.

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the grants. Such are Paṇḍitavatsalan, Vīrapurōgan, Vikramapāragan, Parāntakan, Neḍunjaḍayan and also Śrīvaran. The *biruda*, Kaṇṭakaniṣṭuran of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant is echoed by the phrase கண்டக சோதனன் தான் செய்து of the Museum plates. It is extremely unlikely that *all* these different *birudas* were common to two different kings. *Secondly* among the subdonees of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant is a Mūrti Eyinan who is specially mentioned (l. 136). The *ājnapti* of the Madras Museum plates is a Dhīrataran Mūrti Eyinan who was a *mahā-sāmanta* of the king. There is reason to think that these two references are to the same person who may have been, as has been suggested on the strength of the Ānamalai records, a brother of Māṛangāri who was the *āṇatti* of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and the king's *uttara-mantri* when he excavated the Ānamalai cave.[1] *Lastly* the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant ascribes an important victory against the Pallavas to Parāntaka's father Māṛan, or Māṛavarman Rājasimha as he is called in the Sanskrit portion; and the Museum plates ascribe to Jaṭilavarman's father Māṛavarman the *biruda* Pallavabhanjana; and this surely may be taken to furnish a confirmation of the probability suggested by the two considerations urged above. It is thus clear that though there may be some scope for doubt as to the place of the smaller Śinnamanūr plates, it may be accepted as settled that the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman belong to the reign of the same king as the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant.

We may now turn to the chronology of the period. The best starting-point is furnished by the Ānamalai inscription which is dated in the year 3871 (expired) of

[1] See *E.I.*, vol. xvii, pp. 295-6.

the Kaliyuga era = A.D. 770.[1] We thus get a definite date in the reign of Parāntaka I *alias* Varaguṇa Mahārāja (No. 7 in the table given above).[2] Another datum which is equally definite is derived from the Aivarmalai record (705 of 1905) which gives Saka 792 = 870 A.D. as the eighth regnal year of a king Varaguṇa who must have come to the throne in A.D. 862–3. This Varaguṇa must have been Varaguṇavarman (No. 9) the grandson of Varaguṇa Mahārāja. And this has been held to be a serious objection to the scheme of identifications on which we have based the genealogy of these rulers. It has been said that 'we have only one sovereign between Neḍunjaḍayan of about A.D. 770 and Varaguṇavarman 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.'[3] But the situation is nothing so absurd; the interval is exactly ninety-two years; the Ānamalai record may be ascribed to an early regnal year of Varaguṇa I and the reigns of Varaguṇa and his

[1] See *E.I.*, vol. viii, pp. 318 and 320.

[2] It is rather strange that Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao (writing sometime in 1910–13) should ascribe this Ānamalai record to Kōccḍayan Raṇadhīra (No. 5 in our list), the grandson of Jayantavarman; this is simply impossible because the Māṛangāri of the Ānamalai temple appears as the *āṇapti* of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant in the fifth generation after Jayantavarman (Śēndan). After this start, he finds himself compelled (1) to ignore the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant in the learned discussion of the history of Māṛanjaḍayan which follows, (2) to oppose on palæographical considerations Mr. Venkayya's suggestion that the Trivandrum Museum inscription which he edits must be ascribed to Varaguṇa Mahārāja, and (3) to enter upon an imaginary reconstruction of the Pāndyas before Jayantavarman to arrive at the date of Gnānasambandar and his contemporary Neḍumāṛan in the middle of the seventh century A.D. (See *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i, pp. 153–7). But the only proper solution seems to be to identify Varaguṇa, Māṛanjaḍayan and Parāntaka—a course which fits in with palæography and the place of Māṛangāri in the king's reign as indicated by the Ānamalai and Vēḷvikkuḍi records.

[3] K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 103.

successor Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha may have been exceptionally long yielding an average of forty-six years or a little more for each of the reigns. If a precedent is needed in support of this position, we may turn to Prof. Dubreuil who allows 113 years between the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Nandi of Tellāṟu separated by only one reign, viz. that of Dantivarman.[1] There is thus no serious chronological absurdity involved in the assumptions we have made regarding the identity of the kings in these records. It may be accepted that Rājasimha II (No. 11) the last king in our genealogical table was the Rājasimha Pāndya who was defeated by Parāntaka I Chola early in the tenth century A.D.[2] as this fits in well with the chronology of the age as derived from the Aivarmalai record. If we calculate backward from the Ānamalai record allowing, say, twenty-five years on the average for each generation we arrive at some date at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. for the accession of Kaḍungōn from whom our genealogy begins. Even the end of the sixth century may be accepted as possible. We thus see that the epigraphs we have been discussing at such length relate to the history of the three centuries from the beginning of the seventh century A.D. to the beginning of the tenth and this period we might call the Age of the First Empire. The period begins with a restoration and witnesses a rather wide extension of Pāndya power at the expense of the Pallavas who apparently had succeeded in dispossessing the Cholas of their ancestral dominions even before the Pāndya expansion began. It is marked by repeated contests between the Pāndyas and the Pallavas which is carried on right through these

[1] Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 66. See also T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i, p. 19, n. 5.

[2] See *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 383, *verses* 9–11 and vol. iii, p. 386.

centuries with varying fortunes. It ends with the revival of Chola power under Vijayālaya and his successors and may be said to close with the attack delivered at the heart of the Pāndyan Empire by Parāntaka I, the grandson of Vijayālaya, who began his rule early in the tenth century A.D. It now remains for us to narrate in some detail the story of the age as we are able to reconstruct it, and then bring together such particulars about the social and political life of the period as we can gather from the contemporary records of the age. We shall attempt to do this presently, but, before doing so, we must give some consideration to the vexed question of the Kaḷabhra occupation of the Pāndyan country.

The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant only says (ll. 39–40), 'Then a Kali king named Kaḷabhran took possession of the extensive earth driving away numberless great kings (*adhirājas*)' and tells us no more about it, although it refers to the Kaḷabhras in the plural and their brave ocean-like army (l. 111).[1] Mr. Krishna Sastri is inclined to accept the suggestion that Kali was the name of a dynasty of kings, Kalikula;[2] but nothing is known of such a dynasty yet and the mention of the Kaḷabhras in the plural in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant itself and elsewhere seems to point to a military tribe rather than a dynasty of rulers. We can only say that the Kaḷabhras overran the Pāndya country sometime after Mudukuḍumi's time; how long after we cannot say. 'How the Pāndyas were overcome by the Kaḷabhras, how long the sovereignty of the latter lasted and how they were driven back are points on

[1] The translation of ll. 39 and 40 is Mr. Krishna Sastri's. He seems slightly to misunderstand the word களக்கிற்செல்ல in l. 111.

[2] *E.I.*, vol. xvii, p. 306, n. 2; *contra*, Hultzsch, *E.I.*, vol. xviii, p. 260 who translates Kalikula into the people of the Kali age.

which no information is at present forthcoming' (Venkayya). It may however be noted that the Pallava king Simhaviṣṇu who stands at the beginning of an important line of Pallava rulers, just as Kaḍungōn does in the case of the Pāndyas, and whose accession has been placed at *c.* A.D. 575 by Dubreuil, also claims to have conquered the Kaḷabhras; and the date we have arrived at for Kaḍungōn is the beginning of the seventh century A.D. or even the end of the sixth century. This raises the presumption that the Kaḷabhra occupation was a danger which threatened the independence of both the Pāndya and the Pallava dynasties and that these powers, either independently or in co-operation with each other, managed to throw off this incubus before they started on their long careers of expansion and success which so often brought them into collision with each other and lasted for close upon three centuries until the newly risen power of the Cholas of the Vijayālaya line gave them a check at the close of the nineth and beginning of the tenth centuries.[1]

[1] Mr. Venkayya made an attempt to clear up the story of the Kaḷabhra occupation from Mūrti Nāyanār Purāṇam in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the *Tiruvilaiyāḍal* (*A.R.E.*, 1908, p. 53). But there is nothing in the *Purāṇa* except the mention of a Karnāṭaka king of Jaina persuasion ruling in Madura which can connect it with this age. (See K. G. Sankara, *Q.J.M.S.*, vol. x, p. 178). Mūrti, not Kaḍungōn, succeeds the childless foreign ruler in the *Purāṇa*. Judging by results, Venkayya committed a more serious mistake in suggesting the identity of Kaḷabhra with the Erumaiyūran, one of the opponents of the Pāndyan king in the battle of Talaiyālangāṇam, and saying, 'it may be that Neḍunjeḻiyan drove out from the Pāndya country the Kaḷabhras' (*A.R.E.*, 1908, p. 53). This has led others to identify Neḍunjeḻiyan with Jayantavarman, as we have seen before. Mr. T. N. Subramanian (*Q.J.M.S.*, vol. xii, pp. 304–6) makes a number of statements which are not easy to support from the evidence at our disposal. He says 'From the analogy (in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant) it appears that the Pāndya line was unknown to the world while the Kaḷabhras ruled there. Thus the evidence of the *Periyapurāṇam* that there was no Pāndya prince (!) left to succeed when a Kaḷabhra king died might

be justified.' ' Koccaḍyan's victory was also over the Kaḷabhras.' ' The Kaḷabhras are Kamasas.' He thinks also that the downfall of the Kaḷabhras was due to Simhaviṣṇu and not to Kaḍungōn and says ' Perhaps before he had succeeded in settling the land, the Pāndyan prince Kaḍungōn came out from the dark and occupied his ancestral land.' Mr. K. G. Sankara ingeniously suggests (*I. A.*, vol. li, p. 213) that the expression *Aḷavariya Adhirājarai* in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant means ' countless Pāndyas through their last representative ' : but it seems simpler to make it refer to other rulers besides the Pāndyas, and understand the phrase *Aḷavariya* as containing a rather natural exaggeration of the number of dynasties displaced.

It is not easy to follow what Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao says in a footnote (n. 1 at p. 49 of *E. I.* xv) to his edition of the Anbil plates of Sundara Chola. At any rate, it may be pointed out that the transition from Kaḷvara (which is a form assumed by Mr. Rao for the word Kaḷvar) to Kaḷabhra seems impossible ; (the analogy Vaḷavan—Valabha is not equal) and that Śuvaṛan Māṛan could not have been at ouce a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Kaḷabhra king of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant if we follow the chronology of the Pallavas that has been established by modern research. At the same time it must be observed that Dr. S. K. Aiyangar derives Kaḷabhra from Kaḷavara through Kanarese Kaḷabharu and holds that the southern invasion of the Kaḷabhras was due to the expansion of Sātavāhana power. (His Univ. Lectures on the Śangam Age and Pāndya Charters ; also R. Gopalan, *The Pallavas of Kanchi*, n. at p. 85.)

Yet another, and a very plausible, suggestion is made by Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangār, in his forthcoming work on *Epigraphy and Tamil Literature*. He brings together much recondite evidence from classica Tamil Literature and seeks to establish : (1) that the Kaḷabhra king who displaced the ancient rulers of the Tamil land was Acyuta who perhaps ruled from Chidambaram and was probably identical with the Acyuta referred to by Buddhadatta ; (2) that the expression *Kaliaraśan* of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant applied to the Kaḷabhra King taken along with the story of Kūṛṛuva Nāyanār as given by Śekkiḻār may lead one further to identify the Kaḷabhra King with Kūṛṛuva Nāyanār mentioned by Sundaramūrti in his Tiruttoṇḍattogai ; and (3) that the Kaḷabhras figure in Tamil literature as Kaḷappar or Kaḷappāḷar and were akin to the Veḷḷāḷas. It seems very likely that further study on the lines indicated by the learned Pandit will yield results of great value for the history of the period before the accession of Kaḍungōn.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST EMPIRE

WE have little information about the first two kings after the restoration, Kaḍungōn and his son Māṛavarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi, whose reigns may be taken to have occupied the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A.D. All that we know of them comes from the Tamil portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and that is not much. The nearest approach to specific historical statements about Kaḍungōn is in the expressions *தரணி மங்கையைப் பிரர்பால் உரிமைத் திரவிதின் நீக்கித் தன்பா ஆரிமை நன்கன மமைத்த* (ll. 43–44) which go to show that Kaḍungōn must have had an active share in putting an end to the Kaḷabhra interregnum and bringing about the restoration of his own dynasty, as he is said to have abolished by his strength the claim of others to the earth and established his own claim on a firm basis (*நன்கனம்*). We hear even less about the reign of Kaḍungōn's son, Māṛavarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi, who appears from the general expressions employed about him to have continued the work begun by his father and maintained his power at least as he inherited it though he did not perhaps add much to it.

The rule of Śēndan or Jayantavarman who succeeded his father Māṛavarman may be taken to have extended over, say, A.D. 645–70. He is praised for his prowess in war and for the justice of his rule. He also bears the name Vānavan which seems to indicate that he won some successes against his Chera contemporary. When we come to Jayantavarman's successor, who was most probably his son, our records become more helpful and mention specific incidents which can also be traced in the literary

sources relating to the age. This king is called Arikēsari Māṛavarman in the Vēḷvikkuḍi and smaller Śinnamanūr plates and Arikēsari Parānkuśa in the larger Śinnamanūr grant. By the system of chronology we have adopted, this king must have come to the throne some time after the middle of the seventh century (670–710) A.D. In this reign began the great contest with the Pallavas who were rising to power, contemporaneously with the Pāndyas, in the northern part of the Tamil land. The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant says of him that he won a victory at Pāḷi, that he conquered the vast forces of Vilvēli in the battle of Nelvēli, and this statement is confirmed by the larger Sinnamanūr plates which say of him 'வில்லவரும் நெல்வேலி உம்மிரி பொழிற்சங்கரமங் கைப் பல்லவரும் பிங்கண்ட பராங்குசன்.' It is not now easy to identify these battlefields and no attempt can therefore be made to trace in any detail the campaigns so briefly recorded in the plates. It is extremely difficult to accept the suggestion that Nelvēli stands for the modern town of Tirunelvēli.[1] There are other achievements

[1] Mr. Venkayya (*A.R.E.*, 1907, Part ii, para 20) arrived at the middle of the eighth century as the date for Arikēsari Parānkuśa and identified the campaigns of this king with those of Udayacandra, the Pallava general referred to in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman. (*S.I.I.*, vol. ii, pp. 361 ff.). The occurrence of the names Nelvēli and Śankaragrāma among the battles won by Udayacandra may seem to lend some support to this view. But apart from the objections we have urged against the whole system of Mr. Venkayya's identifications, we may draw attention here to the following points which seem to render it impossible to follow him. (1) He allows only twenty years for each generation, an extremely short allowance to make in calculating by averages the chronology of an uncharted age. (2) In the revised genealogy he gives at p. 54 of *A. R. E.* 1907-08, he separates the battles of Nelvēli and Śankaramangai and ascribes the former to the son of Śendan and the latter to his (son's) grandson--a course which is difficult to justify in the face of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant ascribing Nelvēli to the former definitely, and the Śinnamanūr plates coupling Nelvēli with Śankaramangai and ascribing them to an Arikēsari Parānkuśa whose identity remains to be made out. We could understand Mr. Venkayya if he had at least repeated a second battle of Nelvēli among the later (his)

attributed to this king. He ruined the Paravas who did not submit to him and destroyed the people of the fertile Kuṛunāḍu (குறுநாடு). He won a great battle at Śennilam and defeated on several occasions the Kēraḷa king and captured him alive with his near relations and his forces, and lastly he performed several times the *hiraṇyagarbha* and the *tulābhāra*. All these statements leave on us the

Arikēsari's achievements. (3) Among the achievements of the grandson of the present king, the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant refers to a success against Pallavamalla and a fight at Maṇṇaikkuḍi in which the Pāndyan forces were victorious; there is also a battle of Maṇṇaikkuḍi mentioned among the campaigns of Udayacandra in which he is said to have beaten the Pāndyan forces (*S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 368, l. 60). This makes it probable that Udayacandra was the contemporary of that king rather than of the present one. (4) The Madras Museum plates ascribe to the father of Jaṭilavarman, who was a Māṛavarman, the surname Pallavabhanjana. It is now generally accepted, *pace* Mr. Venkayya, that the Madras Museum plates and the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant belong to the same reign. Now the name Pallavabhanjana assumed by the Pāndyan king in an age of constant warfare between the Pāndyas and the Pallavas may well be taken to indicate some signal successes on the part of the ruler who assumed the name. And, from the Udayēndiram plates referred to above, we know that Udayacandra went to the aid of his master when he was hard pressed by the Tamil kings so much so that he is said to have bestowed the whole kingdom 'many times' on his Pallava master (*S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 372). This again renders it very probable that Udayacandra was the contemporary of Jaṭilavarman's father and not of an earlier king. It must however be noted that there is one, and only one objection, that seems to suggest itself against the course I have adopted in the text and that is that we get two battles of Śankaramangai (*grāma*) by my arrangement, one in the reign of Arikēsari Parānkuśa and another in that of his grandson, Pallavabhanjana. But I may point out (*a*) that in the other arrangement Nelvēli repeats itself, so that this objection is common to both arrangements and (*b*) that this objection is no objection at all inasmuch as it is only to be expected that, in an age of constant warfare between two neighbouring powers, repeated skirmishes occur in the same places more than once. At any rate I feel no difficulty in distinguishing the battles of Nelvēli and Śankaramangai of the Śinnamanūr and Vēḷvikkuḍi plates in which the Pāndyan king claims victory from the successes won later in the same spots by Udayacandra on behalf of his master. There seems, however, to be no need for postulating two battles of Maṇṇaikkuḍi in the reign of Pallavabhanjana as the Udayēndiram plates do not seem to contradict the claim of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant on this point. I may add that the considerations brought forward by Dr. Hultzsch (*S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 364) for identifying Nelvēl with Tinnevelly do not seem to be conclusive

impression of a great expansion of power brought about by this king. The Paravas were no doubt the people on the south-east coast of the Pāndyan country who still continue to bear the same name. The Kuṟunāḍu which was apparently annexed after a conquest is not so easy to identify. And the campaigns against the Kēraḷa king are narrated in a rather confused passage, and the text seems to be open to several alternative readings, none of which seems to render it possible to give a connected account of the campaign or campaigns referred to. And it is not clear against whom the fight at Śennilam was undertaken or where we have to look for Śennilam.[1] But amidst all this uncertainty, one large fact stands out clearly. It is evidently under this king that the Pāndyan power comes into collision, apparently for the first time in this period, with its neighbours the Pallavas on the north and the Kēraḷas on the west; and as important successes seem to have been won, we may take it that the Pāndyan kingdom extended its territorial limits in both these directions beyond its traditional boundaries. And this expansion of Pāndyan rule into foreign territory, that is, into territory lying outside the traditional limits of the Pāndyan country, remains a permanent factor in the history of the rest of this period, and leads us to describe it as the Age of the First Empire.

There is good reason for identifying this Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Māṟavarman with the celebrated Kūṉ Pāndya of legend, and the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnānasambandar. This saint is known to have been the contemporary of another saint Śiṟuttoṇḍar and

[1] It may be suggested that Śennilam is not a proper name but that the word only means a battlefield and may refer to any or all the battles won by the king. But the text of the inscription (l. 56, Vēḷvikkuḍi) and the references to Śennilam in the commentary to the *Agapporuḷ* leave quite a different impression on the mind.

to have converted to Śaivism the Pāndyan king who was thence regarded as a saint himself. This king is called Niṉṟaśīrneḍumāṟan; and Sundaramūrti in his catalogue of Śaiva saints ascribes to him the battle of Nelvēli. The age of Śiṟuttoṇḍar was the time of the destruction of Vātāpi, the Chāḷukya capital, A.D. 642. These indications derived from the stories handed down in the *Periyapurāṇam* seem to confirm the system of chronology we have adopted for the Pāndyas of this period.[1] It may be noted in passing that there is nothing improbable in the story that the Pāndyan queen of this period was a Chola princess. The Cholas are not prominently mentioned anywhere in the records of this age, but they appear to have continued in obscurity somewhere in their original territory on the banks of the Kāvēri and it is likely they sought or were forced into matrimonial connections with the rising house of the Pāndyas.[2] Finally, we may say that there seems to be no ground for accepting the identification of this king with the hero celebrated in the stanzas of the commentary to the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*.

[1] Sundaramūrti's *Tiruttoṇḍattogai*, st. 8, ll. 3–4; and *Periyapurāṇam* lives of the saints mentioned; Venkayya in *E.I.*, vol. iii, pp. 277–8 and Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 67–8. Śiṟuttoṇḍar was older and Māṟavarman Pāndya perhaps younger than Gnānasambanda.

[2] See *verse* 603 in the life of Gnānasambanda in the *Periyapurāṇam* and note that the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin (*verse* 30 quoted by Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 37) connects the Cholas with Kāvēri even in this age. Mr. Venkayya says also: 'With the powerful Pallavas on the north and the strong Pāndyas in the south, the Cholas, who were hemmed in between the two, had evidently to be satisfied with a comparatively insignificant position. . . . . The Chola capital was probably Uṟaiyūr during all this period and the tract of country subject to them must have been very small. The intermarriages with the dominant Pāndyas make it likely that the Cholas occasionally made common cause with them against the Pallavas who must have been looked upon as intruders.' (*A.S.I.*, 1905–6, p. 178.) There is thus no reason to accept the conclusion sometimes drawn from Yuan Chwang's itinerary that the Cholas were confined in this period to Cuddapah and Kurnool. *Contra*, K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 112–3.

These stanzas indeed mention the battles of Pāḷi, Śennilam and Nelvēli and call the king by the titles, among others, of Arikēsari, Parānkuśan and Neḍumāṟan. But there are several other battles mentioned, e.g., Viḷiñam of which we do not hear in epigraphy till late in the eighth century and this renders the proposed identification impossible to sustain.[1]

The son of Arikēsari Parānkuśan was Kōccaḍayan also called Raṇadhīra. He must have succeeded his father at the end of the seventh century A.D. or early in the eighth. This king appears to have been a great warrior who often waged aggressive war against his neighbours. He is given the titles Vānavan, Śembiyan, Śoḷan which seem to imply some claim to supremacy over his Chera and the Chola contemporaries. He is also called Madurakarunāṭakan and Kongarkōmān and these titles do not seem to have been empty boasts but the index of substantial military achievements which appear to have had a wide range; for he is said to have attacked and subdued the *Mahārathas* in the great city of Mangalāpuram which seems to have been no other than the modern Mangalore.[2] It must, however, be noted that the

[1] See Krishna Sastri criticizing Venkayya in *E.I.*, vol. xvii, pp. 296-7. The view we take of this commentary has already been indicated. It seems to be utterly useless to the historian. The date of its composition must be later than the latest event mentioned in the illustrative stanzas, and the mention of Viḷiñam will thus take it to the close of the eighth or early ninth century A.D. And it is quite possible that a rhetorical work like this took for its hero a saintly king of legendary fame, and attributed to him all the achievements of the Pāndyan line of kings that the author could think of in his day.

[2] Dubreuil who did not have the text of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant before him quotes Mr. Venkayya's summary of this part of the grant and asks in astonishment, 'This victory at Marudūr, this ocean of enemies, this *Maharatha*, what are all these ?' (*The Pallavas*, p. 68.) The suggestion he makes in the next paragraph on the same page that Kōccaḍayan must have fought against Chāḷukya Vikramāditya I when the latter was encamped near Trichinopoly is hard to accept in the face of the definite statement in

results of this raid on the west coast do not appear to have been permanent as portions of the Kongu country are said to have been conquered afresh by his son. Another campaign which is definitely mentioned in the grant before the fight in Mangalāpuram was directed against the Āy king, who was evidently a mountain chief belonging to an ancient line of chiefs who held sway in the neighbourhood of the Western Ghats in the Tinnevelly District.[1] The encounter between the forces of this Āy king and those of Raṇadhīra took place in Marudūr which may be Tiruppuḍaimarudūr near Ambāsamudram and in this battle the Āy chief was worsted and apparently had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pāndya sovereign.[2] It is rather strange that this warlike king is not even mentioned by name in the Tamil portion of the larger Śinnamanūr plates. In the smaller set of plates from the same village we have the victory of Marudūr mentioned, but the portion containing the name of the king has not been recovered.

The son and successor of Kōccḍayan Raṇadhīra was Māṛavarman Rājasimha I who has been strangely miscalled Tēr-Māṛan by the epigraphists. The Śinnamanūr plates (larger) only mention him and all that we know of him is derived from the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. He seems to have been a worthy successor of his father and won important successes against the Pallavas and in the Kongu country. The Madras Museum plates call him Pallavabhanjana and the Sanskrit portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant says that he defeated Pallavamalla who fled from the field

the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant that the Pāndyan king attacked the *Mahārathas* in the great city of Mangalāpuram.

[1] Mr. Krishna Sastri reads Āyavēḷ ; but see Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i, p. 3 on the Āy kings.

[2] I am inclined to accept Mr. Krishna Sastri's suggestion that Śengoḍi and Puḍānkoṭṭu are not names of other battles but signify the regalia of the Āy king, though the text here does not seem to be very clear. (See *E. I.*, vol. xvii, p. 307, notes 2 and 3.)

of battle. In a highly ornate passage the Tamil portion of the same grant ascribes to him a series of victories at Neḍuvayal, Kuṟumaḍai, Maṇṇikuricci, Tirumangai, Pūvaḷūr, Koḍumbāḷūr and another place (whose name is not legible) and then says that the Pallava king was deprived of his splendour at Kuḻumbūr where the Pāndya captured numberless elephants and horses from his enemy's forces. There seems to be little room for doubt that here we get the Pāndyan version of the campaigns which led to the siege of Nandivarman Pallavamalla in Nandigrāma by the Tamil princes which was raised by the victorious general of the Pallava King, Udayacandra by name, who won several successes against his foes as narrated in the Udayēndiram plates of Pallavamalla. Dubreuil has suggested that the Pāndya king espoused the cause of a son of Paramēśvaravarman II who was kept out of his throne by the usurper Nandivarman Pallavamalla and that this Pāndyan interference in Pallava disputes may be traced to a marriage connection which Kōccaḍayan contracted with a Pallava princess.[1] However that may be, there seems to be little reason to doubt that Māṟavarman Rājasimha Pāndya I was the contemporary and opponent of Pallavamalla. Now, turning to his campaigns elsewhere, we find that he defeated his foes at a place called Periyalūr and crossed the Kāvēri to bring about the subjugation of Maḻakongam which has been located on the borderland of the modern Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts.[2] The Maḻava king who was reduced to

[1] Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 68–9. M. Dubreuil seems to assume that Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa's son was a Parāntaka ; but he was only a Jaṭila according to the Sanskrit part of the larger Śinnamanūr plates. It may also be noted that Nelvēli seems to have been fought by the Pallava king against a Śabara king Udayana ; and only at Maṇṇaikkuḍi is Udayacandra said definitely to have faced the Pāndyan forces.

[2] See K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 129.

subjection gave his daughter in marriage to the Pāndyan king. From the Maḷava country Rājasimha proceeded to Pāṇḍikkoḍumuḍi where he 'worshipped the lotus feet of Paśupati and gave away with great pleasure heaps of gold and lustrous gems'. This perhaps means that the conquests of the Pāndyan king extended up to Koḍumuḍi. We also learn that he contracted relationship with the Ganga king. The details of this transaction are given later on in the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates in narrating the achievements of Māraṅgāri, the *āṇapti* of the grant. We learn that this Māṛangāri was aided by Pūrvarājar (eastern kings) in a big fight at Veṇbai in which the powerful Vallabha king was beaten when the Ganga princess was secured and offered in marriage to the Pāndyan prince who is referred to as Kongarkōn and who may have been the son of Rājasimha by the Maḷava princess. It is not easy to explain satisfactorily the political transactions referred to in this account. Mr. Krishna Sastri has observed, 'The information that a Ganga princess was married with the Pāndya family is not mentioned in any of the Ganga records of this period which falls into the reign of Śivamāra I (A.D. 755–65). The Vallabha or the Western Chāḷukya king who was defeated on this marriage occasion was probably Kīrttivarman II, who succeeded to the Chāḷukya throne in A.D. 746 or 747, and whose army is stated in his records to have defeated the army of the Kēraḷas, the Cholas and the Pāndyas.'[1] It is clear that much still remains

[1] *E.I.*, vol. xvii, pp. 295–6; *contra* K. G. Sankara, *Q. J. M. S.*, vol. x, p. 180, who treats the Māḷava princess as identical with the Ganga princess, i.e. holds मलवेन्द्रकन्या of l. 24 = மலவராசர்கு மகளிய ராதேவர் (l. 127). Dr. S. K. Aiyangar seems to identify Pūrvarājar with the Pallavas and treat Veṇbai as a decisive incident in the long duel between them and the Chāḷukyas. (Introduction to *The Pallavas of Kāñchi*, by R. Gopalan.)

to be explained before we can make a clear story out of these references to the *sambandam* with the Gangarāja.

This king Rājasimha is also said to have performed many *Gōsahasras*, *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and *Tulābhāras* and to have relieved the distress of Brahmins learned in the Vedas. He is also reported, lastly, to have renewed Kūḍal, Vanji and Kōḻi. If this is a reference to the three capitals of the Pāndyas, the Cheras and the Cholas, the power of Rājasimha must have been very great indeed.[1] His rule may be taken to have extended from about A.D. 740 to about, say, five years before A.D. 770 which was definitely in the reign of his successor, and corresponded to some regnal year later than the third in his reign.[2]

This successor was the son of Rājasimha by the Maḷava queen and the donor of the Vēḷvikkuḍi and the Madras Museum plates. These records together with the Ānamalai and Trichinopoly inscriptions give him the names Jaṭila, Parāntaka, and Varaguṇa-Mahārāja besides Māṛanjaḍayan and Neḍunjaḍayan. It is possible

[1] This is how Mr. Krishna Sastri understands the text. He thinks that this Vanji was surely Karūr, though he wisely concedes that an older capital of the Cheras may have been another Vanji. But the text is not without difficulty. It runs '*கடல்வஞ்சிகோழி என்று மா—மாமதில் புதுக்கியும்*'. Mr. K. G. Sankara translates this into ' renewed the walls named (*ennum*) Kūḍal, Vanji and Kōḻi ' and remarks : ' All the walls might have been in Madura and only named after the other capitals in memory of a previous conquest of the Cholas and Cheras ' (*I. A.*, li, p. 214). This explanation would be excellent, if Kūḍal were not there in the same rank with Vanji and Kōḻi. On the other hand Mr. Krishna Sastri's translation is ' renewed the palaces and the high ramparts (of the capital towns) named Kūḍal, Vanji and Kōḻi ' and as he points out, we must understand after ' *ennum* ' some word like ' *nagarangaḷin* '. An alternative suggestion of Mr. Sastri is to take *māḍamāmadil* to mean a capital city (*E.I.*, vol. xvii, p. 307).

[2] Māṛangāri who is the *āṇatti* of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant of third year becomes *uttaramantri*, excavates the Ānamalai temple in A.D. 770 and apparently dies soon after—hence it seems necessary to make A.D. 770 some year later than the third in which Māṛangāri would appear not to have been *uttaramantri*.

to give an unusually complete account of this king's reign. His inscriptions range from the third regnal year (Vēḷvikkuḍi) to the forty-third (at Ērvāḍi, 605 of 1915) and it may well be that he reigned for nearly fifty years, say A.D. 765–815. Very early in his reign he won a victory against the Pallava who was either Nandivarman Pallavamalla or some representative of his, at Peṇṇāgaḍam, on the south bank of the Kāvēri. This place would appear to have been somewhere near Tanjore.[1] He also suppressed with a firm hand a local rising of Nāṭṭukkuṟumbu headed by Āy Vēḷ.[2] In the third year of his reign, Māṟangāri of the Vaidyakula of Karavandapura (Kaḷakkād in the Tinnevelly district) must have held an important place under the king, if he was not already *uttaramantri* (chief minister), as he figures as the *āj̃napti* in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. We have seen that he had a part in bringing about the marriage alliance of the ruling family with a Ganga princess in the previous reign. This same Māṟangāri *alias* Madhurakavi built a stone temple for Viṣṇu (*Śilāgṛham*, *Kaṟṟaḷi*) in the Ānamalai hill, six miles to the east of Madura and made a gift of a rich *agrahāra* in the neighbourhood to the Brahmins evidently on the occasion of the setting up of the image of Narasimha in the temple. This was in A.D. 770 and Madhurakavi seems to have died soon after. His brother Māṟan Eyinan who also became *uttaramantri* perhaps succeeding to the position held by

[1] K. V. S. Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 133 points out that inscription No. 314 of 1907 locates the village in Tānjavūr Kūṟṟam. Inscription No. 51 of 1895 of the fourth year of Māṟanjaḍayan at Tillaisthānam near Tiruvaiyār may be taken to confirm this. But see *A.R.E.*, 1906-7, p. 53, para 21.

[2] The Vēḷs seems to have been local chieftains somewhat resembling the feudal barons of mediæval Europe. The Tamil Śangam dictionary under *Vēḷir* quotes the *Abhidānacintāmaṇi* and calls them குறும்பு மன்னர். Nāṭṭukkuṟumbu may be Kuṟumbanāḍ as suggested by Mr. H. K. Sastri.

Madhurakavi made further additions to the temple of Viṣṇu and thus finished the work his brother had left incomplete.[1] Besides these two brothers, other members of the same family appear to have been occupying high positions in the government under Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan. Dhīrataran Mūrti Eyinan, who is probably mentioned also in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant as a subdonee, was perhaps another brother of Madhurakavi and was *mahāsāmanta* in the seventeenth year of the king when the grant recorded in the Museum plates was made; his family is referred to as 'வாத்தியகேய சங்கீதங்களால் மலிவெய்திய வங்களந்தை வைத்தியகுலம்.' Another member of the same family was Śāttan Gaṇavadi who was also *mahāsāmanta* earlier than Mūrti Eyinan in the sixth year of the king's rule.[2] The Vaidyakula of the fortress city of Karavandapura (was Vangaḷandai another name for the same city?) thus occupied a prominent place among the king's officers; but it cannot be taken as established that the Madhurakavi of this family was thē same as the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvār, in spite of the similarity in name and religious faith between the two.[3]

To return to the military transactions of the reign; before the seventeenth year of his reign this king appears to have extended his conquests considerably to the north

[1] See *E.I.*, vol. viii, pp. 317 ff and *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol i, p. 157 and *n*. 23. Mr. Gopinatha Rao has observed (*n*. 21), 'It is curious to note that a shrine for Narasimha, the Brahman lion-god, was excavated in the Anamalai hill (the Jaina Elephant hill). Perhaps it was intended to symbolize that the lion of Brahminism put down the elephant Jainism.' For the orthodox legend about this hill and temple see chapter I (*ante*).

[2] Madras Museum plates and Tirupparangunram inscription (37 of 1908) in the *I.A.*, vol. xxii, pp. 67 and 71.

[3] See Venkayya in *A.R.E.*, 1907-8 where the identity is proposed and *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. iv, p. 339 and vol. vi, pp. 493-6 for a criticism by Mr. Gopinatha Rao; also K. G. Sankara, *Q.J.M.S.*, vol. x, p. 185. Also Mr. Gopinatha Rao's *Sri Vaiṣṇavas*, pp. 18-20 for a retraction of the *Śen Tamiḻ* article.

and it would appear that much of the fighting was undertaken against the same old foes as had opposed his father in his northern wars. There is some reason to believe, however, that the victory of Neḍunjaḍayan was at many points more complete than that of his father and that his campaigns had, speaking relatively, somewhat more permanent results. He fought at Veḷḷūr, Viṇṇam and Śeḷiyakkuḍi against foes about whose identity nothing is known. He put to flight Adigan of the bright lance in the two battles of Āyiravēli Ayirūr and Pugaḷiyūr on the north banks of the Kāvēri and captured his chariot together with several of his war horses. In his war against the Pāndya king, Adigan was aided by the Pallava and the Kēraḷa whose forces advanced from the east and the west and were repulsed with great loss by the opposing Pāndyan forces. Evidently as a result of these campaigns, the king of Western Kongu was captured with his elephants and sent into confinement within the walls of the Pāndyan capital Madura and the whole of the Kongu country came under Pāndyan rule. It is well known that a family of chieftains named Adigans or Adigamāns ruled from Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri)[1] in the Kongu country. We may take it that the Adigan who was repulsed at Ayirūr and Pugaḷiyūr was a feudatory of the Western Kongu chief who fought against the Pāndya on behalf of his master and the appearance of the Kēraḷa and Pallava forces in the campaigns may be explained as the result of a combined effort of the other three chief powers of the Tamil land to set some limit to the growing aggression of the Pāndyas.[2] The coalition

[1] See *E.I.*, vol. vi, p. 331; also *A.R.E.*, 1906, part ii, para 34.

[2] Mr. Venkayya (*I.A.*, vol. xxii, p. 66) is inclined to identify Adigan with the Western Kongu king captured and imprisoned at Madura. But lines 25-34 of the Museum plates when carefully analysed seem to support

apparently failed and as a result there was a considerable extension of the territories under Pāndyan rule. This extension seems to have been sufficiently permanent to allow the king to undertake the construction of a temple of considerable size (குன்ற மன்னதோர் கோயில்) to Viṣṇu in a place called Kāñjivāyppērūr which seems to have been in the Kongu country.[1] Perhaps the inscriptions at Trichinopoly (414 of 1904) and Ambāsamudram (105 of 1905), dated in the eleventh and the sixteenth years of the king may be taken as records connected with the wars we have just described. The Trichinopoly inscription refers to the destruction of Vēmbil and the king's encampment at Niyamam in the eleventh year. The Ambāsamudram record contains a gift made five years later from the king's camp at Araśūr on the banks of the Peṇṇai in the Toṇḍainād. It may be mentioned, by the way, that though this king is called '*paramavaiṣṇavan*' in the Museum plates and builds a temple to Viṣṇu in Kāñjivāyppērūr, he does appear to have been quite ready to encourage Śaivite temples and endow them richly.[2] The Trichinopoly

better the reconstruction suggested in the text. *Re.* Tagaḍūr, see *A.R.E.*, 1901, p. 5.

[1] Mr. Venkayya was naturally in great difficulty in 1893 when he tried to identify the places mentioned in the Madras Museum plates. But he spent great ingenuity over the names Kankabhūmi and Kāñjivāyppērūr and tried to connect them with Tirukkaḷukkuṇram and Kāñchīpuram. (*I.A.*, xxii, pp. 66–7.) All this was of course wrong. Kankabhūmi in the context only stands for some distant land up to which the fame of the Pāndyan king reached and has nothing to do with 'Kites' or the Gangas. See e.g., under 'Kanka' in Fleet's Topographical List, *I.A.*, xxii, p. 180. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has drawn attention to the mention of 'கொங்கிற் காஞ்சிவாய்ப் பேரூர்' in the *Periyapurāṇam*, *v.* 88 in *Eyarkōn-kalik-kāmanāyanār Purāṇam*. I am, however, unable to trace the presence of even the ruins of a Viṣṇu temple in this place, if it is identical with Pērur in the Coimbatore district.

[2] Cf. Venkayya (*I.A.*, xxii, pp. 64–5), who makes a similar inference from the salutation to Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva in order in the Madras Museum plates.

and Ambāsamudram inscriptions just referred to may be quoted in evidence of this; a record of the thirteenth year of the king (155 of 1903) found at Tiruccendūr mentions a considerable endowment from the proceeds of which the cost of regular worship in the temple of Kumāra all the year round was to be met. Yet another inscription of the thirty-ninth year (104 of 1905) records the gift of three lamps to the god Tiruppōttuḍaiya Bhaṭārar of Ambāsamudram.

The Museum plates also mention that Neḍunjaḍayan conquered the king of Veṇād (South Travancore) and captured large numbers of his elephants and horses along with his treasures and his country. In the campaign that led to this annexation, the strongly fortified port of Viḻiñam was attacked and destroyed by the Pāndyan forces. Viḻiñam seems to have been a great and flourishing emporium which often roused the cupidity of the foreign invaders of Travancore; it would appear to have recovered rapidly after each disaster that befell it, for we find it still forming the subject of attack by the Chola emperors three centuries after the days of Neḍunjaḍayan. The first conquest of Veṇād thus referred to in the Museum plates must have taken place before the seventeenth year of the king's rule. It was soon after this conquest that the king undertook the task of strongly fortifying Karavandapuram (which has been identified with the village of Kaḷakkād in the Tinnevelly district) perhaps because it was on the frontier of the newly conquered country. At any rate Veṇād does not seem to have accepted this conquest as final, and we have evidence in the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription (277 of 1895) that the king was still fighting in the neighbourhood of Viḻiñam more than ten years after his first invasion. It may also be noted that another

inscription found at Kaḷugumalai (43 of 1908) records an expedition in the twenty-third year of the king's rule in which he went against Śaḍayan Karunandan of the Malaināḍu and destroyed Ariviyūrkkōṭṭai which evidently belonged to this mountain chief on the present Travancore frontier.[1] This Karunandan appears to have been a member of an ancient family of Āy chieftains associated with the Podiya mountain and perhaps friendly to the kings of Veṇāḍ in the period of their struggle against the Pāndya expansion.

No records of any fight undertaken by the king after the twenty-seventh year have come down to us. But there seems to be no reason to doubt that he reigned for nearly fifty years; though it is not easy to decide such questions beyond the reach of doubt, we may ascribe to this king the inscriptions (863 of 1917 and 605 of 1915) of the forty-second and forty-third years of Māṛanjaḍayan found respectively at Kaḷugumalai and Ērvāḍi. There is reason to believe that this king was among the most powerful of the rulers of the Pāndya dynasty in this age, and it was perhaps under him that the territories under the rule of the Pāndyas attained a great and permanent extension by his successes in the Kongu country and in the Vēṇāḍ. The sway of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan extended far beyond Trichinopoly into the Tanjore, Salem and Coimbatore districts, and all that lay south was also under him.

One very interesting question, which is as elusive as it is interesting, that is connected with the name of

[1] See T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i, pp. 3-5. His arrangement of the Pāndyas of course differs from that followed here. But there seems to be little difficulty in the way of ascribing the Kaḷugumalai record to our king. Mr. V. Rangachari seems to have misunderstood No. 43 of 1908 (see p. 1465, entry No. 250 of his *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*).

Varaguṇa is that of the date of Māṇikkavāśagar. Before the discovery, about 1906, of the larger Śinnamanūr plates and other records there was only one Varaguṇa known, and that was the king of the legend of the vision of *Śivalōkam* in the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal*. And this reference to a Varaguṇa did not help very much in deciding the age of the Śaiva saint who refers to the king in the *Tirukkōvaiyār*; but since two Varaguṇas became available to history from the new epigraphical finds, several scholars have, with great eagerness, sought to fix the age of Māṇikkavāśagar by identifying the Varaguṇa mentioned by him with one or the other of these kings. But it does not seem that this epigraphical short cut to the date of this saint is in any way better supported than that other effort to fix the age of the Śangam from the references in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant which we have seen no reason to accept as satisfactory. But it is not possible to pursue the question of the age of Māṇikkavāśagar at any length here; it can only be stated that there are serious difficulties in the way of assigning Māṇikkavāśagar to the reign of either of these kings in the eighth or the ninth century A.D. and that the Varaguṇa Pāndya referred to in the *Tirukkōvaiyār* must still be taken to be the Varaguṇa of legend about whom, as yet, we do not know anything more than is contained in that story.[1]

[1] See Venkayya in *E.I.*, vol. ix, p. 89 and M. Srinivasa Aiyangār, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 401 ff and *contrast*, Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar in his Introduction to the *Tiruvālavāyuḍaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāḍal*, first edition, pp. 66–7, who supports an early date by a number of weighty literary references; also Messrs. K. G. Sesha Aiyar and Ponnambalam Pillai in the *Tamilian Antiquary*. The arguments of Mr. Sesha Aiyar seem to be complete as a refutation of the epigraphists' position, and Mr. Pillai approaches the question of the date of the saint from a different standpoint, that of the Christian Church in Malabar.

Minor considerations apart, the main points in the question seem to be the following: Māṇikkavāśagar *does* claim that the miracle of the

transformation of foxes into horses was performed by Śivan on his account (நமை ஆண்டான்) in *Tiru Ponnūśal*, l. 45; also *Tiru Ammānai*, ll. 17-18; *Tiruvārttai*, ll. 14-15 and *Ānanadamālai*, ll. 25-26, to save him from the consequences of his master's wrath. And Appar, by general consent the earliest of the three *Tēvāram* hymnists, *does* refer to this miracle and also to a *Vācaka* in a manner which seems to leave no room for doubt that it is a reference to our saint. Then there is the fact that in all the traditional lists of Pāndya Kings, the contemporary of Māṇikkavāśagar is placed several generations before Kūn Pāndya, the contemporary of Gnānasambandar. It must also be noticed that Māṇikkavāśagar's life and history occupy a rather earlier, and perhaps more conspicuous place in the cycle of the Madura sports of Śivan and that it has not been possible to recognize so far any clear epigraphical references except to the last of the kings in the lists given in the different versions of these stories. It seems a natural inference from all this that Māṇikkavāśagar, the antagonist of Buddhism, was older than the saints of the age of Sambandar whose chief contests appear to have been with the Jains.

The chief argument against this conclusion has generally been found in the absence of any reference to Māṇikkavāśagar in the catalogue of Śaiva saints (*Tiruttondattogai*) given by Sundaramūrti, who may be taken to have lived within a century of Gnānasambandar, the contemporary of Arikēsari Parānkuśa in the late seventh century. This may have been an accident, and at best an argument from silence cannot be pressed far. But Mr. Sesha Aiyar has pointed out with great plausibility that the expression 'பொய்யடிமையில்லாத புலவர்' in Sundara's list of saints does refer to our saint as it fits in very well with the traditional history of his life and doings. Those who hesitate to accept this suggestion are influenced by the authority of Nambi Āndār Nambi and his successors, who have regularly followed him in interpreting this expression as a reference to the poets of the Madura Śangam. Great as must be the authority of Nambi and his successors in matters of religion and theology, I have no hesitation in declaring with Mr. Sesha Aiyar that the history involved in their interpretation of the *Tiruttondattogai* seems to be, much of it, wrong. The point is that continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite compatible with a break in secular historical tradition. For an illustration I may refer to the case of another saint in the list, Śeruttunai, who is spoken of as a king of Tanjore by Sundaramūrti; Nambi makes no mention of his having been a king at all, evidently because in his day nothing was known about such a ruler of Tanjore; and a little later, Śēkkiļār in his *Periyapurāṇam* actually makes a Vaiśya (வேளாண்குடி முதல்வர்) of this king of Tanjore.

My conclusion therefore is that Māṇikkavāśagar must be taken to have preceded the *Tēvāram Trio* and that once more epigraphy, despite the great advances it has made in recent years, fails to establish the large claims made on its behalf in the matter of settling beyond possibility of doubt the chronology of early South Indian History.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST EMPIRE.—(*Continued.*)

THE son and successor of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan *alias* Varaguṇa was Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha whose reign may be taken to have extended from, say, A.D. 815 to A.D. 862. He also had the birudas *Ēkavīra* and *Paracakrakōlāhala*. All that we know of this king is derived from the larger Śinnamanūr plates. From the way these plates begin to furnish rather important historical data from this point onward, it would almost appear that the composer of this inscription had the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant before him and avoided, by design, dwelling on the events already recorded in that grant. However that may be, what we learn about Śrī Māṛa Śrīvallabha goes to show that he succeeded not only in maintaining the power handed down to him by his father, but even found it possible to extend it to Ceylon. The Sanskrit part of our record tells us that this king brought the whole world (a hyperbole for S. India ?) under the protection of his umbrella and became well-beloved of his subjects (*Prēma-pātram prajānām*) after defeating in battle such diverse foes as the Māyāpāndya, the Kēraḷa, the king of Simhaḷa, the Pallava and the Vallabha. The Tamil portion confirms this and adds further that the king won victories at Kunnūr and Viḷiñam as well as in Ceylon, and that he repulsed with great loss a confederation of Gangas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kalingas, Magadhas and others who offered battle at Kuḍamūkku or Kumbakonam. This victory would appear to have greatly increased the king's military reputation and furnished the occasion for the high-sounding title *Paracakrakōlāhala*.

We seem to have no means of elucidating the references to the victory over the Kēraḷa and the fight at Viḷiñam except by supposing that trouble from this quarter seems to have been more or less permanent and that the western country never reconciled itself to the yoke of its Pāndya neighbour. It is however possible to say something on the references to the conquest of Ceylon and the victory at Kuḍamūkku over the Pallava. The evidence of the *Mahāvaṁśa* confirms in some measure the statement in the Pāndya grant regarding the conquest of Ceylon.[1] According to that chronicle there was a Pāndya invasion of Ceylon during the reign of the Singhalese king Sēna I. The Pāndyan victory in the battle fought at Mahatalita was complete 'and the army of king Pāndu spread destruction all over the land'. The Singhalese king fled from his capital and took refuge in the Malaya country. Prince Mahinda, the 'sub-king' committed suicide and was followed by others in this act and prince Kassapa, after an exhibition of personal valour, also fled. The Pāndya forces took possession of the capital, carried away a large amount of booty 'and made Lanka of none value whatsoever' and eventually the Pāndya king entered into a treaty with the fugitive king of Ceylon restoring the country to him. After this, the chronicle records a counter-invasion of the Pāndya country by the Singhalese in the reign of their next king Sēna II. And this throws some light on the Māyāpāndya, the Pāndya pretender of the Pāndyan inscription. When Sēna II was preparing for

[1] A summary of chaps. I and li of Wijesinha's translation is given by Mr. Venkayya at pp. 55-6 of *A.R.E.* for 1907-08. It may be noticed here that M. Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 70-71 in his account of these transactions considers only chap. li of the Ceylon accounts.

a counter-attack on the Pāndyas, 'it came to pass that at that very time a prince of the royal family of Pāndu was come hither, having formed a design to overthrow that kingdom because he had been ill-treated by his king' (li. 27). Sēna II allied himself with the rebel Pāndya prince and invaded the mainland and succeeded in besieging the very capital of the Pāndyas. The king of the Pāndyas 'fled from the field of battle on the back of an elephant, and gave up his life in the wrong place. And his queen also died with him at the same time' (li. 38). 'The Singhalese took possession of the city, crowned the Pāndya prince who had sought their help and returned to Ceylon with a large amount of booty including the treasures carried away by the Pāndyas when they invaded Ceylon' (Venkayya).

This narrative of events given in the *Mahāvaṁśa* cannot all of it be accepted as history. First as to chronology. The traditional dates for Sēna I and Sēna II are A.D. 846 to 866 and A.D. 866 to 901. We have assigned to Śrīmāra, roughly, A.D. 815–862 so that the counter-invasion from Ceylon would fall in the reign of the successor of Śrīmāra; but it is not possible to accept this arrangement, if we propose to identify the Pāndya prince who appealed to Sēna II and the Māyāpāndya who was conquered by Śrīmāra. It has been pointed out that a correction of twenty-four years must be introduced into the *Mahāvaṁśa* chronology of this period in the light of the established dates of South Indian history with special reference to the early Cholas of the Vijayālaya line.[1] This correction will give the dates

[1] See Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 70–71; Hultzsch in *J. R. A. S.*, 1913 does not discuss chaps. l and li, a rather strange omission in an otherwise complete study of the synchronisms between Singhalese and South Indian history.

822 to 842 and 842 to 877 roughly for the reigns of Sēna I and Sēna II and thus reconcile the chronology of the narrative in the *Mahāvaṁśa* with that of Śrīmāra's reign as fixed by independent evidence. But then there are other difficulties as well. The Pāndyan side of the evidence makes the ruling king successful in repelling a Māyāpāndya and thus keeping his throne to himself at the end of the struggle ; the Ceylon account makes out a disaster of the first magnitude to the Pāndyan kingdom from the story of the counter-invasion undertaken by Sēna partly in support of the Pāndya prince. There is no possibility of reconciling these accounts ; one of them must be rejected as untrustworthy. Now, on the face of it, it seems impossible to suppose that such a serious disaster befell the Pāndya power in the reign of Śrīmāra and that the Sinnamanūr plates suppressed the truth or deliberately gave a false account of the reign. On the other hand, the *Mahāvaṁśa* is a highly embellished and poetic account of the history of Ceylon.[1] And one cannot help feeling that in this chapter of the *Mahāvaṁśa* some transactions belonging to a later age (twelfth century A.D.) have been repeated perhaps to take off the edge from the story of the conquest of Ceylon by the Pāndya king, narrated a little earlier. When we come to the Pāndyan civil wars of the twelfth century in which Ceylonese kings often interfered, we shall see that the *Mahāvaṁśa* persistently colours the account favourably to the Ceylonese kings and commanders. Our conclusion, therefore, is that Śrīmāra did carry out a successful raid against Ceylon and that he repulsed the attempt at retaliation brought about partly by the

[1] See *I.A.*, vol. xxxv, pp. 153 ff, for translation of an important criticism of this book and other Ceylon chronicles by Geiger.

intrigues of an impostor, about whose identity nothing is known at present.[1]

[1] Mr. Venkayya remarked (p. 56, *A. R. E.*, 1908) of Śrīmāra: 'As he is also said to have conquered Māyāpāndya, who must have belonged to his own family, there is enough evidence that there were internal dissensions among the Pāndyas already in his reign'; and in this he has been followed by M. Dubreuil. But I do not think that Māyāpāndya means 'a person belonging to the Pāndya family'; if anything it means just the contrary, and does not support the inferences of Venkayya about internal dissensions which are far-fetched indeed. We cannot of course get any light on this matter from the Ceylon account; for any impostor, to make himself accepted in Ceylon, must have claimed kinship with the Pāndya ruling family. Venkayya again is not any way more fortunate in his attempts to identify this Māyāpāndya. He says: (*ibid*) 'In this connection it is worthy of note that the relationship of No. 11 (my number 9) Varaguṇavarman to his predecessor is not given in the Tamil portion of the larger Śinnamanūr plates, while the Sanskrit portion of the same plates mention the relationship only indirectly. No. 12 (my number 10) Parāntaka is said to have been the younger brother of Varaguṇa and the son of Śrīmāra. Consequently it is not impossible that it was Varaguṇa who sought help from the Singhalese in order to secure the Pāndya throne'. Mr. Venkayya appears in this case to have relaxed his usual standards about evidence in his anxiety to discover the identity of Māyāpāndya. His whole argument turns upon the Tamil portion not mentioning the relationship of Varaguṇavarman to his predecessor, and the Sanskrit portion mentioning it only indirectly. The Tamil portion not only fails to mention relationships, in other cases, but omits all reference to Jaṭila Parāntaka; the Sanskrit portion mentions the relationship, but only 'indirectly.' I am unable to see any logic in the inferences made by Mr. Venkayya from this supposed 'indirectness'. Personally I am of opinion that much trouble might be avoided if the epigraphists give up the habit of treating the integral parts of one inscription in different languages as altogether different inscriptions. There is enough indication in the inscription that Varaguṇavarman ruled in his turn and enjoyed a fairly prosperous reign. This is the text:

'குரைகழற்கா லரிஞைஞ்சக் குவலயந் தனதாக்கின வரைபுரையு மணிமெடுத் தோள் மன்னர்கோன் வரகுணவர்மனும்.'

But Mr. Venkayya is not himself satisfied with the result he arrives at. He continues: 'There is still another alternative. No. 12 Parāntaka is said to have seized a certain Ugra, apparently in the battle of Kharagiri. It may be that this Ugra was a Pāndya prince with whom the former had to fight for the throne.' This makes matters worse. This Parāntaka did not reign till after his brother's defeat at Srī Purambiyam; his brother ruled at least eight years from the close of his father's reign; and it is not clear how anything that took place in the reign or just before the accession of Parāntaka II can throw any light on the identity of Māyāpāndya whom his father dealt

When we turn next to study the circumstances of Śrīmāra's success at Kuḍamūkku, we get some light from the Pallava records of the period. Two facts are established beyond the range of doubt. *First*, Kuḍamūkku is Kumbakonam as this name is given to the place in a record of the eighth year of Māṛanjaḍayan, most probably, Śrīmāra's famous father. *Second*, the Pāndya power was in this period fairly well established in the heart of the Tanjore district though there were frequent conflicts with Pallava forces across a shifting frontier in this direction,[1] the permanence of the Pāndya occupation of this territory being shown by the presence of many Pāndya inscriptions of this period in several places in the Tanjore district. From the provenance of the inscriptions of Nandivarman III it seems to be a reasonable inference that this contest continued through his reign with varying fortune. It seems not unlikely that the famous fight from which Nandi came to be known as Teḷḷaṛeṛinda Nandi occurred in the course of these

with years before. The fact is, we know at present nothing more about both Māyāpāndya and Ugra than what is mentioned of them in the Śinnamanūr plates and it is best to say so.

Mr. Venkayya also adds: 'If the story of the *Mahāvaṁśa* be true, the discontented Pāndya prince whether he was Māyāpāndya or Ugra Pāndya must have been on the Pāndyan throne for sometime before he was replaced by No. 12 Parāntaka.' I am unable to concede that the story of the *Mahāvaṁśa* is true or that there was an interruption in the regular succession recorded in the Śinnamanūr plates. See however, K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 140–1 who identifies Ugra with the protege of Sēna II.

[1] I may note here that I am not following M. Dubreuil's arrangement by which Varaguṇa is made the opponent of Nandi at Teḷḷāṛu *c.* 830 A.D. If the opponent of Nandi at Teḷḷāṛu was a Pāndya, as perhaps he was (see Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 79–80) then he must have been Śrīmāra. It may also be observed that Dubreuil seems to exaggerate the significance of Teḷḷaṛu when he writes that 'this glorious campaign enabled him to reign peacefully not only at Kāncḥī but also on the banks of the Kāvēri.' The poetry of the *Nandikkalambakam* should not be mistaken for history. *Contra* Gopalan, *The Pallavas of Kāñchi*, p. 137.

contests, and that in that battle Śrīmāra was the opponent who was beaten in the fight with Nandi. This must have been somewhere about A.D. 830. The victory of Kuḍamūkku won by Śrīmāra against the Pallavas and their confederates must then be taken to fall in Nandivarman's reign. It seems quite natural to connect this battle mentioned in the Pāndya inscription with another that is referred to in the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatungavarman[1] who was the successor of Nandi of Teḷḷaṛu and came to power about A.D. 854. In the Bāhūr plates it is

[1] I follow the text of Mr. Krishna Sastri as amended and translated by Gopinatha Rao; see Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 47–50. But the verse is not easy and there is no means of controlling the readings. Dr. Hultzsch in his recent edition of the plates in the *E. I.*, vol. xviii, pp. 5 ff writes: 'Of him (Nṛpatunga) verse 16 tells us that he supplied a Pāndya king, whose proper name is not disclosed, with an army, and that he defeated some enemies, who are not specified either, on the further bank of the Aricit river. It may be concluded from verse 16 that Nṛpatunga allied himself with a Pāndya king and undertook an expedition into the domains of the Chola king'; and the text and translation as given by him support these statements. Looking at the verse from the Pāndyan side, it strikes me that Mr. Rao's translation supported by Mr. Sastri's text is the more probable; because (i) there seems to be little room for a Pāndya-Pallava alliance in this period, (ii) the Cholas actually figure as the allies of the Pallavas in the Śinnamanūr plates and (iii) it seems probable that in verse 16 (Bāhūr) Kuḍamūkku of the Śinnamanūr plates is referred to as having taken place before the accession of Ṇrpatunga (*purā*) and mentioned as a sort of introduction to the reprisal that followed under Nṛpatunga on the banks of the Aricit. It may also be that Nṛpatunga fought as a prince before his accession.

M. Dubreuil (*The Pallavas*, p. 71) may or may not be right in supposing 'that the Pallava Nṛpatunga profited by the invasion of the Pāndya kingdom by the Singhalese'; but he is clearly misquoting *verse* 17 of the Bāhūr plates in support of his theory of the alliance of Nṛpatunga and Sēna II, which, he says, 'seems to be confirmed by the Bāhūr plates which say that Nṛpatunga's fame had spread *beyond the seas* as that of Rāma'. (italics mine). The text is '*Khyāto na Kēvalam Bhumāvamuṣminnapi Rāmavat*' = famed not only on earth, but in other worlds like Rāma. I am also unable to follow him when he says that Śrīmāra was defeated at Kumbakonam in the face of the definite statement in the Śinnamanūr plates that Śrīmāra repulsed a great confederation of his foes at Kuḍamūkku. See also his remarks under Nṛpatunga at p. 81 of his *Pallavas*.

said: 'The army (of the Pallavas) which on a former occasion sustained defeat at the hands of the Pāndya, was, by the grace of this king (Nṛpatunga, i.e. by being led by him), able to burn down the hosts of the enemies together with the prosperity of their kingdoms on the bank of the river Aricit.' From this reference it is not clear whether Nṛpatunga's victory was won after he became ruler in his own right or earlier. Nor do we get any indication as to the interval between the defeat of the Pallava forces at the hands of the Pāndya and the retaliation under Nṛpatunga on the banks of the Aricit. The use of the phrase 'on a former occasion' with reference to the Pāndyan victory seems however to make it necessary to postulate some interval between the two engagements. We may conclude then, that if Nandi of Teḷḷāṟu began his reign with a victory against Śrīmāra, he lived long enough to sustain a defeat in his turn at Kuḍamūkku in spite of the fact that on this occasion he seems to have been supported by several of his allies; the tide turned once more against the Pāndya on the accession of Nṛpatunga whose youthful success at the Aricit—the river Ariśil, a branch of the Kāvēri which enters the sea at Karaikkāl,[1] is recorded in the Bāhūr plates as we have seen.

The reign of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha then appears to have been a mixed record of success and failure. The advent of an impostor to the throne, apparently aided in his rebellion by the Ceylonese troops, and the two defeats at Teḷḷāṟu and the Aricit at the hands of the Pallavas are evidence that the empire has begun to

[1] Hultzsch, *E.I.*, vol. xviii, p. 7. The fact that the Ariśil also passes near Kumbakonam may have led M. Dubreuil to identify the battles of Kuḍamūkku and Aricit; but we have no indication in the plates as to the site of the battle on the banks of the Aricit.

strain the resources of the Pāndya country; and the operations at Viḷiñam may perhaps be accepted as proof that the conquered lands are not settled on a permanent basis and may assert their independence at the earliest opportunity. But there is no reason to doubt that Śrīmāra was a strong ruler who found it possible in the midst of so much trouble to maintain his power intact and hand it down at his death to his elder son Varaguṇavarman whose accession can be placed definitely in A.D. 862.

About this Varaguṇavarman we learn nothing more than his name from the Śinnamanūr plates. The only fact that can be referred to his reign with any amount of certainty is his fighting a great battle at Śrī Purambiyam and losing it. It may also be that a record (690 of 1905) of Māranjaḍayan which incidentally mentions an expedition against Iḍavai also belongs to the time of this ruler.[1] Iḍavai has been identified with a village of the same name in the Chola country referred to in Chola inscriptions of a slightly later date. At the battle of Śrī Purambiyam the Western Ganga king Prithivīpati lost his life.[2] The latest date known for Prithivīpati[3] is A.D. 879, so that the battle of Śrī Purambiyam must be placed about A.D. 880 at the earliest, and Varaguṇavarman must be taken to have reigned at least up to that date. Now the last incident we noticed in the long duel between the Pāndyas and their neighbours in the north, the Pallavas, was the battle of the Aricit. After that battle Nṛpatunga would appear to have had a peaceful time with the Pāndyas who were for the rest of the reign

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1907, p. 54 and 1906, p. 53. *Contra* K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 142. But his reasoning is not conclusive.

[2] See *A.R.E.*, 1906, p. 47 or *E.I.*, vol. ix, pp. 87–8.

[3] Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 82.

of Śrīmāra and for several years after the accession of Varaguṇavarman apparently compelled to recognize the position Nṛpatunga had established for himself by his early success. It is also interesting to observe that it was during this period that Vijayālaya captured Tanjore and made the city his own and it is not unlikely that the Cholas and the Pallavas were on friendly terms in this period as the Śinnamanūr plates imply. After the death of Nṛpatunga, when his successor Aparājita came to the Pallava throne about A.D. 880, it would seem that Varaguṇa made an attempt to reassert the waning power of the Pāndyas in Choḷamandalam and Toṇḍaināḍ. The expedition against Iḍavai may well have been directed against the rising power of the Cholas. The king then ruling was probably Āditya I, the son of Vijayālaya, who came to the throne almost at the same time as his Pallava contemporary Aparājita. This attack on Iḍavai was apparently successful and Varaguṇa was enabled to carry his arms further north. The Pallava king Aparājita was aided on this occasion by his Ganga feudatory Prithivīpati I and the opposing forces of the Pāndya and the Pallava had an encounter at Srī Purambiyam identified with Tiruppurambiyam near Kumbakonam.[1] In this

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1906, pp. 47–8. I am unable to follow Mr. Gopinatha Rao in his statement: 'It is known from other records that Āditya and the Pāndya King Varaguṇa marched against the Pallava, Nṛpatunga-Varman, otherwise known also by the name of Aparājita Varman, defeated and killed him.' (*E.I.*, vol. xv, p. 49.) But see Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 83–4. I believe inscription No. 337 of 1912 does not mean that the Cholas were the friends of Varaguṇa. The appearance of the Cholas among the opponents of Śrīmāra at Kuḍamūkku and the expedition against Iḍavai strongly support the view that the Cholas were the friends of the Pallavas and the foes of the Pāndyas till the battle of Śrī Purambiyam. Again, as Dubreuil points out, if Aparājita is only a pseudonym of Nṛpatunga, there would be only one battle, that of Śrī Purambiyam. Then we shall have to assume that at this battle Aparājita was beaten by Āditya as mentioned in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates of Rājēndra; but this is contradicted by the Udayēndiram

battle although the Western Ganga king Prithivīpati I lost his life, still victory was with Aparājita and the Pāndya advance was rolled back. It may be that Āditya I (the Chola) was also on the side of Aparājita and was able to get for himself some of the territory gained by the confederates on the repulse of the Pāndyan invader. All this must have been in A.D. 880 or very soon after.

Varaguṇavarman does not appear to have long survived the defeat at Śrī Purambiyam. He seems to have died childless and was followed on the throne by his younger brother Śrī Parāntaka *alias* Vīranārayaṇa Śaḍayan. Three verses in the Sanskrit part of the Śinnamanūr plates state (i) that he captured single-handed the haughty Ugra near Kharagiri together with his elephants whose tusks were reeking of the blood of opposing forces killed in battle, (ii) that this pious king endowed many *agrahāras*, and numberless *dēvasthānas* and *taṭākas*, and (iii) that he had for his queen Śrī Vānavan Mahādēvī who resembled Lakṣmī and Indrāṇī, the consorts of Viṣṇu and Indra. The Tamil account generally confirms these statements and says further that he destroyed Pennāgaḍam and fought in the

plates of Prithivīpati II which state that victory in Śrī Purambiyam was with Aparājita and that Varaguṇa was beaten in the battle. The verse may be quoted.

यः श्रीपुरंबियमहाहवमूर्ध्निघोरः पाण्ड्येश्वरं वरगुणं सहसाविजित्य ।
कृत्वार्थ्युक्तमपराजितशब्दमात्मप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवंजगाम ॥

It is not likely that, if Varaguṇa was beaten, and Āditya was his friend in this battle, Āditya got the whole of the Pallava country or even a part of it as a result of this fight. On the other hand if Āditya helped Aparājita in his victory, he might have claimed a share of the spoil and later on proceeded to make the other attack which transferred the Pallava dominions to him as the Tiruvālangāḍu plates imply. And this, in my opinion, is what happened actually. I am unable to see why Dubreuil must place Śrī Purambiyam in Nṛpatunga's reign or 'admit that Nṛpatunga was killed in the battle of Śrī Purambiyam' (p. 83).

Kongu country. It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to attempt to elucidate the battle of Kharagiri, the destruction of Pennāgaḍam and the fight in Kongu. The last two events may be taken as some evidence that, though hard pressed by its foes, the Pāndya power was still struggling to maintain itself in foreign lands. And the name of the queen suggests that she was a Chera princess, and it may be tentatively assumed that the name of Śeravanmahādēvi, a flourishing little town adjacent to the railway station Shermadevi in the Tinnevelly district, has some connection with the name of this queen. Perhaps this marriage is also some indication that, for one reason or another, the reign of this king was marked by happier relations with the Chera kings than was usual in this age. We may assign conjecturally the last twenty years of the ninth century as the period of this king's rule.

Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa was succeeded on the throne by his son by Vānavanmahādēvī, Māṛavarman Rājasimha II, the donor of the larger Śinnamanūr plates, the discovery of which has meant the recovery, to a very large extent, of the Pāndya history of this period. This grant is dated in the sixteenth year of the king's reign and it is likely that he reigned some years after. His rule may therefore be taken to have extended from about A.D. 900 to about 920 or a little later. The Sanskrit part of the record of the king's reign though it comprises four fair-sized *ślokas* contrives to tell us just nothing about the king or his achievements as a ruler. The Tamil account vies with the Sanskrit in fulsome flattery of the king, but happens to mention a few facts. But the obscurity of the diction and the gaps in the text render it extremely difficult to be sure of the ground. With this caution, it may be noted that a battle at

Ulappilimangalam is mentioned, another fight with Tanjayarkōn (the king of Tanjore) and perhaps also an attack on Vanji.[1] We learn also that the king had the titles—Vikaṭapāṭava, Śrikānta, Rājaśikhāmaṇi and Mandara Gaurava. Among his foundations are mentioned numberless *Paḷḷiccandams* which seem to be Jain temples or endowments in their favour.

Rājasimha II, however, may be surely identified with the Pāndya King Rājasimha who is said to have been beaten by the Chola Parāntaka I (*vide* the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati II[2]) and this fact enables us to get some light on his fortunes from the records of the contemporary Chola monarch. This king Parāntaka I Chola came to the throne in A.D. 907.[3] Before his

[1] It will be observed that Venkayya's summary of the reign mentions only that the king defeated the Chola (p. 51 of *A.R.E.*, 1907). He is perhaps right in the caution he observed. The text I have been using of this inscription is that given by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar in the *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. xxiii. When I applied to the Government Epigraphist for a transcript of the text he had with him, I got the strange reply that the copy could not be given as it was undergoing publication in *S.I.I.* (Texts) series.

[2] *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 383.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1906, p. 51, para 21 for the date of accession of Parāntaka Chola. See *A.R.E.*, 1907, pp. 58–9 for the wars of Parāntaka against Madura, a masterly account by Venkayya. Also Hultzsch in *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 524–6 partly based on Venkayya. My version of the wars given in the text does not differ materially from Venkayya's. The changes I am inclined to make are (i) to base the 1st war only on the reference in the *Mahāvaṁśa* and the probabilities suggested by Inscription No. 29 of 1907, dated in A.D. 910 (See *A.R.E.* 1911, part ii, para 4), (ii) to treat the entire series of stanzas in the Udayēndiram and Tiruvālangāḍu plates as references to the second war of Venkayya, (iii) to follow Hultzsch in making the 'unsuccessful effort to obtain the Pāndya crown, etc., from Ceylon an event of the last years of Parāntaka's reign. Mr. Venkayya seems to have thought that Maduraiyum Īḻamum-Koṇḍa was a brand new title justified by a fresh attack on Madura and Ceylon together: but this strikes me as an unnecessary assumption. The title Maduraikoṇḍa might simply have changed to Maduraiyum-Īḻamum-Koṇḍa, after the invasion of Ceylon. I may add also that when he proposes to date the third war of Parāntaka against Madura towards the close of his reign and apparently *c.* 943 A.D. *A.R.E.*, 1907, p. 59, he seems to be forgetting the inscription No. 63 of 1905 found near Madura and dated in the thirty-third year of Parāntaka to which he

accession the Chola power under Aditya I had risen into some prominence by important successes against the Pallava Aparājita who seems to have lost the bulk of his territory to his new foe. It is not unlikely that Aditya, late in his lifetime, undertook a campaign against his southern neighbour and that this campaign furnished the occasion for his son calling himself Madhurāntaka or Maduraikoṇḍa. This title of Parāntaka appears as early as the third year of his reign, A.D. 910. The Pāndya king Rājasimha had to look about for allies and he turned to Ceylon. The ruler of Ceylon at the time was not unwilling to aid the Pāndya king and sent an army to the mainland. Rājasimha, so reinforced, made an effort to retaliate on the Chola power and invaded the Chola country; and thus began the second war which Parāntaka fought against the Madura troops. A decisive battle was fought at Vēlūr (a place not identified) and the defeat of the Ceylon and Pāndya forces was complete. The Udayēndiram plates say of Parāntaka Chola: 'His army, having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāndya king, together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants together with (the city of) Madhura. Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army despatched by the lord of Lanka, which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in the world the title Samgrāma Rāghava (i.e. "Rama in battle") which is full of meaning. When he had defeated the Pāndya (king) Rājasimha, two persons experienced the same fear at the same time: (Kuvēra), the lord of wealth, on account of the death of his own friend, (and) Vibhīṣaṇa on account

had drawn pointed attention two years previously (*A.R.E.*, 1905, p. 42). See also *A.R.E.*, 1926, part ii, para. 16.

of the proximity (of the Chola dominions to Ceylon). The Tiruvālangāḍu plates are no less explicit and more graphic in the account they give.[1]

This was the ruin of Rājasimha and the empire that had been reared by generations of his ancestors. Madura was lost and Rājasimha had to flee to Ceylon. There he made pitiful efforts to regain his fortune and, if we may follow the *Mahāvaṁśa* account, which is confirmed by the later Chola inscriptions of Rājendra I, Rājasimha after some fruitless waiting despaired of gaining anything by his stay in Ceylon, left behind his crown and other regalia (*thāpetvā makuṭādīni*) and betook himself to the Kēraḷa country, the home of his mother Vānavanmahādēvi (*gato Kēraḷasantikam*). Such was the end of the First Empire of the Pāndyas, whose political fortunes we have traced through these two chapters. These last scenes may be placed about A.D. 920.

Parāntaka I Chola made an attempt late in his reign to capture the Pāndya's *makuṭa* from the Ceylonese ruler and failed (*c.* A.D. 943) ; but this was actually accomplished later by the more fortunate Rājēndra.

[1] यस्य प्रतापदहनेन परीयमाण स्तत्तापशान्ति मिवकर्तुमनास्सवेगः ।
सद्यस्समुद्रमविशन्निजराजलक्ष्मीं पृथ्वीं कुलक्रमगतांच विहायपाण्ड्यः ॥
यस्यकोपदहनो दहन्द्विषश्शान्तिमाप न समुद्रवारिणि ।
शस्त्रकृत्तहतसिंहळाङ्गतानेत्तवारिणि शमञ्जगाम च ॥

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST EMPIRE—(*Concluded*)

THE history of the Pāndyan kingdom in the period between the restoration after the Kaḷabhra occupation and the fall of Madura before Parāntaka early in the tenth century, as made out by us so far, cannot by any means be regarded as either final or complete. Only the barest outlines of the story have been traced. Many points have had to be left unsettled; others have been noted as points for future study in the light of further evidence that may become available. We have also had to pass by a large number of stone inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Māṟan Śaḍayan and Śaḍayan Māṟan which undoubtedly belong to this period, but cannot with certainty be assigned to particular rulers. If we know so little about the main line of the Pāndyas, our knowledge about their subordinates and feudatories is even more limited. Passing references have been made already to the local chieftains known as Vēḷs, of whom the chiefs of the family of Ay seem to have enjoyed a long spell of power and influence in the mountainous country between the Tinnevelly district and Travancore. The Adigans of the Kongu country also felt the strength of the Pāndyan kings and were forced for a time to acknowledge their supremacy. Somewhat more prominent than these chieftains seem to have been the Muttarayar[1] who have left behind several epigraphical records which have only been partially studied till now. It is certain that these rulers held large portions of the

[1] I have not entered into the details of the records of the Muttarayar. Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar discusses the Śendalai records very well in *E. I.*, vol. xiii, pp. 134 ff. and Mr. Gopinatha Rao in *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. vi, pp. 6 ff. *A.R.E.*, for 1899, pp. 5-6, and 1907, p. 54 are still useful.

Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and possibly parts of Pudukkottah for several generations and that the centre of their power was somewhere in the district of Tanjore. Śendalai, at present a small village near Tirukkāṭṭupaḷḷi, appears once to have been a flourishing town with the beautiful name Candralēkhā, and either this place or Niyamam in its neighbourhood was most probably the centre of Muttaraya rule. There is even now in existence a village by name Muttaraśanallūr within five miles of Trichinopoly. It is well known that a Perumuttarayan is mentioned twice in the *Nāladiyār*. The inscriptions from the Śendalai pillars mention three continuous generations of the Muttarayar ; the last of them was Śuvaran Māran *alias* Perumbiḍugu Muttarayan who claims to have fought at many places on behalf of the Pallavas and against the Pāndyas. There is also a curious coincidence in strange *birudas* between these rulers and the Pallava kings :—examples are Perumbiḍugu and Viḍēlviḍugu. These facts might lead one to suppose that these rulers were the subordinate allies of their Pallava contemporaries. On the other hand, there are other facts which seem to make it necessary to modify this conclusion. First, some kings of the Muttaraya line date their records in their own regnal years (18 of Iḷangō Muttarayan in No. 12 of 1899 from Śendalai). Secondly, one inscription (10 of 1899) which records a gift by a servant of a Muttarayan is dated in the tenth regnal year of Māṟanjaḍayan. And lastly, there is a gift by the queen of a Śatrubhayankara Muttarayan recorded in a stone inscription in the Tinnevelly district and dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Śaḍayan Māṟan (421 of 1906). In fact at one stage it was even supposed that the Muttarayar were a branch of the ruling house of the Pāndyas and emphasis was laid on the recurrence of

the name Māṛan among the Muttaraya kings. But the facts set forth above indicate clearly that no simple hypothesis is likely to furnish the key to the true history of these chieftains. The best way of reconciling all the known facts about the Muttarayar seems to be to suppose that they held their sway for several generations in the debatable land between the Pāndyas and the Pallavas and ruled, either independently or in subjection to the Pāndyas or the Pallavas, in accordance with the trend of contemporary politics. It is unfortunate that no definite and detailed conclusions can be arrived at regarding the history of these rulers and the part they played in the story of South India. But the conjecture may be accepted that when Vijayālaya recovered Tanjore for the Cholas, he must have taken it from a Muttaraya chief. The Śendalai inscriptions call one of them the lord of Tanjai and Vallam.

Before leaving the period of the First Pāndya Empire, as we have called it, an attempt may be made to bring together a few facts relating to the social and religious life of the age. We know very little of the details of government and administration; and the few references we get to Uttaramantrins and Mahāsāmantas have been noticed under the reign of Jaṭila Parāntaka above. We have a reference to an officer in charge of the elephants, under the name Matangajādhyakṣa in the Madras Museum plates and this, together with a reference to Tirumalai Vīrar and Parāntaka Vīrar in an inscription of the forty-second year of Māṛanjaḍayan from Kaḷugumalai,[1]

[1] Inscription No. 863 of 1917. Mr. Krishna Sastri (*A.R.E.*, 1918), says that the reference to Parāntaka Vīrar suggests the time of the father of Rājasimha, the donor of the Śinnamanūr grant. I do not know if he had any difficulty in assigning this record to Parāntaka I Pāndya and I do not think that Parāntaka II reigned as many as forty-two years. I have therefore treated the record as belonging to the earlier king.

is about all that we can gather on the military organization of the state in this period. One wonders if names like Parāntaka Vīrar are designations of particular regiments or groups of soldiers. There does not seem to have been any rigid distinction between the civil and military services under the government, and in Māṛangāri we get the instance of a versatile officer who was famed alike for his services in war and as Uttaramantri and who was besides poet and orator. It seems likely that an expeditionary army was composed of troops brought together from several parts of the country each under its own leader, and we have instances of such leaders or the king himself, setting up permanent memorials celebrating the heroism of particular soldiers who distinguished themselves above their compeers in war. Thus from the Kaḷugumalai record which refers to the expedition against Śaḍayan Karunandan (43 of 1908) we learn that two soldiers did well in the storming of a fortress (*கோட்டை அழித்து நன்று செய்து பட்டார்*) before they fell, that they were in the household service (*உள் வீட்டுக் கோயிற் சேவகர்*) of one Mangala Enādi *alias* Eṭṭimannan, and that this Enādi[1] made an endowment for the merit of these two soldiers named Vinayantoḷu Sūran and Śāttan Nakkan. And again, the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription of the twenty-seventh year of Māṛanjaḍayan (277 of 1895) is a record of the fall of another warrior by name Raṇakīrti in the service of the king before the fortress of Kāraikkōṭṭai; and as this Raṇakīrti is said to have been a very loving servant of

[1] Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao says: '*Enādi* corresponds to the European knighthood. The recipient of this honour must be the commander of an army and must have distinguished himself in the battlefield. The king adorns such a worthy soldier with a signet ring and confers upon him the title of *Enādi*. See the commentary on eighth sutra of Purattiṇaiyiyal, Poruḷadikāram, Tolkāppiyam,' *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i, p. 4, n. 9.

the king, it is not unlikely that the king himself caused this stone to be set up and engraved.

The kings as a rule seem to have been very generous patrons of learning and the arts. The few long epigraphs of this age that have come down to us furnish, by their poetic merit, clear proof of the high state of literary culture in the Sanskrit and Tamil languages in the Pāndya country and are evidently compositions of court poets who were regularly maintained by the kings. The names of some of these composers of *praśastis* have been preserved in the records. These compositions which are recorded in the copper plates which register the more important royal grants are, as we have seen, the most important source for the general history of the rulers of this age; but they also furnish information on several minor matters of considerable interest to the student of social life. We learn very casually from the Madras Museum plates that there was a colony of Brahmins from Magadha; and that they had a separate *grāmam* set apart for them by name Śabdāli and this may be accepted as some evidence that the south of India was in those days not isolated from the north as is sometimes thought. We are able to trace the prevalence of two subordinate divisions adapted evidently to local administrative purposes. One of them is referred to as *nāḍu* or *kūṟṟam* and the Sanskrit part of the Śinnamanūr grant even applies the term *rāṣṭra* to the same division. The *nāḍu* seems to have been the connecting link between the kingdom as a whole and the smallest unit of local administration which is referred to usually as *grāmam*. The names of *grāmams* usually end in *mangalam*, *kuḍi* and *ūr* and occasionally in *vayal*. The forms observed on the occasions when kings made gifts of whole villages are very interesting and deserve

some notice. The gift is always a *dānam* in the religious sense and is expressed usually by the phrase *nīrōṭaṭṭikkoṭuttāṉ*, which the Sinnamanūr plates render into *ambupūrvam*. The boundary of the village to be given away was generally fixed by following the beat of a female elephant that was let loose for the purpose as is indicated by '*maṉṉavaṉatu paṇiyāl vaṭivamaiyap piṭicūḻntāṉ*' of the Madras Museum grant and *karēṇu sancāra vibakta sīmā* of the Sinnamanūr grant; and the boundary was marked by stones and live fences of *kaḷḷi* (*ellai yakattuk kaṟkaḷuṅ kaṉṟiyuṅ kāṭṭi*) and also clearly recorded in writing. The grant was invariably engraved on copper plates and a high officer of state was entrusted with the task of drawing up and recording the *āṇatti* or royal order in proper form. It is curious that the scribes are generally the *Perumbaṇaikkārans* of the kings making the grant.[1] All the gifts, when they did not go to temples, seem to have been in favour of Brahmaṇas and the lands so granted to Brahmaṇas had a recognized legal status *brahmadēyam*. This status is expressed in set phrases of which the following from the Madras Museum grant is a good example: '*piramma tēyamākak kārāṇmaiyuṅ mīyāṭciyuṅ uḷḷaṭaṅka ṟvvaparihāramāka nīrōṭaṭṭik kuṭukkappaṭṭatu*'. *Kārāṇmai* and *Mīyāṭci* are technical terms as can be seen from the Sanskrit part of the Śinnamanūr plates which keeps the terms as such in the phrase '*Kārāṇmai mīyāṭci yutam samastam*'. We have at present no means of fixing the exact

[1] Mr. Krishna Sastri does well in not translating this term in his edition of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and thus declining to follow Venkayya's lead in rendering it into 'chief drummer'. *பரை* has other meanings besides 'drum', one of which is 'a row of horses'. May *பெரும்பரைக்காரன்* mean chief cavalry officer?

meanings of these terms. But as *Kārāṇmai* seems etymologically connected with cultivation and *Mīyāṭci* likewise with supervision and control, we may not be far wrong if we take the terms to indicate the rights of tenancy and landlordship respectively.[1] The clear renunciation of all the rights of the donor contained in the phrase *sarvaparihāramāka* must also be noticed. When the gift has been completed the king generally requests his successors a. d every one that comes after him to respect his *dāna* and this request is reinforced in the records by suitable quotations from the sacred laws (*Smṛti*) of the land. One circumstance recorded in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant is of considerable importance and it is unfortunate that the meaning of the text here should not be clearer than it is. The conditions under which this grant was made are very peculiar. The donee claims that Vēḷvikkuḍi was granted to his ancestors by an ancient Pāndya king Kuḍumi and that this gift was cancelled by the Kaḷabhra interregnum and that this ought to be restored to him. It is strange that this man should have waited for seven generations after the Pāndyan restoration to reclaim the grant and at that late day should start by quarrelling with the king over the matter (*ākrōdhikka*). What followed must be related in the words of the grant 'என்று நின்றவன் விஞ்ஞாப் பியஞ்செய்ய நன்றுநன்றென்று முறுவலித்து நாட்டானின் பழமையாதல் காட்டிநீ கொள்கவென்ன, நாட்டாற்றன் பழமையாதல் காட்டிணைங்கப் பொழுதேய்.' Evidently here the king does not seem to have at first taken the petitioner seriously; he laughed at his impudence and perhaps thought it an easy way of dismissing the petition by demanding a proof (நாட்டு) of the original gift and

[1] Cf. V. Venkayya, *I. A.*, vol. xxii, p. 74, n. 89.

of the antiquity of the petitioner's rights; but strangely enough, the proof was produced then and there, and the king forthwith renewed the gift. The difficulty lies in our inability to understand கரட்பு in the passage cited above.[1] But most probably it was only a general term for satisfactory evidence. And the evidence that was produced in this case was most likely a written document which had just been found by the petitioner on the strength of which he made bold to press his suit in the manner indicated.

The *grāmam* was the unit of local administration as pointed out before, and there are enough indications to show that as a rule it was well able to take care of its affairs and that it inspired confidence in the king of the country by efficiency and rectitude in its conduct of affairs. An inscription from Tiruccendūr (26 of 1912) tells us that the king Varaguṇa Mahārāja distributed among sixteen villages a large endowment he made to the local temple for meeting the cost of service in the

[1] See K. G. Sankara in *I. A.*, vol. li, p. 215. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai was surely wrong if he assumed that oral evidence was in question here. I am unable to accept Mr. Krishna Sastri's translation of கரட்பால் into ' (by a reference to) the district (assembly)'. கரம்பு does mean ' district ' as I have pointed out above and this explanation of கரட்பால் as the instrumental of கரம்பு will be plausible if we had clear proof otherwise, which we do not have, of the existence, at this period of such district assemblies. But this is not the only difficulty. If it was a reference to the district assembly, that ought to have been found easier to make soon after the Pāndya restoration under Kaḍungōn than so many generations after him; and we do not say why the petition was not made earlier. Again the proof must have been such that (1) it was missed for long; (2) it was capable of production before the king at a moment's notice; and (3) it must have been so conclusive as evidence that the king was ready to accept it on the spot without any further enquiry. The phrases in the text of the grant clearly imply all this. And these conditions are best satisfied by a written document like a copper plate grant—what shall we not pay to get this plate if that were possible! I therefore propose to follow Mr. K. G. Sankara and make கரட்பால் the instrumental of கரட்பு *der.* from கர்= fix, establish.

temple throughout the twelve months of the year. The total endowment consisted of 1,400 gold *kāśus* and these *kāśus* were to be a permanent endowment, only the interest being spent for the purposes specified. The rate of interest is fixed at two kalams of paddy per annum on each *kāśu*. The penalty for default strikes us however as severe. It is that interest is doubled during the period of default and in addition a heavy fine of twenty-five gold *kāśus* is to be paid to the temple. Again a sum of 290 gold *kāśus* was, in the sixteenth year of the same king, placed in the hands of the assembly of Ambāsamudram (*Varaguṇa-mahārājar Toṇḍaināṭṭu ppeṇṇaikkarai Araiśūr Vīṟṟirundu Iḷangōkkuḍi ccavaiyār kaiyirkkuḍutta kāśu Irunuṟṟuttoṇṇūṟu*) to be utilized likewise as a permanent endowment ; the interest on the endowment was fixed at the same rate as in the other gift viz., two kalams of paddy per annum per *kāśu* ; the proceeds comprising 580 kalams of paddy per annum to be given by the assembly were to be devoted to meet the cost of offerings (*tiru amudu*) to be made four times a day in the temple of Tiruppōttuḍaiya Bhaṭārar at Iḷangōkkuḍi according to a detailed schedule of offerings given in the inscription ; and it was made the duty of the servants of the temple and a committee of the assembly to see that the expenditure was properly incurred from day to day (*Bhaṭārar paṇimakkaḷum Iḷangōkkuḍi ccavai vāriyarum uḍaninṟu . . . nāngu kālamum-tiruvamidu-śeluttum-paḍi*).[1] Again the Trichinopoly inscription of the eleventh year of Varaguṇa records another endowment of 125

[1] Mr. Venkayya seems to have missed the full significance of these words. The schedule of expenses that is given in the rest of the inscription is very interesting as it gives full details for a total expenditure of exactly 580 kalams and contains information as to the prevailing ratio of exchange among several articles of common consumption. See *E. I.*, vol. ix, pp. 92-3.

kaḻanjus of gold for the regular supply of ghī for the burning of four perpetual lamps and five other lamps in the temple of Tirumalai Bhaṭārar. This endowment was placed in fixed deposit with the Nagarattār of Śiṟṟambar, and its proper administration was vested in the Pati of Śiṟṟambar and the servants of the temple as trustees—(இவ்வொட்டின பரிசுநெய் அட்டுவிப்பதற்கு அமைந்து புணைப்பட்டோம் சிற்றம்பர்பதியும் பாதமூலத்தோமும்).[1] It may well be that the Nagarattār of Śiṟṟambar were a corporation of merchants in the place; but it is not possible to say who the Pati was. He might have been the head of the corporation of merchants or a royal officer. The analogy of the Iḷangōkkuḍi-ccavai vāriyam points to the former alternative. It is very interesting to see that the *kaḻanju* mentioned in this record is the same as the gold *kāśu*, the coin being apparently described by its weight here ;[2] we cannot however be sure of the exact weight of the *kaḻanju* itself in those days. A record in some respects more interesting than these

[1] Mr. Venkayya, *A.S.I.*, 1903–4, p. 276, makes பாதமூலத்தோம் the servants of the Pati. I have followed the analogy of the Ambāsamudram inscription in my rendering, as there seems to be no point in mentioning the servants of the Pati as trustees after mentioning the Pati himself as one.

[2] The conclusion is the result of a simple calculation from the data given by this and the Ambāsamudram record. Two *nāḻis* of ghī were to be given every day for four lamps to be maintained from the interest (பொன்) on 120 *kaḻanjus* (Trichi. inscr.); the Ambāsamudram records give the information 1 *nāḻi* of ghī = 30 *nāḻis* of paddy. This will give 60 *nāḻis* of paddy every day as the cost of the service; this makes 2/3 of a kalam (=15 *kuruṇis* = 90 *nāḻis*, Venkayya in *E. I.*) per day or roughly 240 kalams per year of 360 days, which is just the interest on 120 *kaḻanjus* (*kāśus*) at the prevailing rate of 2 kalams per annum per *kāśu* (*Kaḻanju*). This conclusion, it must be noted, casts a doubt on Venkayya's rendering of பாடிக்கல்லால் in the Trichinopoly record into 'weighed by the standard of the district'. If the calculation made in this note is accepted, it will be proof that the same standards prevailed all over the Pāndya country at the time, which is not unlikely, in such matters as the weight of the standard coin and the interest on perpetual royal endowments to temples.

comes from Mānūr in the Tinnevelly district and it is dated in the thirty-fifth year of Māṛanjaḍayan. If this Māṛanjaḍayan were the same as Varaguṇa Mahārāja, as probably he is, then the record may be assigned to about A.D. 800 and would thus precede the famous Uttiramallūr records of the time of Parāntaka I by well over a century. This fact deserves to be stressed a little as this inscription contains a record of rules for membership in the *Sabha* of the village which have been summed up[1] as follows by the official epigraphist (Madras) in the *Annual Report for 1913*: ' It is stated that of the children of shareholders in the village, only one, who is well behaved and has studied the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* and one *Dharma* (i.e. Code of Law) may be on the village assembly (*manṛu*) to represent the share held by him in the village and only one of similar qualifications may be on the assembly for a share purchased, received as present or acquired by him as *strīdhana* (through his wife); (2) that (shares) purchased, presented or acquired as *strīdhana* could entitle one, if at all, only to full membership in the assemblies; and in no case will quarter, half or three-quarter membership be recognized; (3) that those who purchase shares must elect only such men to represent their shares on the assembly, as have critically studied a whole Veda with its *pariśiṣṭas*; (4) that those who do not possess full membership as laid down by rule (2), cannot stand on any committee (*vāriyam*) for the management of village affairs; (5) that those who satisfy the prescribed conditions should in no case persistently oppose (in the proceedings of the

[1] In the paragraph *A. R. E.*, 1913 (part ii, para. 23) containing this summary it seems to me that the epigraphist combines sources in order to make a picture of village administration which is, in essence, not a faithful reflection of our sources.

assembly) by saying "nay, nay" to every proposal brought up before the assembly and (6) that those who do this together with their supporters will pay a fine of five *kāśus* on each item (in which they so behaved) and still continue to submit to the same rules.' It is a pity that twenty years after the discovery of this inscription, its text should not be available for scholars. But even the abstract given above contains enough to show the importance of the record. Other inscriptions which have been reviewed here tell us generally of the existence of village assemblies and of their carrying on their work through committees. And this Mānūr record may be taken perhaps as giving a type of the constitutions of village assemblies in this period in the south of the Pāndya country. Membership in the assembly was regulated by qualifications of property and learning very much as in the well-known inscriptions from Uttiramallūr (Chingleput) of the early tenth century A.D. There seems to have been no election to the assembly, but all important property interests were represented on it. This seems to have made the *sabha* a rather unwieldy body in which the transaction of business with reasonable despatch could only be secured by somewhat drastic rules against organized obstruction on the part of sections of the members. We learn nothing however as to the method of appointing the committee *(vāriyam)* of the assembly which formed the executive of the assembly, each in its respective sphere of work.

We may now turn to a brief review of the state of religious belief in the period of our study. We have seen that in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the Śangam age, Buddhism, Jainism and Brahminism flourished in the Tamil land. The central feature of the development that followed in the succeeding centuries

was the determined effort made by the exponents of Brahminism in its various forms to suppress the heretical sects of Buddhism and Jainism, an effort which was apparently marked by greater success against the Buddhists than against the Jains. Yuan Chwang writing in the middle of the seventh century A.D. deplores the decay of Buddhism in South India and envies the prosperity of the Jains. We can also trace many survivals of Jainism to a comparatively late age. At Ērvāḍi in the Tinnevelly district there was discovered a squatting Jaina figure and engraved below it is a small inscription, in *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* characters of about the eighth century A.D., which reads 'Work of Ajjaṇandi'. This Jaina teacher appears to be referred to in the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* also. Another inscription in the same place of about the same period records a grant of land to a Jaina temple.[1] Two inscriptions of Māṛanjaḍayan from the Ramnad district (430 and 431 of 1914) make mention of Tirukkāṭṭāmpaḷḷi which seems to have been a Jaina temple at Kuṛaṇḍai, an important Jaina centre in Veṇbunāḍu.[2] And the well-known Aivarmalai record of A.D. 870 records the renewal of the images of Pārśva-Bhaṭārar and the Yakṣis at Tiruvayiṛai by one Śāntivīraguravar, the pupil of Guṇavīrakkuravaḍigaḷ. And even Rājasimha II, the last of the Pāndya rulers of this age, is said to have endowed, among others, several Jaina temples (*எண்ணிறந்த பள்ளிச் சந்தங்களும்*). It is clear from such facts that Jainism was not overwhelmed so completely as Buddhism by the rising tide of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the land.

A detailed study of the various movements of this heroic age of religion in South India is outside the scope of this history. But some attention must be given

[1] See *A. R. E.* 1916, part ii, para. 2.
[2] *A. R. E.* 1915, part ii, para. 29.

to that part of the legendary accounts of the age which centres round Madura and the Pāndya country, and an attempt made to estimate the influence of the revival of Hinduism on the Pāndya country. We have seen some reason to think that Māṇikkavāśagar, the great antagonist of Buddhism, was among the earliest of the great saints of this age. It is very likely that the period of his ministry was sometime before the restoration of the Pāndya rule under Kaḍungōn. This fervid devotee of Śiva had his birth in the Pāndya country, and started in life as a high officer of the Pāndya king ; the scene of his chief triumphs against the Buddhists was Chidambaram, and there is some reason to think that the Pāndyan power extended to Chidambaram in his day. It is remarkable that the sage ends his contest with the Buddhists by admitting the discomfited opponents into the fold of Śaivism and that as Pope has observed ' no mention is made of the use of any violent measures '. The greatest achievement of the sage,—this is true also of many others like him in this period—was the propagation of his faith by means of fervid popular songs which were unique in their lyrical beauty and the simplicity and directness of their appeal to the human heart. The name of Tirugnānasambandar, whom Śaivites regard as the greatest of Śaiva saints of this age, is connected with the story of a miraculous cure worked on a Pāndya king who may be identified, as we have seen, with Arikēsari Parānkuśa, who ruled in the second half of the seventh century A.D. Later legend makes the occasion a turning point in the history of orthodox Śaivism in the Pāndya country. The king was a Jain and the whole land was taking to the heretical doctrine after him ; and it was only the devotion of the queen, who was a Chola princess, and the minister Kulacciṛai that saved the

situation by sending word to the great saint of Shiyāḷi begging him to come and reclaim the land by combating the Jains and putting an end to their influence over the king. It is needless to narrate the story of what followed, as it is sufficiently known. But it must be stated that there is little ground for the view that many Jains were put to a cruel death on the occasion. The Tamil *Purāṇas* indeed say that 8,000 Jains were impaled on stakes ; but this seems apocryphal. At any rate the saint Sambanda does not seem to be connected with the employment of violent measures and what troubles the Jains experienced seem to have been at the hands of the secular power.[1] Indeed, at the end of the contest with the Śaiva saint, we learn that the Jains still continued defiant, and unlike the Buddhist opponents of Māṇikkavāśagar at Chidambaram, these Jains of Madura refused to embrace the faith of their victorious opponent when he invited them to do so.

The contest against the heretical sects was carried on by the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs as much as by the Śaiva Nāyanārs. But the history of the Aḻvārs is even more obscure than that of the Nāyanārs and it is not possible to say much of any of them with confidence. We have noted before the attempt to fix the age of Madhurakavi and his Guru Nammāḻvār by identifying Madhurakavi-āḻvār with the minister Māṛangāri who is also called Madhurakavi in the Ānamalai inscription. It has also been supposed that Nammāḻvār (Kāri Māṛan) was the son of the minister and that 'he may have given his own father's surname Madhurakavi to his

[1] See *verses* 853 and 854 of Gnānasambanda's life in the *Periyapurāṇam* and *verses* 43 and 45 in the 38th *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* in Perumbaṛṛappuliyūr Nambi.

disciple as a *dāsyanāma*.'[1] But, however plausible such assumptions may be, they are still only assumptions which await some tangible proof. The suggestion has been made that another Vaiṣṇava saint, Periyāḻvār, was the contemporary of Jaṭila Parāntaka I.[2] Periyāḻvār does refer to a Pāndya king Neḍumāṟan in the lines. '(கொ)ன்னவில் கூர்வேற்கோன் நெடுமாறன் தென் கூடற்கோன் தென்னன் கொண்டாடும் தென்திருமாலிருஞ் சோலையே'. All that we can infer is that, if this Neḍumāṟan is the same as the contemporary of Gnāna-sambandar, this Aḻvar may also be assigned to their age and likewise his daughter Aṇḍāḻ. It seems more likely however that the reference is to Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha. But this inference can only be tentative, and in any case there is no reason to assign Periyāḻvār to the times of Jaṭila Parāntaka. But the references in Periyāḻvār to the Pāndyas, and the instances we have already noticed of the erection of two temples to Viṣṇu in the time of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan furnish sufficient evidence of the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in the Pāndya country in this period. The epigraphs of the age furnish numerous instances of private benefactions to temples for the burning of lamps, the maintenance of gardens, etc., and one of these records from Tirupputtūr (136 of 1908) mentions the gift of ten *dīnāras* (*kāśu*) by a Brahmin lady for the burning of a lamp.

[1] Gopinatha Rao, *Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*, p. 19.

[2] See Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangār in *Sen Tamiḻ*, vol. vi, pp. 52–3. He is able to prove that Jaṭila was a worshipper of Viṣṇu ; but this is admitted. But (1) he misinterprets the phrase குருசரிதங் கொண்டாடி in the Madras Museum plates by ignoring the phrase மனுதர்தெமார்க்கத்திலுல் which immediately precedes it ; the word குரு means here, surely, *not* spiritual preceptor (Pandit's meaning), but the king's ancestors who preceded him on the throne ; (2) the pandit does not say how Neḍumāṟan can be identified with Neḍunjaḍayan. See Also Gopinatha Rao, *History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas*, pp. 5 and 23 and *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 36.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHOLA CONQUEST

FROM about A.D. 925 to the beginning of the thirteenth century, for some three centuries, the Pāndyan kingdom ceased to exist as an independent state and was part of the empire of the Cholas. There are only a few records that can be referred with certainty to the Pāndya rulers of this period and for the rest we have to depend on the Chola inscriptions themselves. One thing however is clear, namely, that the Pāndyas never reconciled themselves to the rule of the Cholas in their country any more than others were willing to bear the rule of the Pāndyas in the years before. The country seems to have been in a state of chronic revolt and the Chola emperors were fighting repeatedly in the Pāndya country very much as the Pāndya rulers of the first empire did in the Travancore and Kongu countries. The Chola emperors also found it necessary for a time to depute members of the royal family to act as viceroys in the Pāndya country and the records of some of these Chola-Pāndya viceroys have come down to us. But when we piece together all the fragmentary data that can be gathered from our sources, we do not get even the outline of a continuous account. We get the names of only a few of the Pāndyan kings of this period. There is no possibility of tracing the relationship of these rulers and many gaps remain to be filled by future discovery and research.

After the conquest of Madura by Parāntaka I Chola and the flight of Rājasimha II about A.D. 920, the Pāndya country passed under Chola control and was

subject to Parāntaka almost to the end of his reign. This is borne out by the inscriptions of Parāntaka found in the Pāndya country,[1] the latest of these being an inscription from Sucīndram in South Travancore dated in the fortieth year of the king corresponding to A.D. 947. In the thirty-eighth year of Parāntaka, he levied a rather heavy impost (*daṇḍam*) of 3,000 kaḻanju of gold on the members of the assembly of Kumbakonam (Tirukkuḍamūkku), and they agreed to pay the amount to the Pāṇḍippaḍaiyār, by which is perhaps meant the forces that distinguished themselves in the conquest of the Pāndya country.[2]

But towards the close of Parāntaka's reign, some time before A.D. 949, a disaster overtook the newly established Chola power. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III invaded the Chola country in great force and Rājāditya, the eldst son of Parāntaka, lost his life in the battle of Takkōla. Large portions of the Chola territory were occupied by Krishna who advanced as far as Tanjore and seems to have reduced the successors of Parāntaka to an inferior position.[3] We have no stone inscriptions in the Pāndya country relating to the Chola monarchs of this period.

During this period of trouble in the Chola kingdom, the Pāndya country seems to have been recovered by a member of the ancient royal family. We have a

[1] These are—
No. 446 of 1917 at Kuttālam, twenty-fourth year.
,, 63 of 1905 at Ānamalai, thirty-third year.
,, 448 of 1917 at Kuttālam, thirty-sixth year.
,, 82 of 1896 at Sucīndram, fortieth year.

[2] See *A.R.E.*, 1912, p. 56, para 15.

[3] See ll. 42-5 of the larger Leiden grant and *E.I.*, vol. iii, pp. 283-4. Also *A.R.E.*, 1892, p. 3; and 1912, pp. 55 and 57. Was the impost on Kumbakonam levied by Parāntaka in his thirty-eighth year an exceptional tax raised in view of the coming war with the Rāshtrakūṭa king? See also *E.I.*, vol. xix, pp. 82 ff; *contra A.R.E.*, 1926, part ii, para 12.

considerable number of inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters, of a certain Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola'. Only a few of these records (e.g. No. 16 of 1894) dated in his ninth and tenth years come from Kīramāttūr in the Madura Taluq; the others are all found further south in the Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts and in South Travancore, at Nagercoil and Sucindram. The claim of Vīra Pāndya to have cut off the head of the Chola king does not seem to have been an empty boast. The history of the Chola dynasty between the death of Parāntaka I (A.D. 951) and the accession of Rāja Rāja I (A.D. 985) is not altogether free from doubt.[1] But the Chola king who lost his life at the

[1] The arrangement I follow regarding the Chola kings of this period may be indicated here and some references added:

(1) Parāntaka I—Parakēsari.

(2) Gaṇḍarāditya—Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari (*A.R.E.*, 1912, p. 57). These records may however belong to No. (4) below. (See *Ann. Rep. Trav. Arch. Dept.*, 1919–20, p. 31).

(3) Arinjaya—Parakēsari (Larger Leiden grant, ll. 50–51 and Tiruvālangāḍu plates, *verse* 55).

(4) Parāntaka II Sundara } Rājakēsari

(5) Āditya II Karikāla } Parakēsari } contemporary Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola'.

(6) Madhurāntaka Uttama Chola

(7) Rāja Rāja } Rājakēsari title used by both. Tiruvālangāḍu plates, *verses* 69 and 70 giving the cause of this exception. This assumption overcomes the difficulty pointed out in *A.R.E.*, 1904, p. 10.

It may be noted (*re* para 53 in the report for 1908, pp. 62–3) that the dates are doubtful in 265 of 1907 which may be a record of Āditya II; and that this and Nos. 13 of 1895 and 357 of 1907 may also be assigned to Rājēndra I who was a Parakēsari and had the name Uttama Chola (Tiruvālangāḍu plates, *verse* 90). The same remark applies to No. 128 in *S.I.I.*, vol. iii—the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chola. The date A.D. 969–70 for the accession of Parakēsari, even if correct, may be accepted for Āditya II. It must be noted that this arrangement assumes that the explicit statement in the larger Leiden grant (ll. 41–42) that Rājāditya ruled as king after his

hands of Vīra Pāndya has been sometimes identified with Parāntaka II Sundara Chola.[1] This Chola king fought at Chēvūr a battle which is referred to in the larger Leiden grant as follows: 'At the town named Chēvūr, he, completely filling all the directions by the multitude of very sharp arrows sent forth from his own beautiful bow, produced manifold rivers of blood flowing from the great royal elephants of his foes, cut down with his sharp sword.'[2] It is remarkable that this rather forced account of the battle does not claim a victory for the Chola king; this may mean that the Chola king did not have the best of the battle in spite of his heroism. This inference becomes more certain in the light of other facts. Vīra Pāndya claims to have taken the head of a Chola and his inscriptions mentioning this achievement range from his sixth to his nineteenth year (163 of 1894 and 65 of 1896). It is not possible to identify the prince who was killed by Vīra Pāndya; but it cannot be Parāntaka himself.[3] It seems a legitimate inference to make that

father's death is a mistake as it seems to contradict the evidence on the battle of Takkōla (*A.R.E.*, 1892, p. 3; contra *E.I.*, vol. xv, p. 52); see also *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. iii, pp. 67 ff. The discussion of this subject in *A.R.E.*, 1926, part ii, paras 13 ff. does not seem to carry it much farther.

[1] Cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *E.I.*, vol. xv; *contra*, H. K. Sastri in para 31, part ii, of *A.R.E.* for 1915. It is rather strange that Mr. Sastri should think that the larger Leiden grant says that a Vīra Pāndya was defeated by Sundara Chola. He also remarks: 'The boast of Vīra Pāndya that he also took the head of the Chola king may be explained by assuming that before he was beheaded by Āditya II he would probably have killed a Chola.' See also *A.R.E.*, 1921, p. 109. The number of years (13) covered by the records of Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola' preclude the supposition that he killed Sundara Chola and was himself killed soon after by Āditya II.

[2] Burgess and Natesa Sastri—*Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions*, p. 217. The suggestion that Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola' may have been the son and successor of Rājasimha II based on No. 122 of 1905 (*Trav. Arch. Series*, iii, p. 68) is not easy to accept as it does not seem to fit in with the chronology of the period.

[3] Messrs. Krishna Sastri and K. V. Subramanya Aiyar come to the

Parāntaka II Sundara Chola fought with a Pāndya a battle at Chēvūr and that this fight furnished the occasion of Vīra Pāndya's distinction, and some further support may be found for this assumption in the fact that Chēvūr, not yet satisfactorily identified, was the scene of many fights between the Pāndya rulers and their foes in an earlier age.

But if Vīra Pāndya succeeded in repelling what was perhaps the first attempt to recover Chola power in the south at the end of the Rāshtrakūṭa occupation, his success did not leave any permanent results. The son and successor of Parāntaka II on the Chola throne seems to have avenged his father's defeat by proceeding against Vīra Pāndya in sufficient strength to inflict a crushing defeat on him and then to capture and decapitate him. And this victory of Āditya is referred to in an inscription (No. 472 of 1908) of the second year of his reign so that it seems quite possible that this success was won even in his father's life time.[1] Vīra Pāndya then did not reap the benefits of his victory over Sundara for more than fifteen to twenty years at the most. But he seems to have made good use of this brief respite secured by him. His inscriptions contain references to a Cholāntaka Brahmarāya, a Cholāntaka

conclusion that Parāntaka II was the king who claims to have driven the Pāndya to the forest and who is referred to as the king who died in the Golden Hall. (See *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 255; *E. I.*, vol. xii, pp. 124-5; the only references are those given by Mr. Aiyar and they are not such as to bear his interpretation.) The inscriptions relied on by Messrs. Sastri and Aiyar are all very fragmentary with the possible exception of the vague reference in *verse* 63 of the Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājendra (*Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. iii, p. 144). Venkayya accepts the identification of Ponmālgaittunjinadēva with Parāntaka II but says nothing of the other attribute (*S.I.I.*, vol. ii, Introduction, p. 1; see also No. 302 of 1908).

[1] See Leiden grant, ll. 58-60 and Tiruvālangāḍu plates, verse 67. On a Pārthivēndravarman who has the same title as Āditya II, (see *A.R.E.*, 1900, p. 7; 1910, p. 76; 1911, p. 88; 1921, p. 109).

Pallavarayan and a Cholāntakan *nāḻi* (grain-measure). Cholāntaka was probably a surname assumed by Vīra Pāndya after his successful fight with the Cholas[1] and the reference to the *nāḻi* may imply that the king found time to regulate the weights and measures used in the land. Six inscriptions of this king from the Ramnad district refer to a Sundara Pāndya Īśvaram Uḍaiyār temple in Tirucculi Paḷḷimaḍam, a village in the district; it is not possible to say who this Sundara Pāndya was though it seems certain that he must have been closely connected with Vīra Pāndya.

It is not known if Madhurāntaka Uttama Chola undertook any expedition against Madura as his *biruda* may imply, or as seems more likely, if he only inherited his title from his father Gaṇḍarāditya who has been identified with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari of the inscriptions.[2] At any rate, there is no reason to doubt that the Chola power was not fully restored in the Pāndya country by the success of Aditya II and that later, it became more firmly established in the time of the great Rāja Rāja I who came to the Chola throne in A.D. 985. That Rāja Rāja took great credit for his conquest of the Pāndya country is clear from his inscriptions. A record of the twenty-ninth year of Rāja Rāja says, for instance, 'that he deprived the Śeḻiyas (i.e. the Pāndyas) of (their) splendour at the very moment when (they were) resplendent (to such a degree) that (they were) worthy to be worshipped everywhere.'[3] But we know little of the details. 'It is in inscriptions of the eighth year

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1910, p. 86; 1915, part ii, para 31.

[2] See *A.R.E.* 1912, p. 57. Gaṇḍarāditya himself seems to have got the title Madhurāntaka from the part he took in his father's conquest of Madura or by mere heredity.

[3] *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 250.

(A.D. 994) of the king's reign that the usual historical introduction, beginning with the words *Tirumakaḷpōla*, which was evidently composed after the conquest of the Pāndyas, occurs for the first time' (Venkayya) and the conquest of the south may be taken to have far advanced by that time. The little that is known of the campaigns of this conquest has been summarised by Venkayya[1] as follows: 'In his first campaign the king is said to have destroyed a fleet in the port of Kāndaḷūr, which appears to have been situated in the dominions of the Chera king. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates which furnish a lengthy account of Rāja Rāja's campaigns do not mention this item at all. They begin with the war against the Pāndyas and report that Rāja Rāja seized the Pāndya king, Amarabhujanga, and that the Chola general captured the port of Viḻiñam. Perhaps, Kāndaḷūr or Kāndaḷūr Śālai was near Viḻiñam. It is not unlikely that the Chola king fought on more than one occasion against the Pāndyas. The Cheras and the Pāndyas appear to have

[1] See *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, Intro., pp. 2-3. Venkayya also says: 'A place named Udagai (உதகை) is mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Pāndyas (p. 250, n. 3). The *Kalingattupparaṇi* refers to the "storming of Udagai" in the verse which alludes to the reign of Rāja Rāja. The *Kulōttunga-Śōḻan-Ulā* also mentions the burning of Udagai. This was probably an important stronghold in the Pāndya country which the Chola king captured.' But the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, *verse* viii. 22, clearly implies that Udagai was not in the Pāndya country but outside the traditional limits of that kingdom; therefore Mr. Venkayya's note to the passage quoted above is more to the point: 'The Kīḻūr inscription of Rāja Rāja's twenty-seventh year (No. 236 of 1902) which is partly mutilated, supplies a historical introduction of the king in Tamil poetry, different from the usual திருமகள்பொலவு etc., and mentions the king's conquest of Udagai in his campaign against Malaināḍu. As already stated the Pāndya country must have also included Malaināḍu at the time of Rāja Rāja's conquest.' On Kāndaḷūr Śālai, see *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. ii, pp. 2-5 for a more likely interpretation. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar is inclined to interpret all references to சாத்தமர்ராஜன் கலகமுத்த as suppressions of local risings. But there are difficulties in accepting this view also.

been allied together in their war against the Chola king, for in the Tanjore inscriptions reference is frequently made to the conquest of the Chera king and the Pāndyas in Malainādu, i.e. the west coast. Kāndaḷūr Śālai which is stated to belong to the Chera king in later inscriptions was probably held by the Pāndyas when it was attacked by Rāja Rāja.' Many inscriptions of Rāja Rāja have been found in various places in the Pāndya country and these range from the ninth to the twentieth years of his reign. Other facts also show that the Chola suzerainty in the Pāndya country was firmly established by Rāja Rāja. Even the name of the Pāndya country undergoes a change and becomes Rāja-rāja-Maṇḍalam or Raja-rāja-Pāṇḍinādu in the Chola records;[1] and we come to hear of a sub-division Pāndya-kulāśani-vaḷanādu for the first time in the age of Rāja Rāja or possibly a little earlier.[2] Among the queens of Rāja Rāja is one Pancavanmahādēvi referred to in inscriptions from the tenth year of Rāja Rāja (No. 254 of 1907); and in the twenty-eighth year of the king a grant is made by one of his queens Vēmban Śīrudaiyār *alias* Mīnavan Mahādēviyār.[3] Rāja Rāja apparently also used the Pāndya country as a base for a successful raid on Ceylon between the seventeenth and twentieth years of his reign.[4] A Tanjore inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Rāja Rāja[5] contains an order dealing with defaulters in land-revenue in Pāṇḍinādu *alias* Rāja-rāja-vaḷanādu, among others. Above all, Rāja Rāja's son and successor Rājēndra inherited the Pāndya country from his father. His

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1917, pp. 106–7.

[2] See No. 455 of 1908 and 672 of 1909 which are Nos. 691 and 538 respectively under Trichinopoly district in Mr. V. Rangacharya's *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1909, p. 91.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 523–24.

[5] *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, No. 9.

inscriptions are found in places like Tinnevelly and Cape Comorin in the Pāndya country which he does not claim to have conquered.[1] Rājēndra's relations with the Pāndya kingdom can be traced clearly from the records of his time. The Pāndyas of the old line seem to have continued their rule in a subordinate capacity; an inscription in the third year of Rājēndra (No. 46 of 1907) from Tiruvīśalūr in the Tanjore district, records a gift of ornaments by the queen of the Pāndya king, Śrīvaḷḷuvar. In the sixth year of his reign, A.D. 1017, or a little earlier, Rājēndra undertook his famous expedition against Ceylon in which he seized 'the crown of the king of Īḻam (on) the tempestuous ocean; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (king); the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra which the king of the South (i.e. the Pāndya) had previously deposited with that (king of Īḻam); the whole Īḻa-maṇḍala (on) the transparent sea.'[2] Rājēndra was also called Madhurāntaka and Uttamachola; these names were perhaps given him by his father Rāja Rāja who had a great regard for his father's cousin Madhurāntaka Uttamachola. It seems more likely that two coins, one of gold and the other of impure silver, bearing the legend *Uttamachola* in grantha characters and the tiger and fish designs were issued by Rājēndra rather than by the earlier Uttamachola who was the contemporary of Rāja Rāja.[3] In the tenth year of his reign or very soon after,

[1] Cf. *A.R.E.*, 1917, p. 107; *contra* Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, p. 151 of *Ancient Dekhan*; but Mr. Aiyar gives no references and seems to base his account on the Sanskrit portion (*verses* 90-93) of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, which are dealt with later in the text.

[2] See *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 522-23.

[3] Contra *A.R.E.*, 1904, p. 10. Things seem to have been still unsettled in the Pāndya country in the time of the earlier Madhurāntaka; no records of the Cholas between Parāntaka and Rāja Rāja are seen in the

surely before the twelfth, Rājēndra had to undertake an expedition against the Madura country in order to reassert his authority which seems to have been challenged in some way or other. The early inscriptions of the king dated before his tenth year make no mention of any conquest of Maduraimaṇḍalam ; and we hear of it for the first time in a record of his twelfth year from Tirumalai.[1] It is possible that this reconquest is referred to in *verses* 91–93 of the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates.[2] 'The daṇḍanātha of this crest jewel of the solar race (i.e. Madhurāntaka), struck the Pāndya king who had a powerful army. (And) the Pāndya, leaving his own country from fear of Madhurāntaka, sought refuge in the Malaya hill which was the residence of (the sage) Agastya. (Then) the politic son of Rāja Rāja took possession of the lustrous pure pearls which looked like the seeds (out of which grew) the

Pāndya country and it is not likely that these coins were issued in that period. I have already said that the Madras Museum plates of Parakēsari Uttamachola may be ascribed to Rājēndra also. (n. 1, p. 101) And Dr. Hultzsch remarks 'The close resemblance of the devices on the coins (referred to in this note) to those on the seal of the inscription leaves little doubt that both the coins and the inscription have to be attributed to the same king Uttamachola' (*A.R.E.*, 1891, p. 5).

[1] See *E. I.*, vol. ix, p. 232. Hultzsch's remark at p. 230 *E.I.* ix. 'Maduramaṇḍala need not be connected with Madura, the capital of the Pāndya king, who has been already accounted for, but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathura on the Yamuna'—will be plausible if the identification of Śakkarakkōṭṭam rests on a secure basis ; but this is very doubtful and it is possible to adopt the usual meaning of Maduraimaṇḍalam and explain the new conquest as in the text. The Pāndya king moreover has not been 'already accounted for' but only 'two other trinkets which the Pāndya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon'.

[2] The Sanskrit part of the plates dates only from the sixteenth year of Rājēndra at the earliest (see *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 384) and cannot compare in accuracy with the Tamil stone inscriptions of Rājēndra; hence no violence is done to the authority of these verses when the campaign they refer to is placed about the tenth regnal year according to indications in the lithic records. I have adopted Mr. Krishna Sastri's translation with a correction which appears necessary.

spotless fame of the Pāndya king. Having placed there his own son, the glorious Chola-Pandya, for the protection of his (i.e. the Pāndya's country), the light of the solar race started for the conquest of the western region.' We have no means of knowing who the Pāndya king was, whether he was Śrīvallabha or a successor of his, that was forced to seek refuge in the mountain of Agastya. The appointment of the king's son, the glorious Chola-Pāndya, as viceroy of the Pāndya country is confirmed by an inscription (363 of 1917) of the tenth year of Rājēndra, which also 'furnishes the very interesting information that Rājēndra Chola I constructed at Madura a huge palace (*Māḷigai*) by whose weight even the earth became unsteady'; this inscription also implies that the campaign undertaken by Rājēndra in the south extended up to Śālai (Kāndaḷūr Śālai) whose destruction is mentioned.[1] For a period of about half a century, after this campaign of Rājēndra in the Pāndya country, which may be placed about A.D. 1020, the administration of this part of the Chola empire seems to have been regularly vested in a prince of the Chola royal family who bore the title Chola-Pāndya. Rājēndra's son who figures in the inscriptions of this period as Jaṭāvarman Sundara Chola-Pāndya was the first of these Chola-Pāndya viceroys, and he may have continued in this capacity for some years in the beginning of the reign of the Chola emperor Rājādhirāja I who succeeded Rājēndra.[2] It is possible that the Chola-Pāndya viceroys

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1918, p. 144 and Appendix B.

[2] On Chola-Pāndyas, see *A.R.E.*, 1905, pp. 48-9 and later reports, esp. 1917, pp. 107-8 and 1924, pp. 105-6; also *E. I.*, vol. xi, pp. 292 ff. It is not easy to identify the particular princes mentioned in the several Chola-Pāndya records. The Chola inscriptions themselves mention three such cases of Chola-Pāndya viceroys appointed by different rulers; there is little

had some control over the Chera country also. The inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Chola-Pāndya are found all over Madura and Tinnevelly and portions of Pudukkottah and S. Travancore. Some inscriptions (Nos. 111, 113 and 114 of 1905) of the sixteenth year of this prince from Mannārkōvil near Ambāsamudram mention the Chera kings Rāja Rāja and Rājasimha and another record from the same place (No. 112 of 1905) dated in the twenty-fourth year of Rājēndra himself says that Rājasimha built in Mannārkōvil the Viṣṇu temple called Rajēndra-cholaviṇṇagar.[1] Besides Jaṭāvarman Sundara Chola-Pāndya, two other Chola princes are known from Chola inscriptions to have been appointed to the viceroyalty of the Pāndyan kingdom. In the historical introductions of Rājēndradēva (*c.* A.D. 1052–1064), he is stated to have conferred on one of his younger brothers, the victorious Mummaḍi Solaṇ, the title Chola-Pāndyan.[2] Again some years later Vīrarājēndra I conferred on his son Gangaikoṇḍachola the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and the title Chola-Pāndya.[3] It is not possible to identify these princes in the Chola-Pāndya records very clearly; and it is not unlikely there were two or three princes similarly deputed to rule the Pāndyan kingdom. But this system does not seem to have been continued after the accession of Kulōttunga I about A.D. 1070.[4]

room for doubt that this arrangement did not continue after the accession of Kulōttunga I.

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1905; Appendix B and *E.I.*, vol. xi, p. 294. Also No. 392 of 1916 mentions a gift by the queen of Chera Rāśingadēvar to the temple.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1917, pp. 107–8. [3] *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 33.

[4] Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar says: 'The Pāndyas seem to have asserted their independence already during the reign of Kulōttunga I. At any rate we have no reason to suppose that the Chola-Pāndya kings continued very long. In fact their rule could not have lasted more than half a century which was probably occupied by the rule of the few princes known

These Chola-Pāndya viceroys were subject to the Chola emperors and the control from the centre seems to have been both vigorous and regular. This is clear from the existence of inscriptions of the Chola emperors of the period in the Pāndya country by the side of the records of their viceroys. At the same time, the Pāndya kings of the old line seem to have survived in sufficient strength to give much trouble to their conquerors; and they seem to have made common cause with the rulers of Ceylon who had undergone a degradation similar to that of the Pāndya rulers in consequence of the Chola conquest of Ceylon. It is very remarkable that we hear of several princes of the Ceylonese and Pāndya royal families of this period bearing identical names; this shows the existence of rather close dynastic relations between the aggrieved families that made common cause against the Chola emperors; but it also adds considerably to the difficulty of giving a correct account of the intricate military and political transactions that are referred to alike in the *Mahāvaṁśa* and in the inscriptions of the imperial Cholas.[1] Our concern however is only with the Pāndyas and their relation to the Cholas and this in itself is a fairly simple story. The chief reason for the adoption, in the period, of a system of government by viceroys is perhaps found in this political alliance between the dispossessed families of the Pāndyas and the Ceylon kings; the wide extent of the Chola empire

from inscriptions' (*E.I.*, vol. xi, p. 293 n.). Mr. H. Krishna Sastri (*A.R.E.*, 1917) identifies Mummaḍi Chola with Māṛavarman Vikrama Chola-Pāndya of the epigraphs and Gangaikoṇḍa with Jaṭāvarman Chola-Pāndya of No. 642 of 1916. See also *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. vi, pp. 6–7 where four viceroys are distinguished.

[1] See the remarks of Hultzsch in *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 519–21.

after the conquests of Rājēndra was no doubt a contributory factor.[1]

Almost every one of the kings who reigned between Rājēndra I Gangaikoṇḍa and Rājēndra II *alias* Kulōttunga I—he ought properly to be numbered third among Rājēndras—claims to have conquered the Pāndya country and some add also an attack on Udagai in the Kēraḷa country to the list of their achievements. But we are not yet in a position to trace in detail any of these expeditions, the circumstances that led to them or their results. But a record of the twenty-ninth year of Rājādhirāja I corresponding to A.D. 1046 contains the names of three Pāndya kings who opposed him and suffered terribly for doing so. Their fates are recorded in an inscription in the following terms:[2] 'Among the three allied kings of the south (i.e. Pāndyas), Rājādhirāja cut off on a battlefield the beautiful head of Mānābharaṇan (which was adorned with) large jewels (and) which was inseparable from the golden crown;

[1] Mr. Venkayya remarks that though the Pāndya country was conquered early in Rāja Rāja I's reign, Chola-Pāndya viceroys come in only with Rājēndra Chola I whose extensive scheme of foreign conquests made them necessary and that 'the name Pāndya was perhaps added at the end of the Chola prince's name partly to reconcile the people to their new ruler' (*A.R.E.*, 1905, pp. 48-9). Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar says on the other hand, 'The necessity for their appointment arose from the fact that the Pāndyas could never be completely subdued. They continued in a state of chronic revolt against the Chola yoke during the whole period of Chola supremacy in South India.' (*E.I.*, vol xi, p. 293.) Our view is that Rājēndra made the discovery only about the tenth year of his reign that some special steps were necessary for keeping a tight hold on the Pāndya country; and that the Pāndyas derived a great part of their strength from the traditional sway they had secured in the hearts of their people, and the rest from their political alliance with Ceylon. It is remarkable that all the sternness of the Chola emperors was not able to root out the Pāndyas; and that the latter should have ultimately got the better of their conquerors, and in the end even contributed largely to their downfall.

[2] *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 56.

seized in a battle Vīra Kēraḷan whose ankle-rings were wide, and was pleased to get him trampled down by his furious elephant Attivāraṇa; and drove to the ancient Mullaiyūr Sundara Pāndyan of endless great fame, who lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol, the bunches (of hairs) of the white yak, and the throne, and who ran away—his crown dropping down, (his) hair being dishevelled, and (his) feet getting tired.' Nothing more is known of the three Pāndyas mentioned here. Mānābharaṇan and Vīra Kēraḷan appear to have occupied somewhat subordinate positions and Sundara Pāndya seems to have been the chief of the trio. This is evident from the laudatory reference to Sundara and also from the fact that he escaped capital punishment. We read later on in the same inscription that Rājādhirāja invaded Ceylon and in this expedition he dethroned four rulers of the country. One of them was 'Vikrama Pāndyan, who, having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country which had previously belonged to him, had entered Īḻam (surrounded by) the seven oceans'. We do not know at present what this means exactly; but it illustrates the close connection, political and dynastic, between the Pāndyas and the Ceylon kings in this period.

The accession of Kulōttunga I marks a turning-point in the history of the Chola empire. This king was not of the direct Chola imperial line; he was an Eastern Chāḷukya prince; and many troubles seem to have attended the accession of a comparative stranger like him to the Chola throne. Whether as a result of his intrigues or not, the empire was reduced to a state of great confusion bordering on anarchy[1] and from these troubles

[1] See remarks at p. 14 of *A.R.E.*, 1899 and also at p. 7 of same for 1901; also *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 129.

it seems never to have completely recovered under Kulōttunga and his successors. At any rate, we do not find under Kulōttunga and his successors the same vigour in the administration of the empire that characterized the Vijayālaya line; and the Pāndya kingdom, now apparently freed from the presence of the Chola-Pāndya viceroys, slowly began to pass more and more under the domination of the descendants of its ancient rulers until at last it not only secured its own independence but helped a good deal to pull down the power of its erstwhile dominant foe. But before we take up this part of the story, something remains to be said about the administration of the Pāndya country under the imperial Cholas of the Vijayālaya line.

There is a general order of Rāja Rāja I recorded in an inscription of the twenty-fourth year of his reign, i.e., about A.D. 1009[1] which 'deals with defaulters of land revenue in villages held by Brahmins, Vaikhānasas and Jainas in the Chola, Toṇḍai and Pāndya countries.'[2] The default in the payment of revenue seems to have been on the part of a special class of tenants who are referred to as 'காணி உடையார்' and who seem to have in some manner abused their privileged position; the penalty that is laid down by the royal order is drastic, but it must be noticed that it applied to other territories besides the Pāndya country. The king orders that all 'காணி உடையார்' who between the sixteenth

[1] *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, No. 9.

[2] Dr. Hultzsch's translation of this record does not seem to bring out the fact that it is significant, though its exact import is far from clear. The operative part of the text is 'காணி உடையார் யாண்டு 16 வது முதல் 23 ஆவது வரையில் சாண்டு நிரம்பி மூவாண்டு தந்தங்காணியான நிலங்களுக்கு அவ்வவ் ஊர் களிலாரொடும் ஊரிடு வரிப்பாடு இறை இருது போனர் காணி உடையாரைத் தவிர ஊர் நிலமாய் அவ்வவ் ஊர்களிலா ரெவிற்றுக்கொள்ளப் பெறுவார்களாகவும்.'

and twenty-third years of his reign had failed to pay the dues paid by others in the village (ஊரிலுள்ளபடி) and whose default continued after more than two complete years into a third year—all such 'காணி உடையார்' shall forfeit their 'காணி' lands to the village; and the villagers shall arrange to sell the lands among themselves, but the old defaulters shall not be allowed to buy up these lands again. The same rule was to be observed in all similar cases of default after the twenty-fourth year of the king's reign. The whole record looks like an attempt to regulate the administration of charitable endowments made on behalf of several religious orders and to secure that they did not escape public dues that were laid on them by the terms of the original endowment or the custom of the country. Inscriptions Nos. 327 and 619 of 1916, which are Chola-Pāndya records from Tiruvālīśvaram and Sērmādēvi in the Tinnevelly district, seem to contain interesting particulars of land revenue administration. But the text of these records is not yet available and this is how the official epigraphist summarizes them: 'This record (No. 327) refers to a gift of land by him (Sundara Chola-Pāndya) after purchasing it from the sabha of Rāja Rāja Caturvēdimangalam i.e., Ambāsamudram. (It should rather be Brahmadēśam). The income from the land included paddy given by the cultivator (*veḷḷān*) as owner's share and money called *uruvukōl-nilan-kāśu* and *kākshi-erudukāśu*. No. 619 of the seventeenth year of the same king's reign refers to similar items of income under the heads of *aḷagerudu-kātchi-kāśu*, *kātchi-erudu-kāśu* and *ūrkkaḷanju*. The order sanctioning the transfer of the land from the *Brahmadēya* register to the *Devadāna* register in No. 327, was communicated to the viceroy, the document being signed by not less than twenty-two

officers of the emperor.'[1] The collection of the dues partly in kind and partly in money and the mention of sundry pecuniary levies under different names deserve special attention. Further study may lead to a clear understanding of the nature of these cesses. Another Chola-Pāndya record which registers a sale of land to the Viṣṇu temple Rājēndra Chola Viṇṇagaram at Mannārkōvil may also be briefly referred to. The sale in this case was ordered by the members of the sabha of Rāja Rāja Caturvēdimangalam, already referred to ; several of these members who ordered the sale were learned men bearing titles like *Bhaṭṭa*, *Sōmayājin* and *Kramavit* and they seem to have been resident in the different suburbs (*śēri*) of the village; and some at least among them appear to have been immigrants from other parts of the Chola empire.[2] The sale deed (விலை ஓலை) is written by the Karaṇattān (கரணத்தான்) of the village and the sale is referred to by the members of the assembly in the phrase 'விலை ஓலைசெய்து நீரோடட்டிக்கொடுத்தோம்' (l. 4).

One reference to a *maṭha* of the sect of Mahāvratins that occurs in a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription from Tiruccuḷi in the Ramnad district is sufficiently important to deserve special mention. It occurs in a record of the eleventh year of Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola' (No. 423 of 1914). This reference is confirmed by

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1917, p. 108 ; part ii, para 4.

[2] Cf. *E.I.*, vol. xi, pp. 292 ff. Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar remarks in a note at p. 292, 'It is worthy of note that two of the signatures at the end of the inscription are in Sanskrit. Such admixture of Sanskrit words in a Tamil record of this period may be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the revival of learning brought about by the immigration to the southern country of a large number of Brahmins from the north as a result of the conquests of Rājēndra Chola I, which extended as far as the Ganges.' But the admixture of Sanskrit in Tamil records is very common even in the age of the First Empire as we have seen and even then the immigration of Brahmins from the north was not unknown.

another record of Vikramakēsari, a Koḍumbāḷūr chieftain, who claims to have conquered Vīra Pāndya in battle. This chieftain was the son of a Chola princess and probably took the side of the Cholas against Vīra Pāndya in the wars mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.[1] Vikramakēsari presented a big *maṭha* (*brihan-maṭham*) to a certain Mallikārjuna of Madura, who was the chief ascetic of the Kālāmukha sect, with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (called *asita-vaktra*). Mallikārjuna belonged to the Ātrēya gotra and was the disciple of two teachers Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi. These references reveal the presence in the Madura and Ramnad districts and in the Pudukkottah state—the Vikramakēsari record comes from Mūvarkōil in that state—of a considerable number of the ascetics of the Mahāvrata or Kālāmukha sect of the Śaivas. Dr. Bhandarkar says of this sect: 'It will be seen how terrible and demoniacal this sect was . . . . Mahāvrata means the great vow, and the greatness of the vow consists in its extraordinary nature, such as eating food placed in a human skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of human carcasses and others which are attributed to Kālāmukhas by Rāmānuja'.[2]

[1] See Venkayya in *A.R.E.*, 1908, part ii, paras 85–6 and for a brief discussion of No. 423 of 1914, *A.R.E.*, 1915, p. 101. Mr. Krishna Sastri's suspicion that Mahāvratins may refer to Jains may be taken to be set at rest by the use of the term *asita-vaktra* (= Kālāmukha) in the record of Vikramakēsari.

[2] *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism*, p. 128.

CHAPTER IX

THE END OF CHOLA ASCENDANCY: CIVIL WAR AND RECOVERY

THE confusion in the Chola empire that led to the accession of the Eastern Chāḷukya Rājēndra *alias* Kulōttunga I to the Chola throne about A.D. 1070 apparently gave the Pāndyas an opportunity to recover some of their lost power. A Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha seems to have reigned in this period with some real power for a period of at least twenty-three years (No. 555 of 1922). A considerable number of his records are found in various places in the Tinnevelly and Madura districts, in particular at Kuruvitturai and Tirupputtūr. Most of these contain a grandiloquent historical introduction beginning with the words *Tirumaḍandaiyum Jayamaḍandaiyum*, but this introduction tells us nothing about the historical details of his reign. There are references to a throne called Pāndyarāyan, to another throne Kalingattaraiyan which seems to have got its name from an important officer called Kaliṅgarājan and to an Aḷagiya Pāndyan hall in which these thrones were placed in the palace at Madura, to the east of Māḍakkuḷam. There is also reference to a Piḷḷaiyār Sundara Pāndya, probably the son of the king (493 of 1909). We also learn that *drammas* were among coins current in his time. Moreover, 'references in these inscriptions to canals, sluices, water-bunds, etc., called after Parākrama Pāndya and to the grain measure named *Vīra Pāndya*, prove that Parākrama Pāndya and Vīra Pāndya

were two predecessors of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha or his co-regents who greatly improved the agricultural condition of the Pāndya country.'[1] It is not possible to determine precisely the period of his rule although there is some reason to think that he was a contemporary of Kulōttunga I. This is an inference that rests at present only on the slender basis that a certain Vīraśēkharan *alias* Aḍalaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān refers to the fourth year of Jaṭāvarman Srīvallabha in one inscription and the forty-ninth year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulōttunga Chola-dēva in another (30 and 32 of 1909).[2] It has been suggested that Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha must have adopted the surname Chōḷāntaka 'after subduing the Cholas before he could secure for himself the independent position which is suggested by the eulogistic and poetical historical introduction with which his records begin.'[3] But one cannot

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 23.

[2] See *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 23 end. The report for 1917 finds confirmation of the age of Śrīvallabha in 331 of 1916 from Tiruvāliśvaram in which a certain Umai-Ammai of about the end of the tenth century is mentioned. Again, No. 21 of 1927 in the tenth year of this king refers to the thirty-first year of Kulōttunga Chola who took Kollam. It must be noted however that the whole question is far from satisfactorily settled. There is a strange inconsistency in the positions taken up in the epigraphical reports about this king. We learn (1909) that 'he was perhaps the immediate predecessor of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara of the earlier Tiruppūvaṇam grant' at the beginning of a paragraph which ends with the statement that he was of the age of Kulōttunga I and was among the Pāndya sovereigns overthrown by him. Either of these conclusions must be wrong as Kulōttunga I came to the throne about A.D. 1070 and conquered the Pāndyas before A.D. 1085 (*S.I.I.*, vol. ii, No. 58) and Kulaśēkhara of the Tiruppūvaṇam grant came to the throne in A.D. 1190 (Kielhorn *E.I.*, vol. vi). The report for 1917 leans to Kulōttunga's time but we hear a different story in the report for 1923 which again makes him the predecessor of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (para 46, part ii). In the reports for 1918 and 1927 his accession is placed in A.D. 1291. The only fact which seems to help us in deciding this is noted in the text; the rest are impressions and may be ignored for the present. See also K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 162–3 for a discussion of the matter of this note *re.* Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 23.

accept this in the absence of any mention of such an achievement in the introduction itself. It is more likely that the old name of Choḷāntaka Caturvēdimangalam for Kuruvitturai or more probably Śoḷavandān,[1] commemorated the success of Vīra Pāndya, the opponent of Aditya II.

Several inscriptions of Kulōttunga Chola I have been found in the Pāndya country. One has been discovered at Tinnevelly (145 of 1894) but the regnal year has been lost; and another (31 of 1896) at Kōṭṭāṛu; several others are found on the site of ancient Koṛkai (157, 161 and 162–5 of 1903). An inscription of the fifth year of Kulōttunga[2] seems to record that an unnamed Pāndya king was decapitated by him. Another record of the fourteenth year[3] repeats this fact and records a fresh conquest of the Pāndya with several details. It says: 'Having resolved in (his) royal mind to conquer also the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam with great fame, (he) despatched his great army. . . . He completely destroyed the forest which the five Pancavas had entered as refuge, when they were routed, on a battle-field where (he) fought (with them), and fled cowering with fear. (He) subdued their country, drove them into hot jungles (in) hills where woodmen roamed about, and planted pillars of victory in every region. (He) was pleased to seize the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil (mountain) where the three kinds of Tamil (flourished), the (very) centre of the (mountain) Śaiyam where furious rutting elephants were captured, and Kanni, and fixed the boundaries of the southern country . . . . (He) was pleased to bestow on the chiefs of his army, who were mounted on horses, settlements on every road,

[1] Hultzsch, *A.R.E.*, 1894, p. 7, para 12.
[2] *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, No. 68.
[3] No. 69, *ibid.*

including (that which passed) Kōṭṭāṟu, in order that the enemies might be scattered.' 'The defeat of the "five Pāndyas" and the burning of Kōṭṭāṟu are referred to also in an inscription at Chidambaram and the *Kalingaṭṭupparaṇi*'—(Hultzsch).

What does the reference in these records to the 'five Pāndyas' (பஞ்சவர் ஈவரும், *Pāṇḍyān Panca*) indicate? Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai once thought that the simultaneous rule of five Pāndyas was a fact established by tradition as well as by the statements of contemporary historians,[1] and proceeded to arrange the Pāndya kings of the thirteenth century known to epigraphy on this basis. Mr. Robert Sewell subjected this position to a searching criticism[2] and concluded 'that we must hold the evidence to be overwhelmingly in favour of a single monarchy, and that the theory of a co-regency of five kings may be altogether set aside.' There is no doubt that on this general question of the regular and successive rule of five Pāndyan kings through several generations the position of Mr. Sewell is the sounder of the two, and that Mr. Pillai seems on the whole to have had an exaggerated view of the evidence on his side, and that he was misled by a system of chronology, based exclusively on dubious astronomical data contained in the stone inscriptions of the period.

Mr. Sewell refers to the records of Kulōttunga I and says: 'In two inscriptions of Kulōttunga Chola I the king is lauded for having, shortly before A.D. 1084, completely defeated "the five Pāndyas". But this is poetry.' It is not easy so to brush aside the clear references in

[1] *I.A.*, vol. xlii, p. 166; also vol. xliv, pp. 172-6. It must be noted that Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai's discussion of Pāndya dates in his *Ephemeris*, vol. i, part ii, pp. 81ff is much more cautious.

[2] *Ibid.*

the phrases quoted above. On the other hand, it is not necessary that each of these 'five Pāndyas' must have been an independent ruler in his own right. It may be recalled that one of Kulōttunga's predecessors on the Chola throne, Rājādhirāja, had three Pāndyas for his opponents, Manābharaṇa, Vīra Kēraḷa and Sundara, of whom only the last is referred to in the Chola records in terms befitting a reigning king. We do not get any details about the opponents of Kulōttunga. It may be surmised that Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha was among them; if this surmise is correct, there can be little doubt that the account of Kulōttunga who claims to have driven all the five Pāndyas to the forest and then to have burnt that forest is over-drawn; for the chances are that Śrīvallabha survived his defeat by Kulōttunga and continued to rule, though perhaps with diminished power, and this seems to be admitted somewhat later in the same record of Kulōttunga where we are told that he 'fixed the boundaries of the southern country'.[1]

[1] This conclusion seems a natural inference from the two records of Aḍalaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān (30 and 32 of 1909) in which he refers to the fourth year of Śrīvallabha and the forty-ninth year of Kulōttunga. We know that Śrīvallabha reigned for at least twenty-three years and we may assume that for the bulk of it his reign overlapped Kulōttunga's. We shall have, otherwise, to credit Aḍalaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān with a rather unusual length of active life, nineteen *plus* forty-nine years, as there seems to be little doubt that the forty-ninth year of Kulōttunga was later than the fourth of Śrīvallabha.

Mr. H. Krishna Sastri seems to accept the co-regent theory. He suggests that Māṟavarman Parākrama Pāndya (of 94, 98 and 131 of 1908), and Tribhuvanacakravartin Vikrama Pāndya Dēva (of 26 of 1909) might have been also among the foes of Kulōttunga (*A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, paras 29 and 30). But it is well to remember Sewell's warning— : 'With some as yet unabridged intervals, hereafter no doubt to be successfully filled in, we are now in possession of the general outlines, and in course of time the whole story will become plain. But it will never become plain if at the present very critical period workers are not particularly cautious in their methods. Deductions put forward or statements confidently made by an author who is recognized as an authority on the subject may, if these are perhaps based

Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha appears to have been succeeded by Māṛavarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Parākrama Pāndya Dēva ; this may be inferred from the fact that a certain Rājēndra Cholan Kēraḷan *alias* Niṣadarājan who made a gift of sheep for a lamp in a temple in the twenty-first year of Śrīvallabha, also made a gift of paddy to the same temple in the eleventh year of Parākrama Pāndya.[1] Parākrama Pāndya's records begin with a historical introduction commencing with *Tirumagaḷ Puṇara* and mention *drammas* as among the coins current in his time. Nothing more is known at present about this king. He must have reigned as a contemporary of Kulōttunga also.

The next Pāndya king, perhaps the immediate successor of Māṛavarman Parākrama Pāndya, seems to have been a Jaṭāvarman Parāntaka Pāndya. He is known to us so far only from one record of his at Kanyākumāri. Fortunately the record is full and gives a clear account of the king's reign.[2] The historical introduction commences beautifully thus '*திருவளர்ச் செயம்வளர தென்ன*

on insufficient evidence, have the unfortunate result of seriously clouding the issue and raising great difficulties for the student in after years. An assertion so made is apt to be accepted as an historic truth.'

It seems very likely that, from the period of the recovery of Pāndya power which preceded the expedition of Kulōttunga I, there were appointed in important subordinate capacities princes of the blood royal who recorded their own inscriptions after the manner of the ruling kings—a practice which may have been copied from the contemporary Cholas ; if that was so, the imitators must have gone much farther along this road than their models. If this suggestion is borne out by future study, the best way of treating Pāndya history of the middle ages will be to treat the kings in Kielhorn's list as the main line of rulers. But even so, there will remain much work in the way of properly interpreting the hundreds of epigraphs.

It will be seen from the text that I prefer to treat Māṛavarman Parākrama Pāndya of 94, 98, and 131 of 1908 as the successor of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha.

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 29. See also 1910, part ii, para 32.

[2] *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i, pp. 18ff. Also *Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. Swamikkannu, vol. i, part ii, p. 87.

வாதம் குலம்வளர வருமறைநான் கவைவளர வணைத்துலகந் துயர்நீங்கத் தென்மதுரா புரித்தோன்றி.' The record is dated in the ninth year of the king. Parāntaka is said to have defeated the Chera and levied tribute from him. The king of the Kūpakas (a local ruler in South Travancore) offered his daughter in marriage to Parāntaka Pāndya who married her. The king then fought a battle at Viḷiñam and took the town. Next came the destruction of Kāndaḷūr-Śālai-kkalam. Apparently the systems of weights and measures were in an unsatisfactory condition and consequently the king is described as having reformed them by abolishing their old names and ordering the carp (கயல்) to be engraved on the new weights and measures that were introduced. Parāntaka also set up ten golden lamps of rare workmanship for the god at Anantapuram and granted a village for their upkeep. He also dedicated to the goddess Kumārī, called here தென்னவர் தம்குலதெய்வம், a whole *nāḍu* as an endowment for the distribution of liberal gifts to all who attended the Taippūśam festival, on the day succeeding it. Lastly, he captured Kuḷam of the Telinga Bhīma and subdued South Kalinga.

These last references to Telinga Bhīma and Kuḷam and South Kalinga remind us strongly of the historical introduction of Kulōttunga's son and successor Vikrama Chola, whose expedition into the Kalinga country takes the first place in his Tamil inscriptions. 'On this occasion he defeated the Telinga Bhīma of Kuḷam who was apparently one of the Nāyakas of Ellore. . . . As Vikrama Chola's inscriptions place the Kalinga war not only before his coronation in A.D. 1118, but before his stay in Vengi, it must have taken place before the end of the reign of his father Kulōttunga I'—(Hultzsch). But in all probability this

war was different from the famous Kalinga war of Kulōttunga celebrated in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and must be dated some years later.[1] It is likely that, as a feudatory of the Chola empire, Parāntaka Pāndya either accompanied Vikrama Chola in person or effectively assisted him in some manner in this expedition against the Telugu chieftain and the Kalinga Kingdom. His conquest of S. Travancore and the imposition of a tribute on that country and his attacks on Śālai and Viḷiñam should, however, have constituted a clear reversal of the arrangements made by Kulōttunga I in the early years of his reign, when he fortified Kōṭṭāṛu and demarcated the boundary of the southern kingdom. It may be, however, that these achievements were undertaken with the knowledge of the Chola emperor and under his orders. It may be noted that we have references to a Parāntaka Vaḷanāḍu as a sub-division of Rāja-rāja Pāṇḍināḍu in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga which come from Māṛamangalam (near Koṛkai) and are dated in the forty-fourth and forty-seventh years of Kulōttunga I (Nos. 161 and 164 of 1903).

The next Pāndya king of whom we have some definite knowledge is Māṛavarman Śrīvallabha who is known to have been reigning in A.D. 1160–1 and to whom king Vīra Ravivarman of Travancore was tributary.[2] There are a considerable number of inscriptions mostly from the Tinnevelly district that may be ascribed to this king. A record from Kōṭṭāṛu (49 of 1896) mentions prince Kulaśēkhara who can be identified with good reason with the prince who had a prominent part in the war of succession that seems to have followed the death of this king, Śrīvallabha. In another (No. 50 of 1896) from

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1903, page 4, para 8. Also 1905, part ii, para 8.

[2] *A.R.S.*, 1896, para 15.

the same place 'the king is said to have been ruling from his throne Munaiyadaraiyan in the palace at Tirunelvēli in Kīḻ-vēmbanāḍu.'[1] A Sucīndram inscription of this king dated in his tenth year refers to Āṇḍapillai Bhaṭṭa Atirātrayāji at whose instance the king made a grant of land to the Sucīndram temple. It is probable that this Āṇḍapillai who performed the *Atirātra* sacrifice was the same as the author of a well-known work on Hindu domestic ritual (*Gṛhyaprayōgavṛtti*) which is still used in Southern India.[2] The records of this king generally begin with the introduction பூமகள் ஐயமகள் etc. But one in his thirty-seventh year (No. 426 of 1916) begins with an introduction ஐயமடக்கையும், etc. almost similar to that of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha. The astronomical details furnished by this record are said to yield the date A.D. 1169 for the inscription; the date is not quite regular but may be accepted in the light of other evidence relating to the king. This would mean that Māṛavarman Śrīvallabha came to the throne in A.D. 1132 and that this record is among the last ones of his reign.[3] But it is doubtful if Śrīvallabha ruled as

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 29. Mr. Krishna Sastri says: 'As Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara was also occupying the throne at Madura called Munaiyadaraiyan we may perhaps suppose that Māṛavarman Śrīvallabha was his immediate predecessor.' I do not see how we can make any such supposition. Frankly, we do not know yet how these thrones were named.

For a similar reason I have refrained from accepting the proposal to treat Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara of Nos. 465 and 466 of 1909 as a contemporary or successor of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha on the strength of the mention of Kalingarāyan both as the name of a seat and as an officer (see *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 36). I may notice incidentally that Mr. Sastri does not seem to be quite correct when he considers that historical introductions are a 'special characteristic feature of the Pāndya records prior to the time of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya I' (*A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 29).

[2] *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. iv, p. 124.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1917, pp. 94 and 109. The *tithi* according to calculation ought to be 2 but the inscription gives *prathamai*.

late as A.D. 1169 and it may after all turn out that this record belongs to some other king.

It has been mentioned that there is reference to a Piḷḷaiyār Kulaśēkhara in the records of Śrīvallabha and that this prince is most probably identical with Kulaśēkhara who figures in a civil war in the Pāndyan kingdom in the second half of the twelfth century.[1] This war is recorded in considerable detail 'in true epic fashion' in the *Mahāvaṁśa*.[2] The account of the *Mahāvaṁśa* is confirmed in important particulars by the Chola inscriptions of the period; these inscriptions also leave no room for doubt that both the Ceylonese and the Chola versions of this war are partisan accounts from which it is difficult to sift the truth. The *Mahāvaṁśa* gives the story in chapters 76 and 77. The Chola inscriptions mentioning the civil war and the events in it are:

20 of 1899—Ārpākkam stone inscription of fifth year of Parakēsarivarman Rājādhirājadēva.

465 of 1905—Tiruvālangāḍu stone inscription of Rājakēsarivarman Rājādhirāja (damaged).

433 of 1924—Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai—(Māyavaram Taluq) stone inscription of the eighth year of Rājakēsarivarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājādhirājadēva;

besides No. 1 of 1899—Tirukkoḷḷambūdūr stone inscription in the fourth year of Kulōttunga III, acording to Mr. Venkayya.

[1] A record (101 of 1908) from Tiruppuṭṭūr in the fifth year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva which gives details which yield July 23, A.D. 1166, seems to belong to Mar. Śrīvallabha's son and successor—the Kulaśēkhara of the civil war; his accession would then count from A.D. 1161–62. See Sewell, *I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 255, following Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai.

[2] Still the best discussion of the war is Mr. Venkayya's in *A.R.E.* 1899. Secondary accounts are found in Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 154–61 and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *S. India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 1–11.

According to the *Mahāvaṁśa* the war was undertaken after the sixteenth year of Parākramabāhu I, i.e. after A.D. 1168–9. But the Ārpākkam inscription of Rājādhirāja is dated in his fifth year which began in A.D. 1167 and shows that the war must have begun before that date. It is not easy to say whether the discrepancy is due to an error in the *Mahāvaṁśa* chronology or in that of the Arpākkam record. Attention may be drawn however to the fact that in the Arpākkam record and in some others[1] the Chola king is called Parakēsarivarman whereas the usual epithet of Rājādhirāja II (*acc.* A.D. 1163) is Rājākēsarivarman. It must also be noticed that if Śrīvallabha reigned till A.D. 1169 the war commenced more probably after A.D. 1168–9. In any case, the error is not much and the exact manner of adjusting it will have to be decided after further study.[2]

The *Mahāvaṁśa* account opens with the siege of Madura, which was in the occupation of Parākrama Pāndya, by Kulaśēkhara. Kulaśēkhara was probably the son of Śrīvallabha and the legitimate claimant to the throne. We do not know who Parākrama was and how he got to be in Madura. It will be remembered, however, that Māṟavarman Śrīvallabha is said to have ruled from Tinnevelly and this would mean that Kulaśēkhara on his accession must have done so too; and in this we may have some explanation of the occupation of the northern part of the Pāndya country by a rival prince.

[1] *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 207.

[2] See Hultzsch, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 518–9. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar starts his account of the war with the statement 'In A.D. 1170 or 1171 there were two rival claimants to the throne of Madura,' (p. 2, *op. cit.*) and in a note at pp. 41–2 proposes A.D. 1171–2 for the accession of Rājādhirāja II referring to *A.R.E.*, 1904, para 21. But the matter is not simple and seems to deserve further investigation.

A tempting suggestion offers itself and may be stated here with the reservation that it cannot be taken as proved until further evidence confirms it. A very interesting record (35 of 1913) in the fourth year of a Parākrama Pāndya incidentally refers to the fourth year of Vikrama Chola and to Perumāḷ Kulōttungadēva, which must be taken to mean Kulōttunga II, the successor of Vikrama Chola. The object of the inscription is to record the renewal of a charter of privileges granted to certain Pallis in the Aḍuturai temple several years before, when they rescued some images of the Aḍuturai temple which were being removed to Haḷēbīd, apparently as a result of a military raid into the Chola country by the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana I who claims to have marched right up to Rāmēśvaram. The privileges were renewed in the fourth year of Parākrama Pāndya, as stated above, and if this Parākrama was the same as the opponent of Kulaśēkhara, then it would mean that Parākrama had been ruling from Madura for some time as a separate ruler independent of Kulaśēkhara when the latter attacked him; or it may be that he started as a subordinate ruler at first and that Kulaśēkhara attacked him when he sought to make himself independent.[1]

However that might have been, when Kulaśēkhara attacked him, Parākrama appealed for aid to Parākramabāhu of Ceylon, who sent an army under the general Lankāpura. But before the Singhalese forces came to the mainland, Kulaśēkhara succeeded in capturing and putting to death Parākrama with his queen and children and in occupying the city of Madura. But the king of Ceylon wanted his general to proceed against

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, paras 46–7.

Kulaśēkhara and, after driving him out, to bestow the Pāndyan kingdom on one of the surviving children of the murdered Pāndyan king. And thus began the war which, as it is narrated in the *Mahāvaṁśa*, was nothing but a triumphant progress of victory upon victory against Kulaśēkhara, won at first by Lankāpura and later by Lankāpura and Jagad Vijaya who had joined him with reinforcements, until in the end Kulaśēkhara was expelled from the Pāndyan kingdom and Vīra Pāndya, the son of Parākrama Pāndya, was crowned at Madura.[1] It is not necessary to trace these skirmishes in detail as the *Mahāvaṁśa* account is not yet corroborated in material particulars and as it is not easy now to identify many small places whose names have been more or less distorted in the chronicle. It may be noticed, however, that Kulaśēkhara found it possible after successive defeats to place fresh armies in the field and it was not till sometime after Vīra Pāndya's coronation that he turned to the Cholas for help against the Singhalese troops. The intervention of the Cholas made no difference to the fortunes of Kulaśēkhara, who sustained still further defeats and at last 'the Singhalese general was satisfied that he had rid the country of the enemy and, before going back to Ceylon, made over the kingdom to Vīra Pāndya, and ordered that the *Kahāpaṇa* coin bearing the superscription of king Parakkama, *i.e.* Parākramabāhu

[1] It is just likely that the Sucīndram record beginning முடிகொண்டருளிய சியமடிகொண்டருளி (*Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. ii, pp. 18ff.)is an inscription of this Vīra Pāndya. If that is so, Vīra Pāndya must have married a Kēraḷa princess after his campaign mentioned in l. 3 of the record and this will explain his flight to Travancore after his final defeat. It may be noted that this record registers a gift almost immediately after the coronation. Mr. Gopinatha Rao in editing this record mixes up this Vīra Pāndya with the conqueror of Īḻam and Kongu (*acc.* A.D. 1253) and the Kulaśēkhara of this civil war with Maṟ. Kulaśēkhara (*acc.* A.D. 1268).

should be used throughout the country.' So far the *Mahāvaṁśa*.

There need be little doubt that this account is very one-sided. The Ceylon generals are said to have given presents to several chiefs in the Pāndya country and these 'look like bribes offered to win them over from their allegiance to Kulaśēkhara'. Thus the success against Kulaśēkhara was not always won on the field of battle. And after the Chola intervention, it would seem that the Ceylon troops actually lost ground and sustained defeats and it may be suspected that the evacuation of the Pāndya country by Lankāpura was not an entirely voluntary retirement after the successful completion of the task laid on him by his master.

Till recently almost the only epigraphical record which gave a hint as to the fortunes of the Ceylon troops was the Arpākkam inscription which contains a quaint account of a miracle wrought in connection with the war. 'The army of Ceylon having taken possession of the Pāndya country, drove away king Kulaśēkhara, who was in Madura and then began to fight in battle the feudatories of the great king Śrī Rājādhirājadēvā. The danger consequent upon the war spreading to the districts of Toṇḍi and Pāśi combined with the (easy) way in which the army of Ceylon gained victories, struck terror into (the hearts of) people both in the Chola country and in other districts.' At this juncture, a certain Edirili Sōḻa Sāmbuvarāyan felt great anxiety for his son, who had gone to fight at the head of the Chola forces and approached a holy man Svāmidēva with the request that he should pray for divine intercession against the Ceylonese. Thereupon, His Holiness was pleased to declare: 'This, the army of Ceylon, which consists of very vicious and wicked men, removed the

sacred door of the temple of the god at the holy Rāmēśvaram, obstructed the worship and carried away all the treasures of the temple. We also learn that they are all sinners against Siva. We shall make the necessary attempts for their flight and disappearance (?) after being completely defeated in battle and after being chased.' 'Accordingly, he was pleased to worship (Śiva) for twenty-eight days continually. Subsequently, messengers arrived from my (Śāmbuvarāyan's) son Pallavarāyar bringing a letter (to me) reporting that Jayadratha Daṇḍanāyaka and Lankāpura Daṇḍanāyaka and the other generals and the troops fled having been defeated.' This is the account that is dated in the fifth year of Parakēsari Rājādhirāja and that causes some difficulty, as we have seen, in the chronology of the war. Another record in the eighth year of Rājādhirāja wherein he is given his usual title Rājakēsari (No. 433 of 1924) is more historical in that it contains nothing supernatural ; it is also more direct in its reference to the war. 'When the king of Ceylon (சமுத்தரையன்) sent his army and generals to conquer and annex the Pāndya country, the Pāndya king Kulaśēkhara fled from his kingdom and sought refuge with the Chola and entreated him to recover his kingdom for him. Thereupon the latter was pleased to direct that Kulaśēkhara be reinstalled on his throne after killing the Ceylonese commander and his lieutenants who had entered the Pāndya country and nailing up their heads over the gates of Madura. In accordance with the direction of the Chola king, Kulaśēkharadēva, during his stay in the Chola country, was entertained with deserving liberality. With enough forces, funds and zeal the Pāndya country was reconquered by the Cholas, Lankāpuri Daṇḍanāyaka and his generals being put to death and their heads nailed on to

the gateway of Madura. Arrangements were then made for the entry of Kulaśēkharadēva into Madura after taking necessary precautions against the future annexation of the Pāndya country to Īḻam.' It was the minister Pallavarāyar who did all this.[1]

It will be readily seen that these two inscriptions agree with the *Mahāvaṁśa* in important particulars. The names of Daṇḍanāyaka Lankāpuri and the Madura king Kulaśēkhara and the intervention of the Cholas in favour of Kulaśēkhara are common to them all. But both the epigraphs refer to defeats sustained by the Ceylon forces about which the *Mahāvaṁśa* is silent; and there is a rather grave disagreement in detail between the two inscriptions as to the fate of the Ceylon generals: the Arpākkam record states that they returned to Ceylon after their defeat by Pallavarāyar, while the other inscription says that their heads were nailed to the gates of Madura by order of the Chola king. And if we recall that a still later record of the twelfth year of Rājakēsari Rājādhirāja (465 of 1905) refers to this same war and to the part played in it by a traitor named Śrīvallabha, it becomes clear that many gaps still remain to be filled in our account of the war.

That this war did not end with the retreat of Lankāpura and the restoration of Kulaśēkhara by the Cholas becomes clear from the Chola records of the succeeding years,[2] specially those of Kulōttunga III, the

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 21.

[2] Referring to No. 3 of 1899 of the eleventh year of Rājakēsari Rājādhirāja in which he bears the title 'who had conqured Madura and Ceylon', Mr. Venkayya says (*A.R.E.*, 1899, para 38:—'If this king is identical with Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājādhirāja Dēvan, who was an ally of the Pāndya king Kulaśēkhara, the attribute prefixed to his name in the Ālangudi inscription, which would be six years later than the Ārpākkam one, was probably based on the victories achieved by the Cholas during his reign in

successor of Rājādhirāja II. We do not know how long Kulaśēkhara lived after the restoration; it may have been at most for about a decade from the eighth year of Rājādhirāja to the second or third of Kulōttunga III—A.D. 1170–80 roughly. Thereupon he seems to have been succeeded by a Vikrama Pāndya[1] and on the accession of Vikrama Pāndya, Vīra Pāndya appears to have made another attempt, again with Ceylonese help, to dislodge the Kulaśēkhara line; once more the Cholas came to the aid of the latter and the war was renewed. An undated inscription, later than the fourth year of Kulōttunga (1 of 1899), i.e., A.D. 1182, records that 'the son or sons of Vīra Pāndya were defeated by the Chola army. The Singhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea to escape from the Chola troops. Vīra Pāndya himself was attacked by the Cholas and compelled to retreat. The town of Madura was captured and the Chola army took possession of the Pāndya throne and planted a pillar of victory (at Madura). The town of Madura, the Pāndya throne and the kingdom

a later campaign against Vīra Pāndya and his Singhalese allies in which Kulōttunga III distinguished himself, and in consequence, assumed a surname similar to that of Rājādhirājadēva' (see *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part i, No. 36). But may it not be that Rājādhirāja assumed the surname merely as a result of Pallavarāyar's campaigns against Lankāpuri? Mr. Venkayya himself noticed in the same place No. 1 of 1899 and found subsequently other records of Kulōttunga III which give reasons for Kulōttunga's surname (*A.R.E.*, 1907, p. 62, para 40 and 1908, p. 67 para 64). Moreover, further research has shown that Kulōttunga III could not have been more than twelve or thirteen years of age in the eleventh year of Rājādhirāja's reign. (*A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 20).

It may also be noticed that No. 1 of 1899 is not dated in the fourth year of Kulōttunga III, but appears to be of some date later than his fourth year. (*S.I.I. Texts*, vol. vi.—No. 436, esp. l. 15.)

[1] We hear of a Sundara Pāndya co-operating with Kulaśēkhara in a subordinate capacity in the *Mahāvaṁśa* account of the war and do not know how he was related to Kulaśēkhara or what happened to him,

were then made over to Vikrama Pāndya, who was an ally of the Cholas.' The same incidents are recorded in later inscriptions of Kulōttunga III with small variations.[1] The title 'capturer of the Pāndya country' assumed by Ammaiyappan Rājarāja Śāmbuvarāya, as early as the fourth year of the king (A.D. 1182) shows that he rendered valuable help to his Chola overlord, by whom he must have been so honoured.[2] Kulōttunga himself assumed the title Pāndyāri and performed the *Vīrābhiṣēka* after the capture of Madura.[3] This was apparently after a second rebellion by Vīra Pāndya and a battle at Neṭṭūr in which he was beaten and captured with his queen as recorded in an inscription of the eleventh year of Kulōttunga (A.D. 1188–89). Two records of the sixteenth year (42 and 43 of 1906) mention the flight of Vīra Pāndya and his relatives seeking refuge in Travancore.[4] And an inscription in the nineteenth year furnishes the comment on the phrase பாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டருளிய employed in the record of the eleventh year and states that Kulōttunga placed his foot on Vīra Pāndya's crown (அவன் முடிமேல் அடி வைத்து) and then gave him some presents and dismissed him.[5] It must have been after this that Vīra Pāndya proceeded

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1899, para 38; Ins. Nos. 66 of 1892; 42 and 43 of 1906; 190–192 of 1907; and 94 of 1918. Also *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, pp. 205–6; No. 86, pp. 210–11 and No. 88, p. 217.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 39.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1908, part ii, para 64. Also *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 214, inscription No. 87 (ll. 2–4).

[4] Ref. in the preceding note and *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 40.

[5] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks that the explanation of Hultzsch, which I have followed in the text, is not supported by the phrases employed in the inscription, p. 13 and n. 2 of p. 14 of *S. India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*. It is not possible to reconcile the view that his head was cut off in the eleventh year of Kulōttunga after the battle of Neṭṭūr, with Vira Pāndya's escape to Travancore recorded in the sixteenth year. Hultzsch's explanation may, for this reason, be preferred.

to Travancore as recorded in the sixteenth year. We do not know anything as to what happened to him afterwards. Whatever happened to Vīra Pāndya and his relatives, it seems clear that Kulōttunga succeeded in establishing Vikrama Pāndya on the Pāndya throne and thus putting an end to all disputes about the succession in which the Cholas and the Ceylon kings had taken sides for over a decade. But it is not yet possible to ascribe any inscriptions with confidence to this Vikrama Pāndya and we cannot say if he was the immediate predecessor or not of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who came to the throne of the Pāndyas in A.D. 1190; the allusion to the time of Periyanāyanār Śrīvallabha in a record of Kulaśēkhara (No. 110 of 1907) must however be borne in mind in coming to a conclusion on this question.[1]

The intervention of Kulōttunga III in favour of Vikrama was apparently the last occasion on which the Cholas were able to interfere effectively in the affairs of the southern kingdom. 'Either during the latter portion of his reign or on his death, the power of the Cholas seems to have declined, though the causes cannot now be easily ascertained. He was succeeded about the year A.D. 1216 by his son Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājarājadēva III whose capacity for military organization does not appear to have been very high. He has no exploits to boast of. . . . It was evidently the weakness of the Cholas that led to the occupation of the Chola country by the Hoysalas under Vīra Sōmēśvara and to the conquest of Kānchī by the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati.'[2] After

[1] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks: 'It is just possible that this Kulaśēkhara (*acc.* A.D. 1190) was the son of Vikrama and the grandson of the Kulaśēkhara whose cause the Cholas supported in the war of succession.'—*Op. cit.* p. 44. *Contra* Rangacharya under Tj. 918=539 of 1904.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1900, paras 29 and 30.

the close of the civil dissensions in the Pāndya country brought about by Kulōttunga's intervention, the Pāndya kings appear to have recovered remarkably and it turned out that Kulōttunga had thus only increased the difficulties of his successor and forced him to seek the help of the Hoysalas—a step which only added still further to his troubles and those of the Chola empire. But we are touching on the political conditions out of which was to grow the Second Empire of the Pāndyas which lasted in great power throughout the thirteenth century A.D.

CHAPTER X

THE PĀNDYAS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

(1190–1238)

AFTER the close of the civil wars and the secure restoration by Kulōttunga III of Vikrama Pāndya to the throne of Madura, the Pāndya kingdom recovered rapidly much of the power and glory that characterized it in the days before the sack of Madura by Parāntaka I. We have at present no means of judging how far Vikrama Pāndya himself profited by his opportunity. He seems to have had on the whole a troubled time, and he was apparently a weak ruler who depended more on Kulōttunga's support than on his own strength for defending himself against the attacks of his enemies. Even when he had occupied the throne for seven or eight years, it needed Kulōttunga's intercession to maintain his power, when Vīra Pāndya attacked him in some force about A.D. 1187. After the campaign which ended in the defeat of Vīra Pāndya at Neṭṭūr, Kulōttunga held a great durbar in the Pāndya capital at which Vīra Pāndya and his Chera contemporary did him obeisance and Kulōttunga placed his foot on the head of the former.[1] Thus, almost throughout his reign—Vikrama does not seem to have long survived the events just

[1] The facts are narrated in two records of Kulōttunga dated in his eleventh and nineteenth years (Nos. 87 and 88 in *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part ii). The later record gives more details than the earlier, but the reference is evidently to the same transactions. See also the notes at the end of the last chapter.

mentioned—Vikrama Pāndya was a feudatory of Kulōttunga III whose hold on the country was apparently real and effective. There comes, however, a decisive change in this relation between the Chola and the Pāndya rulers even during the life-time of Kulōttunga III with the accession of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1190). From this time on, almost to the end of the thirteenth century, the power of the Pāndyas attained great strength and expanded as far north as Nellore and Cuddapah; a succession of able and truly distinguished rulers in the main line made this Second Empire a real power in the politics of South India in their age. Their successes in war, their patronage of literature and the arts, and the methods of their rule are amply borne out by the numerous records they have left behind. On the other hand, the power of the Cholas after Kulōttunga III declined to a very low ebb and dwindled into insignificance; and this was, no doubt, one of the factors that favoured the rise of the Second Empire of the Pāndyas.

The interpretation of the epigraphs of the period however presents numerous difficulties which impose great limitations on any attempt to restore the history of the age. In the first place, there is no record, among the hundreds of inscriptions, which gives us any clue to the genealogy of the rulers of this age. Even the few copper-plates we possess, like the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, differ, in this respect, totally from similar documents of the Pāndyas of the earlier or later times, and fail to record genealogy. This is perhaps the most serious obstacle in our way, which is not altogether removed by the few contemporary references to the Pāndyas in the records of other ruling families and the many instances of astronomical details recorded in the Pāndya inscriptions themselves. These astronomical details yield

different results in the hands of different scholars, and often in the hands of the same scholar at different times. New kings have been postulated and given up in a manner that has tended to make the chronology of the age a game of ninepins. As one wades through the results of Kielhorn, Jacobi, Swamikkannu Pillai and Sewell, one almost gets the feeling that ignorance, at least of astronomy, is bliss and the general rule followed in our narrative is not to accept any conclusion that is not endorsed by more than one of these four earnest savants whose patient labours, especially those of Kielhorn, have alone rendered possible even such a provisional narrative as is given here. It must be noted also that palæography fails to furnish any material assistance in confirming or correcting the results of astronomy. Mr. Sewell remarks:[1] 'Unless the number of the solar day of the month is stated, and it is not as a rule stated, all the ordinary details of a Chola or Pāndya date will be found often to correspond with about three different days in a century'; and palæography cannot possibly decide among them.[2] And even the texts of most of these records are yet unpublished. It is obvious that in the present state of our knowledge we shall have to leave on one side all the records which cannot with confidence be assigned to

[1] *I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 169.

[2] Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, for instance, after wavering between two dates for a Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāndya's accession 1269–70 and A.D. 1283 and between two rulers of the same name, finally gave up the A.D. 1283 date altogether; epigraphy furnishes no aid here. (See *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 31 and *A.R.E.*, 1925, part ii, para 28). The reader may also be referred to the strange manner in which the official epigraphist discusses No. 393 of 1917 at para 49 of part ii of the report for 1918. It should be noticed in particular that even when it is a question of dates centuries apart (in this case eleventh and thirteenth centuries) palæography is inconclusive. Sewell, at p. 191, *I.A.*, vol. xliv, makes a similar remark.

one or another of the kings whose existence has been proved beyond possibility of doubt. Again no attempt can be made to fix the dynastic relations among the rulers of the age. But this is not all. There is the possibility, nay the great probability, that several princes ruled at the same time over different parts of the empire and these also engraved inscriptions in full or quasi-regal style. We have already seen reason to reject the theory of the regular co-regency of 'Five Pāndya Rulers' and to hold that although several princes of the royal family might have ruled in different parts of the kingdom simultaneously, there was a regular succession of kings who ruled in their own right, the others ruling more or less in a subordinate capacity. There is little reason to doubt that the main line of reigning kings is that restored by Kielhorn's calculations and modified in some respects by his successors.

Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, who came to the throne in A.D. 1190 and ruled in Madura in considerable power till A.D. 1217, may have been the immediate successor of Vikrama Pāndya; one of his early records in the second year (No. 110 of 1907 from Kalliḍaikuricci), however, seems to contain a reference to a Periyanāyanār (an elder male relative) Śrīvallabha, a predecessor of his; and a record in the third year of a Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha finds mention in another inscription of Kulaśēkhara's successor, Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya (No. 683 of 1905). It is not improbable that both these references are to the same Śrīvallabha, but we know nothing more of him.[1] Kulaśēkhara's inscriptions range from his second to his twenty-eighth year (No. 658 of 1916) and generally open with one of three forms of historical introduction—தலைமடக்ஷத

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1908, part ii, para 42.

(No. 5 of 1894), பூவின் கிழத்தி (No. 14 of 1894) and பூதல வனிதை (13 of 1894). None of these introductions tells us anything definite about the events of the reign; all of them contain highly poetic praise of the glory of the king; the nearest approach to a concrete historical statement occurs in the பூதலவனிதை formula in the phrase[1]—'வஞ்சினங் கூறு மதகளிறிவற்ந்த வெஞ்சின வேங்கை வில்லுடனெளிப்ப,' which is a vague hint that the Pāndya kingdom is beginning to hold its own against its Chola and Chera neighbours. A rather early inscription of the reign (No. 665 of 1916) from Śērmādēvi refers to a gift by the king to a temple in the name of his brother-in-law (மச்சுனனார்) Kōdai Ravivarman, undoubtedly a Chera prince. Another record of some years later (No. 370 of 1916) seems to imply that the contemporary Tiruvaḍi king of Jētunganāḍu was a subordinate of Kulaśēkhara; but we have as yet no means of explaining the dynastic connection mentioned in the earlier record.[2] In the numerous inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara from the Ramnad district, is found the name of one of the important local officials of the king, who seems to have played a considerable part for over a decade in the administration of the division known as Kaḷavaḷināḍu and was thence known as Kaḷavaḷi-Nāḍāḷvān, his proper name being mentioned as Jayangoṇḍaśōḷan Śīvaḷḷuvan (No. 313 of 1923).[3] Several other instances can be cited from the other records of this and other kings. From the provenance of Kulaśēkhara's inscriptions we may conclude that his rule extended over the bulk of the modern districts of Madura, Ramnad and

[1] See *S.I.I.*, vol. v, No. 428, ll. 2-3, *contra* the conjectural restoration கலிம [டாத்] in l. 1 of No. 301 of the same volume. Some records (e.g. 512 of 1904 and 385 of 1914) seem to take us to the thirty-ninth year of a Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara. But the texts are not available.

[2] See *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 8.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 26.

Tinnevelly. There are references to thrones with different names, all of them in Madura and to maids in palace service (*agapparivāra*). No. 459 of 1909 mentions the throne Maḷavarāyan in the hall known as Pukaḷābharaṇan in the palace at Madura. The same record mentions a grant of 100 drammas (drachms) by the king for the deepening of a tank called after him. The other thrones were called Kalingarāyan (No. 29 of 1924) and Munaiyadaraiyan (No. 660 of 1916). The well-known Tiruppūvaṇam copper-plate grant dated in the twenty-fifth year of the king (29th November, A.D. 1214) records the grant of a new village created by clubbing together several old ones under the name Rājagambhīra-caturvēdimangalam after its boundaries were marked in the traditional manner by a female elephant.[1] The king would thus appear to have had a surname Rājagambhīra. His records also contain other particulars which throw some light on the administration and the social life of his time; but these may be reserved for separate consideration later.

The successor of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara was Māravarman Sundara Pāndya whose accession is counted in his records from A.D. 1216.[2] It is just possible that this Sundara Pāndya was the brother of his predecessor, Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, and that both of them were the sons of that Vikrama Pāndya who was restored to the Pāndya throne at the close of the civil wars by Kulōttunga III, and consequently, grandsons of Kulaśēkhara in whose time the civil war began. This sug-

[1] *I.A.*, vol. xx, p. 288. The text and translation in Burgess and Natesa Sastri's Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions (*A.S.S.I.*, vol. iv). For agapparivāra maids see No. 720 of 1916.

[2] Kielhorn, *E.I.*, vol. viii, App. II, p. 24. Also *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 41.

were called to power about the same time; and they had no old memories, either of them, that need have hampered their ambitions. And it was the law of life in those days among Indian kings that he who could not be hammer had to be anvil.[1] It would seem that Sundara Pāndya invaded the Chola country very early in his reign, though the restoration of the country is not mentioned till the seventh year.[2]

The inscriptions of the twentieth year repeat these facts in identical language and add some further particulars. The king of North Kongu came and complained to Sundara Pāndya of the wrongs done to him by his relatives; then, after some time, came also the king of South Kongu, accompanied by an army and prostrated himself before the Pāndya; Sundara kept both the chiefs as his guests for some time and then dismissed them after imposing his own terms on them and demanding portions of their territory to be ceded to him on pain of death. Then, the Chola monarch, forgetful of the duty of submission and gratitude he owed to Sundara Pāndya, raised the standard of revolt and refused the usual tribute;

[1] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar makes Sundara's war on the Cholas a war of revenge. (*op. cit.* p. 26; also 13-14). He holds that the Pāndyas felt the insult of Kulōttunga's durbar at Madura after the battle of Neṭṭūr and wanted to avenge themselves by the durbar at Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram. I am not clear about this. But it should be remembered that Kulōttunga supported Parākrama Pāndya and only insulted his enemy Vīra who represented the beaten party in the civil war. Again, Kulōttunga cut off Vīra's head on the field of battle and caused it to be brought to the durbar in order that he, with his queen by his side, might set his foot on it (we have not accepted this view. See chap. ix); and there is nothing in the 'revenge' of Sundara Pāndya, to remind us of this barbarity. I accept Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's identification of Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram with Jayangoṇḍaśōḷapuram (n. 2, p. 44, *op. cit.*)

[2] 362 of 1906 from Kuḍumiyāmalai (third year); 122 of 1910—Tenkarai (fourth year) and 353 of 1916—Tiruvāliśvaram (fifth year) and 122 of 1903—Tiruccunai (five + one year) contain the title 'who took the Chola country' but no reference to the restoration.

there followed another expedition into the Chola country, leading to a battle which is described in considerable detail, but after a conventional manner. After the fight the Chola king was absolutely defenceless. The women of the Chola king including his chief queen fell into the hands of the enemy who carried them in captivity to Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, where, apparently, there was another *Vīrābhiṣēka* celebrated by the victorious Pāndya.

It is not easy to interpret these new particulars and relate them to the facts recorded in the earlier inscription so as to make a connected story. Apparently, between the seventh year of Sundara and the twentieth, i.e., between, say, A.D. 1222–3 and A.D. 1235–6, he found occasion to interfere in the affairs of the Kongu country and lead a second expedition against the Chola king. There seems to be no means of verifying or controlling the vague references to the rulers of North and South Kongu and their relations to Sundara Pāndya. It is more important to clear up, as far as possible, the relations between Sundara Pāndya and his Chola contemporary Rājarāja III; and in doing so, account must be taken of indications given by contemporary records other than those of Sundara Pāndya himself.

Rāja Rāja III ruled from A.D. 1216 to about A.D. 1243. About A.D. 1220–23 must have taken place the first invasion of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya, and the conquest and restitution of the Chola country recorded in his inscription of the seventh year. A record of Hoysala Vīra Narasimha II in the year A.D. 1222 states that he was marching against Śrīrangam in the south while another dated two years later, A.D. 1224, calls him the establisher of the Chola kingdom.[1] Then, there is the

[1] Hultzsch in *E.I.*, vol. vii, p. 162. But see text *infra*.

gestion is supported by references to a Periyanāyanār Vikrama Pāndyadēva in the records of both these rulers.[1] Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya's records often contain a fairly long and ornate introduction beginning பூமருவிய திருமடந்தையும் (e.g. No. 49 of 1890), which is of considerable interest to the historian.[2] His well-known Tirupparankunṟam inscription (No. 49 of 1890) is dated in the seventh year of his reign and furnishes very important and interesting particulars; while another record dated thirteen years later (No. 140 of 1894) from Tinnevelly tells us a little more about the intervening years.[3] The earlier record tells us that after his coronation, the Pāndyas extended their sway at the expense of the Cholas and refers to an expedition of Sundara Pāndya against the Chola country in the course of which he set fire to the cities of Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr and laid waste the surrounding country. The Chola king had to seek refuge in flight and then the Pāndyan invader celebrated a *Vīrābhiṣēka* in the coronation hall of the Cholas. After that he proceeded north to worship at the shrine of Naṭarāja in Chidam-

[1] *A.R.E.* 1927 *Ibid.* (Nos. 47 of 1926 and 83 of 1927).

[2] The formula பூமலர்திருவும் is that of the later king of the same name wrongly given to this king in *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 8, also *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 32. Inscription No. 488 of 1916 which clearly belongs to this king is reported to begin பூமருவிய திருமாதும். As the full text is not available it is not possible to say if this is only a variant of the usual formula of this king or a new one.

[3] These two forms of the பூமருவிய introduction are repeated in other records as well. But the enlarged version is not earlier than the twentieth year. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is rather inconclusive in his remarks about Māṟavarman Sundara and his campaigns in his *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 26–7, 34 and 44–5, especially with regard to the internal chronology of the reign. Thus achievements claimed 'by inscriptions of the ninth year of Māṟvarman Sundara Pāndya', (p. 26) 'must have taken place before the nineteenth year of Māṟavarman Sundara I', (p. 34).

baram. Apparently, during his sojourn in Chidambaram, he sent for his defeated enemy saying that he would restore to him the country and crown that he had recently lost; and the Chola king returned and together with his son prostrated before the royal seat of the victorious Pāndya; the victor, true to his word, restored the crown and country of the Chola in the form of a religious gift, which was confirmed by the issue of a royal rescript with the Pāndyan seal on it and the title of Cholapati to the vanquished ruler. So much we learn from the record of the seventh year. It may also be noted that in the records of the seventh and subsequent years Sundara Pāndya gets one or another of the titles சோணாடுகொண்டருளிய, சோணாடு கொண்டு முடி கொண்ட சோழபுரத்து வீரர் அபிஷேகம் பண்ணியருளிய and சோணாடு வழங்கியருளிய, the first title appearing even as early as the third year of the king (No. 362 of 1906).

Now, there is little reason to doubt that the facts so recorded in Sundara's inscriptions are substantially true; and the language of every inscription makes it a paean of triumph. For the first time after several centuries of subjection to Chola rule, followed by a period of civil war and abject dependence on Chola support, Sundara Pāndya apparently in the prime of life had successfully carried fire and sword into the heart of the Chola country and what was more, had, by an act of political good sense in restoring the Chola country to its vanquished ruler, raised himself and his country in the estimation of his contemporaries. The ground had been prepared in the days of Kulaśēkhara, but so long as Kulōttunga III lived, the memory of the support Vikrama Pāndya had had at his hands against Vīra survived, and Kulōttunga himself was a more capable ruler than his ill-starred successor Rājarāja III. Rājarāja III and Sundara Pāndya

well-known Tiruvēndipuram inscription in the sixteenth year of Rāja Rāja (A.D. 1231–32), from which we learn that the Chola emperor, who had been imprisoned by his rebellious feudatory Kōpperunjinga, was released and restored to power, by the intervention of two generals of Vīra Narasimha, in order to maintain his reputation of being the establisher of the Chola country. Lastly, we have the record of Sundara Pāndya in his twentieth year (A.D. 1235–6) which gives the story of another defeat and dethronement of Rāja Rāja. These are the facts relevant to an understanding of the history of the period, and the chronology indicated above seems to be rather well established.

There is reason also to think that at this time the Pāndya, Chola and Hoysala families were connected by marriage alliances. A Chola princess is known to have been among the queens of Narasimha's father Ballāla II.[1] Rājēndra III, the successor of Rāja Rāja, calls Sōmēśvara, the son of Narasimha, uncle (*Māma*).[2] Again, Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya II (*acc.* 1238) refers also to Sōmēśvara as *Māmaḍi*, uncle or father-in-law, and it has been suggested that this relationship may be explained by supposing that Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya I (*acc.* 1216) married a sister of Sōmēśvara,[3]

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v, p. xxii; *Q. J. M. S.*, vol. ii, p. 120.

[2] *E.I.*, vol. vii, Kielhorn's inscriptions of South India, No. 865, (No. 65 of 1892).

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 26 and 1912, part ii, para 34. It may be noted that Mr. Krishna Sastri's assumption that Tribhuvanacakravartin Konērinmaikoṇḍān of Nos. 526 and 527 of 1911 was Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya II does not appear essential to his argument, as it would be if these records began மெய்க்கீர்த்தி. In the absence of information on this point, and in view of the records being signed by officers of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya I, one is tempted to assign these records to this ruler rather than to his successor. If this is correct, and if Mr. Krishna Sastri's conjecture about Pammiyakkan can be upheld by further evidence, then these records will become very important in settling the main lines of the tangled diplomacy

probably the one mentioned in some Pāndya records of the age as Pammiyakkan. And, as we shall see, under Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya II, the Pāndya and the Hoysala rulers were on very friendly terms. These facts go to show that by virtue of their power and their dynastic connections, the Hoysalas of this period were able and perhaps anxious in their own interest to regulate the affairs of the southern kingdoms, in particular the relations between the Pāndyas and the Cholas. It appears likely, therefore, that the restitution of the Chola country (*c.* A.D. 1222) to its ruler by Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya I after the first conquest was not altogether unconnected with Narasimha's march against Śrīrangam about the same time.

Now what was the nature of Narasimha's intervention? In effect, it seems to have ended in the re-establishment of the Chola on the throne and the consequent assumption of the title *Choḷarājya* (*maṇḍala*) *pratiṣṭhācārya* by Narasimha. It is not however so easy to judge what the effect of the intervention was on the Pāndya king and his kingdom. The Pāndya conquest of the Chola country is referred to as early as the third year of Sundara Pāndya, while the restoration of the kingdom is not mentioned in any inscription earlier than the seventh year. The interval, A.D. 1219–23, covers, in Hoysala history, the death of Ballāla II and the early years of Narasimha II. An inscription of Narasimha in A.D. 1223 (Cn. 197)[1] gives him the titles 'displacer of

of the age on the lines indicated in the text in a very tentative manner. See also *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1920. p. 48.

No. 15 of 1912 from Tinnevelly contains a gift to the local temple by a relative of an officer of Sōmēśvara.

[1] The summary that follows is based on Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v, part i, Introd., pp. xxii ff.

Pāndya (*Pāndya disāpattanum*), and establisher of the Chola kingdom'. Another of the same date (Cn. 203) says—'why describe his forcible capture of Adiyama, Chera, Pāndya, Magara and the powerful Kāḍavas? Rather describe how he lifted up Chola, brought under his orders all the land as far as Sētu.' Narasimha is called 'Indra to the mountain, the pride of the Pāndya champion'. (Ak. 82 of A.D. 1234). There is also a reference in a record of A.D. 1237 (Ak. 123)[1] to a victorious expedition (*digvijaya*) against the Pāndya and to 'the sea roaring out with the sounds of great fish, sharks and alligators, saying to Pāndya kings, give up all, and live in peace as his servants.' A much later record of one of his successors (Bl. 74) dated in A.D. 1261 says that Narasimha 'setting up the Chola, who was covered up by the dust from the feet of the hosts of enemies, acquired fame as the establisher of the Chola and the destroyer of the Pāndya.' Now, the vague reference to the sea advising the Pāndyas to surrender (Ak. 123) may be dismissed as poetic and also the reference to Narasimha's fame as 'destroyer of the Pāndya' may be discounted as a late account not entitled to the same weight as the strictly contemporary references in the earlier records. The phrase 'displacer of the Pāndya' may be taken to furnish the clue to a correct estimate of the nature of Narasimha's intervention on behalf of the

[1] Rice remarks in his summary of this inscription that it 'describes the king as encamped in A.D. 1234 at Ravitadāna-kuppa while on a victorious expedition over the Pāndya'; and this has led Mr. Krishna Sastri to postulate a Hoysala invasion of the Pāndya country in continuation of the Śēndamangalam expedition (1232-3) of the Hoysala generals recorded at Tiruvēndipuram. *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 47 and *Q.J.M.S.*, vol.ii, p. 122. But a reference to the text and translation of AK. 123 shows that the date, Śaka 1156, refers to the setting up of the God Lakṣmi Narasimha in Somanāthpur and *not* to the encampment.

Chola ruler. He did not want the Chola power to disappear altogether to the great aggrandizement of the Pāndya; he therefore made up his mind to help the Chola to regain his kingdom; this meant that the Pāndya ruler had to agree to restore the Chola country in the manner described already, and to that extent it was a setback to the Pāndya power. It is however quite possible that in the final settlement, the Pāndya and the Hoysala monarchs took each something for himself from the Chola empire. Such an end to this intervention may explain the conquests of Narasimha near Śrīrangam at this time, and the claim of tribute which Sundara Pāndya seems to have enforced successfully against the Chola for some years. In other words, Narasimha's intervention was as much diplomatic as it was military, as much in his own as it was in the Chola interest. We have no means of deciding whether the dynastic connection between the Hoysalas and the Pāndyas is to be dated before or after the events or was part of the settlement on this occasion.[1]

There is very little evidence to show that, as has sometimes been held,[2] the Pāndya ruler had the co-operation of Kōpperunjinga in his war against the Chola king. The very full records of the Pāndya ruler make no reference to this; nor does the Tiruvēndipuram

[1] If this reconstruction of the relations is correct, we must assume that the Hoysala records exaggerate the achievements of Narasimha in a military sense as against the Pāndya king; a feature which seems quite natural if we compare it to the silence of the Pāndya inscriptions as to the actual causes of the restoration of the Chola country.

[2] E.g. by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 33–6. It must be observed that the mention of Kāḍava or Kāḍavas in the Hoysala records (e.g. Cn. 203) is not conclusive proof of such an alliance as many chieftains seem to have had this title at the time. See, however, Mr. Shama Sastry on the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* in the *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1924, p. 12.

inscription, which gives the account of Kōpperunjinga's rebellion against Rāja Rāja, give any hint of the Pāndya ruler being involved in it. The Hoysalas had an important interest in the Chola ruler and his country, apparently all through Rāja Rāja's reign, and they were ever ready to rescue him from the numerous misfortunes to which he was subject. But on the occasion of the second conquest of the Chola country by Sundara Pāndya (c. A.D. 1234–5) the Hoysalas seem to have left Rāja Rāja to shift for himself; at any rate we do not know that they actively interfered, although Rāja Rāja even after his apparently crushing defeat, seems still to have continued in some power up to A.D. 1243.

Thus the two expeditions of Sundara Pāndya against the Chola country do not appear to have resulted in any permanent occupation or conquest of the Chola country, though there are some records of this king outside the Pāndya country which confirm the historicity of the events recorded in the inscriptions cited above.[1] The direct

[1] Some of these records may be noted here;—one record from Śrīrangam in the ninth year (No. 53 of 1892–*S.I.I.* Texts, vol. iv, No. 500) which refers to a reform in the temple affairs; No. 52 of 1897 in the seventh year from Tirukkāṭṭupaḷḷi recording the building of a shrine to the Goddess (*E.I.*, vol. vi, p. 304) and No. 270 of 1901 from Kōviladi (Tanjore Taluq) may, among others, be surely ascribed to our king as they all refer to his conquest or restoration of the Chola country. I doubt if records like 41 and 561 of 1921 from Big Kāñchīpuram and Śūlamangalam (respectively) which do not contain any specific reference to the conquest of the Chola among the titles of the king may, on grounds of astronomy alone, be ascribed to this king as has been done.

A. R. E., 1926 contains a discussion of this king's reign which may be briefly noticed here. The epigraphist is surely wrong in saying that the anointment at Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram is mentioned only in the records of the fourteenth year and afterwards (see inscription of the seventh year summarized earlier in this chapter). He says that some historical introductions of this king refer to conquests of the two Kongus, Iḷam and Karuvūr. The only instances seem to be No. 9 of 1926 and No. 72 of 1924 which cause a difficulty by

and effective sway of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya I must be taken to have been more or less confined to the Pāndya country, including in it portions of modern Pudukkottah and Trichinopoly; this at any rate is the conclusion that arises from the provenance of the many inscriptions that can be assigned to him without any possibility of doubt. There are references in the records (546 of 1922, 148 of 1908, etc.) to a throne Maḷavarāyan at Madura; one record (No. 77 of 1916) refers to a throne of the same name in a palace at Pon Amarāvati in Puramalainādu; it also refers to a Muḍivaḷangum-perumāḷśandi evidently instituted in commemoration of the restitution of the Chola crown and the date of the record is 528 days after the fifth year, i.e., the seventh year of the king. The coins[1] with the legend *Śōṇāḍu-koṇḍān* must also be ascribed to this king. A record from Mēlkaḍayam (No. 524 of 1916) in the eighteenth year of the king refers to a shrine called Kaliyugarāmeśvara, which indicates that the title *Kaliyugarāma*, found also in some coin legends, may belong to our king or some predecessor of his. *Atiśayapāndyadēva* seems to have also been another title of this king.[2]

being mixed up with the name of Kulōttunga III and his achievements. The epigraphist says that No. 9 of 1926 records that the Chola kingdom was restored to Kulōttunga III, and after a careful consideration of the points made in his discussion, I cannot help thinking that there is some mistake here either in the inscription or in its rendering. These two records are of the fifteenth and sixteenth years, and both come from the Ramnad district. May it be that there was something in this part of Sundara's reign that led him to look upon himself as the successor of Kulōttunga III or to ignore his successor Rāja Rāja by adopting the device of a double historical introduction?

[1] See Sir T. Desikachari's papers on Pāndyan Coins in the *Tamilian Antiquary*. It has been supposed that coins with the legend, *Kacci-vaḷangum-perumāḷ* may also belong to this king; but one wishes there was more evidence in favour of the supposition than is available at present.

[2] No. 662 of 1916 from Śērmādēvi and *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 9.

A certain Sōḷan Uyyaninrāḍuvān *alias* Gurukulattarayan appears to have been an important person among the officials of the king. 'No. 554 of 1922 which contains verses in praise of him states that he was the minister of the king and that he built the *garbhagṛha*, the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the *mahā-maṇḍapa* of the Perumāḷ (Viṣṇu) temple at Tiruttangāl. He is eulogized as the lord of Taḍanganṇi and as one who set apart his village Ānaiyūr *alias* Tennavan Śiṟṟūr, for conducting the Sundara Pāndyan-śandi, in the seventh regnal year of the king. He ultimately rose to such an eminence in the state that whenever he visited the temple he enjoyed the honour of a *kāḷam* being sounded proclaiming: 'Hail! Gurukulat-tambirān is come.' This Gurukulattarayar also constructed a stone temple for Tangāḷ Īśar and his consort Gaurī; other benefactions of his are also recorded.[1] We find mention of other local chieftains like Maḷavar Māṇikkam and Kandan Udayanjeydān Gāngēyan whose benefactions enriched temples and *maṭhas* and also gave a stimulus to learning and art. We hear of a court-poet of the king introducing another poet to the chief Gāngēyan; and a certain 'Kavirāyar Īśvara Śiva Uḍaiyār of Uttaradēśam' was the *guru* of Maḷavar Māṇikkam and recipient of a '*Gurudakṣiṇā*' in the shape of land.[2] Several other records of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya contain interesting references to institutional and cultural matters; but these references are best reserved for consideration together with similar records of other Pāndyan kings of the Second Empire.

The latest records of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1923, Part ii, paras 49-50.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1924, Part ii, paras 29 and 32.

are dated in his twenty-third year[1] and his reign must be taken to have come to a close some time in A.D. 1238–1239. The immediate successor or the heir-apparent in the last years of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya was a Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who seems to have had a very short reign, his accession being somewhere in June A.D. 1238.[2] Sewell remarked in 1915 that better proof was required than was then forthcoming for placing this king between the two Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndyas of this period. A record from Tiruttangāl (No. 548 of 1922) furnishes such proof. This inscription,[3] dated in the second year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara refers to the gift of land in Anaiyūr by Śōḻan Uyyaninrāḍuvān *alias* Gurukulattarayan for the Sundara Pāndyan Śandi instituted by him in honour of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1216). But we do not hear anything more of this Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara and so far no records that could be positively ascribed to him are known to mention a regnal year later than the second. We may perhaps

[1] No. 207 of 1914 from Veḷḷanūr in Pudukkottah. At part ii, para 49, *A.R.E.*, 1923, it is stated that records in twenty-two *plus* one year are among those in the year's collection; but there seems to be no inscription of the twenty-third year in that collection. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu (*Ind. Eph.*, vol. i, part ii, p. 91) quotes a Pudukkottah record of the twenty-eighth regnal year but the date is not quite regular and may not be of this king.

[2] See *I.A.*, vol. xliv, pp. 190–1.

[3] This is discussed in *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 51. Mr L. D. Swamikkannu's attempts to prove a longer regnal period for this king *I.A.*, vol. xlii and *Ephemeris*. Vol. I, part ii, p. 91 cannot be held convincing. Also *A.R.E.*, 1916, App. G. In the Pudukkottah inscriptions, Nos. 330 to 337 which give high regnal years ranging from eight to twenty-six certainly belong to the earlier king. Most of these contain references to Kandan Āḷuḍaiyān *alias* Kalvāyil Nāḍāḷvān, who is also referred to in No. 246 of the third year of the earlier king as also in No. 269 of the eighth year of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya I. This Āḷuḍaiyān gets dates from A.D. 1193 to 1224 roughly. It is very unlikely that he survived up to the twenty-sixth year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara II, which would fall about A.D. 1264. The astronomical details in 330 are said to yield A.D. 1245; but, very likely, there are other solutions.

suppose that Kulaśēkhara died in the life-time of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya and that before his death, he chose as heir-apparent another Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya whose accession has been placed between July 13 and December 7, A.D. 1238.[1] To the reign of this Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya we may therefore turn.

[1] *I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 191. In No. 78 of 1916 which is a record of the Sundara Pāndya who took the Chola country, etc., there is a reference to a brother-in-law (*maccunanār*) of the king, whose name was Kulaśēkhara. One wonders if this brother-in-law is identical with the shortlived king Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara II. But there is nothing to support this conjecture except the name.

CHAPTER XI

MĀṚAVARMAN SUNDARA (*acc.* A.D. 1238) : JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA (*acc.* A.D. 1251)

MĀṚAVARMAN SUNDARA PĀNDYA II succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1238. His inscriptions begin with the characteristic formula *Pūmalar Tiruvum Poru Jayamaḍandaiyum* and as there seems to be as yet none of these that gives a regnal year higher than 15 (No. 132 of 1894), his reign must be taken to have continued up to about A.D. 1253.[1] The historical introduction of this ruler furnishes no information of any value and most of his records make large grants for various religious purposes such as the study and recitation of religious hymns in temples. There is no reason to believe that the extent of the kingdom suffered any diminution under this ruler and the political relations among the Pāndyas, Cholas and Hoysalas seem not to have altered much since the time of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya I. The frequent

[1] For the date of accession, see Kielhorn. *E.I.*, vol. viii. Also Swamikkannu in *I.A.*, vol. xlii and Sewell in *I.A.*, vol. xliv. No. 141 of 1902 from Tiruvēndipuram gives the sixteenth year, but as the text is not available, it is not possible to say if it belongs to this king. A more serious difficulty is presented by No. 616 of 1902 from the Tanjore district which refers to the seventeenth year and has been referred to A.D. 1255, (i.e., to our king) by Messrs. Sewell and Swamikkannu Pillai. But this record like some others gives the title 'who conquered every country' (e.g. 402 of 1905, 358 of 1908, 446 of 1909, 582 of 1915). I am unable to accept this as belonging to Māṛavarman Sundara II *acc.* 1238, because (*a*) No. 462 of 1916 of the year 12 of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya 'who was pleased to take all countries' contains astronomical details which, according to Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai, do not suit any date between A.D. 1216 and 1315 and (*b*) Sewell has found the astronomical details in 616 of 1902 not quite regular (*I.A*, vol. xliv, p. 192).

We have also to leave on one side for the time being three records of Māṛavarman Sundara from Pattamaḍai and Śērmādēvi (560, 562 and 668 of 1916) with the formula *Pūmalar Tiruppuya*, etc., one of which (562) refers to the sixth year of Periyanāyanār Kulaśēkhara.

references to the Hoysalas and their generals in the records of this reign, however, make us doubt if Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya II did always feel strong enough to resist the friendly but meddlesome interference in his affairs by his relatives from the Mysore country. In the eleventh year of his reign he names a village in the Tinnevelly district after his Māmaḍi (uncle?) Hoysala Vīra Somēśvara at his suggestion and about the same time a military officer of the Hoysala king Varadaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka is present in Tinnevelly.[1] Earlier in the reign a dispute between Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas in Tirumaiyyam, Pudukkottah, which was then evidently included in the Pāndyan kingdom, was settled by Appaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, a general of Hoysala Vīra Somēśvara,[2] who, in some Mysore records, is called *Pāndyakula-samrakṣaṇa-dakṣa-daksiṇa-bhuja.* In another case there is a reference to a Maccunanār (மச்சுனனார்) Vikrama-choladēva, who seems to have had a share in guiding the direction of the king's charities.[3] Under this king Madura was the usual residence of the monarch and two thrones Maḷavarāyan and Pallavarāyan both in the palace at Madura are frequently referred to in inscriptions which record the orders of the king.[4]

The next ruler in the main line was the celebrated Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya, under whom the Second Empire of the Pāndyas reached its widest extent and attained the height of its splendour. Practically the

[1] No. 156 of 1894 and 138 of 1894.

[2] No. 387 of 1906 and *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 26. The Hoysala general is said to have settled the dispute after the conquest of Kānanāḍu and Venkayya supposed that this conquest was undertaken on behalf of the friendly Pāndyan king. For the title of Somēśvara see *Epig. Carn.*, vol. v, part i, p. xxv.

[3] No. 132 of 1894 line 15. (*S.I.I.*, vol. v).

[4] Nos. 132 and 149 of 1894.

whole of Southern India up to Nellore and Cuddapah was brought for a time under Pāndya supremacy and all the rival dynasties, old and new, were beaten in the field or laid under tribute. The Cholas were reduced to a very obscure state and the Hoysalas were punished for their past aggressiveness; the Kongu country passed under the Pāndyas, and the Hoysala power was confined to its original home in Mysore. Kāñchīpura became a secondary capital of the Pāndya empire and in the south the island of Ceylon was firmly held by the Pāndyan rulers of this period, while the Kēraḷa rulers were made tributaries of the empire. It would seem that in all these achievements Sundara Pāndya was ably assisted by princes who were more or less closely related to him and held subordinate positions in various parts of the empire. At least one of these is well-known from his records, a Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya of whom something will be said at the beginning of the next chapter.[1]

[1] Reason has been shown before for not accepting the theory of five rulers reigning contemporaneously from generation to generation. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai himself seems to have abandoned the theory on further consideration, as his discussion of Pāndya chronology (mediæval) in part ii of vol. i of his *Indian Ephemeris* proceeds on other lines. The new arrangement he adopts is to bring together all the Jaṭāvarmans and make them constitute one line of rulers and likewise make another, a second line, out of all the Māṟavarmans—a course which is not supported by any reasons stated. And even so, overlapping of reigns has not been avoided. Of this very important and vexed question, I am, after a close study of the numerous records, unable to see any solution other than the one followed in the text, that is, generally to follow Kielhorn's lead and select the more important and better represented kings for being treated as in the main line of succession and to make the less known rulers subordinate in position. This is the best that can be done till some discovery enables us to settle the genealogy of the rulers of this period. The absence of published texts of most of the records relating to this period imposes a serious handicap on any one who attempts its study.

One general remark may be made. The presence of several contemporary rulers may be a sign of strength in the empire as in the case of the Chola

It has been possible to calculate within remarkably narrow limits the date of the accession to the throne of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya and to fix it between April 20 and 28, A.D. 1251.[1] His records can be distinguished easily by the attribute '*Emmaṇḍalamum-koṇḍaruliya*' which belongs only to him among the Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndyas. Several of his records also start with the characteristic string of surnames in Sanskrit commencing with *Samasta-jagadā dhāra*. More rarely there is a long historical introduction in Tamil beginning *Pūmalar Vaḷar Tikaḷ*. Besides a long Sanskrit stone inscription in the Śrīrangam temple, there are several stanzas in Sanskrit celebrating the king's martial prowess and political power and recording his splendid gifts to various temples in Tinnevelly, Chidambaram, Tiruppuṭkuḻi, Kānchīpuram and other places. But all the same, it is not possible to give a connected chronological narrative of the transactions of the emperor's reign from the numerous records of his time as so few of them are dated. The Sanskrit inscriptions are all of them in verse and yield no dates whatever. Of the Tamil records, several contain astronomical particulars and generally bear regnal years, but most of these relate to private transactions or record religious gifts without containing any references to the political occurrences of the reign. Almost the only exception among

empire of the tenth and eleventh centuries and the Pāndya empire of the thirteenth, especially after the accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (1251); or it may be a sign of weakness as in the case of the Pāndyas of the period of decline in the Tinnevelly district. There will of course be a difference. In the one case the presence of a strong central rule unifies the administration of the kingdom; in the other, each ruler goes his own way, and jealousy and weakness are the result.

[1] See Kielhorn, *E.I.*, vol. ix, p. 227 and R. Sewell following L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai in *I.A.*, vol. xliv, pp. 192-4.

the published records of the reign is an inscription in the seventh year of the king from Tiruppūndurutti in the Tanjore district (No. 166 of 1894) with the long historical introduction[1] *Pūmalar*, etc., and this gives us an idea of the king's prodigious activity in the early years of his rule.

Sundara Pāndya proceeded against the Chera king with a very small force and destroyed him and his forces in a battle and ravaged the Malainādu ;[2] he then compelled the warlike Chola of ancient lineage to pay him tribute ; afterwards he attacked the Hoysalas in the region of the Kāvēri and besieged them in a fortress ;[3] after inflicting great losses on the Hoysala forces and killing many commanders like the brave Śingaṇa, Sundara Pāndya captured the elephants and horses of the enemy together with a large amount of treasure and a number of women, but refrained from fighting further when he began to retreat from the field.[4] Sundara then did away with the traitorous Śēma (சேமன்)[5],

[1] The same historical introduction was published by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in the *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. iv, pp. 514-6. Mr. Rao's text has been reproduced and translated by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in the Appendix to his *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*. The regnal year at the end is not given and it is not known if the introduction is taken from No. 166 of 1894 or a different record. However that may be, the text differs in some respects from the official text published in the *S.I.I.*, vol. v, as will be seen from the subsequent notes.

[2] Cf. *Hatvā Cēram* in No. 179 of 1892 and *Kēraḷavaṁśa-nirmūlana* in the Sanskrit introduction.

[3] The reading புலிசையிலைடத்து is in the *S.I.I.* text. The *Śen Tamiḻ* text leaves a gap here.

[4] ' Thinking that it is unfair to fight the Hoysala who had taken to flight, he made him ascend the mountain ' i.e., perhaps go back to the plateau country (Text of the *S.I.I.*)

[5] Here Mr. Gopinatha Rao reads சேரன for சேமன. But the latter is no doubt the correct reading whatever it means. The defeat and death of the Chera king has already been mentioned and the Sanskrit records of the reign leave no doubt as to the reading ; *Kṣēmais-samam-Sēuṇāh* in No. 179

captured Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam which no one else could even think of approaching and ruled the rich Kāvēri country as if it were the Kanni land.[1] He imposed a tribute of elephants on the Karnāṭa king[2] and compelled the ruler of Ceylon to surrender pearls and elephants.[3] He then attacked the strong fortress of the rich city of Śēndamangalam and fought several engagements which struck terror into the heart of the Pallava; having thus become master of his territory, and captured his forces and treasure, Sundara finally restored him to the rulership of the land. He then went to Chidambaram and worshiped God Naṭarāja, and proceeded to Śrīrangam where he wore the garland of victory,[4] performed

of 1892; *Chitvā Kṣēmim* in No. 52 of 1893. Also the title *Kṣēmāsura-vidāraṇa-narasimha* of Māṛavarman Vikrama Pāndya in his records beginning *Samasta-bhuvanēkavīra*, e.g., No. 122 of 1896. I am unable to identify this Kṣēma. A Sēuṇa king was the enemy of a Gaṇḍagōpāla (*A.R.E.*, 1920, part ii, para 55.) The Sēuṇas were the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.

[1] There is a play on பொன்னிநாடு and கன்னிநாடு, the idea being that the Chola country became as much a part of Sundara Pāndya's empire as the traditional Pāndya country. Here the conjectural பொ in the official text should certainly be க.

[2] The words preceding கருடராஜனை are not easy to make out. Mr. Gopinatha's text has 'பெருவரையானிற் பின்னகருக்காக்கிய' and the official text reads 'பெருவரையரணிற் பின்னருகாக்கிய' while the correct reading appears to be 'பெருவரையரணிற் பின்னகருக்காக்கிய' which may recall 'அவன் தன்னை வெற்பேற்றி' of a few lines before.

[3] Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar thinks that Sundara Pāndya refused to accept the tribute from the Ceylonese king and seized him (*Ancient Dekhan*, p. 166). This is clearly wrong as the text says—'இலங்கை காவலனை யிறைகொண்டருளி'. But what follows is read as 'வருநிறை மறுத் தவங்கனை' in the official text which looks so improbable; Mr. Gopinatha Rao's text has 'வருநிறை மறுத்தங்கவனை' and if this is the correct reading, as very likely it is, அவன் must be taken to refer to the Pallava chieftain who is mentioned a little later and this is the construction adopted by Dr S. K. Aiyangar.

[4] The garland of victory (வாகை) which had in it margosa flowers from the groves of Uṛaiyūr (கோழி) was worn at Śrīrangam, not at Chidambaram, *contra* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's translation.

many *tulābhāras* which pleased the eyes and hearts of all spectators and evoked many blessings from learned poets, and enriched Srīrangam. And in that temple which he roofed with gold he sat upon a splendid throne with his queen, and wore a golden crown and emulated the morning sun rising on the top of the eastern hill[1].

These incidents may now be discussed in the light of the other records of the reign. The conquest of the Chera country must have taken place very early in the reign. An inscription from Tinnevelly (No. 75 of 1927) dated in the third year of Tribhuvancakravartin Kōnēr-inmai-koṇḍān gives the name Kavivenṟa-caturvēdi-mangalam for a village in the neighbourhood and a Vīra Ravi Udayamārttāṇḍavarman is known to have been ruling in Travancore in A.D. 1251.[2] It is just possible that the name of the village commemorates our king's victory over the Chera king.

The campaign against the Chola king may be passed over as the Chola country in this period was practically a protectorate of the Hoysalas. The attack on Hoysala forces and the fate of the Hoysala commander Singaṇa are referred to in a Srīrangam epigraph, where he is said to have been given over to a rutting elephant on the battlefield.[3] The storming of the fortifications of Kaṇṇanūr-koppam and its occupation after the flight of the Hoysala king Vīra Sōmēśvara took place before the seventh year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya, i.e. before

[1] The text is '*மிழற்றினதேறித் தினகரோதயமெனச் செழுங்கதிர் சொரியும் களமாமுடி*' and I am not able to see in this the proper name for the crown, *Nagarōdaya*, as is done by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. Earlier we have *உதயவெற்பின்மீத் திருவளர் குலமணிச்சிங்காசன மிசை*.

[2] See *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 45. The record may also belong to Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara and the evidence quoted is by no means conclusive.

[3] *Sen Tamiḻ*, vol. iv, p. 496–60 of 1892.

A.D. 1258. Though the Hoysalas were compelled to retreat and to accept defeat for a time, they evidently refused to give up their possessions in the Tamil country without a struggle, and there was perhaps much fighting of which we have no direct evidence now. The long Sanskrit inscription of Sundara Pāndya from Śrīrangam opens with the statement that Sundara Pāndya had just sent to the other world the Moon of the Karnāṭa Country (Sōmēśvara) who had caused much trouble to Śrīrangam.[1] And another inscription of the fourteenth year (A.D. 1264–5) from Tiruppārkkaḍal, North Arcot (No. 702 of 1904) registers an order issued by Sundara Pāndya from Kaṇṇanūr. The death of Sōmēśvara is generally placed about A.D. 1262 and Sundara Pāndya seems therefore to have held Kaṇṇanūr continuously from the time he occupied it some time before his seventh year. And even after the death of Vīra Sōmēśvara, his successor Rāmanātha appears to have been mostly kept out of Kaṇṇanūr during Sundara Pāndya's time.[2]

The relations with Ceylon may be reserved for consideration later. The conquest of Śēndamangalam and the subjugation of its Pallava or Kāḍava chieftain is the last military success recorded in this epigraph. This chieftain was Kōpperunjinga whose records are found as far north as Tripurāntakam (Kurnool) and Drākṣārāma (Godavari)[3]; he seems to have reckoned his regnal years from A.D. 1243.[4] More than ten years earlier he

[1] *E.I.*, vol. iii, pp. 11 and 14.

[2] This seems the best way of explaining the reference to Rāmamahīpati in the Śrīrangam record (No. 60 of 1892), cf. Hultzsch, *A.R.E.*, 1892, para 7 and *E.I.*, vol. iii, p. 9. *Contra* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 49. See also *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 47 and 1905, part ii, para 23.

[3] E.g. Nos. 198 of 1905 and 419 of 1893.

[4] *E.I.*, vol. vii, p. 165. Attempts have sometimes been made to differentiate between two Kāḍava chieftains, father and son, and treat the father as

had attempted the overthrow of his Chola suzerain, but this rebellion being suppressed by the intervention of Hoysala Vīra Narasimha II, he resumed his position as a feudatory of the Chola king Rāja Rāja III. In 1243–4 he assumed the titles '*dēva*' (king) and *Sakala-bhuvana-cakravartin* and apparently set himself up as an independent sovereign. Ten years later he claims to have defeated certain Daṇḍanāyakas of the Hoysala king in the battlefield at Perambalūr (Trichinopoly district) and seized their ladies and treasures.[1] The date of this record falls too early in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya for us to assume that this campaign of the Kāḍava king in Trichinopoly was undertaken in concert with the Pāndya emperor against the Hoysalas. On the other hand, in the Drākṣārāma record (No. 419 of 1893) dated in *Saka* 1184 (A.D. 1262) Kōpperunjinga claims to have aided in the establishment of the Pāndya empire. The records of Kōpperunjinga manifestly do not eschew hyperbole; but the campaign against the Hoysalas in Trichinopoly in A.D. 1252–3, if it was undertaken in concert with Sundara Pāndya, may be taken to furnish

the opponent of Rājā Rāja III, who figures in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription and the son as coming to power later in A.D. 1243 (*A.R.E.*, 1906, part ii, para 5). But there is no sufficient reason yet to depart from the position taken up by Hultzsch in editing the Tiruvēndipuram record (*E.I.*, vol. vii), and I am still inclined to assume only one Kāḍava chieftain Avaniyālappiraṇdān Kōpperunjingadēva *alias* Avanyavanasambhava Mahārājasimha who was subordinate to the Cholas till A.D. 1243, then assumed independence and afterwards became tributary to the Pāndya kings after the campaign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya against Śēndamangalam. Aḷagiya Śīyan Kōpperunjinga must be taken to mean Kōpperunjinga, the son of Aḷagiya Śīyan (*A.R.E.*, 1906, part ii, para 5). The Kōpperunjinga records are characterized by certain common features which are better accounted for on the hypothesis of Hultzsch than on any other, and there is nothing intrinsically improbable in a chieftain holding power from, say, A.D. 1229 at the earliest to about A.D. 1280 at the latest. The subject cannot be pursued further here.

[1] No. 73 of 1918 from Vriddhācalam and *A.R.E.*, 1925, part ii, para 26.

some basis for the boastful title assumed in the Drākṣārāma inscription.[1]

As a matter of fact, it is not easy to determine exactly the relations between Sundara Pāndya and Kōpperunjinga. If they were so friendly about A.D. 1253, it is difficult to see why Sundara Pāndya refused the tribute sent to him by the Kāḍava chieftain and attacked his capital with such fury and took possession of his kingdom and his army before finally restoring him to rule over his country. There is no doubt, however, that at this time Kōpperunjinga sustained a loss of status and became a subordinate tributary of the Pāndya emperor. Nearly fourteen years later the Kāḍava king is found remitting his tribute to the Pāndya king when he is camping in Chidambaram.[2]

[1] The expression used is *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtra-dhārēṇa* (*E.I.*, vol. vii, 167, n. 5.)

[2] No. 192 of 1914 of the fourteenth year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya (*A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 36.)

There is an undated record (No. 229 of 1925) from the Māyavaram taluq which says 'that during the regime of Kōpperunjingadēva a certain Aḷagiya Pallavar *alias* Vīrapratāpar kept the Hoysalas in confinement and levied tribute from the Pāndyas.' (*A.R.E.*, 1925, part ii, para 26). It is not yet possible to say what exactly this means.

An alternative reconstruction of the relations between Sundara Pāndya and Kōpperunjinga may be suggested. The campaign referred to in No. 73 of 1918 (Vriddhācalam) may be treated as an incident in the generally hostile relations between the Hoysalas and the rather ubiquitous Kōpperunjinga with which Sundara Pāndya had nothing to do. Then Sundara's attack on Śēndamangalam will not need any special explanation (that is not forthcoming) as it will be part of his policy of imperial expansion (*digvijaya*). And the claim in the Drākṣārāma record may be based on Kōpperunjinga's subordinate co-operation with Sundara Pāndya in his later campaigns during which, as a feudatory, he would have been bound to help Sundara Pāndya.

Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar (*Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 167-8) supposes that Sundara Pāndya and Kōpperunjinga continued to be friendly to the end and that the campaign against Sēndamangalam was fought against the Hoysalas and for the sake of Kōpperunjinga. But in doing so he seems to have overlooked the guidance furnished by the Sanskrit inscriptions of Sundara Pāndya. *Kaṭhakakari-kūṭapākala* in the *Samastajagad* introduction;

Thus, before the seventh year of his reign, Sundara Pāndya extended his sway over Travancore, and the modern districts of Trichinopoly (including Pudukkottah), Tanjore and South Arcot. There were other successes achieved about the same time or soon after that are mentioned in the Sanskrit introduction beginning *Samastajagadādhāra* which appears as early as the seventh year of the reign (No. 260 of 1906) and in other records. There is no possibility at present of determining the order in which these expeditions were undertaken by the king.[1] He is said to have subjugated the Magadai country, a name applied in mediæval records to portions of Salem and Arcot districts, and it is quite possible that this was done in the course of the war against the Hoysalas and Kōpperunjinga.[2] The conquest of the Kongu country must have also resulted from the same campaigns, and there is very good reason to believe that the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore formed part of the Pāndya empire for some time after Sundara Pāndya's reign.[3] Lastly, Sundara Pāndya

Kāṭhaka nṛpaḥ prādhvamsi (No. 182 of 1892), *Bhanktvā Kāṭhakadurgam* (No. 52 of 1893), *Ghōradvāiraṭha-khinna-kāṭhaka-purī-sampat-samākarṣiṇā* of the Śrīrangam Inscription (*E.I.*, vol. iii, p. 7) and a Tamil verse among the Chidambaram inscriptions (*Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. iv, p. 492) show beyond doubt that the Kāḍava chieftain was the enemy in the Śēndamangalam campaign.

[1] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (*op. cit.*, p. 50 and n. 1) follows the order in which events are mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription from Tiruppuṭkuḻi (= No. 52 of 1893 from Kānchīpuram); but there appears no particular reason for accepting this order as against others, say, that in No. 182 of 1892 from Chidambaram.

[2] *Udgamavya Magadham* in 52 of 1893. For the extent of Magadaimaṇḍalam see *A.R.E.*, 1925, part ii, para 42.

[3] See *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. iv, p. 493; *A.R.E.*, 1906, part ii, para 27. In the same report in paragraph 38 the records of Vīra Rāmanātha and Vīra Viśvanātha found in Salem and Coimbatore districts are taken to be evidence of a reconquest of this region by the Hoysalas. But the fact must be interpreted in the light of the Pāndya records found in these districts. *Contra* Hultzsch, *E.I.*, vol. iii, p. 11.

claims to have killed Gaṇḍagōpāla, occupied Kāñchīpuram, defeated Gaṇapati. the Kākatīya king, and performed a *Vīrābhiṣēka* in Nellore. This is confirmed by some inscriptions (Nos. 332, 340 and 361 of 1913) from Chidambaram which contain Tamil verses stating that Sundara Pāndya 'inflicted a severe defeat on the Telungas at Muḍugūr, slaughtering them and their allies, the Aryas, right up to the bank of the Pērāru and driving the Bāṇa chief into the forest.'[1] All these references are apparently to various occurrences in the course of a single campaign against the 'northern kings', and if that be so, the reference to Gaṇapati would mean that the campaign was undertaken some time before A.D. 1260. The enemy against whom the campaign was primarily directed was Gaṇḍagōpāla, a Telugu-Choḍa ruler who was in possession of Nellore and Kāñchīpuram. The Bāṇa chieftain and the Kākatīya king were perhaps the allies of Gaṇḍagōpāla whom Sundara Pāndya did not pursue after they were repulsed in battle. Gaṇḍagōpāla was however 'sent to the other world', as an inscription from Chidambaram records, and his territory was annexed to the Pāndya empire and entrusted to his brothers who were apparently to rule as feudatories of the Pāndya sovereign.[2]

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18.

[2] *Śen Tamiḻ*, vol. iv, p. 493. The identification of Gaṇḍagōpāla and of the Aryan allies of the Telungas presents considerable difficulty. For the Aryas, see Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit*, p. 49, n. 4; also the reference given in the preceding note. It is not clear why Prof. S. K. Aiyangar says 'the Aryar are referred to in connection with the Hoysalas in all the three references to them we have.' I have tentatively assumed that it is a reference to Gaṇapati and his forces which aided Gaṇḍagōpāla.

From the expression *Vīragaṇḍagōpāla-vipina-dāva-dahana* in the Sanskrit introduction, it has been assumed (e.g. *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 81 and Appendix G) that the opponent of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya was Vīragaṇḍagōpāla. But, the Tamil record speaks only of Gaṇḍagōpāla

The wars of Sundara Pāndya resulted in such an extension of his power that he assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādirāja-śriparamēśvara* and *Emmaṇḍalamum-koṇḍaruḷiya*. They also brought him a vast treasure which he employed in beautifying the temples at Chidambaram and Srīrangam and endowing liberally these two famous shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu. At Chidambaram Sundara Pāndya is said to have performed several *tulābhāras* and erected a 'Golden Hall' for Lord Naṭarāja.[1] His gifts to the Śrīrangam temple and his building of parts of it are recorded in a long Sanskrit inscription which Hultzsch has summarized in the following words:[2] 'He built a shrine of Narasimha and another of Viṣṇu's attendant Viṣvaksēna both of which were covered with gold, and a gilt tower which contained an image of Narasimha. Further he covered the (original or central) shrine of the temple with gold, an achievement of which he must have been specially proud, as he assumed with reference to it the surname *Hemāchchādana Rāja* i.e., "the king who covered the temple with gold", and as he placed in the shrine a golden image of Viṣṇu which he called after his own new surname. He also covered the inner wall

(வீரவளவர் எறிந்தார் ... சோழனை வீரகண்டிற் சுரசை) and it is quite possible that *Vīra* in the Sanskrit expression is not an integral part of the name. At any rate Vīragaṇḍagōpāla of Kāñchīpuram (the son of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla) who came to power about A.D. 1290 could not have been Sundara Pāndya's opponent. And it seems likely that by disposing of his enemy Gaṇḍagōpāla, the Pāndya became master both of Kāñchīpuram and of Nellore and if this assumption is confirmed by further evidence, it is quite possible that Sundara Pāndya's enemy was the most famous of the Gaṇḍagōpālas, the first of the four mentioned in *A.R.E.*, 1920, part ii, para 53. See Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, (vol. iii, pp. 1432-3) on Gaṇḍagōpāla *alias* Allun Tirukkāḷattidēva who was ruling in 1254-5 at Kāñchī and Nellore.

[1] Nos. 179 and 182 of 1892.

[2] *E.I.*, vol. iii, p. 11.

of the central shrine with gold and built, in front of it, a dining hall, which he equipped with golden vessels. In the month of *Caitra* he celebrated the "procession festival" of the God. For the "festival of God's sporting with Lakṣmi" he built a golden ship. The last verse of the inscription states that the king built three golden domes over the image of Hemācchādana-Rāja-Hari, over that of Garuḍa, and over the hall which contained the couch of Viṣṇu. The following miscellaneous gifts to Ranganātha are enumerated in the inscription:— A garland of emeralds, a crown of jewels, a golden image of Śēṣa, a golden arch, a pearl garland, a canopy of pearls, different kinds of golden fruits, a golden car, a golden trough, a golden image of Garuḍa, a golden under-garment, a golden aureola, a golden pedestal, ornaments of jewels, a golden armour, golden vessels and a golden throne. The first of the gifts which are here enumerated, appears to have suggested the surname *Marakataprthvībhrt*, i.e., the emerald king which is applied to Sundara Pāndya in *verse* 13.' And this garland of emeralds was seized from the Kāṭhaka (Kāḍava) king Kōpperunjinga (*verse* 4). Occasionally there are recorded in the inscriptions of this reign gifts to *paḷḷis*[1] and other religious institutions outside the pale of orthodox Hinduism, and this, taken along with the king's liberal and impartial patronage of the shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu, may be accepted as some indication of peace in the religious life of the country.

The epigraphs of this reign contain more direct references to the personal qualities of the monarch than is common in mediæval Pāndya records. His love of splendour and display is seen in the *abhiṣēkas* (coronations) he held at Nellore and Śrīrangam and in the

[1] E. g. 358 of 1908.

repeated *tulābhāras* on various occasions at Chidambaram and Śrīrangam.[1] Almost every verse in the Ranganātha inscription is calculated to impress this trait of the king on its readers, and he is repeatedly spoken of as 'the Sun' in expressions like *Rājasūrya*, *Rāja-tapana*, *Kṣiti-pati Ravi*, etc. Some of the inscriptions from Chidambaram bestow special praise on the king's personal courage in battle and on his skill in capturing fortresses.[2] That he gloried in the extent of his empire may be inferred from his title *Kāñchīpura-Varādhīśvara* in his Sanskrit introduction, corresponding to *Kāñchīpuram Koṇḍān* of some Tamil records (No. 64 of 1927). Sundara Pāndya was very proud of the golden roofs he had made for the gods at Chidambaram and Śrīrangam, and set up images called *Kōyilponmēyndaperumāḷ* in different parts of the realm in commemoration of the act and instituted special festivals to the images every month on the day of *Mūla*, the asterism of the king's birth.[3] After his extensive conquests he assumed the surname *Ellāndalaiyānān* (became lord of all), issued coins with that legend, and instituted in temples special festivals called after this name.[4] The name *Kōdaṇḍarāma* does not seem to have

[1] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's statements that the king mounted on an elephant and weighed himself against gold and jewels is based on the *Kōil-oḻugu*; as also his reference to the queen Cherakulavalli. The 'elephant-feature' is not confirmed by the epigraph he quotes in the note at p. 52 *op. cit.*

[2] Nos. 178 and 179 of 1892.

[3] See e.g. 531 of 1920 and *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 41.

[4] See Hultzsch in *I.A.*, vol. xxi, p. 324, for the coins; also No. 277 of 1913 and *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18 for the festival; also *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 44; *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 37 appears to be mistaken both in denying the title *Ellāndalaiyānān* to the king and in ascribing the other title *Raṇaśingarākṣasa* to him. The inscriptions 328 and 329 of 1921 are both Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān records which do not seem to sustain the inferences made by the epigraphist in the paragraph referred to above. The summary of the records in Appendix B makes this clear. The Sundara Pāndya Dēvar who set up the image mentioned in No. 328 may be a later king.

been borne by this king, but by a later Sundara Pāndya.[1]

Two princes are referred to in some records which certainly belong to the time of this Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya, but their relation to the king is not quite clear. One of them is Kulaśēkhara, who is called *Annāḷvi* in records of the ninth and tenth years of our king,[2] and is perhaps identical with the Kulaśēkhara for whose merit a *maṇḍapa* was erected in Tirupputkuḷi by a minor chieftain or an official who called himself Pallavādhīśvara.[3] It is possible that the reference in all these cases is to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara II, as the expressions *Kṣitipa* and *Perumāḷ* are used in the Tirupputkuḷi epigraph. The other person mentioned in the records of Sundara Pāndya is a Vikrama Pāndya who is referred to as *Nāyanār* and in whose name a new village was founded in the thirteenth year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya.[4] It has been suggested that a Māravarman Vikrama Pāndya was ruling about this time with an initial date of about A.D. 1249 and if that was so, he might be the *Nāyanār* referred to. But more proof is required than is yet available before this suggestion can be finally accepted.[5]

[1] *Contra* K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 167. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 53 and *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 41. Mr. Aiyar refers to two facts in support of his view—(1) that the king is called a second Rāma in plundering the island of Ceylon and (2) stone epigraphs providing for the Kodaṇḍarāman-śandi. The king is called a second Rāma, *not* Kōdaṇḍarāma and the stone epigraphs referred to are Konērinmaikoṇḍān records, none of which necessarily belongs to the present ruler. It will be seen later that the name was taken by Sundara Pāndya who began to rule *c.* A.D. 1302-3.

[2] Nos. 425 and 426 of 1913 and *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 19.

[3] No. 19 of 1899.

[4] Nos. 277 and 278 of 1913 and *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 20. It is doubtful if No. 90 of 1897 from Mannārguḍi (Tanjore) in the twelfth year of a Jaṭāvarman Sundara which mentions a *Vikrama Pāndyan Maṇḍapam* is a reference to the same Vikrama. Rangachari, p. 1295.

[5] See *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 45.

It is not possible to say exactly when the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya closed. The latest regnal year mentioned in records[1] with the Sanskrit introduction characteristic of the king seems to be the nineteenth, which will take us to A.D. 1269–70. He might have reigned a little longer; in any case there is clear evidence that the reign of this illustrious ruler did not close before the next great monarch Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara came to power.

[1] E. g. 198 of 1906. Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar says, 'The last year of this illustrious Pāndya sovereign takes us to A.D. 1271' (*op. cit.* p. 168); Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says his 'rule perhaps lasted on to his twenty-third or twenty-fourth regnal year'. No references are given by either. No. 481 of 1918 is in year seven *plus* twenty-five of a Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Ellārkku-Nāyaṇār Sundara Pāndya Dēva.

that Vīra Pāndya 'fought with the Chola king a battle at Kāvikkaḷam, killed (in fight) one of the two kings of Ceylon, captured his army, chariots, treasures, throne, crown, necklaces, bracelets, parasols, chauris and other royal possessions, planted the Pāndya flag with the double fish on the Kōṇamalai and the high peaks of the Trikūṭagiri mountain, and received elephants as tribute from the other king of Ceylon (whom, perhaps, he raised to the throne).' Lastly the introduction refers to the king's settlement of his relations with a Śāvanmaindan (சாவன்மைந்தன்) who was at first recalcitrant but submitted afterwards. It is possible that these facts are implied also in the attribute given to Vīra Pāndya in an inscription in his tenth year which says 'he took the crown and the crowned head of Śāvaka'. But the meaning of these references is by no means clear yet.[1] However, most of these campaigns must be the same as those mentioned in the records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya, and if the statements in these introductions of Vīra Pāndya are true, there can be no doubt that Vīra played a decisive part in some of the most important achievements in Sundara Pāndya's reign. The conquest of Ceylon narrated in such detail is not mentioned in any records dated earlier than the tenth year of Vīra Pāndya. It should, however, be remembered

[1] There is only one text of this important record (Pudukkottah, No. 366) and in it the reference is in the following words (ll. 11-12)—'ப[ண்]டொல் செய்பா கெல்செப் திருந்சாவன் மைந்தன் மபிரந் திறைஞ்ச வீரக்கழல்வி ரலரைச் (கு)ட்டித் திருக்கொளம் அல்வாப் படன்கழித்த வழங்வி அருவி முழங்குகளி றறி பாரி முழுதறிய ஊர்வ(ல)ஞ் (செ)ல்வித்து தந்தை மர பன் றினைப்பிட்ட ரெடமிழ்ந்து ஆளர் புரிச்சவி ரெபச்செல்கென்(வி)னட கொடுத்தருளி.' No. 588 of 1916 from Karisūlndamangalam (Tinnevelly) does not mention the conquest of Kongu but refers to the taking of the crown and the crowned head of Śāvaka. 'Probably the land of Śāvaka might have been intended'—*A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 11.

that Sundara Pāndya is said to have collected a tribute of jewels and elephants from the Ceylonese before the seventh year of his reign, that is, before A.D. 1258. The Ceylonese chronicles have nothing to tell of these transactions and it is not possible to determine how there came to be two kings in Ceylon and why one of them was selected by Vīra Pāndya for more favourable treatment than the other. As for the places mentioned in connection with this expedition, it has been suggested that Kōṇamalai is very probably the same as Tirukkōṇamalai in the *Tevāram* and that Trikūṭagiri is the name applied to a three-peaked mountain in the Kandiyan country.[1] Kāvikkaḷam, the scene of the fight with the Chola, in which elephants appear to have played a decisive part (*vēḷappōr*), is not easy to identify. The only known Chola ruler of the time, Rājēndra III, boasts of having taken the crowned heads of two Pāndyas (No. 515 of 1922).

Vīra Pāndya's conquest of Kongu is proved by the presence of a few of his records in the Coimbatore district.[2] Who the Vallān was that was overcome by Vīra Pāndya before his coronation at Chidambaram, who the Vaḍugas were whose stronghold he destroyed, and where that stronghold was, are matters which, like many others relating to the history of the Pāndya kings of this period, must be left unexplained in the present state of

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 39.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 68 and No. 35 of 1923 from Iḍigarai. It is an interesting fact that this damaged record contains the well-known Sanskrit introduction *Samasta-bhuvanaikavîra* usually attributed to Māravarman Vīkrama Pāndya who is taken to have begun to rule some years later. It seems possible that the introduction originally belonged to Vīra Pāndya and was subsequently appropriated by Vikrama Pāndya. (*A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 20.)

CHAPTER XII

JAṬĀVARMAN VĪRA PĀNDYA (*acc.* A.D. 1253)
MĀṚAVARMAN KULAŚĒKHARA (*acc.* A.D. 1268)

BEFORE we give an account of the times of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara, another ruler who was contemporary with Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya for the greater part of his reign must be noticed. This is Jāṭavarman Vīra Pāndya who takes credit for some of the successes won during the time of Jāṭavarman Sundara, and who perhaps carried out several expeditions under the direction of that monarch. There are a considerable number of inscriptions that can definitely be ascribed to this Vīra Pāndya, and some of these indicate that he began his rule some time about the middle of A.D. 1253[1] and continued to rule for at least twenty-two years till say A.D. 1274–5.[2] It is not possible to fix the area of Vīra Pāndya's rule from the provenance of his inscriptions; though most of them come from Tinnevelly, Madura and Ramnad districts and the Pudukkottah state, we have stray

[1] Kielhorn and Sewell fix the accession between June 20 and July 4, A.D. 1253 (*I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 196). Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai thought that Kielhorn's Vīra Pāndya was a Māṛavarman and that Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya was another king who began his rule in A.D. 1254 (*I.A.*, vol. xlii). According to Sewell the only inscription which seems to support this view is No. 395 of 1909 and in it Māṛavarman is a mistake for Jaṭāvarman, as the achievements recorded in the epigraph are the same as those of Jaṭāvarman (*I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 194 and n. 16). The final position of the author of the *Indian Ephemeris* on this question is far from clear. He seems to postulate three Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndyas with accession dates in A.D. 1253, 1254 and 1280, and says also: 'but this inference is not yet established by indubitable proof' (vol. i, part ii, pp. 95-7). Elsewhere he refers 395 of 1909 to a Māṛavarman Vīra Pāndya of a later century (Pudukkottah inscription No. 454.)

[2] No. 128 of 1908 gives the twenty-second year, A.D. 1275, (Sewell).

records from other places like Kānchīpuram (No. 483 of 1919) and Coimbatore.[1] We have in fact no means of knowing what exactly was the position of Vīra Pāndya and rulers like him, 'co-regents' as they have been called, and how the administration of the empire was regulated.

The records of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya begin in one of three ways. The simplest form (e.g. 185 of 1895) gives the Jaṭāvarman and Tribhuvanacakravartin titles and refers to the conquests of Īḻam, Kongu and the Chola kingdom, and the victory over Vallān and the *abhiṣēka* at Chidambaram before mentioning the king's name and regnal year. A slightly more elaborate form refers in like manner to the conquest of Kongu and Īḻam, to the destruction of a hill (*kōḍu*) of the fierce Vaḍugas, the capture of the two banks of the Ganges (?) and the Kāvēri, and the camping of the king in Chidambaram to collect the tribute from the Kāḍava and perform the *abhiṣēka*.[2] The most ostentatious of these introductions begins with the words *Tirumagaḷ Vaḷar* (திருமகள்வளர்) and, while attributing incredible feats to Vīra Pāndya, seems to record some interesting particulars of the actual expeditions undertaken by the king against the Chola country and Ceylon. We learn from this introduction[3]

[1] No. 35 of 1923 and *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 68. Nos. 299 and 302 of 1919 from North Arcot.

[2] This form appears in Pudukkottah Nos. 370 and 379 of which 379 = No. 131 of 1907 (Madras). The words in the text must be quoted as there is some uncertainty as to the interpretation—'கொங்கீழங் கொண்டு கொடுவடுகு கோடழித்து கங்கை யிருகரையும் காவிரியும் கைக்கொண்டு.' The difficulty lies in the phrase கங்கையிருகரையும். *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 39 makes this a conquest of Gangai-nāḍu and at *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 36 the phrase seems to be ignored altogether.

[3] The summary is in *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 39. Text in Pudukkottah, No. 366. The words at the end of the summary in *A.R.E.*, 1912 'and subdued the Kēraḷa' do not seem to be borne out by the Pudukkottah text.

title 'who took all countries' had begun to rule, as his numerous records point to some day between the tenth and twenty-seventh June, A.D. 1268 as the date from which his regnal years were counted.[1] It is thus seen that there were at least three kings, Sundara Pāndya, Vīra Pāndya and Kulaśēkhara, at this time. It will become clear from what follows that this feature marked the whole of Kulaśēkhara's reign and perhaps also the period that followed. A Māṛavarman Vikrama Pāndya, two Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndyas and a Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya are known to have ruled with Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara at different times, and there were possibly others like Māṛavarman Śrīvallabha (*acc.* A.D.1257) and Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha (*acc.* A.D. 1291) whose existence, though probable, has not been proved beyond doubt.[2] The evidence of foreign writers relating to this period confirms the inferences made from the inscriptions. Marco Polo, who visited part of the Pāndya kingdom towards the end of the thirteenth century, speaks of 'five royal brothers' and 'five crowned kings' of this 'great province of Ma'bar'. Chinese sources regarding the diplomatic intercourse with Ma'bar in 1280 and the following years mention 'the five brothers who were

[1] *I.A.*, vol. xliv and *E. I.*, vol. x, p. 141. Kielhorn's view that this Kulaśēkhara was the immediate successor of Vīra Pāndya, the conqueror of Iḷam and Kongu, has now to be given up in view of records subsequently discovered.

[2] Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai first discovered the possibility of their existence and Mr. Sewell after a careful examination of his data wanted further evidence before the existence of these kings could be taken as proved. (*I.A.*, vols. xlii and xliv) Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai also postulated a Sundara Pāndya (Jaṭāvarman) with accession date in A.D. 1270 (*I.A.*, vol xlii), but subsequently gave him up (List of Pudukkottah Inscriptions, p. 66 *n*). The *Indian Ephemeris*, however, introduces a Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya *acc.* A.D. 1270 (vol. i, part ii, p. 101). These instances show how difficult the chronology of these kings still continues to be.

Sultans'.[1] The Muhammadan historian Wassaf who had chances of gaining a more accurate knowledge of South India in his day says, 'A few years since the Dewar was Sundara Pandi, who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country.'[2] Considering the royal state maintained by these kings who were all contemporaries, it is not surprising that they struck foreign observers as ruling independently of one another; for not only did they cause inscriptions to be engraved and endowments to be made each in his own name but they seem to have even exercised the right of coinage. At the same time there is no doubt about the superior position of Kulaśēkhara as the sovereign monarch, and this seems to have been understood by Marco Polo and Wassaf. Marco Polo says that Ashar 'was the eldest of the five brother kings'; Ashar (Asciar in another version) is no doubt a corruption of Śēkhar.[3] And Wassaf though he states in one place 'a few years since the Dewar was Sundar Pandi' and records his death, says elsewhere 'Kales Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years'.[4] The system of joint-rulers or co-regents which thus prevailed in the latter part of the thirteenth century in the

[1] Yule and Cordier, *Travels of Marco Polo*, vol. ii, pp. 331, 337, 371. Marco Polo has a strange travellers' story about the mother of these kings being alive at the time of his visit, and her throwing herself between them to prevent their fighting. 'In this way she, full many a time, brought them to desist. But when she dies it will most assuredly happen that they will fall out and destroy one another' (p. 371).

[2] *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, p. 32.

[3] Yule and Cordier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 370 and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 56.

[4] *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, p. 52. It may be mentioned that the *Mahāvaṁśa* (see later in the chapter) also knows of 'five brethren' of whom Kulaśēkhara was chief.

our knowledge.[1] The tributary and subordinate position in the Pāndya Empire of the rebellious Kāḍava chieftain, Kōpperunjingadēva, has been mentioned before.

The records of Vīra Pāndya are of more than usual interest for a study of the social and economic conditions of the country during this period. Though the more detailed study of such conditions has been reserved to a later chapter some of these records may be briefly noticed here. One inscription from the Pudukkottah state (No. 372 of 1906) throws much light on judicial methods and describes an ordeal of the plough-share; another from Kuṟṟālam (Tinnevelly) registers a transaction between an individual and the assembly of Tirukkuttālam which is stated to have met together in Tirumukkālvaṭṭam, by which is probably meant a hall where it usually held its sittings. 'No. 432 of 1917 records that the village assembly bought a piece of land from the people of Sundara Pāndyapuram and let a portion of it on permanent lease to a certain Āṇḍa Pillai in exchange for a fixed annual rent in paddy and money on every *mā* (மா) of cultivated land.' It was also stipulated that the lessee would pay on every *mā* of waste plot that he brought under cultivation an annually progressive rate of rent for the first four years and a fixed rate thereafter.[2] Two epigraphs from the North Arcot district (Āvūr, Nos. 299 and 302 of 1919) contain details of *kaḍamai* assessment in that part of the

[1] Vallān has sometimes been taken to be the king of the Chola country (*A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 27). But the conquest of Vallān is always mentioned as a separate event which occurred after the capture of Cholamaṇḍalam thus, 'சழுமண்டலமுங்கொண்டு வல்லாளனையுங்கொன்று திண்டிமராசரியரை,' etc. The Vaḍugas are taken to be Kanarese (*A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 36). They might as well have been Telugus to whom the name is more commonly applied by the Tamils.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 48.

country. A series of inscriptions (Nos. 540 to 543 of 1911) from Śērmādēvi gives an idea of the procedure that appears to have been usually followed in making gifts to temples of lands freed from all taxes and other assessments. Lastly, an epigraph (No. 598 of 1926) from the Ramnad district states that a large and representative assembly was convoked for the purpose of raising funds for building a stone temple in the place of a dilapidated old masonry temple. The people of eighteen provinces (*viṣayam*) attended and came to an agreement that on all articles of merchandise that were measured, spread and folded and on some other specified goods, a cess of one *kāśu* per *achchu* should be collected. And among the corporations that attended the meeting and became parties to the agreement were the Valanjiyar of South Ceylon, Anjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam,—all names of self-regulating corporations of different classes of merchants.[1] The currency of the realm seems to have comprised different varieties of coins, and people had to take care to specify the type of coin to which each transaction had reference, like Paḷam-Śōḷiyan-Kāśu, Vīra-Pāndyan Kāśu, etc.[2]

In the last years of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya, Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara who, like Sundara, bears the

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, paras 46–8. At paragraph 48 the epigraphist expresses his opinion that 'it is possible that at Tittāṇḍatānapuram which is only a few miles distant from Toṇḍi, there may have also been a Muhammadan colony which had banded itself into an Anjuvaṇṇam (Anjuman) association'. It is rather strange that this reference to an Anjuvaṇṇam, which agreed to help to build a temple, should not have convinced him that Anjuvaṇṇam had nothing whatever to do with Anjuman. Venkayya's elucidation of these terms which I have followed is found in *E.I.*, vol. iv, pp. 293–4 and *n.* 2 at p. 296. Note particularly that one of their privileges was: 'Should they themselves commit a crime, they are themselves to have the investigation of it' (p. 294). See also T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. ii, pp. 73–5.

[2] No. 131 of 1907 and *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 39.

Pāndya empire must have been the result of the great extension of the empire during this period and an imitation of the practice of sending out princes of the royal family as viceroys which had prevailed in the Chola empire.

The inscriptions of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara 'who conquered all countries' are very numerous and found mostly in the eastern Tamil districts and the regnal years mentioned in them range from 3 to 44. A few of these records begin with a historical introduction '*Tēr Pōṟi* etc.' which is not of much value as most of it is poetry. The only definite statements made in it are that the tiger of the Cholas had been sent to rule the forests, that all religions flourished in friendly toleration of one another and that the rulers of various countries brought their tributes to the king.[1] We also learn that the king had a palace at Jayangoṇḍaśōḻapuram and that the king's throne in the palace was called Kalingarāyan. This is clear proof that the Cholas had ceased to exist as a

[1] Nos. 25 of 1891 and 465 of 1909 of the years ten and four respectively. Mr. Krishna Sastri (at *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 36) holds that 'it is certain that he (Kulaśēkhara of No. 465 of 1909) could not be identical with Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I, "who was pleased to take every country".' His reasons are: (*a*) Kulaśēkhara 'who conquered every country' is not known to have had any eulogy in the form of a historical introduction; (*b*) the mention of the chief officer Kalingarāyan in the record makes it probable that this Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara was a contemporary or successor of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha; and (*c*) the historical introduction was characteristic of the records of the first kings of the mediæval Pāndyas. Reasons (*a*) and (*c*) simply beg the question. As for (*b*), Mr. Krishna Sastri himself ascribes another record No. 366 of 1913 to Kulaśēkhara 'who took all countries' for the very reason that it mentions Kalingarāyan (*A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 22). That No. 465 of 1909 does not give the title 'who took all countries' is no argument against its being ascribed to the king; for when there is a characteristic introduction to a record, the king's surnames may or may not appear. See Jaṭāvarman Sundara's records beginning *Pūmalar Vaḷar*. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar ascribes No. 465 of 1909 to our king—*op. cit.*, pp. 56 and 221.

power. The last of them who made any attempt to save the Chola line from annihilation was Rājēndra III and he had probably ceased to rule when Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara came to the throne.[1] An epigraph from Śērmādēvi (No. 692 of 1916) dated in the twentieth year of the king furnishes some commentary on his title and mentions that he conquered the Malaināḍu, Śōṇāḍu, the two Kongus, Īḻam and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. These are probably references to campaigns rendered necessary on account of some local trouble or other, for most of the territories mentioned had been brought under subjection by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya and Vīra Pāndya.

Rather early in his reign the king went on an expedition against the Travancore country (Malaināḍu) and one of the chief incidents in the campaign was probably the capture of Kollam (Quilon). Some records of the king from the Tinnevelly district confirm the conquest, rather the reconquest, of Malaināḍu, and give the titles *Cheranai-veṇra* and *Kollam-koṇḍa*.[2] That Kulaśēkhara continued to be in undisputed possession of the Śōṇāḍu and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam is proved by the presence of many of his inscriptions in all the important places in these districts. In spite of Kulaśēkhara's claim to have conquered the two Kongus, no records of his are found in the Kongu country. On the other hand, a record from Tinnevelly (No. 29 of 1927) mentions[3] that Kulaśēkhara built a *prākāra* wall of the Tinnevelly temple

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 32 and 1923, part ii, para 45. Also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 and 94–5.

[2] [illegible] occurs as early as the eighth year in No. 126 of 1907. For the rest see *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 42, where the reference to No. 120 of 1908 is perhaps a mistake.

[3] This record is assigned to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara *acc.* A.D. 1190 in *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 41; but that period is too early for a Pāndya king who claims to have beaten the Hoysalas.

from the booty collected after defeating the Kēraḷa, the Chola and the Hoysala kings. Another inscription mentions that the king was in his camp at Kaṇṇanūr in his fifteenth year.[1] We also find records of Kulaśēkhara's co-regent Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1276) in the Kongu country, and later still, early in the fourteenth century, the Muhammadan historians tell us of a Pāndya ruler with his headquarters at Kalūl (Karūr).[2] All these facts leave little room for doubt that the Kongu country was more or less effectively controlled by the Pāndya rulers till the end of Kulaśēkhara's reign.

The conquest of Ceylon is borne out by the *Mahāvaṁśa* and appears to have taken place about A.D. 1284, when Parākrama Bāhu III was ruling the island.[3] 'Then there arose a famine in the land (Ceylon). Then the five brethren who governed the Pāndyan kingdom sent to this island, at the head of an army, a great minister of much power who was a chief among the Tamils known as Ariya Cakkavatti, albeit he was not an Ariya. And when he had landed and laid waste the country on every side he entered the great and noble fortress, the city of Subhagiri. And he took the venerable tooth-relic and all the solid wealth that was there and returned to the

[1] No. 328 of 1923 summarized in *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 35. There were however several places of the name Kaṇṇanūr. There is a reference to Kannāṭṭarasar in No. 20 of 1912 (from the Tinnevelly district) of the fourth year. This led Mr. Krishna Sastri (*A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 35) to believe that the Hoysalas under Vīra Rāmanātha were still occupying the Tamil country and interfering with the Pāndyas. In the absence of the text of the inscription it is not possible to check the validity of Mr. Sastri's inference; but it is against the general trend of affairs after the accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (A.D. 1251).

[2] Wassaf in *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, p. 54.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 531. It is likely that the actual Pāndyan invasion of Ceylon was in the reign of his predecessor. (*Mahāvaṁśa*, xc, *vv.* 48–50.)

Pāndyan country. And there he gave the tooth relic unto the king Kulaśēkhara who was even like unto a sun expanding the lotus-like race of the great Pāndyan kings'.[1] The commander of the Pāndyan forces mentioned in this account, Ariya Cakravarti, is referred to also in an inscription (No. 110 of 1903) of the king in his thirty-seventh year as taking his orders from him.[2] Parākrama Bāhu had to bow before the storm and the *Mahāvaṁśa* says that he adopted persuasive methods with the Pāndya monarch, visited the Pāndyan court and succeeded in inducing Kulaśēkhara to surrender the sacred tooth as a favour.

Wassaf says of Kulaśēkhara's reign that 'during that time neither any foreign enemy entered his country nor any severe malady confined him to bed'. 'The fortunate and happy sovereign' according to the same writer, 'enjoyed a highly prosperous life.' We have evidence from the inscriptions, however, of a short period of illness from which the king suffered and which appears to have had rather important consequences in the public administration of the country. In an epigraph from the Tanjore district (No. 46 of 1906)[3] dated in the thirty-fourth year of the king, 'the country is said to have been in a state of confusion at the time and the people were in distress. This state of things seems to have been

[1] *Mahāvaṁśa*, xc; Turnour and Wijesinha, part ii, pp. 314–5.

[2] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar appears to be right in pointing out as against Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar (see Aiyangar *op. cit.*, pp. 57–8 and Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 170–1) that the Āriya Cakravarti was not a Muhammadan but a Tamil.

[3] See *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 27. This record comes from Tirukkaḍaiyūr and Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao was clearly wrong in ascribing it to the Kulaśēkhara of the civil war of the twelfth century (*Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. ii, p. 16). The details of date in the record work out correctly for September 10, A.D. 1301 in the thirty-fourth year of our king (*I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 198).

brought about by the king making over a portion of his dominions to his younger brothers. Kulaśēkhara apparently resumed the ceded territories subsequently. As a result of this step, the people, who had migrated to other provinces in the interval, returned to their native country'. Another inscription[1] dated about three years earlier in the thirty-first year which records a gift of land for the recovery of the king from some illness probably explains the circumstances which led to the events mentioned in the later inscription.

Kulaśēkhara appears to have had the surname *Bhuvanēkavīra* which is found in at least one of his records, if not more.[2] There are references, in the records of Kulaśēkhara and his contemporary Vīra Pāndya, to a number of chieftains with names ending in Vāṇādirāyan or Mābēli Vāṇādirāyan. These are among the earliest references in Pāndya records to a race of feudatories who seem at first to have started as hereditary local officials in charge of the administration of portions of the kingdom. In later times, the Vāṇādirāyans in the Madura country took advantage of the growing weakness of the Pāndyan kings to declare their independence and restrict the actual rule of the later Pāndyas to the Tinnevelly district. It would appear that these local officials so long as they retained a subordinate character indicated their subjection by employing the names of princes of the ruling family as their *aliases*. The Śāmbuvarāyans who were Chola feudatories are known to have done so,[3] and the names of the Mābēlivāṇādirāyans mentioned in the Pāndya records under reference are best explained on

[1] No. 506 of 1904 which yields a regular date in A.D. 1299 for the thirty-first year (*I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 198).

[2] Nos. 260 of 1917 and 218 of 1924. Also *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 35.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 21 gives several examples of this.

that supposition. On the other hand, the kings to whom those officials were subject used terms evincing a paternal interest in them like *Piḷḷai*, *Makkaḷ* and so on. The records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya make reference to a Pārākrama Pāndya Mābēli Vāṇādhirāya *alias* Pāvanangakāra called Makkaḷnāyanār; and a Vikrama Pāndya Mahā bali Vāṇarāya Nāyanār may also be taken to be of the same period. An inscription of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya mentions a Piḷḷai Kulaśēkhara Mābēli Vāṇarāyan who may be the same as Piḷḷai Mābelivāṇarāyar who was in charge of Kōnāḍu (part of the Pudukkottah state) under Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara. We also learn that Kēraḷaśinga Vaḷanāḍu (part of the modern district of Ramnad) was under an officer Vaṇādarāyar from the time of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya to at least the twenty-fourth year of Kulaśēkhara. The part played by these Bāṇarāya chiefs in the history of the Pāndyan kingdom from this time is easy enough to understand in its general outline; but there are several obscure details that await further study and elucidation.[1]

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28; 1922, part ii, para 36; 1918, part ii, para 51; 1908, part ii, para 45 and 1924, part ii, para 35 contain various attempts at explaining these records. The most important among them are: No. 104 of 1916; No. 46 of 1922; No. 430 of 1907; No. 357 of 1922; No. 328 of 1923 and others.

CHAPTER XIII

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA PĀNDYA (1276); MĀṚAVARMAN VIKRAMA PĀNDYA (1283); SOCIAL LIFE AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY—MARCO POLO

OF the co-regents who came to power after Kulaśēkhara's accession, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya claims notice first. His rule began in A.D. 1276.[1] This king had apparently no distinguishing titles and the identification of his records is a matter of considerable difficulty. There is little to guide the student besides astronomical details given in the inscriptions and the latest regnal year so far traced by such indications is the seventeenth, which takes his rule up to A.D. 1292–1293 (No. 594 of 1907). He is the Sonder Bandi Davar of Marco Polo and the Sunder Pandi of Wassaf who was the Dewar 'a few years since' and whose death is mentioned by him as having occurred in 692 Hijra. His records are found in the Cuddapah and Salem districts, besides Tanjore, South Arcot and Chingleput. An inscription of his, recently discovered in the Tanjore district (No. 311 of 1927), refers to the foundation of a new Śaiva Maṭha by a Vidyāśiva Paṇḍita, which is no doubt connected with

[1] Mr L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai first postulated another Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya with accession in A.D. 1269–70 (*I.A.*, vol. xlii), Sewell decisively rejected the possibility (*I.A.*, vol. xliv) and Mr. Swamikkannu himself subsequently gave it up. See note under Jaṭāvarman Sundara II at p. 66 of the *List of Pudukkottah Inscriptions* and *Ephemeris*, (vol. i, part ii, p. 101). For the accession date in A.D. 1276, see *E.I.*, vol. ix, pp. 228–9 and *E.I.*, vol. xi, pp. 136 and 259–61; also *E.I.*, vol. x, pp. 143–4.

the revival of Śaiva activities in the thirteenth century by the Saiva teachers (Santānaguravar) beginning with Meykaṇḍadēvar who popularized and spread the tenets of the Saiva Siddhānta philosophy.[1]

Māṛavarman Vīkrama Pāndya was another co-regent, who began to rule some time in A.D. 1283.[2] His records begin with a Sanskrit introduction *Samasta-bhuvanaika-vīra* and two Tamil introductions commencing *Tirumagaḷ Jayamagaḷ* and *Tirumalarmādu*. The Sanskrit introduction, which is found also in one of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya's records, recounts practically all the titles and achievements of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya and furnishes the model for the introductions adopted by some of the later Pāndyas of the period of decline.[3] And the Tamil introductions do not seem to add materially to our knowledge of the king. It seems therefore that Vikrama Pāndya's Sanskrit introduction cannot be taken to refer to any fresh conquests on his part. Some inscriptions from Chidambaram are in the form of verses which seem to be in praise of this Vikrama Pāndya and to record his achievements in particular. In one of them

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 44.

[2] There has been great difficulty regarding the date of this king's accession. At one time (*I.A.*, vol. xliv) Sewell and Swamikkannu Pillai were agreed about A.D. 1283. Subsequently (see *A.R.E.*, 1917, Appendix F) Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai gave up A.D. 1283 for A.D. 1269–70, for what appears to be an insufficient reason. His *Indian Ephemeris* (vol. i, part ii, pp. 92–3) unfortunately adds to the confusion by mixing up many things and stating different dates of accession at the beginning and at the end. It will be seen, however, that on the basis of any date there are difficulties in reconciling all the known facts. The accession date 1283 seems to be well established and need not be given up. See No. 82 of 1918 and *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 45. Again No. 43 of 1905 of the seventh year of the king from South Arcot states that the salt pans belonging to a temple remained unused since the time of the Pallava king Kōpperunjinga. If it is remembered that that chieftain ruled almost up to A.D. 1280, the inference is clear.

[3] See Nos. 122 of 1896 and 200 of 1895.

which gives him the titles *Bhuvanēkavīra* and *Koṛkai-kāvala* he is said to have conquered Vēṇāḍu (Travancore) and is ironically commended for not having invaded the north, as there were two carps on Gaṇapati's face and there was a woman (ruling with a man's name), which is undoubtedly a reference to the Kākatīya queen Rudramma. He is also credited with having fought the Chola on the banks of the Vellāṛu which is said to have become Śevvāṛu (red river) when the wrath of Bhuvanē-kavīra Vikrama Pāndya was roused. Much of this seems to be mere poetry.[1]

It is quite possible that the coin bearing the legend *Bhuvanekavīran* described by Sir Walter Elliot[2] may belong to this Vikrama Pāndya, although, as has been pointed out before, the name was also borne by Māṛavar-man Kulaśēkhara himself. Vikrama Pāndya had likewise the surname Rājākkaḷ Nāyan which occasionally takes the form Rājākkaḷ Tambirān.[3] There are references in his records to a throne Munaiyadaraiyan at Madura and another called Malaiyadaraiyan in a palace at Rājēndram, east of Rāśinganku̱lam.[4] The reference to his elder brother (aṇṇāḷvār)[5] Kulaśēkhara is very interesting as furnishing some confirmation of the statements of Wassaf and Marco Polo that the country was being ruled by a number of brothers. The latest regnal year mentioned in Vikrama Pāndya's records seems to be 13 (No. 539 of 1916) and this means that his rule lasted up to at least A.D. 1295–1296.

[1] Nos. 123 of 1888 ; 329, 336 and 365 of 1913 and *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 20.

[2] *Coins of Southern India*, No. 138, p. 152d.

[3] Nos. 536 of 1920 and 86 of 1918 ; also *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 41.

[4] Nos. 312 and 317 of 1923 and *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 36.

[5] No. 462 of 1921.

Before proceeding to consider the other co-regents of Kulaśēkhara and the politics of the closing years of his reign, an account must be given of the social and economic life of the Pāndya country as it struck a foreign observer like Marco Polo, whose statements are in several important respects borne out by the observations of the Muhammadan historian Wassaf to whom we owe much of our knowledge of the political condition of the Pāndyan kingdom at this time.[1]

The name by which the country was known to foreigners was Ma'bar, a word which, in Arabic, signifies Passage or Ferry and was applied to the part of the Indian coast most frequented by travellers and merchants from Arabia and the Persian Gulf. 'Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore). The curiosities of Chin and Machin and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships (which they call junks), sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water, are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from Irak and Khurasan as far as Rum and Europe, are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind' (*Wassaf*). Writing of Kāyal (Cail), the chief emporium of the Pāndyan kingdom, Marco Polo says that the king to whom the city belongs 'administers his kingdom with great equity and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city.' 'It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the West, as from Hormos and from Kis and

[1] The account that follows is based on Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo* and *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii.

from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail.'

The horse trade of Kāyal was of considerable political importance and a good part of the revenues of the kingdom was spent on the purchase of horses for the king and the army. There is a reference to horse-dealers from Travancore in an inscription of the time (No. 161 of 1907). Marco Polo says: 'Here are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses; I will tell you how. You must know that the merchants of Kis and Hormes, Dofar and Soer and Aden collect great numbers of destriers and other horses and these they bring to the territories of this King and of his four brothers, who are Kings likewise as I told you. For a horse will fetch among them 500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver, and vast numbers are sold there every year.' Wassaf's statements about this trade are even more specific and furnish interesting details. 'It was a matter of agreement that Maliku-l Islām Jamāluddin and the merchants should embark every year from the island of Kais and land at Ma'bar 1,400 horses of his own breed, and of such generous origin that, in comparison with them the most celebrated horses of antiquity, such as the Rukhs of Rustam, etc., should be as worthless as the horse of the chess-board. It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia, such as Katif, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmuz and Kulhatu. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars of red gold (=440 *saggi* of Polo) on this condition, that if any horses should sustain any injury during the voyage, or

should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury.'[1]

The waste of the country's wealth on horses that Marco Polo speaks of was due not so much to the generous terms of the contract under which horses were imported as to the unfavourable climate of South India in which these horses could not thrive and the ignorance of Indian horse-keepers. Wassaf remarks: 'It is a strange thing that when those horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter, and boiled cow's milk to drink. . . . They bind them for forty days in a stable with ropes and pegs in order that they may get fat; and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons. . . . In a short time, the most strong, swift, fresh and active horses become weak, slow, useless, and stupid. In short, they all become wretched and good for nothing. . . . There is, therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually.' Marco Polo confirms Wassaf and says, 'There is no possibility of breeding horses in this country, as hath often proved by trial' and the 'people do not know in the least how to treat a horse.' But he also adds this: 'The horse-merchants not only never bring any farriers with them, but also prevent any farrier from going thither, lest that should in any degree baulk the sale of horses, which brings them in every year such vast gains'.

[1] Wassaf also gives the total volume of the annual Indian import trade in horses as 10,000 animals worth 2,200,000 dinars and rather inconsistently adds that this amount 'was paid out of the overflowing revenues of the estates and endowments belonging to the Hindu temples, and from the tax upon courtesans attached to them, and no charge was incurred by the public treasury.'

From the earliest times the Pāndya country has been famous for its pearls and ' Marco's account of the pearl fishery is still substantially correct.' He says : ' In his (Sonder Bandi Davar's) kingdom they find very fine and great pearls ; and I will tell you how they are got. . . . The pearl-fishers take their vessels, great and small, and proceed into this gulf (between the island of Seilan and the mainland), where they stop from the beginning of April till the middle of May. They go first to a place called Bettelar, and (then) go sixty miles into the gulf. Here they cast anchor and shift from their large vessels into small boats. You must know that the many merchants who go divide into various companies, and each of these must engage a number of men on wages, hiring them for April and half of May. Of all the produce they have first to pay the King, as his royalty, the tenth part. And they must also pay those men who charm the great fishes, to prevent them from injuring the divers whilst engaged in seeking pearls under water, one-twentieth part of all that they take. These fish-charmers are termed *Abraiaman* (Brahman) ; and their charm holds good for that day only, for at night they dissolve the charm so that the fishes can work mischief at their will. . . . When the men have got into the small boats they jump into the water and dive to the bottom which may be at a depth of from four to twelve fathoms, and there they remain as long as they are able. And there they find the shells that contain the pearls and these they put into a net bag tied round the waist, and mount up to the surface with them, and then dive anew. When they can't hold their breath any longer they come up again, and after a little, down they go once more, and so they go on all day. . . . In this manner pearls are fished in great quantities, for

thence in fact come the pearls which are spread all over the world. And I can tell you the King of that State hath a very great receipt and treasure from his dues upon those pearls.' 'Moreover nobody is permitted to take out of the kingdom a pearl weighing more than half a *saggio* unless he manages to do it secretly. This order has been given because the King desires to reserve all such to himself; and so in fact the quantity he has is something almost incredible. Moreover several times every year he sends his proclamation through the realm that if any one who possesses a pearl or stone of great value will bring it to him, he will pay for it twice as much as it cost. Everybody is glad to do this, and thus the King gets all into his own hands, giving every man his price.'

The king possessed much other treasure of great value besides the best of the pearls that were found in his kingdom. 'Round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and the like in so much that this collar is of great value. He wears also hanging in front of his chest from the neck downwards, a fine silk thread strung with 104 (108?) large pearls and rubies of great price. The reason why he wears this cord with the 104 great pearls and rubies, is (according to what they tell) that every day, morning and evening, he has to say 104 prayers to his idols. Such is their religion and their custom. And thus did all the Kings, his ancestors before him, and they bequeathed the string of pearls to him that he should do the like.'

'The King aforesaid also wears on his arms three golden bracelets thickly set with pearls of great value, and anklets also of like kind he wears on his legs, and rings on his toes likewise. So let me tell you what this

King wears, between gold and gems and pearls, is worth more than a city's ransom. And it is no wonder ; for he hath great store of such gear.'

'When the King dies none of his children dares to touch his treasure. For they say, "As our father did gather together all this treasure, so we ought to accumulate as much in our turn". And in this way it comes to pass that there is an immensity of treasure accumulated in this kingdom.' That Marco was correctly informed as to the extent of the treasures accumulated by the Pāndya rulers is seen clearly from the statements of Wassaf on the matter. Of Kales Dewar (Kulaśēkhara) he says : 'His coffers were replete with wealth, inasmuch that in the treasury of the city of Mardi (Madura) there were 1,200 crores of gold (*dinars*) deposited. . . . Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds—more than is in the power of language to express.'

Marco Polo gives some more information of interest about the king and his court. 'This King hath some five hundred wives. . . . The King hath many children'. 'And there are about the King a number of Barons in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom ; they are called the King's Trusty Lieges. And you must know that when the King dies, and they put him on the fire to burn him, these Lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body, and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him. For they say they have been his comrades in this world, and that they ought also to keep him company in the other world.' These statements of Marco about the King's Trusty Lieges may, at first sight, appear incredible; but they furnish an excellent commentary on the epigraphical references to

Tennavan Āpattudavigaḷ (தென்னவன் ஆபத்துதவிகள்) and an institution mentioned in the records of successive Pāndya rulers of this period[1] becomes intelligible only in the light of the evidence furnished by the Venetian traveller.

Marco Polo has some things to say about the life of the common people of the country. Their manner of dress seems to have amazed him. 'You must know that in all this province of Ma'bar there is never a tailor to cut a coat or stitch it, seeing that everybody goes naked! For decency only do they wear a scrap of cloth; and so it is with men and women, with rich and poor, aye, and with the King himself. . . . It is a fact that the King goes as bare as the rest.' The last statement shows that surprise at the novelty of the foreigners' dress blunted the keenness of the traveller's observation. Marco Polo mentions the custom of *sati* as common at the time and refers also to the practice of allowing a condemned criminal who was sentenced to death to sacrifice himself to some God or other of his choice. Many people, according to him, worshipped the ox and 'would not eat beef for anything in the world.'

'And let me tell you, the people of this country have a custom of rubbing their houses all over with cow-dung. Moreover all of them, great and small, King and Barons included, do sit upon the ground only, and the reason they give is that this is the most honourable way to sit, because we all spring from the Earth and to the Earth we must return; so no one can pay the Earth too much honour, and no one ought to despise it.' People continue to sit on the ground even now, though, one supposes, not for the reason given by Marco.

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1918 part ii, para 43.

'The people of the country go to battle all naked, with only a lance and a shield; and they are most wretched soldiers. They will kill neither beast nor bird, nor anything that hath life; and for such animal food as they eat, they make the Saracens, or others who are not of their own religion, play the butcher.

'It is their practice that every one, male and female, do wash the whole body twice every day; and those who do not wash are looked on much as we look on the Patarins. You must know that in eating they use the right hand only and would on no account touch their food with the left hand. . . . So also they drink only from drinking vessels, and every man hath his own; nor will any one drink from another's vessel. And when they drink they do not put the vessel to the lips, but hold it aloft and let the drink spout into the mouth. No one would on any account touch the vessel with his mouth, nor give a stranger drink with it. But if the stranger have no vessel of his own they will pour the drink into his hands and he may thus drink from his hands as from a cup.

'They are very strict in executing justice upon criminals, and as strict in abstaining from wine. Indeed they have made a rule that wine-drinkers and sea-faring men are never to be accepted as sureties. . . . They have the following rule about debts. If a debtor shall have been several times asked by his creditor for payment and shall have put him off from day to day with promises, then if the creditor can once meet the debtor and succeed in drawing a circle round him, the latter must not pass out of this circle until he shall have satisfied the claim, or given security for its discharge. If he in any other case presumes to pass the circle he is punished with death as a transgressor against right and justice.

They have many experts in an art which they call Physiognomy, by which they discern a man's character and qualities at once. They also know the import of meeting with any particular bird or beast; for such omens are regarded by them more than by any people in the world. . . . As soon as a child is born they write down his nativity, that is to say the day and hour, the month, and the moon's age. This custom they observe because every single thing they do is done with reference to astrology, and by the advice of diviners skilled in Sorcery and Magic and Geomancy and such like diabolical arts; and some of them are also acquainted with Astrology.'

Marco Polo says that all male children were dismissed from their homes when they attained thirteen and after that they had to get their living by trade. 'And these urchins are running about all day from pillar to post, buying and selling. . . . And every day they take their food to their mothers to be cooked and served, but do not eat a scrap at the expense of their fathers.' This could not have been universal; perhaps Marco found the system prevailing among some sections of the population. He refers to temples as 'certain abbeys in which are Gods and Goddesses to whom many young girls are consecrated'—a reference to *dēvadāsis*. The nature of the institution of the temple dancing-girls seems, however, to have been hardly understood by the traveller.

'All the people of this city (Cail), as well as of the rest of India, have a custom of perpetually keeping in the mouth a certain leaf called *Tembul*, to gratify a certain habit and desire they have, continually chewing it and spitting out the saliva that it excites. The Lords and gentlefolks and the King have these leaves prepared

with camphor and other aromatic spices and also mixt with quicklime. And this practice was said to be very good for the health.'

'The men of this country have their beds made of very light canework, so arranged that, when they have got in and are going to sleep, they are drawn up by cords nearly to the ceiling and fixed there for the night. This is done to get out of the way of tarantulas which give terrible bites, as well as of fleas and such vermin, and at the same time to get as much air as possible in the great heat which prevails in that region. Not that everybody does this, but only the nobles and great folks, for the others sleep on the streets.'

CHAPTER XIV

THE LAST YEARS OF MĀṚAVARMAN KULAŚĒKHARA (1268) JAṬĀVARMAN VĪRA PĀNDYA (*acc.* A.D. 1296–7); JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA PĀNDYA (*acc.* A.D. 1303); THE MUHAMMADAN INVASION

TWO princes were co-regents of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara in the closing years of his long reign. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya attained the position earlier and the date of his accession was between A.D. December 1296 and June 1297.[1] About five or six years later began the rule of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya.[2] These beyond doubt are the two sons of Kulaśēkhara mentioned by Wassaf. 'This fortunate and happy sovereign (Kulaśēkhara) had two sons, the elder named Sundar Pandi, who was legitimate, his mother being joined to the Dewar by lawful marriage, and the younger named Tira Pandi was illegitimate, his mother being one of the mistresses who continually attended the king in his banquet of pleasure.'[3] If we may believe Wassaf's account, the jealou-

[1] More exactly A.D. December 17, 1296 to June 16, 1297. (*I.A.*, vol. xliv, pp. 249–52 and *E.I.*, vol. xi, p. 137). Mr. Swamikkannu, however, gives the date as between June 23 and July 24, A.D. 1296 (*Indian Ephemeris*, vol. i, part ii, p. 105).

[2] Accession between March 31, and May 16, A.D. 1303. (*Indian Ephemeris*, vol. i, part ii, p. 107). Sewell doubted the historicity of this king (*I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 252) discovered by Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai; but the discovery of a Śaka date in No. 608 of 1915 (giving Śaka 1236 = 12th year) settles the question beyond possibility of doubt. Even otherwise, Wassaf's mention of two Sundar Pandis should have been enough to support Mr. Swamikkannu's position in this particular.

[3] *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, pp. 52–3. Amir Khusru makes Bir Pāndya the elder, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

sies and rivalries of these half-brothers embittered the last years of Kulaśēkhara, and finally led to his murder by Sundara Pāndya. This crime was followed by a fraternal war which threw the kingdom into confusion when the Khilji army under Malik Kafur advanced upon Madura. But the story is not easy to follow in its details. It is unfortunate that Wassaf's account stands alone and is not corroborated by the other writers of the time, particularly because the inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara's reign seem to contradict Wassaf's chronology.

The story as given by Wassaf is this: 'As Tira Pandi was remarkable for his shrewdness and intrepidity, the ruler nominated him as his successor. His brother Sundar Pandi, being enraged at this supersession, killed his father, in a moment of rashness and undutifulness, towards the close of the year 709 H (A.D. 1310) and placed the crown on his head in the city of Mardi (Madura). He induced the troops who were there to support his interests, and conveyed some of the royal treasures which were deposited there to the city of Mankul, and he himself accompanied, marching on, attended in royal pomp with the elephants, horses, and treasures. Upon this his brother Tira Pandi, being resolved on avenging his father's blood, followed to give him battle, and on the margin of a lake which, in their language, they call Talachi, the opponents came to action. Both the brothers, each ignorant of the fate of the other, fled away; but Tira Pandi being unfortunate, and having been wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy, and seven elephant-loads of gold also fell to the lot of the army of Sundar Pandi.

'It is a saying of philosophers, that ingratitude will, sooner or later, meet its punishment, and this was proved in the sequel, for Manar Barmul, the son of the daughter

of Kales Dewar, who espoused the cause of Tira Pandi, being at that time at Karamhatti, near Kalul, sent him assistance, both in men and money, which was attended with a most fortunate result. Sundar Pandi had taken possession of the kingdom, and the army and the treasure were his own; but, . . . notwithstanding all his treasures and the goodwill of the army, . . . he met with the chastisement due to his ingratitude, for in the middle of the year 710 (A.D. 1310) Tira Pandi, having collected an army, advanced to oppose him, and Sundar Pandi, trembling and alarmed, fled from his native country, and took refuge under the protection of Ala-ud-din of Delhi, and Tira Pandi became firmly established in his hereditary kingdom.'

Now, the two princes Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya had been associated in the government of the state since A.D. 1296 and 1303 respectively, and if Sundara Pāndya's superior claims were overlooked, the supersession took place several years before Sundara's rage led him to kill his father. It is hard to see why Sundara Pāndya, who apparently did not mind the preference shown to Vīra in the beginning, should, at the end of more than thirteen years, have become so undutiful as to turn parricide. It is, however, possible that some time before the murder, Kulaśēkhara had in some manner indicated that after him, Vīra Pāndya was to be the chief monarch, Sundara Pāndya being subordinate in rank, and that Sundara was disappointed at this decision of his father which placed the bastard above the legitimate son after the father's lifetime.[1] But the time of the murder as given by Wassaf presents a serious diffi-

[1] The suggestion is made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *S. India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 96.

culty. The event is placed by him at the close of 709 H., that is about May–June, A.D. 1310, and before Malik Kafur's attack on Dwārasamudra. But there are inscriptions which refer to the forty-fourth year of Kulaśēkhara's reign which did not begin till June 10, A.D. 1311 and one of these (No. 106 of 1916) comes from Tirukkāḷakkuḍi in the modern Ramnad district and gives the king's usual title 'who was pleased to take all countries'. It is very unlikely that records continued to be dated in the regnal years of a monarch who had died at his son's hands till more than a year after the event, and that so near the capital of the kingdom. There seems to be no possibility of reconciling Wassaf's date with the epigraphical evidence at hand.[1] It may also be observed that neither Amir Khusru nor Zia-ud-din Barni—both refer to the two rulers of the Pāndya country in their accounts of Malik Kafur's invasion of Ma'bar—has anything to say about the murder.

There is no doubt, however, that Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya had fallen out and were fighting each other at the time of the Muhammadan invasion of South India. In this respect, Wassaf's statements receive confirmation from Amir Khusru who says that Malik Kafur 'was informed that the two Rais of Ma'bar, the eldest named Bir Pāndya, the youngest Sundar Pāndya, who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions.'[2] It is difficult to follow the details of this war between the two Pāndya rulers given by Wassaf as the

[1] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar seems to be aware of the difficulty though he does not appear to face it. It is rather difficult to see how the various statements he makes in his work are to be reconciled with one another. See *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 59, 96, and 97.

[2] *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, p. 88.

names of places have changed beyond recognition at the hands of the Muhammadan historian.

Sundara Pāndya is said to have suffered defeat in the end and taken refuge with Ala-ud-din. This has led practically all historians to suppose that Sundara Pāndya's appeal against Vīra furnished the occasion for Malik Kafur's invasion of the Pāndya country. Col. Yule stated : ' Sundar Bandi went to Ala-ud-din, Sultan of Delhi, and sought help. The Sultan eventually sent his general Hazardinari (*alias* Malik Kafur) to conquer Ma'bar'[1] and he has been generally followed by all writers who came after him and it has been sometimes assumed that Malik Kafur's invasion of the Pāndya kingdom was undertaken partly in furtherance of Sundara Pāndya's claims to the throne.[2] There seems to be little reason furnished by our sources for the view that the Muhammadan was interested in helping Sundara Pāndya back to his throne or that his invasion was caused

[1] Marco Polo—*Yule and Cordier*, vol. ii, p. 333 *n*. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says : ' According to Wassaf's account, therefore, Sundara Pāndya found refuge in the court of Alauddin, and that gave the occasion for interference, if such an occasion were necessary for Malik Kafur, who was already on this invasion ' (*op. cit.*, p. 97). Again : ' There is very little doubt left that he marched in support of Vīra Pāndya's rival Sundara Pāndya whose territory proper was Madura and the country round it ' (pp.156-7). *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii, is indecisive. ' From Dvāravatīpura Malik Naib marched to the kingdom of the Pāndyas in the extreme south of the peninsula to which the attention of Alauddin had been attracted by recent events.' (p. 116). ' Malik Kafur then occupied with the Hoysalas, invaded the Tamil kingdom, placed Sundara Pāndya on the throne,' etc. (p. 487). At p. 669, the capture of Madura and the submission of Madura are entered under 1310 and the death of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara under A.D. 1311. Ishwari Prasād, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 203-4, is also inaccurate in details.

[2] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says of the invasion of Rajab 710 A.H. : ' This was apparently an invasion distinct from the one by Malik Kafur himself' (p. 95). But Wassaf mentions Malik Nabu (= Malik Kafur, see *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, p. 48, *n* 1) as having been ' obliged to retreat ' and if the view of Dr. Aiyangar is right, it must be held that Wassaf makes no mention of the actual invasion of the Pāndya country by Malik Kafur at all.

by the quarrels between the brothers. Wassaf, the only writer who gives a full account of the disputed succession in the Pāndya country, does not connect Malik Kafur's invasion with the flight of Sundara Pāndya to Ala-ud-din's court. In fact his account of the invasion of Ma'bar precedes his narrative of the fraternal war in the Pāndya kingdom and his scheme of chronology is likewise against the usual view. He places the invasion of Ma'bar in the month of Rajab of the year 710 H. (December, A.D. 1310) and the flight of Sundara to Ala-ud-din was after the middle of the year 710, that is about the same time. It is possible to suggest that Sundara fled not to Ala-ud-din himself but to his general in the south, Malik Kafur, and sought his aid[1]. This does seem a satisfactory solution of the chronological difficulty. But if Wassaf's account is to be followed faithfully, it must be held that Sundara Pāndya did not gain much by his appeal to Malik Kafur. For he leaves no room for doubt that Malik Kafur's invasion of the Pāndya country had no other results than the plunder of some cities, and that the attack on the Pāndya ruler who actually held sway at the time was substantially a failure. 'Some of the towns were obtained through the animosity *which has lately arisen* between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans. Malik Nabu, who thought himself a very Saturn, was obliged to retreat, and bring back his army.'[2] In fact the expressions used by Wassaf in this passage, specially the words 'the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers', seem to indicate that so far as Malik Kafur was concerned he made no

[1] The suggestion is made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[2] *Elliot and Dowson* (vol. iii, p. 50, Italics mine).

difference between the two brothers and was ready to plunder either as opportunity arose, and that the animosity did not abate even after Malik Kafur's invasion. It should, however, be noticed that the same historian mentions that Tira Pandi sent 'an army of horse and foot' to the assistance of the Hoysala king against Malik Kafur, and this was the only ground for Malik Kafur being more inimical to Vīra Pāndya than to Sundara. On the other hand, Ziau-d-din Barni states that 'in Ma'bar there were two Rais, but all the elephants and treasure were taken from both, and the army turned homewards flushed with victory'.[1] Of the campaign in Ma'bar Amir Khusru gives a very detailed account, which, however, is not easy to follow on account of the difficulty in identifying the places mentioned by him. But like Barni, he mentions the sack and plunder of temples, resulting in the capture of great booty. He also adds that Malik Kafur and his army 'arrived at the city of Mathra (Madura), the dwelling place of the brother of the Rai Sundar Pāndya. They found the city empty, for the Rai had fled with the Ranis, but had left two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnar. The elephants were captured and the temple burnt.' Both Amir Khusru who gives a detailed chronology of the campaign stage by stage and Barni seem to place the campaign a few months later than Wassaf. In fact all our authorities are agreed that the differences between Sundara Pāndya and Vīra Pāndya made the Pāndya country an easy prey to foreign aggressors, the Hoysala Ballāla and the Muhammadan Malik Kafur; they do not suggest that Malik Kafur's invasion of Ma'bar was either caused by these differences or undertaken in the interest of one of the parties and on

[1] *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, pp. 90-1 and 204.

an appeal from him, and they say nothing as to the effects of the invasion on the relative position of the two royal brothers of the Pāndya country. There is thus no reason to suppose that Sundara Pāndya was restored to the throne of Madura and that a Muhammadan garrison was left behind in the city for his protection.[1]

In fact, the epigraphical records of Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya and their successors give the impression of a more or less continuous rule of the Pāndya country by them and we have records of Vīra and Sundara dated a few years after the withdrawal of Malik Kafur.[2] The only effect of Malik Kafur's inroad was to add to the confusion in the country already distracted by the civil war among the rulers of the land. The real Muhammadan conquest of South India came later, and even then it was short-lived and ineffective. Within

[1] *Contra* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 123, where Kulaśēkhara is an obvious slip for Sundara and pp. 156–7. Dr. Aiyangar, however, says that if a garrison continued in Madura ' its authority must have been confined very narrowly, not extending in all probability to very much beyond the territory immediately round Madura ' (p. 123). Hultzsch (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 668–9), leaves it uncertain when the Muhammadan viceroyalty at Madura began. In the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii, p. 116, Sir Wolseley Haig says 'A Muslim governor was left at Madura ' by Malik Kafur ; it is not clear on what authority this statement is based though it is also found in Smith's *Oxford History of India*, p. 233. Likewise it is difficult to follow Sir W. Haig in his statement that Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara of Kērala was one of the two kings of Ma'bar conquered and plundered by Malik Naib. The attempt to extract history from the confused chronicles in the Taylor MSS. (e.g. Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty*, p. 100) seems a hopeless task.

[2] No. 358 of 1922 of year 14 of Vīra ; No. 104 of 1918 of year 21 ; 305 of 1923 of year 22 and others. Also No. 608 of 1915 giving Śaka 1236 = 12 year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1302–3). *Contra* Mr. L.D. Swamikannu Pillai (*Indian Ephemeris*, vol. i, part ii, p. 106) who thinks there are no records of Vīra Pāndya between his fourteenth and fortieth years, follows an antiquated system of chronology for the Muhammadan chiefs of Madura and makes needless difficulties over a record in the twenty-first year of Vīra Pāndya (No. 639 of 1916). But he grants that Sundara Pāndya had a continuous rule.

ten years of Malik Kafur's sack of Madura, another Sultan of Delhi sent an army under Khusru Khan to plunder the country again, and it is not easy to see how this was possible if the country had been already subjected to the sway of the Sultan of Delhi, with a regular Muhammadan government established at Madura.[1] The truth seems to be that no ruler of Delhi before Muhammad bin Tughlak ever contemplated the permanent annexation of the extreme south of the peninsula as an administrative province of the Empire of Delhi, though the Sultans had no objection to send out expeditions which returned with a vast amount of plundered wealth. This view gains support from the fact that the coins of no earlier Sultan have been found in the Madura district. We may conclude therefore that there is as yet no evidence of the Muhammadans having established themselves in Madura earlier than the first years of Muhammad bin Tughlak. On this view Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, who set himself up as the independent Sultan of Madura in or about A.D. 1329–30, was also the first governor of Ma'bar appointed as such by the Sultan of Delhi.[2] This conquest of South India in the beginning of Muhammad's reign, which is not so well known as the earlier raids, has been discussed very fully by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his account of the foundation of the Sultanate of Madura.

The social and economic effects of the advent of the Muhammadans in South India can, however, by no means be exaggerated. The records of the period bear but meagre testimony to the amount of suffering and

[1] See Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 157 and Barni at p. 219 of *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 671 and 682. Also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff.

he made the best use of his position. His inscriptions are found in Śrīrangam, Kānchīpuram and Poonamallee, which last bears the name *Chera-Pāndya-Caturvēdi-mangalam*. In his Kānchīpuram inscription dated in the fourth year of his reign, A.D. 1315–1316, he claims to have defeated Vīra Pāndya, made the Pāndyas and Cholas subject to the Kēraḷas and at the age of forty-six (i.e. about A.D. 1312–1313) to have been crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī.[1] 'The grantha inscription engraved in Poonamallee (No. 34 of 1911) states that the Chera king conquered Sundara Pāndya and granted the village Chera-Pāndya-Caturvēdi-mangalam for the enjoyment of the Brahmins. The figure of a fish surmounted by an *aṇkuśa*, i.e. 'the elephant's goad, which is depicted on the right margin of the record (No. 33 of 1911), also indicates the subjection of the Pāndya king by the Chera.'[2] Thus both Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya were conquered by Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and these kings could have been no other than the two unfortunate sons of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara.[3]

[1] Mr. Venkayya's doubts (*A.R.E.*, 1900, para 15) as to how Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara was able to accomplish so much in the face of the Muhammadans who would have been very strong in Madura at this time have been met by our view of the invasion of Malik Kafur. Kielhorn and Hultzsch identified the Vēgavatī with 'a small river which flows into the Pālāṛu near Kānchīpuram' (*E.I.*, vol. iv, p. 146). But there seems to be no great difficulty in taking it to be the better known river in the Madura district. Another inscription seems to imply that A.D. 1313 fell in the fourth year of the king's reign (*E.I.*, vol. viii, p. 8).

[2] If this is correct, Garuḍadhvaja in l. 5 of the Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ inscription (*E.I.*, vol. iv, p. 147) must perhaps be rendered 'Garuḍa-column' rather than 'Garuḍa-banner' as Kielhorn does. (See *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 40.)

[3] There may be some doubt as to the identity of Vīra Pāndya but none as to that of Sundara. There seem to have been two Vīra Pāndyas among the foes of Ravivarman. One of them was the Pāndya king whose accession was in A.D. 1296-7; the other possibly a ruler of Vēṇāḍ who seems to have sought refuge in Konkan (*E.I.*, vol. iv, p. 148 and note 4 on p. 146).

The Kēraḷa ruler, however, was not for long left in the enjoyment of the fruits of his victory. For very soon after, he seems to have been ousted from Kāñchīpura by the advance of Muppiḍi Nāyaka the lord of Vikramasimhapaṭṭaṇa, that is, probably the governor of Nellore, and the general of the Kākatīya king Pratāpārudradēva. He is said to have conquered a Pāndya king and levied a tribute of elephants from him. This king might have been Sundara Pāndya as a record in his fourteenth year states that he instituted a service called after Muppiḍi Nāyaka in the temple at Vriddhācalam (South Arcot). Muppiḍi is said to have installed a governor at Kāñchīpura by name Mānavīra. This expedition of the Kākatīya general seems therefore to have brought the northern part of the Pāndya empire for a time under the control, more or less effective, of the Telugu rulers of Orangal.[1]

These defeats at the hands of foreign invaders following so quickly upon one another must have shaken the hold of the Pāndya rulers on the territories they subjugated and held during the thirteenth century outside the Pāndya country proper. It is not possible to trace fully the steps by which this disintegration was brought about, but we see, about this time, signs of the growing feeling among the feudatories of the kingdom that they might ignore the central power with impunity. One of the Śāmbuvarāyas of North Arcot, who were at first subject to the Cholas and later became the dependants of the Pāndya rulers, Kulaśēkhara Śāmbuvarāya, set up as an independent ruler at this time and began to date his inscriptions in his own regnal years. This Śāmbuvarāya apparently acknowledged the authority of Vīra Pāndya till the twenty-second year of his reign,

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 73 and 1918, part ii, para 50.

privation that must have been the lot of the common people at this time. The loss in wealth was real. The country was drained of its treasure by the trade of the Arabs from across the sea and the plunder of the armies of the Sultans of Delhi. Wassaf tells us that a certain 'eminent prince' Takiuddin occupied high positions of power and prestige in the administration of the country under the Sundara Pāndya, who died about A.D. 1292, and for sometime afterwards.[1] Barni laments the rapacity and villainy of Khusru Khan which did not spare even a Muhammadan merchant Taki Khan whose great wealth was taken from him by force, himself being afterwards put to death.[2] The desecration of temples by the invading hosts and the horror with which their acts of vandalism filled the minds of the people who had till then been strangers to such sights, are occasionally evidenced by the inscriptions. Two of these come from Tirupputtūr (Ramnad district)[3] and are dated in the forty-fourth and forty-sixth years of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya, that is, about A.D. 1339–41. These records give an account of the reconsecration of a Śiva temple and the gratitude of the villagers to the magnate who undertook the task and completed it. 'The temple of Tiruttaḷiyāṇḍa-Nāyanār at Tirupputtūr is stated to have been occupied by the encamped Muhammadans (Tulukkar), "whose time it was", and to have been ruined. In consequence of this the inhabitants of Tirupputtūr became unsettled. At this juncture a certain Viśayālayadēvar of Kūraikkuḍi (Śūraikkuḍi?), surnamed Avaiyan Periyanāyanār, reconsecrated the temple and saved the people

[1] *Elliot and Dowson*, vol. iii, pp. 32 and 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[3] Nos. 119 and 120 of 1908 and *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 27. Also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 and 183.

apparently from an imminent moral and religious degradation. The villagers of Tirupputtūr, of their free will, agreed among themselves to show their gratitude to Viśayālayadēva by assigning to him a specified quantity of corn from the harvest reaped by each individual, and to confer on him certain privileges in the temple of Tiruttāḷiyāṇḍa-Nāyanār.'

Malik Kafur's inroad into the Madura country, though it did not bring the Pāndya territories into subjection to the Sultanate of Delhi, nevertheless marked the beginning of the end of the Second Empire of the Pāndyas. The effects of the disputed succession and the Muhammadan invasion are seen in the subjection, however temporary, of the Pāndyas to their Kēraḷa contemporary, Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, followed by the permanent loss of the northern districts of the Tamil land to the Kākatīya ruler of the Telugu country and the growing independence of the feudatories of the Pāndya kingdom. From this time on, the history of the Pāndyas becomes the story of a progressive decline which ends in the restriction of their sway to portions of the Tinnevelly district and, towards the close of the sixteenth century, in their final disappearance from the pages of history.

Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara[1]—also called Sangrāmadhīra 'firm in battle'—ruled in Travancore with Quilon as his capital. He came to power about A.D. 1311–1312 and was almost the only South Indian monarch who was left untouched by the storm of Malik Kafur's raid. This immunity left him at an advantage over his neighbours when Malik Kafur turned his back on South India, and

[1] On Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara see *E.I.*, vol. iv, pp. 145 ff; vol. viii, p. 8; *A.R.E.* 1900, para 15; 1911, part ii, para 40; 1914, part ii, para 24, etc., and *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. ii, pp. 53 ff; also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

he made the best use of his position. His inscriptions are found in Śrīrangam, Kānchīpuram and Poonamallee, which last bears the name *Chera-Pāndya-Caturvēdi-mangalam*. In his Kānchīpuram inscription dated in the fourth year of his reign, A.D. 1315–1316, he claims to have defeated Vīra Pāndya, made the Pāndyas and Cholas subject to the Kēraḷas and at the age of forty-six (i.e. about A.D. 1312–1313) to have been crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī.[1] 'The grantha inscription engraved in Poonamallee (No. 34 of 1911) states that the Chera king conquered Sundara Pāndya and granted the village Chera-Pāndya-Caturvēdi-mangalam for the enjoyment of the Brahmins. The figure of a fish surmounted by an *aṅkuśa*, i.e. 'the elephant's goad, which is depicted on the right margin of the record (No. 33 of 1911), also indicates the subjection of the Pāndya king by the Chera.'[2] Thus both Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya were conquered by Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and these kings could have been no other than the two unfortunate sons of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara.[3]

[1] Mr. Venkayya's doubts (*A.R.E.*, 1900, para 15) as to how Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara was able to accomplish so much in the face of the Muhammadans who would have been very strong in Madura at this time have been met by our view of the invasion of Malik Kafur. Kielhorn and Hultzsch identified the Vēgavatī with 'a small river which flows into the Pālāṛu near Kānchīpuram' (*E.I.*, vol. iv, p. 146). But there seems to be no great difficulty in taking it to be the better known river in the Madura district. Another inscription seems to imply that A.D. 1313 fell in the fourth year of the king's reign (*E.I.*, vol. viii, p. 8).

[2] If this is correct, Garuḍadhvaja in l. 5 of the Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ inscription (*E.I.*, vol. iv, p. 147) must perhaps be rendered 'Garuḍa-column' rather than 'Garuḍa-banner' as Kielhorn does. (See *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 40.)

[3] There may be some doubt as to the identity of Vīra Pāndya but none as to that of Sundara. There seem to have been two Vīra Pāndyas among the foes of Ravivarman. One of them was the Pāndya king whose accession was in A.D. 1296-7; the other possibly a ruler of Vēṇāḍ who seems to have sought refuge in Konkan (*E.I.*, vol. iv, p. 148 and note 4 on p. 146).

The Kēraḷa ruler, however, was not for long left in the enjoyment of the fruits of his victory. For very soon after, he seems to have been ousted from Kānchīpura by the advance of Muppiḍi Nāyaka the lord of Vikrama-simhapaṭṭaṇa, that is, probably the governor of Nellore, and the general of the Kākatīya king Pratāpārudradēva. He is said to have conquered a Pāndya king and levied a tribute of elephants from him. This king might have been Sundara Pāndya as a record in his fourteenth year states that he instituted a service called after Muppiḍi Nāyaka in the temple at Vriddhācalam (South Arcot). Muppiḍi is said to have installed a governor at Kānchīpura by name Mānavīra. This expedition of the Kākatīya general seems therefore to have brought the northern part of the Pāndya empire for a time under the control, more or less effective, of the Telugu rulers of Orangal.[1]

These defeats at the hands of foreign invaders following so quickly upon one another must have shaken the hold of the Pāndya rulers on the territories they subjugated and held during the thirteenth century outside the Pāndya country proper. It is not possible to trace fully the steps by which this disintegration was brought about, but we see, about this time, signs of the growing feeling among the feudatories of the kingdom that they might ignore the central power with impunity. One of the Śāmbuvarāyas of North Arcot, who were at first subject to the Cholas and later became the dependants of the Pāndya rulers, Kulaśēkhara Śāmbuvarāya, set up as an independent ruler at this time and began to date his inscriptions in his own regnal years. This Śāmbuvarāya apparently acknowledged the authority of Vīra Pāndya till the twenty-second year of his reign,

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 73 and 1918, part ii, para 50.

that is, till about A.D. 1317–18 and subsequently declared himself independent. We are not, however, in a position to fix the exact date from which he counted his regnal years and began to issue orders in his own name showing the attainment of an independent or quasi-independent status by him.[1] It may be mentioned in passing that another feudatory of the Pāndya rulers of this period was Śēmāpiḷḷai, the son of Rājēndra III and almost the last representative of the Chola line. His inscriptions come largely from the region of the modern Pudukkottah state.[2]

A few remarks on Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1302–1303) remain to be offered. The latest regnal year mentioned in his records seems to be 17, corresponding to A.D. 1319. He had the surname Kōdaṇḍarāman, and the coin with the legend Kōdaṇḍarāman on one side and the double fish on the other most probably belongs to him.[3] This king, unlike Vīra Pāndya, did not evidently long survive the defeats at the hands of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and Muppiḍi Nāyaka.

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1926, part ii, para 34, where Vīra Pāndya is taken to be the king of A.D. 1253. There is no reason to do this as Nos. 92 of 1900 and 195 of 1923 on which the identification rests mention only Vīra Pāndya and do not refer to the conquest of Īḻam, Kongu, etc.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 37 and 1923, part ii, para 45.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 50. *Contra* K. V. S. Aiyar who (*op. cit.*, p. 167) ascribes the title and the coin to the earlier king of the same name. But almost all the inscriptions mentioning the Kōdaṇḍarāman śandi are Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān records and do not give the characteristic titles of the earlier ruler. The astronomical details given in some of them seem to imply that Kōdaṇḍarāman was the later king.

CHAPTER XV

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE PĀNDYAS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

BEFORE we take up the history of the later Pāndyas, tracing the story of the decline of the Pāndyan power, some attention may be given to the study of the administration and social life of the country under the Pāndyas in the age of the Second Empire, in so far as this can be done with the aid of contemporary records.

Besides the existence of written records, the careful maintenance in the capital of registers showing the rights in the land of individuals and corporations and of the state all over the country is very clearly and fully attested by contemporary inscriptions. Many of these records contain transactions in which rights in land are transferred from one party to another; the stone inscriptions and copper-plate records appear to have been only copies of originals maintained in more perishable material which should have disappeared long ago, and this view is strengthened by the occurrence of the word *Tulyam* (equal) at the beginning or the end of many of these epigraphs. The frequent references to *ōlai* found in our records may also lead one to the conclusion that the originals of the documents were written on palm-leaves.[1] There appears to have been a regular procedure to be observed in the numerous cases in which lands were made over tax-free to temples or Brahmins by the state.[2] In such cases the first step was

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 24.

[2] See *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 37; 1917, part ii, para 8; and 1923 part ii, para 56.

to prefer a request to the king at some suitable hour and get his oral sanction to the proposal. This was usually done by a high official of the state. The king's sanction was accompanied by an order that the necessary entries should be made in the revenue registers and the *ōlai* and *uḷvari* from the revenue department issued thereon. Sometimes, years elapsed from the date of the oral order before a single transaction was carried through all its stages and the grant became effective. The entries in the revenue registers appear to have been intended to effect a decrease in the revenues due to government and to record a corresponding increase in the income of the donee. Such transactions are generally found in triple or sometimes even quadruple records, the main part of the contents being repeated thrice or four times, each time with a separate purpose. The first is generally a simple record of the king's oral sanction—*Kēḷvi*, or *Tirumugam* as it is sometimes called. The exact significance of the *ōlai* and the *uḷvari* is not quite clear. The *ōlai* generally begins with the Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān title of the king, without his proper name, and appears to have been an executive order to the officers on the spot to give effect to the king's order with reference to the lands in question. The *uḷvari* on the other hand partakes of the nature of a title-deed granted to the donee, and is signed by a number of revenue officers (*variyilār* or *varikkūṛuśeyvār*). It seems likely that a similar method of maintaining records at the capital and communicating copies of the orders to the executive officers of the localities concerned was observed in other important matters as well. We have thus a Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān record of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara (*acc.* 1268) from Aḷwār Tirunagarī (No. 467 of 1909) which confers certain special privileges in the distribution of the *prasādam* in the temple on a certain Brahmin who

recited the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsaṣ* in the temples of the place.

We find mention in these records of numerous dues levied upon cultivated lands which formed the subject of the transfers and gifts mentioned above. It is not possible to ascertain the exact nature of most of these, but the names of the most important among them may be mentioned: *Kaḍamai*, *antarāyam*, *viniyōgam*, *accu-vari*, *kāriyavārācci*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *panju-pīlî*, *śandiviggiraha-ppēṟu*, *vāśalpēṟu*, *ilāncinaippēṟu*, *uḷudānkuḍi*, *pāḍi-kkāval*, *ponvari* and others. We also hear of *tari-iṟai*; *śekkiṟai*, *taṭṭāra-ppāṭṭam*, *inavari*, *iḍaivari* and others. It is clear from the records that some of these dues were paid in cash, but most of them in kind. Occasionally we get an idea of the rates of those dues especially in connection with *dēvadāna* lands. We learn, for instance, from an inscription dated in the eleventh year of a certain Sundara Pāndya (No. 409 of 1914) that the *kaḍamai* on some temple lands[1] was fixed at three *kalams* on each *mā* of land or one half of what prevailed among other *dēva-dāna* lands, and that for the assessment, crops of full yield alone were taken into consideration, those that had suffered damage or failed altogether being left out of account. It is interesting that another record (No. 39 of 1924) mentions the same rate of *kaḍamai* on temple lands,[2] viz. three *kalams* on every *mā*, but adds that each *mā* should yield forty *kalams* in order to be assessed at that rate. These inscriptions also contain other particulars which show that the rates of the dues varied according to the nature of the soil and the crops raised—thus the *viniyōgam* on every *mā* of land was one *tūṇi* (four *kuruṇis* or *marakāls*) of paddy if wet, and half *tiramam* (*dramma*

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 34.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 38.

coin) if dry; again, the *vāḍākkaḍamai* was half *paṇam* on every *mā* of garden land growing plantain, ginger, turmeric or betel. We are not in a position to say much regarding the kinds of taxes raised besides the dues from land. A record of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya of about the end of the thirteenth century A.D. from Tirukkāccūr (Chingleput), No. 300 of 1909—states that a tax of six *paṇams* per annum was levied on each shop-keeper, on each loom of the *kaikkōḷar* and the *śāliyar*, and on each oil-monger.[1] It is interesting to note that a king, Parākrama Pāndya, whom it is not yet easy to identify, confers on a certain individual in the South Arcot district the right of collecting certain taxes as a remuneration for his duties of *pāḍikkāval* (village watch). The collections were 'at the rate of one *kalam* of paddy on every *mā* of wet land and one *paṇam* on the same area of dry land, 1/16th *paṇam* on every areca palm, five *paṇams* on every *mā* of land which produced sugar-cane, *koḷundu*, ginger, gingelly and plantain, and two *paṇams* a year for every house (*vāśal*).'[2]

When so much is uncertain about the number and nature of the taxes levied, any conclusions about their incidence and their pressure on the people will not be easy to formulate. However, some stray facts that can be gathered from the inscriptions may be set down here. But no general conclusions can be drawn from these exceptional instances which throw little light on the normal system of administration. A record (No. 8 of 1913) of the famous Pāndya emperor Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1251) seems to register the curious fact that the villagers had to make use of the *vāram*

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 34.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 33.

and *kaḍamai* income from the *vārappaṛṛu* and *kaḍamaippaṛṛu* respectively, in securing the friendship of the agents of Sundara Pāndya. Perhaps, as the official epigraphist suspects[1] 'the villagers had actually to bribe them (the royal agents) if they were to attend to their avocations undisturbed.' An inscription (No. 81 of 1916) in the twenty-second year of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I, corresponding to A.D. 1290, mentions that a certain chief captured a part of the country around a village and fixed the heavy sum of 4,000 (gold pieces?) as the tax levied from the inhabitants (*ūrōm*) of the village including *araiśumākkaḷ* and *mudaligaḷ* for the current year and the year before, and that the villagers in order to pay this amount had to sell their property, cattle, etc. and some of them even their lands to a neighbouring temple. But this, evidently, was an act of oppression on the part of a petty local chieftain that had no sanction from the state.[2] Two inscriptions of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya (Nos. 73 and 91 of 1924) of the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. from the Ramnad district seem to contain more direct evidence of heavy and oppressive taxation; one of them states that the people of two villages were very much impoverished by the taxes they had to pay and began to feel 'that life in the woods would be preferable'; and the other 'records that owing to the inability of the people to pay the revenue according to the old rates obtaining from the fifth year of the king, the standard of land-measure was altered'[3] a rather curious method, as it

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 44.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 30.

[3] *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 31. See Nos. 309 and 310 Pudukkottah for other instances under the same king; 310 recording heavy taxes on *dēvadāna* lands imposed by Kannaḍiyar.

strikes us, of lightening the burden. Another interesting record (No. 357 of 1922) which probably belongs to the seventh year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara (*acc.* A.D. 1268) comes from the Trichinopoly District and 'records that the revenue expected for the sixth and seventh years (of the king) from the village of Marudūr in Uṟattūr-kūṟṟam failed as there were no people to cultivate the fields'; but in this case, the whole *nāḍu* in which the village was located took upon itself the burden of the taxes due to the royal treasury from Marudūr, and was in return allowed 'to give away Marudūr to two individuals for providing offerings to the god' in the neighbourhood for the prosperity of the *nāḍu*.[1] A record of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya from the Tanjore district (No. 93 of 1911) 'supplies the information that a registered tenant of certain lands having run away and his friends, who stood personal surety for him, being asked to pay the taxes which had fallen into arrears until the twenty-second year of the king, they got the houses and the fields of the tenant to be sold to the temple and redeemed their responsibility in the transaction.'[2] Another record of the same king (No. 289 of 1913) from Chidambaram contains an order for the remission of certain taxes on some lands which, being close to the sea, 'had become filled up with sand and overgrown with weeds'. We may also note that a Śoḷavandān inscription of the second year of a Māṟavarmam Sundara Pāndya 'records the remission of certain taxes on the occasion of the king's coronation.' (No. 80 of 1905).

We get just enough information in regard to the forms of land tenure to enable us to see that the conditions of tenancy cultivation varied in accordance with

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 55.
[2] *A.R.E.*., 1911, part ii, para 39.

the locality; that shares in the produce between landlord and tenant often differed according to the nature of the crops raised, the tenant's share increasing with his part in the raising of the produce; and that, besides a share in the produce of the land, the landlord often had sundry other small claims on the tenant which were met by payments in cash or kind. An inscription from Ālangudi (Tanjore) of a certain Kulaśēkhara (No. 509 of 1920)—probably the king whose accession was in A.D. 1314—is very interesting; but there are difficulties in using it, as the only summary of the record that is available is not clear on many points; it gives an unusually detailed account of the rights and duties of landlords and cultivators.[1] Some records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1276) describe the rather interesting terms on which lands of a certain temple were leased to tenants—the name of the tenure being *Kāṇippidi-pāḍu*.[2] Thus one record (No. 66 of 1916) says that the lessee or tenant shall enjoy the lands 'after repairing the tanks in disuse and bringing under cultivation such of the lands as are covered with jungle and that while the lands are being enjoyed in this manner, he shall pay to the temple for the *pāśan*, a *mēlvāram* of one in three; for the cultivation of தினை, வரகு, எள்ளு, பயறு, குருவை, கரும்பு, கொழுந்து, கருணை, மஞ்சள், இஞ்சி, செங்கழுநீர், வாழை, வழுதலை, பூசனி. . . , etc., as well as trees மா, பலா, நார்த்தை, எலுமிச்சை, குனவிருளி, நெல்லி, இலுப்பை, etc., one in five shall be given; for cocoanut and areca palms one in seven and for dry crops, according to the yield, one in seven. In the case of lands which had been brought under cultivation

[1] See *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 38.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28.

by clearing jungle he shall have to pay one-tenth in the first year, one-ninth in the second year, one-eighth in the third year, one-seventh in the fourth year and that for all subsequent years a permanent *mēlvāram* of one in three shall be paid.' Another very similar record from the same place gives slightly different rates of *mēlvāram* for crops other than *pāśan*. 'In either instance it is distinctly stated that the donee should not keep the lands without cultivating them and that mounds and low grounds should be levelled and the jungle removed.'

We have very instructive references to the irrigation arrangements that prevailed in the middle ages in the country under the Pāndyan rulers. A very interesting record from Sarkār Periyapāḷayam (Coimbatore) dated in the twenty-second year of a certain Sundara Pāndya[1] contains details as to the duties of the person who was appointed to be in charge of an irrigation tank and channel and an anicut at Śūralūr, all of which belonged to a temple. 'The villagers and the temple trustees stipulated that, in consideration of certain income and privileges granted to him, the fisherman Piḷḷaiyān . . . had to look after the said anicut (*aṇai*) and the channel, had to see that the water did not escape above the dam but was properly directed into the tank, notice the defects, if any, in the tank and the dam and report the matter to the villagers and the temple authorities and that on this information the village servant (*veṭṭiyāl*) had to repair the dam, receiving as remuneration for that duty a piece of rent-free land and some payments in grain. Piḷḷaiyān was also to collect the taxes *vāykkāl-*

[1] There is the possibility that this king was not of the regular Pāndya line, but one of the Kongu Pāndyas of whom not much that is certain is known. See *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 26 end.

pāṭṭam (canal tax) and *pāśipāṭṭām* (fishing tax) from the temple tenants at Śūralūr.' A record (No. 14 of 1909) at Pon Amarāvati (Pudukkottah) contains an order dated in the eighth year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Sundara Pāndya Dēva forbidding the temple authorities to take water from Iḍangaḷikāman, evidently for purposes of irrigation. Another record from Pudukkottah (No. 380 of 1914), of probably the same king, states that a dispute between the authorities of a temple and an individual as regards the ownership of a stream was settled by providing that, 'after irrigating a certain specified field, one half of the income from fishing in the river should be made over to the temple authorities, while the other half was to be retained by the other party to the dispute.'[1] Unless an inscription in the tenth year of Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāndya (fourteenth century A.D.) from Tirumalai (Ramnad) has been grossly misunderstood, it may be taken to record a very interesting transaction.[2] Two villages and a tank irrigating lands in them are taken up by a temple from government after paying arrears of taxes due to it from a defaulting cultivator; the temple authorities had evidently miscalculated their capacity to use the lands and underrated the difficulties in the way of cultivating them properly and apparently were unable to pay their dues to the state. Then, in the presence of the king, they sold the tanks and the lands to two brothers for a sum of money with which they set up the images of Gaṇapati and Māṇikkavāśagar, and it was agreed that after that, the dues which the brothers had to pay on the lands they had bought, and which were fixed in detail, were to be used 'for providing for the sacred

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 32.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 38.

bath and offerings and worship of the images newly set up.' It is not clear if the newly fixed dues were less onerous than the old ones. Perhaps they were. Two other records (Nos. 15 and 16 of 1924) of the same king from the same place are dated in the fifth and ninth years of the king; the earlier record mentions some lands as having been sold by the assembly of the village for a certain sum of money 'with the exemption of water taxes in compensation for the labour involved in reclaiming them from their waste condition'; and the later record registers the resale of the same land for over twelve times the original value at which it was sold by the village assembly, evidently a case of an extraordinarily successful land improvement encouraged by the village assembly. It is to be noted carefully how small a part in all these transactions belongs to the officials of the king, and how much is left to local and individual initiative. It may be noted also that early in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1251) a new flood embankment substantially built on the side of the Coleroon was raised with the aid of funds collected in the form of a special cess from the inhabitants in the neighbourhood.[1]

Some evidence on the administration of justice is available, and this may be briefly reviewed. Most of the references are to criminal offences, and they do not shed much light directly on the machinery of legal administration. We learn casually that in one instance a person was tied to the leg of a buffalo-bull and dragged for having murdered a Brahmin.[2] Three records from the Ramnad district of the time of

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 26 and Inscriptions Nos. 518 and 510 of 1918.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 28 end.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya give a continuous account of a single crime and the manner in which it was dealt with.[1] A temple priest, Vāmanabhaṭṭa by name, who was returning home at night from the temple, was, for some unknown reason, hacked to death in a street by hired assassins employed by one Sattiyanāvan. The murderers took refuge in a neighbouring place and afterwards escaped from it, when attempts were made to capture them. 'Thereupon, the belongings of Sattiyanāvan in Karuvēṟkuṟicci consisting of lands, houses, gardens and servants both male and female, were confiscated and made over, as a gift to the temple of Śokka-Nārāyaṇa.' Subsequently, the murder of Vāmanabhaṭṭa was avenged and Sattiyanāvan was killed, we do not hear by whom or under what circumstances; then his son made an appeal, less than four months after the date of the original murder, to the authorities, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and others connected with the temple; he said that he had been ruined by the confiscation of his father's property, himself having been no party to the murder, and that he would pay 800 gold coins to the temple treasury in lieu of the confiscated property. His plea was accepted and his father's lands, houses, gardens and servants both male and female were restored to him subject only to the additional condition that he should maintain a service (*śandi*) in the temple. We also learn that, in the interval, the property of another person had been confiscated, but afterwards, most of it was restored, probably because he was able to establish his innocence. Some points come out clearly in this case and these are worth noting. Justice is administered in a rough and ready manner by the local authorities of the village. A

[1] Ins. 301, 302 and 303 of 1923 and *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 77.

criminal who is notoriously guilty of a serious offence, in this case the murder of a Brahmin, and escapes punishment, not only forfeits his property, but becomes more or less an outlaw who may be killed with impunity by anybody. The property that is forfeited under such conditions enriches the temple, and neither the king nor the villagers seem to touch it, probably in literal fulfilment of the injunction of Manu in the matter (ix. 243). When the murderer has paid for his offence with his life, the bulk of his property is restored to his heir, double punishment for the same offence being avoided, so to say. A curious inscription from the Chingleput district contains a strange narrative of an organized attempt at brigandage and terrorism on the part of some unlawful persons of Ūttipākkam and the manner in which the offenders were dealt with.[1] Five Brahmins whose names are recorded, and some Vellālas 'gave up the duties legitimate to their caste, and following the profession of the lower classes, wore weapons, murdered Brahmins, cut off (their) ears, insulted the Brahmin ladies, committed robbery, destroyed cattle and sold them'. On a former occasion complaints had been made against these very men to the ruling authorities and they had been beaten and fined, without being actually imprisoned. But they behaved no better afterwards and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood again complained of their misdeeds to prince Pottappiyarāyar, the ruler of the division,

[1] Ins. 315 of 1909 and *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 34. I do not agree with Mr. Krishna Sastri in his view that the payment of the balance of the criminals' property for charities in the temples was made 'in order that these misguided people may, as a consequence, improve in their character and become at least in the future, useful and loyal subjects.' The king evidently had lost all hopes of them, and the temples appear to have been the residuary claimants of all escheated property that was not taken by the state.

who sent a contingent of Malayāḷi soldiers to apprehend the criminals; two of the Brahmins in the gang, Ātkoṇḍavilli and Pāmbaṇaiyān, were captured and imprisoned, but not before some of the soldiers lost their lives in the conflict with them, and others were stabbed, shot with arrows, or deprived of their weapons by the bandits. When, some time later, the two prisoners along with some others were being taken to the king's presence, 'the three other Brahmin brothers who were still at large and who, in the meantime, had collected together a number of people, attacked and killed the party which was leading the captive brothers to the king, liberated them and escaped. The news of this action of the rebels having reached the king, he issued the stringent orders that they be captured wherever found and punished according to the rules applicable to the lower classes, that their houses and other hereditary property be sold to temples and other charitable institutions, that the money thus realized be credited to the treasury in payment of the fine imposed on them and that the balance, if any, be presented to the temples as a permanent charity in the name of the criminals.' We do not know how the offenders fared after their outlawry by the king, but we learn that the order regarding the sale of their properties was literally fulfilled. These occurrences belong to the reign of a Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya who was perhaps the famous ruler of that name who came to the throne in A.D. 1251 or some later monarch. We have an instance of gross mismanagement on the part of a temple manager coupled with misconduct with 'a Brahmin widow from a foreign country'; complaints against the manager's conduct were made by the assembly of Tirupputtur (Ramnad district) about 1291 A.D. to the ruling king Māravarman Kulaśēkhara; but the king's judgment is unknown as the

end of the inscription (No. 125 of 1908) is lost.[1] It seems to have been the rule that all offences were in the first instance dealt with by the village officers and the village assembly of the locality, and that only when these authorities proved unequal to the task, any matter was submitted to the king's officers, or, in an extreme case, to the king himself. An inscription from Pudukkottah (No. 372 of 1906) of about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. refers to a meeting of the inhabitants of districts, cities and villages in Kōnāḍu. The *pūjāris* of the temple of Tirunalakkuṇṛamuḍaiya-Nāyanār 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 cash and shared it with a carpenter. The other *pūjāris* denied all knowledge of the lost property, but were implicated by the former. The lying *pūjāris* were orderd to be taken to the court (*dharmāsana*) where they were required to handle a (red-hot) ploughshare. The hands of all of them were burnt, and then they confessed their guilt. They were all ordered to be dealt with as sinners against the god Śiva (*Śivadrōhins*).'[2] The references in this record to the *dharmāsana*—perhaps the king's court—and the ordeal of the ploughshare must be noted. Another record furnishes an instance of the recognition of the right of private warfare among local chieftains so long as it did not interfere with the peaceful villagers in the neighbourhood (No. 359 of 1914).

A few civil disputes with the manner of their settlement are also recorded. In one case (No. 571 of 1920) there was a dispute among Bhaṭṭars connected with a temple near Kāṭṭumannārkōyil in South Arcot as to

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 28.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 27.

who had the right to perform the *pūja* in the temple, and the matter was arbitrated by the assembly with the aid of proofs produced by either party to the dispute; and it is interesting to note that one side pleaded prescription as having enjoyed the right 'from the time of Kulōttunga Choladēva II who covered (the temple) with gold, Rājarājadēva II, Perumāḷ Tribhuvana Vīradēva, Rājarājadēva III, Avani-āḷappirandān-Kōpperunjingadēva, Perumāḷ Sundara Pāndyadēva, Perumāḷ Kulaśēkharadēva, Vīra Pāndyadēva and even up to the eleventh year of the ruling king, Perumāḷ Sundara Pāndyadēva, as a matter of course'.[1] The succession of kings who ruled in the locality appears to be very correctly mentioned here and that fixes the time of the record somewhere late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century A. D. About the same period or a little later (more exactly, Śaka 1298, A.D. 1376), we hear of a long-standing dispute in twenty-four villages in the region of the modern Ramnad district between the caste people and the pariahs in the villages, resulting at one stage in some loss of life on both sides; this dispute seems to have been settled ultimately in an amicable manner by the intercession of a certain Gāngaiyarāyan, evidently a royal official. The

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 40. The epigraphist adds: 'It is interesting in this connection to note that, in the assembly that met to decide this question sat, among others, pilgrims from many districts and people from different parts of the kingdom. It is not known whether these outsiders had any voice in the deliberations of the assembly. However, the fact remains that the assembly was not a packed body and that public opinion was invited as a healthy factor in the deliberations of the assembly.' I am inclined to think that nothing more is meant in the record than that the proceedings of the assembly were public, even as trials take place in open court to-day; but I do not have the text of the inscription. It is, however, extremely unlikely that the assembly had a fluctuating constitution, or that they were directly influenced in their judgment by the 'public opinion' of the pilgrims and others

understanding that both sides accepted was 'that the pariahs should beat the drum (*muraśa*) for the caste people on all occasions, good and bad, and receive in return a *padakku* of paddy and a fowl. Every resident of the *paṟṟu* who was entitled to the privilege should measure out in the harvest season, irrespective of the yield, a *kalam* and a *tūṇi* of paddy (to the pariahs) for this service.'[1] It may be noted, by the way, that in the time of a Sundara Pāndya we have an instance of a lady, by name Peruṇgaruṇaiyāṭṭi *alias* Dēvargaḷammai, who was counted among the *nyāyattār* (committee of justice?) in the well-known village of Uttaranmērūr (probably modern Uttiramallur near Kāñchīpuram)[2]; and that 'a record of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara (*acc.* A.D. 1268) from Kīḻaḍi in the Madura district (No. 449 of 1906) refers to the *nirvāhasabhai* (executive committee) of the village.'[3]

The part played by the temple in the general life of every village is very largely attested by our epigraphs. We have seen enough to realize that the most fruitful sources of our knowledge of the history of the country are stone inscriptions preserved in temples and copper-plate grants. Of these the stone records in temples are more numerous and varied in their interest. In addition to throwing light on matters like land-tenure, revenue administration and the administration of law and justice, these records enable us to reconstruct with some confidence the part of the temple in the general social economy of the time. It is clear that in the middle ages in South India the temple was much more than a place of common worship. 'Temple worship is not so

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 34.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 35.
[3] *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 26.

important for the Hindus as church services for the Christian. They set more store on home ceremonies and on contemplation '.[1] And yet, every village had its temple, and every temple was the object of universal attention at the hands of the princes and the people of the land. The temple is historically more important as a social and economic entity than as a religious institution; the history of Hinduism, even in South India, is much more than the history of her temples. But the story of the social life of the country, of her common people, centres round the temple in a manner, that is perhaps equalled only in mediæval Europe, although with this vital difference, that in South India the villagers held the temple, while in Europe the church or the monastery held the village.

The temple was the centre of universal culture. The best architecture and sculpture and such painting as there was, were lavished on it. Fine arts like music, dancing and jewel-making flourished in the temples and primarily on their account. Several temples contained libraries and were centres of religious and secular learning. The drama, closely allied to the dance, was promoted by some temples. Above all, the temple was for the village the most powerful economic corporation which not only sustained, by means of its lavish endowments, the arts of civilized existence, but enabled the villagers to turn to it in times of need for economic support, if not also for purposes of physical defence.

A few facts, gleaned from a mass of similar data, may now be set down to confirm these statements about the temple and its part in the life of mediæval South India. An inscription of about A.D. 1260 from Maḍambākkam

[1] Sir Ch. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. lxxxiv.

(Chingleput) dated in the tenth year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (No. 322 of 1911) states that 'the assembly of the village seeing that it was not possible to maintain the lamps, offerings and festivals in the temple from the income available for that purpose, assigned the north division (*vaḍakūru*) " with its wet lands, garden lands, houses and house-sites " to the temple, but retained therein 3,000 *kuḻi* of land with houses and house-sites for their own use. They decided also to pay the dues on them such as *pon-vari* and *nāṭṭu-vari* from their own pockets and agreed that " if ever, owing to unfortunate circumstances, we are induced to sell this land, we shall do so, for the price at which it then sells, to the sacred treasury of the temple ".'[1] An inscription from Kāmarasavalli (Trichinopoly) of the tenth year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya (No. 88 of 1914) gives an idea of the manner in which funds were raised by the inhabitants of the *vaḻanāḍu* for effecting certain repairs to the temple. They agreed to pay to the temple a small cess on all merchandise sold by them, e.g. one-fourth *paṇam* on each bundle of cloths for women, on each *podi* of pepper, on each *paḍi* of areca-nuts, one *kāśu* on each *podi* of paddy, etc.[2] A record from Aḻagāpuri (Ramnad) (No. 109 of 1924) dated in the fifteenth year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkharadēva contains a gift, by the assembly of Aḻagāpuri, of all the taxes due to it by the residents of the streets round the temple for the provision of lamps in the temple. Another record from Mannārkōil in the nineteenth year of Kulaśēkharadēva (No. 408 of 1916) mentions the acquisition by the king's order (*niyōga*) of private houses for a second *prākāra* to the temple being built according to

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 36.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 36.

the *Śāstra*. A curious record from Tirumalai (Ramnad) in the fifth year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (No. 33 of 1924) mentions 'the meeting of the big assembly of the Māhēśvaras of the eighteen districts (மண்டலம்) in the hall called Tirugnānasambandan-tiruveḍuttukkaṭṭi in the temple of Śūradēva-īśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyanār at Aḻagaimānagar to show their appreciation of the services rendered by a *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* to several temples of the locality, such as, setting up of certain images wanting in the temples and the construction of *prākāras*, by conferring on her family the hereditary honour of sounding the conch and the drum at the time of entry into the temple.'[1] The villagers of Vāyalūr (Chingleput) came to an agreement in the eighth year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (A.D. 1258), by which they released all the lands which belonged to four temples which were probably all situated in Vāyalūr, and relinquished their previous hold on them, whether that was by mortgage or by purchase. In addition to this, they undertook never again to hold these lands, either as purchasers or as mortgagees, on pain of 'treason against Śiva' and 'treason against the king'.[2] A record from Tirupputtūr (Ramnad) of a Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva (No. 101 of 1908) who might have ruled earlier than A.D. 1200 and was perhaps the Kulaśēkhara of the civil war, states that the assembly (பலபாகை.) of Tirupputtūr wished to go to Madura to meet king Kulaśēkhara and accordingly made certain temple lands rent-free on receipt of a specified sum for the expenses of the journey.[3] An

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 26.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 26 and No. 363 of 1908.

[3] For the date suggested see *E.I.*, vol. xi, p. 137.

There is another similar transaction in the same place recorded in 103 of 1908. See also No. 535 of 1920 for yet another instance.

inscription from Śērmādēvi (No. 695 of 1916) mentions a grant of land to a library (*Sarasvati Bhāndāra*) in a temple in the locality, and records containing endowments for the recitation and study of the Vedas and Purāṇas in temples are frequently met with. A record (No. 557 of 1916) from Pattamaḍai (near Śērmādēvi, Tinnevelly district) is of more than ordinary interest as it registers a grant to a dancing girl for enacting a drama, not specified, on certain festival days.[1]

We see that the temples also furnished numerous occasions for disputes on various matters. A record in the sixteenth year of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya (No. 141 of 1902) states that the authorities of the temple of Dēvanāyakapperumāḷ in Tiruvēndipuram decided to follow the system of worship practised in all other temples, and we have no means of knowing the nature of the innovation that necessitated this rather conservative affirmation regarding the manner of worship. A record of the late thirteenth century (No. 432 of 1913) narrates a dispute between the chetties and the oil-mongers (vāṇiya-nagarattār) of Aragalūr (Salem district) with regard to the management of temple festivals, and apparently the chetties succeeded in the end.[2] A case of dispute between two *bhaṭṭars* as to the right of conducting worship in the temple which was settled by the intercession of the village assembly has been mentioned before.[3] There were also disputes as to the order of precedence in which the sacred ashes in Śiva temples and the *prasādam* in the Viṣṇu temples were to be received, or the rope of the god's car had to be held in drawing it

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 11 ; also 1923, part ii, para 50.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 23.
[3] See No. 571 of 1920 and pp. 228-9 (ante).

and such other matters.[1] About the middle of the thirteenth century a rather acrimonious quarrel between the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas representing the two adjoining temples at Tirumaiyyam in the Pudukkottah state is said to have resulted in a cessation of worship in both the temples, and to have been finally settled by the mediation of a military officer of the Hoysala Vīra Somēśvara, Appaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka by name.[2]

The effects of the Muhammadan invasion early in the fourteenth century and the part played by Vijayanagar in the reaction against Islam are graphically mentioned in a temple record (No. 64 of 1916) in the thirty-first year of a certain Māṛavarman Vīra Pāndya which says: 'The times were Tulukkan times; the *dēvadāna* lands of the gods were taxed with *kuḍimai*; the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction; the *uḻavu* or cultivation of the temple lands were (*sic.*) done by turns by the tenants of the village; at this juncture Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār came (on his southern campaign), destroyed the Tulukkan, established orderly government throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (*nāyakkanmār*) for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be revived regularly as of old.' It is further stated that some of the dancing girls of the temple (*dēvaraḍiyār*) died, some became very poor, and many were ready to migrate to other distant places. For the preservation of the original status of the temple, some of its land which was enjoyed as *kāṇiyāṭchi* by a certain Narasinga Dēvar was now sold to another person, the former having died without leaving an heir, for the maintenance of ten dancing girls including

[1] Nos. 108 of 1916 and 467 of 1909.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 26 and No. 387 of 1906.

provision for 'food, betel-leaf, cloth and houses in the street Pavanangakārantiruvīdi.'[1]

Besides temples, there were *maṭhas* representing different sects of Hinduism which were also recipients of several gifts from the king and the people of the country, some of which have been incidentally touched upon. There is some reason to believe that the class of *Ēkadaṇḍa sannyāsins* was rather influential in the south of the Pāndya country. Their presence in the Vēdavyāsamaṭha in the Bhaktavatsala temple in Śērmādēvi is mentioned in one record (No. 544 of 1911), and another (No. 435 of 1906) refers to a similar institution in Murappunāḍu, near Tinnevelly.[2] Buddhism and Jainism seem also to have survived to the middle ages; they must have carried on an obscure existence; yet there is some reason to think that Jainism had a little more importance than Buddhism. In a record (No. 113 of 1904) from Tiruccōpurm (South Arcot) dated in the reign of Jaṭāvarman *alias* Tribhuvanacakravartin Sundara Pāndya, a certain Śāriputtira Paṇḍita figures as a donor and there is a reference to 'Śangattār' most probably members of the Buddhist Sangha. A record (No. 358 of 1908) from Māngāḍu (Chingleput) of the reign of the famous Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1251) contains a gift of land as Paḷḷiccandam to a certain Paḷḷi—a Jain temple—whose name is illegible. An inscription from Pudukkottah (No. 367 of 1904—Ammāsattram) of a certain Sundara Pāndya mentions one Dharmadēva Ācārya as the pupil of Kanakacandrapaṇḍita. Although the second name is in part a conjectural restoration, there seems to be little reason to doubt that

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 33.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 38.

we have here the names of two Jaina Acāryas of the time.

These gleanings of the social, economic and religious life of the times may be concluded by a reference to a few records which are of some special interest in themselves. Two epigraphs of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1251) may first be noted; one of them (No. 218 of 1901) mentions the opening and settlement of a new street by a private individual in the environs of the Agastyēśvara temple in Māgaral (Chingleput) and is dated in the seventh year of the king's reign. Another (No. 277 of 1913) from the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram dated six years later records the foundation of a new village and deserves notice in a little more detail.

'The village granted was called Vikrama-Pāndya-Caturvēdimangalam evidently after the name of an unknown brother or father (nāyanār) of Sundara-Pāndya. In the centre of it was also established the temple of Vikrama Pāndyēśvara similarly designated. The village was intended to accommodate primarily 108 Brahmins among whom were many well-versed in Vedas and *Śāstras* and able to expound the same. Four *vēlis* of the land were purchased for the village site and included within it the temple premises, the house sites of the 108 Brahmins mentioned above, of men who were in charge of the village library (*Sarasvati-bhandārattār*) and of other village servants (*Panimakkaḷ*). In purchasing the land with its trees, wells, paths, channels (?), embankments indicating land divisions (*bhāgāśraya*) and all other benefits, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title-holders were completely bought up. The right of way was secured for the Brahmins to walk to the tank Kāvaṛkuḷam every day for the purpose of performing the *sandhyāvandana* prayers. Land for grazing the cattle was also provided

for. Also for the maintenance of the 108 Brahmin families and others, were acquired 117¾ *vēlis* of land in the village of Rājaśikhāmaṇinallūr *alias* Puḷiyanguḍi. The Brahmins evidently received each a full *vēli* of land. The following other *vrittis* were also settled :—teachers of Vedas, 3; teachers of Sūtras, 1; two doctors, 1¾; ambaḍayas (?), ½; village accountant, ½; drummer, ¼; potter, ¼; blacksmith, ¼; carpenter, ½; goldsmith, ¼; īrankolli, 3/8; barber, 3/8; washerman, ¼; village watchman (*pāḍi-kāppān*) ¾, and the village-servant (*Veṭṭiyān*) 1/8. Of the *natta* land outside the *agrahāra* 'Brahmin quarter', three parts were set apart for Veḷḷān-kāṇiyāḷar and the remainder for other professionals (?). The fruit trees, gardens, ponds, waterpits, grazing grounds, irrigation channels, uncultivable waste, embankments (?) of fields and pathways, included in the village site were made over (to the donees) as per customary law. All taxes were excused, but it was stipulated that from the fourteenth year of the king 500 *kalam* of superior paddy, was to be measured out every year to the temple at Chidambaram for conducting the special service, Ellāndalaiyāna-Perumāḷ-Śandi, and that all lands which belonged to temples (*tirunāmattukkāṇi*) must be demarcated by stones marked with the trident.'[1]

A record (No. 429 of 1917) of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya is said to contain a reference to an assembly of 512 but nothing more is known of it now and the text is not yet available. Records of different kings from several villages in the Tinnevelly district seem to contain references to certain military institutions, the nature of which is by no means quite clear. Records from Kīḻappāvūr call them Munai-edirmōgar and Tennavan-

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18.

āpattudavigaḷ; their leaders are described as *daṇḍa-nāyakam-śeyvār*. Inscriptions from other places contain references to Paḍaikkāṇvar and 'in some cases the big community of military classes (*perumbaḍayōm*) with their ten commands are (*sic*) mentioned and are stated to have belonged to the *tantra* or *mahātantra*.'[1] Here again the texts of the records are not before us and we have to depend on summaries in the epigraphical reports.

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 43 and 1917, para ii, para 11. See *ante* ch. xiii for Tennavan āpatudavigaḷ.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND LATER. DECLINE AND END

JAṬĀVARMAN VĪRA PĀNDYA continued to rule for several years after the first Muhammadan invasion of the Pāndya country and, as has been seen, late records of his reign of about A.D. 1340 show evidence of the recovery of the land from the ravages of the invaders. It is, however, difficult to trace in any detail the course of events in the Pāndyan kingdom in the fourteenth century. The chronicles relating to the period narrate wild and fanciful stories which have sometimes been accepted as history, but are by no means reconcilable with the evidence furnished by the epigraphs. The general outline of the story is clear. The establishment of the Muhammadan power in Madura about A.D. 1330 must have deprived the Pāndyan rulers, Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya and his co-regents of their hold on their capital. The evidence from epigraphs, however, shows clearly that even the loss of Madura did not mean the immediate disappearance of the power of the Pāndyas from the districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tanjore. Till about the middle of the century or even a little later, the Pāndyan rulers appear to have held sway over parts of these districts.

It is not within the scope of this work to describe in any detail the story of the Sultanate of Madura and the barbarous misdeeds that disgraced the short period of its precarious existence. The subjects of the Sultans seem never to have reconciled themselves to the rule of the Turuṣkas (*Tuḷukkar*) as they were called, and

the Hindu rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms, especially the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra, made repeated efforts to suppress the Sultanate. It is not possible to say what part the Pāndya rulers played in these early struggles with the newly established power of the Sultans, but it is perhaps of some significance that the reconsecration of the Śiva temple at Tirupputtūr about A.D. 1340 coincides, in point of time, with the last great struggle of Vīra Ballāla III against the Sultans which ended so disastrously for the Hoysala two years later in the battle of Kaṇṇanūr.[1] It seems probable that the Pāndya rulers were carrying on the resistance against the Sultans in the Madura country, while the Hoysala ruler attacked Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam which commanded the road to Madura and was held by the Madura Sultans.

The failure of the Hoysalas in the war against the Madura Sultanate secured for it a respite of a little over two decades. During this period the country seems to have suffered from the effects of terrible misrule, but the Pāndyan rulers who had lost all capacity for resistance were permitted to lead an obscure and unhonoured existence. It must be noticed, however, that their inscriptions are found in the districts of Ramnad, Madura, Tanjore and South Arcot and the Pudukkottah state almost up to A.D. 1370.[2] The state of the country under its Muhammadan rulers can be inferred from the observations of the African traveller, Ibn Batuta, who spent some time in the Sultan's court in the early years of the Sultanate. It also forms the subject of a poetic description in the

[1] See Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 183-4.

[2] Nos. 362 of 1904; 527 of 1926; 78 of 1918; 100 of 1897; 395 of 1906 and others; also Nos. 455-8 of the Pudukkottah list and others.

Madhurāvijayam of Gangā Dēvī.[1] The *Madhurāvijayam* is an almost contemporary poem in the conventional epic style in Sanskrit dealing with the conquest of the Madura Sultanate by Kumāra Kampana *alias* Vīrakamparāya. It is a composition of considerable literary merit by the wife of Kampana, and even in its present mutilated condition, the poem throws much welcome light on the political conditions of the time. We learn from the poem that some time after Kampana conquered the Śāmbuvarāya of the Rājagambhīrarājya and established his rule over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Tundīra) with his capital at Marakatanagarī (another name for Kānchī?), a mysterious lady appeared before Kamparāya and narrated to him in detail the wicked deeds of the Yavanas (Muhammadans) in the southern country. She said : ' The temples in the land have fallen into neglect as worship in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of the *mridanga*. Like the Turushkas who know no limits, the Kāvēri has forgotten her ancient boundaries and brings frequent destruction with her floods. The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the chant of the Vedas have deserted the villages (*agrahāras*) which are now filled with the foul smell of roasted flesh and the fierce noises of the ruffianly Turuṣkas. The suburban gardens of Madura present a most painful sight ; many of their beautiful cocoanut palms have been cut down ; and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together. The Tāmraparṇī is flowing red with the blood of slaughtered cows. The Veda is forgotten

[1] Edited by Pandits Harihara Sastri and Srinivasa Sastri (Trivandram, 1916) with an Introduction by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao. Canto viii, pp. 69 ff.

and justice has gone into hiding; there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the land and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Drāvidas.' At the end of her speech, the lady produced a mighty sword, the symbol of Pāndya sovereignty and spoke again: 'This sword, O! King!, was wrought of yore by Viśvakarma from the essences of all the heavenly instruments of war for the use of Lord Śiva in his fight against the Asuras. He then gave it to the Pāndyan king who pleased him by his penances, and with its aid successive rulers of his dynasty held unrivalled sway for a long time. And now finding that, by dint of fate, the kings of the Pāndya line have lost their prowess, (the sage) Agastya has despatched this sword to be placed in your strong hands.' The rest of the speech is an exhortation and a prophecy foretelling Kampana's successes in the south. This account in the *Madhurāvijayam* is valuable in two respects. It gives a fairly reliable account from the Hindu point of view of the state of feeling in the country towards its Muhammadan rulers, and in a matter like this, contemporary literary evidence is of inestimable value in supplementing the evidence from epigraphs. What is equally valuable to the student of Pāndyan history is the account of the transference of the ancient sword from the Pāndyan kings to Kampana. Agastya, the custodian of Tamil culture, is said to have made the transfer, as the Pāndyan line did not any more produce kings worth the name. The meaning behind the poetic conception is clear. The failure of the Pāndyan kings to recover Madura is the historic justification for Kampana's conquest of the Madura country; moreover, in the Pāndyan kingdom, the task of the Vijayanagar rulers was the continuance of the work of the ancient rulers of the land.

years and therefore he may be taken to have ruled up to about A.D. 1380.[1] Another ruler who came to power about the same time as the one last-mentioned was Māṟavarman Parākrama Pāndya (A.D. 1335–52) whose records[2] are found in the districts of Ramnad, Tanjore, S. Arcot and Chingleput. A Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1357) was in the enjoyment of some power in the district of Ramnad and the Pudukkottah state for at least twenty-three years.[3] Yet another Parākrama is credited with the renovation of the central shrine and the *maṇḍapas* of the temple at Kuttālam, near Tenkāśi in the Tinnevelly district, about A.D. 1387 in the twentieth year of his reign.[4] And it seems quite possible that there was a fifth Parākrama Pāndya of whom nothing more can be stated than that his thirty-first regnal year was about Saka 1337 (No. 203 of 1895) pointing to some time about A.D. 1384 as the date of his accession. Lastly, we find evidence of the rule, from A.D. 1395–1396, of a Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara[5] who claims to have rebuilt the temple at Ilanji (a village near Tenkāśi) and founded a new Brahmin village in his fourteenth and sixteenth regnal years respectively. The inscriptions of the three rulers last mentioned are not found outside the Tinnevelly district.

The evidence from epigraphs thus shows that, some

[1] Nos. 453 and 454 of Pudukkottah list and 386 of 1913 and other records. *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. i, part ii, pp. 110–1.

[2] *E.I.*, vol. ix, p. 228, and vol. vii, p. 11. *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 46; 1918, part ii, para 53 and 1927, part ii, para 39. Inscription No. 35 of 1913 is a very interesting record which belongs apparently to an earlier ruler. *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 47 seems to contradict the paragraph just preceding it. The record is treated here as relating to the twelfth, not the fourteenth century.

[3] *E.I.*, vol. ix, pp. 225–8. No. 63 of 1924.

[4] No. 408 of 1917 and *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 54.

[5] *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 42; 1918, part ii, para 54.

time in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D., the Pāndyas more or less completely lost their hold on the Madura country and found themselves restricted to their more southern possessions in the Tinnevelly district. The change must have occurred about the time of Kampana's final conquest of Madura or soon afterwards. The Vijayanagar viceroy seems to have been assisted in his task by the Bāṇarāya chieftains and these quondam feudatories of the Pāndya kings doubtless had an interest in thus restricting the range of Pāndya power.[1] In any case, the Pāndya kings gained no material advantage from Kampana's wars against the Madura Sultans and the establishment of the power of Vijayanagar in Madura proved to be the beginning of the end of Pāndyan rule in the city where, except for relatively short intervals, the Pāndyas had held sway from the earliest times to the fourteenth century.

The history of the later Pāndyas of Tinnevelly[2] is the story of a more or less steady decline, punctuated by a few feeble attempts at revival, ending in the final disappearance of the dynasty towards the close of the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century. The evidence of copper-plates renders it possible to construct a genealogy of the rulers of the period, though some of

[1] Dr. S.K. Aiyangar at p. 5 of the *Nāyaks of Madura* by Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar seems to date the commencement of the viceroyalty of Madura rather too early. Rev. Heras (*op. cit.*, pp. 107–8) reproduces apocryphal tales from the chronicles relating to the illegitimate scions of the Pāndya family having been raised to power by the viceroy Lakkana. The names of the persons concerned show that the chronicles are giving a confused explanation of the rise of the Bāṇarāya chieftains into prominence under Vijayanagar.

[2] The most important inscriptions of the later Pāndyas have been carefully edited by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao (*Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i, pp. 43–152; pp. 251–82) whose critical studies went a long way to introduce order into a part of the subject which was till then in the most chaotic condition. In my account I follow Mr. Rao in the main.

Kampana's conquest of Madura is partly described in the final fragments of *Madhurāvijayam* and attested by inscriptions and chronicles. His conquest of the kingdom of Rājagambhīra[1] is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1365, and a record in the thirty-first year of a certain Māṛavarman Vīra Pāndya from the Ramnad district (No. 64 of 1916) refers to the southern campaign of Kampana Uḍaiyār, and his destruction of the Tulukkan, followed by the establishment of orderly government throughout the country and the appointment of many chiefs (*Nāyakkanmār*) for the inspection and supervision of temples.[2] The date of this record is now generally taken to correspond to A.D. 1364. Three inscriptions at Tiruppullāṇi (Ramnad) are undoubtedly records of this Kampana and are dated in A.D. 1371 and 1374.[3] On the other hand, the evidence of the coinage of the Sultans of Madura shows that their rule was continued in some manner till A.D. 1377–8.[4] It seems a legitimate inference to make that, though the back of the Muhammadan power in the south had been broken by A.D. 1364 or even a little earlier, the last Sultans maintained a feeble struggle against the growing power of Vijayanagar till A.D. 1377–1378.[5]

[1] *A.R.E.*, 1899, para 57 discussing No. 18 of 1899 identifies Rājagambhīrarājya with the Pāndya country and is still followed by some writers, e.g. Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty*, p. 104. The *Madhurāvijayam* leaves no doubt that it is a reference to the country of the Śāmbuvarāyas.

[2] *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 33.

[3] Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, p. 1173, Nos. 124, 129 and 132. It may be noted here that the earliest mention of Kampana in the epigraphs of the Tamil districts is in Śaka 1285 (A.D. 1363) in 803–D at p. 1607 of Rangachari.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 683.

[5] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (*op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff) places the early campaigns of Kampana in the south in the interval between A.D. 1343 and A.D. 1355–1356 and connects them with the break in the coinage of the Sultans in this period. Rev. Heras (*op. cit.*, pp. 105–6) seems to underestimate the indications obtained from the Pāndyan records and is inclined to place the

As has already been stated, we have little information as to the doings of the Pāndyan rulers who were co-regents with Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1296) in the last years of his reign and those that came after. A Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara, who seems to have also had the title 'who conquered every country' which was not more than an empty boast in his case, came to power in A.D. 1314 and would seem to have ruled at least up to A.D 1346.[1] His records are found in all the districts from Tinnevelly to Tanjore and an inscription from Shiyāli (366 of 1918) which refers to the eighteenth regnal year of an elder brother of the king, Sundara Pāndya by name, may perhaps be ascribed to this Kulaśēkhara and in that case, the Sundara Pāndya mentioned would be Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (*acc.* A.D. 1303). A Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāndya began his rule in A.D. 1315 and continued up to about A.D. 1347. His inscriptions are also found in the Tinnevelly, Madura, Ramnad and Tanjore districts and in the Pudukkottah state.[2] A Māṛavarman Vīra Pāndya began to rule about A.D. 1334 and a record of his thirty-first year mentioning Kumāra Kampana's campaigns has been already noticed. He seems to have continued in power for at least forty-seven

campaign as late as A.D. 1377. There seems to be, however, no necessity to assume that Kampana did his work all in one expedition. Rev. Heras says, 'After his conquests Prince Kumāra fixed his residence at Madura', and mentions his restoration of the Pāndya monarchs and the coronation of Sōma Śēkhara Pāndya as 'one of the most transcendental acts of Kumāra Kampana.' I am unable to follow him in accepting the popular and confused chronicles in the Taylor MSS. as history. The traditional lists of Pāndyan kings have been discussed already, and it has been shown that they furnish no guidance to the scientific historian.

[1] *E.I.*, vol. ix, p. 228 and No. 362 of 1904. Among other records the following have been assigned to this king:—Nos. 595 and 639 of 1902; 119 of 1903; 419 of 1905; 125, 126 and 149 of 1907; 742 of 1909, etc.

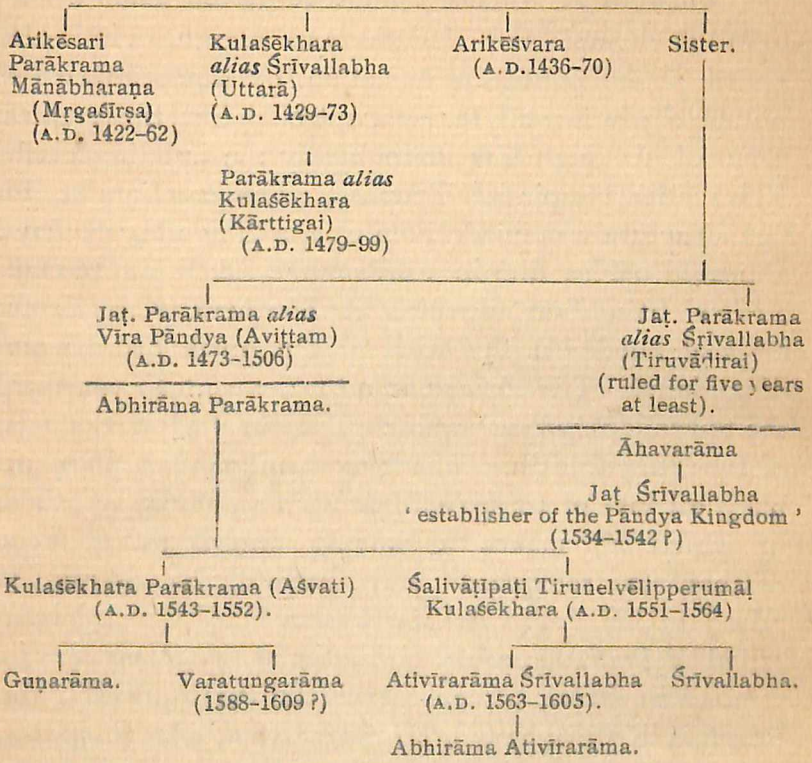
[2] *I.A.*, vol. xliv, p. 254. Nos. 395 of 1906; 17 of 1894; 564 of 1921; 527 and 601 of 1926.

the connections are not yet as firmly established as one would wish. We have also evidence of the existence of some kings not mentioned in the copper-plates at all. Thus a Jaṭāvarman Vikrama Pāndya[1], who ruled from A.D. 1401 to 1422 and whose records are found in Kuttālam and in Tirupputtūr (Ramnad), among other places, is not mentioned in the copper-plates at all. Another king Parākrama *alias* Śrīvallabha[2] came to power about the same time and ruled for at least thirty-three years till A.D. 1434. Somewhat later instances are those of Māṛavarman Vīra Pāndya[3] who ruled from A.D. 1443 to at least A.D. 1497 and whose records are found in the Pudukkottah country; and a Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya (A.D. 1531–1555) found in Kielhorn's list of Pāndya kings. These instances show that our knowledge of the state of the Pāndyan power under the Vijayanagar empire is still very fragmentary. It is significant that a few records of these later kings are found in Ramnad and Pudukkottah, as this is some evidence that, to the last, these kings struggled to hold their own in the Madura country. It is not till about A.D. 1483 that the Bāṇarāya chieftains are found assuming titles like *Madhurā-purī-mahā-nāyakan.*[4]

The genealogy of the later Pāndya rulers as it may be inferred from the copper-plate grants may now be given. The connections and identifications which are doubtful have been indicated as far as possible in the genealogical tree. The period of rule of

[1] *E.I.*, vol. ix, p. 228 and No. 124 of 1908.
[2] *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 52.
[3] *E.I.*, vol. ix, p. 229 and Pudukkottah List, Nos. 461–4.
[4] No. 672 of Pudukkottah List.

each king and the asterism of his birth have also been entered so far as these can be ascertained:—



Arikēsari Parākrama who had also the titles Mānakavaca and Mānabhūṣaṇa is known to have ruled for forty years from A.D. 1422.[1] His inscriptions are numerous and some of them contain a long historical introduction in Tamil beginning *Pū-miśai-vanitai*. He claims to have won several victories over his enemies at various small places mostly in the Tinnevelly district and to have defeated the kings of Kēraḷa. If he is identical with the Pāndya king of Madura vanquished by Narasa Nāyaka,[2]

[1] *E.I.*, vii, p. 17 and No. iv in Gopinatha Rao's *Inscriptions of the Later Pāndyas* (*Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. i.)

[2] Gopinatha Rao (*op. cit.*, pp. 52–3); Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–9.

as perhaps he is, he must be taken to have been in possession of Madura for the best part of his reign, as the campaign of Narasa cannot be placed much earlier than the closing years of Parākrama's reign. He is also called *Koṛkaivēndan*, an indication that the sea-board of Tinnevelly was still in his control. But the greatest event of his reign was undoubtedly the building of the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāśi. The erection of this fine structure was undertaken by the king after the Lord appeared before him in a dream and asked him to make a new habitation for him at Southern Kāśi as his original abode in the Kāśi of the north had become dilapidated. The construction took seventeen years and the towers (*gōpurams*) were still unfinished at the time of the king's death. The king's unbounded piety and his great love of art are evident from a number of verses in which he makes a moving appeal to his successors to safeguard and extend the temple he raised in his day. Arikēsari also made a large tank called Viśvanāthappērēri and erected *maṇḍapas* in Śiva temples in several places. Arikēsari Parākrama had two brothers Kulaśēkhara *alias* Śrīvallabha who completed the construction of the towers in the Tenkāśi temple and an Arikēśvara.[1] It is not clear what led to the succession passing to the nephews of Arikēsari; nor is it possible to determine whether these nephews are identical with Abhirāma Parākrama and Āhavarāma with whom the regular genealogy begins in the copper-plates.

It is needless to follow the transactions of these later monarchs in any great detail. Their inscriptions often open with the grandiloquent Sanskrit introduction begin-

[1] On the identity of Kulaśēkhara with Śrīvallabha see Gopinatha Rao *op. cit.*, p. 263 and on Arikēśvara, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 57.

ning *Samastabhuvanaikavīra*, and to the last they continued to be called *Madhurāmahēndra* though they had ceased to have anything to do with Madura for well over a century. During the reign of Śrīvallabha (*acc.* A.D. 1534) even the little that was left to the Pāndyas was sought to be taken away from them by the aggressive ruler of Travancore who, though he was also subject to Vijayanagar, had received in his court a rebel governor of the empire from Tanjore. These circumstances brought on the expedition to the south, in the early years of the reign of Achyutarāya, which resulted in the total defeat of the Travancore ruler, the restoration to the Pāndya of the territory he had then lost and the marriage of a Pāndyan princess to Achyutarāya.[1] Śrīvallabha, as a consequence, took to himself the title—'who restored the olden times' (*Iṟandakālameḍutta*). But nothing, not even the support of the Vijayanagar emperors, could restore the glory that once belonged to the rulers of this dynasty. Śrīvallabha and his successors had to console themselves, for what they had lost of political power, by seeking distinction in literature and philanthropy. And many of them, specially Ativīrarāma[2] and his cousin Varatungarāma really

[1] See Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-17, for a detailed account of Achyuta's expedition.

[2] *Verse* 19 of Pudukkottai plates has caused a difficulty about the duration of Ativīrarāma's reign, (*A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 41), as this verse says that his brother Śrīvallabha was crowned after his death. But the reading *tridivam-gatē* on which the interpretation rests does not seem to be quite secure. It may be observed that Varatungarāma, the other donor in the plates, could not also have been ruling in Saka 1505, the date of the gift; in fact, lines 135-8 of the record show clearly that the regnal year quoted is that of Ativīrarāma himself. (*Contra* T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 57). Heras (*op. cit.*, pp. 285-6) explains the reference to the battle of Vallamprākāra in the plates. See also Satyanatha Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 103, *n.* 13. For Abhirāma Ativīrarāma, the son of Ativīrarāma Śrīvallabha, see *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, paras 40-1.

deserved the name *Sāhitya-sārvabhauma* both on account of their own literary compositions and by the encouragement they gave to the poets of the time. They also earned the gratitude of their subjects by the excavation of tanks, and the construction of temples and other foundations of public utility. These kings liked to call themselves *Dēvabrāhmaṇa-sthāpanācārya*, and when Robert de Nobili wanted that Śrīvallabha, the brother of Ativīrarāma, should listen to 'the new doctrine preached by the Western *sannyāsi*', he was put off on one ground or another.[1] The last of these kings, of whom we have authentic epigraphical evidence, performed a Vedic sacrifice in A.D. 1615 and assumed the titles *Sōmayāji* and *Dīkṣitar*. He seems to have lived up to A.D. 1652.[2] All these rulers were in subordinate alliance[3] with the Nāyaks of Madura of the line of Viśvanātha Nāyaka. A few of their inscriptions[4] refer to the emperors of Vijayanagar and their *birudas* as well; they also adopted the boar as an additional emblem of their family along with the carps and the hook. These are indications of their acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Vijayanagar. 'There are two copper-plate records in the Kuttālanathasvāmin temple at Tirukkuṟṟālam which belong to the reign (!) of one Alaganperumāḷ Śīvala-Varaguṇarāma Pāndya Kulaśēkharadēvar, "who brought back the past". Both of them are dated Śaka 1675 (A.D. 1753). He bears all the *birudas* known to the previous Pāndyas.'

[1] Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-3.

[2] Gopinatha Rao and No. 268 of 1908.

[3] See Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-8. At p. 132, however, he seems to mistake the true meaning of Viśvanātha's coins with the legend Pāndyan. *Contra* Satyanatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[4] No. 615 of 1915 and Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 2, n. 1.—See also Mr. Krishna Sastri's observations in his Introduction to the *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 1.

Page 8, l. 3.—Iraṇḍāvadin edir padinānkāvadu.

Page 18, l. 13.—E. H. Warmington—*The Commerce Between The Roman Empire and India*—gives an excellent account of this trade and is very fully documented. See under 'Pandyan' in the index, and specially pp. 59–60. 'From the very beginning of the Roman Empire the Pandya people had probably taken the leading part in encouraging the Romans to come and trade, for they had sent, as we have seen, an embassy to Augustus.'

Page 26, l. 24.—*Puṟam* 15 may be compared with the following from the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant (ll. 31–2) about the same king: 'Kol-yānai-palav-ōṭṭi-kkūḍā-mannar-kuḷān tavirtta Palyāga-Mudukuḍumi—p Peruvaḷudi.'

Page 27, l. 16.—The larger Śinnamanūr plates (ll. 100–2) seem to mention another battle at Citramuyari along with that at Talaiyālangānam, and they add that two enemies of the Pāndyan kings lost their lives in these battles. The text is: 'Ambor-Citramuyari-um-Talaiālam-kānattiṟ-ṟannokkam-iruvendarai-kkolai-vāḷiṟ-ṟalai-tumittu-kkuṟa-ttalaiyin-kūttoḷittum'. In his introduction (*S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 445) to these plates, Mr. Krishna Sastri assumes: (*a*) that Citramuyari was also fought by Neḍunjeḷiyan, and (*b*) that the two enemies who were killed were the Chola and the Chera kings.

Page 34, ll. 1–8.—aṟaneṟi-mudaṟṟē-yaraśinkoṟṟa
madanāl, namarena-kkōl-kōḍādu
piṟarena-kkuṇam kollādu
ñayiṟṟanna venti-ṟalāṇmaiyum
tingaḷanna taṇperunjāyalum
vānattanna vaṇmaiyu-mūṉṟu-muḍaiyai-yāki . . .
nī nīḍu vāḷiya neḍundakai.

Pages 39–41.—In editing the Śinnamanūr plates (*S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv, pp. 447–8) Mr. Krishna Sastri follows Mr. Venkayya's arrangement of the genealogy of the Pandya kings mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi and the larger Śinnamanūr plates. He admits that the first king Arikēsari of the larger Śinnamanūr

plates at first appears to be the same as Arikēsari Maṛavarman,—No. 4 of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant; but he feels constrained to reject this identification, and his reasons may be briefly examined. First, he holds that Arikēsari (Vēḷvikkuḍi, 4) did not fight with the Pallava king as did Arikēsari, the first king of the Śinnamanūr plates. This rests on his supposition that Vilvēli against whom Arikēsari of Vēḷvikkuḍi fought at Nelvēli was 'perhaps a Chera'. But it should be noted that the campaigns of this king against the Kēraḷa ruler are mentioned separately in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, and that Nelvēli is coupled with Śankaramangai in the Śinnamanūr grant as having been fought against the Pallavas. Secondly, Mr. Sastri says that the battle of Śankaramangai is not mentioned among the battles fought by No. 4 Vēḷvikkuḍi, but his grandson No. 6 'is clearly said to have crushed the Pallava power'. Surely, the facts (*a*) that Śankaramangai is not mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant at all in relation to either No. 4 or No. 6, and (*b*) that Nelvēli is a common factor between No. 4 of Vēḷvikkuḍi and No. 1 of Śinnamanūr suggest a conclusion very different from that of Mr. Sastri. And it is strange that he should underrate the mention of Nelvēli by name in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant among the achievements of No. 4 and imagine that No. 6 fought at Śankaramangai because he is said to have crushed the Pallava power. It will be noticed also that, by his scheme, he has to postulate a second fight at Nelvēli 'against the very same or a different Chera king' for which there is no reason suggested. Thirdly, Mr. Sastri says: 'The title Parānkuśa, given to Arikēsari in the Tamil portion of the Śinnamanūr grant, makes it difficult to connect him with the first Arikēsari Māṛavarman (No. 4) of the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates'. But one may ask, how is it less difficult to connect him with No. (6)? The title Parānkuśa does not occur in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant at all, and it may be suggested that the other title 'Asamasaman' which No. 4 gets in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant makes it, if anything, easier to identify Parānkuśa with him, rather than with his grandson. And the chief name of the king Aṛikēsari is common to both records and has the same import as the Parānkuśa title. Lastly, Mr. Sastri says: 'The fact that Parānkuśa Arikēsari's grandson is called Rājasimha in the Śinnamanūr plates suggests the possibility of Arikēsari himself being also called Rājasimha,

which title we actually find for the first time given to Tērmāṟan (No. 6) in the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates'. It is clearly simpler to say that the two Rājasimhas of the Śinnamanūr and Vēḷvikkuḍi grants are identical as well as the two Arikēsaris. Moreover, it is very risky to infer the titles of a king from those of his successors as is done by Mr. Sastri. Thus, none of the considerations brought forward by Mr. Sastri can be accepted as establishing Mr. Venkayya's system of genealogy, and the reis no reason to modify the conclusions stated by me at p. 41. It may be added that on the other system, we know nothing of Nos. (8) and (9) (of Mr. Sastri's genealogical table), the so-called Rājasimha II and Varaguṇa I respectively, as neither the Vēḷvikkuḍi nor the Śinnamanūr plates give an account of their reigns.

Page 42, n. 1.—The Śinnamanūr grants have since been published in *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv, Cf. Mr. Krishna Sastri's observations on the smaller Śinnamanūr plates at p. 447. He thinks that the donor of these plates was Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan or an immediate successor of his.

Page 44, l. 4.—Kaṇṭaka-Śōdanai tānśeydu.

Page 45, l. 7.—Sewell fixes the date of accession between March 22nd and November 22nd, A.D. 862 on the strength of No. 84 of 1910. See Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* under Trichinopoly 683.

Page 49.—Attention may also be drawn to the expressions 'Kali-araśan-vali-taḷara' (l. 90) and 'Kalippagai' (l. 100) in the account of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan's reign in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. Mr. Krishna Sastri interprets these phrases as referring to the Kali age, though, elsewhere, he accepts the suggestion that the Kaḷabhras were of the Kalikula (*E. I.*, xvii, pp. 306 n, 307–8).

Page 50, ll. 8–10.—Taraṇi mangaiyaíppirarpāl urimai-ttiravidin nikki-ttanpāl-urimai nanganam-amaitta.

Page 51, ll. 14–15.—Villavarum (vanai) Nelvēli-um viri-poḷircccangara-mangai-Pallavarum (vanaiyum) pinganḍa (puṟanganḍa) Parānkuśan. The readings within brackets are those of *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv.

Page 56, n. 2.—Mr. Krishna Sastri appears to have changed his view as he mentions Śengōḍu and Pudānkōḍu as battles won by Raṇadhīra.

Page 61, ll. 11–12.—Vāttiya-kēya sangītangaḷāl maliveydiya Vangaḷandai-vaidyakulam.

Page 63, l. 5.—Kuṉṟamannadōr-Kōil.

Page 77, n. 1.—cf. Mr. Krishna Sastri's remarks at p. 449 of *S.I.I.*, vol. iii.

Page 79, l. 8.—Contra. Mr. Krishna Sastri (*ibid*) who takes her to be a Chola princess.

Page 80, n. 1.—Summarizing the larger Śinnamanūr plates, Mr. Krishna Sastri says of this Rājasimha that he 'defeated the king of Tanjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai (Koḍumbāḷūr) the seat of one of the powerful Chola subordinates, burnt Vanji and destroyed the king of southern Tanjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Cholas) at Nāval.' (*S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 449).

Page 82, n. 1.—Mr. Krishna Sastri (*S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv, Introd., p. 10) says that the Kanyākumāri record (of Vīrarājēndra) states that Parāntaka 'killed the Pāndya with his whole army'. But as this is contradicted by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and the Mahāvamśa, the expression *hatvā* of the Kanyākumāri record must be taken to mean 'defeated.'

Page 85, l. 13.—cf. Mr. Krishna Sastri's remarks at p. 7 of his Introd. to *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv.

Page 86, l. 19.—Kōṭṭai aḷittu naṉṟu śeydu paṭṭār.

Page 86, l. 20.—Uḷ vīṭṭu-kkōyiṟcēvakar.

Page 88, l. 3.—Nīrōḍaṭṭi-kkoḍuttān.

Page 88, ll. 7-8.—Mannavanadu paṇiyāl vaḍivamaiya-ppiḍi śūḻndān.

Page 88, l. 11.—ellaiyakattu-kkallum-kaḷḷiyum nāṭṭi.

Page 88, ll. 24 ff.—pirammadēyamāka-kkārāṇmaiyum Mīyāṭciyum uḷḷaḍanga sarvaparihāramāka nīrōḍaṭṭi kkuḍu-kkap-paṭṭadu.

Page 89, ll. 25 ff.—enṟu ninṟavan viṇṇāppiyanjeyya naṉṟu naṉṟenṟu muṟuvalittu naṭṭānin paḷamaiyādal kāṭṭi nī koḷkavenna nātta-ṟṟan paḷamaiyādal kāṭṭināṉ āṅgappoḷudēy.

Page 89, l. 32.—Nāṭṭu.

Page 92, ll. 7 ff.—ivvoṭṭina pariśu ney aṭṭuvippadaṟkku amaindu puṇaippaṭṭōm śiṟṟambar patiyum pādamūlattōmum.

Page 95, l. 26.—eṇṇiṟanda paḷḷiccandangaḷum.

Page 98, ll. 7 ff.—(Ko)nnavil kūrvēṟkōn Neḍumāṟan tenkūḍaṟ-kōn tennan koṇḍāḍum ten-Tirumāl-irunjōlaiyē.

Page 101, n. 1.—*Contra* Mr. Krishna Sastri-Introduction to *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv, pp. 14–17. The Madras Museum Plates are referred by Mr. Sastri to 'the uncle and immediate predecessor of Rājarāja I' (*S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 267). There is nothing in the record that goes against our view that these plates may be assigned to Rājēndra I. In fact, the mention of *adikārikaḷ Śōḷa mūvēnda-vēḷār-emberumān* in l. 14 supports our view, as this Śoḷamūvēndavēlār was the commander of Rājēndra's army (*S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv, introd. p. 17).

Page 103, n. 1.—See also Mr. Krishna Sastri—*ibid.*, p. 15.

Page 105, n. 1.—See *Annual Report Trav. Arch. Dept.*, 1920–21, p. 65 and *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, p. 469 for a defence of the traditional view of Kāndaḷūr-Śālai and the fleet maintained by the Chera kings there.

Page 108, n. 1.—See, however, Mr. Krishna Sastri's introduction, p. 19, in *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv, for other evidence in support of Hultzsch's view.

Page 115, l. 2.—ūriḍuvarippāḍu.

Page 115, l. 4.—Kāṇi-uḍaiyār.

Page 116, l. 19.—vilai ōlai śeydu nīrōḍaṭṭikkoḍuttōm.

Page 123, l. 20.—Tiru-vaḷara-cceyam vaḷara tennavar-tam kulam vaḷara-varumaṛai nāngavai vaḷara-vanaittulakanduyar nīnga-ttenmadurā-puri-ttōṇṛi.

Page 124, l. 18.—Tennavar tam Kuladeyvam.

Page 135, l. 18.—Pāṇḍiyanai muḍittalai-koṇḍaruḷiya.

Page 135, l. 21.—avan muḍimēl aḍi vaittu.

Page 142, l. 6.—vanjinan-gūṛu madakaḷiṛivaṛnda veṇjina vēngai villuḍan-oḷippa.

Page 144, l. 5.—Pū maruviya tirumaḍandaiyum.

Page 145, l. 13.—Śōṇāḍu Koṇḍaruḷiya; Sōṇāḍukoṇḍu muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷapurattu vīrar abhiṣēkam paṇṇiyaruḷiya; Śōṇāḍu vaḷangiyaruḷiya.

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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

A. D.	
C. 100–300.	Śangam Age.
C. 590.	End of the Kaḷabhra interregnum. Accession of Kaḍungōn.
C. 620.	Accession of Māṛavarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi.
C. 645.	,, Śēndaṇ (Jayantavarman).
C. 670.	,, Arikēsari Parānkuśa Māṛavarman.
C. 710.	,, Kōccaḍayan Raṇadhira.
C. 740.	,, Rājasimha (I) Māṛavarman Pallavabhanjana.
C. 765.	,, Jaṭila Parāntaka (I) Neḍunjaḍayan *alias* Varaguṇa Māhāraja.
770.	Consecration of the Viṣṇu temple built by Māṛangāri at Ānamalai.
C. 815.	Accession of Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha.
862.	Accession of Varaguṇavarman.
C. 880.	Battle of Śrī Purambiyam. Accession of Parāntaka (II) Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍayan.
C. 900.	Accession of Rājasimha (II) Māṛavarman.
C. 920.	Capture of Madura by Parāntaka I Chola; end of the First Empire; flight of Rājasimha (II).
C. 950–1000.	Completion of the Chola conquest of the Pāndyan kingdom. The wars of Vīra Pāndya 'who took the head of the Chola.' Rāja Rāja I's campaigns in the Pāndya country.
C. 1020.	Rājēndra's invasion and settlement of the Pāndya country.
C. 1020–70.	The period of the Chola-Pāndya Viceroys. Rājādhirāja's wars in the Pāndya country.
C. 1080–1100.	Kulottunga I's invasion of the Pāndya country. Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha and Māṛavarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Parākrama Pāndya.
C. 1120.	Jaṭāvarman Parāntaka Pāndya.
C. 1132.	Accession of Māṛavarman Śrīvallabha.

A. D.

C. 1162. Accession of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulaśēkhara of the Civil War.

C. 1168–70. Civil War between Kulaśēkhara and Parākrama.

C. 1180. Accession of Vikrama Pāndya (son of Kulaśēkhara) and renewal of the Civil War by Vīra Pāndya (son of Parākrama).

C. 1189. End of the Civil War and flight of Vīra Pāndya to Travancore.

C. 1190. Accession of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (I). Beginning of the Second Empire.

C. 1216. Accession of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya (I).

C. 1223. Restitution of the Chola country by Sundara Pāndya.

1238. Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (II). Accession of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāndya (II).

1251. Accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (I).

1251–8. Sundara Pāndya's wars against the Cheras, the Hoysalas, Kōpperunjinga and Gaṇḍagōpāla.

1253. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya (I) (sub-king).

1268. Accession of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara (I).

1276. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (II) (sub-king).

1283. Māṛavarman Vikrama Pāndya (sub-king).

C. 1284. Kulaśēkhara's conquest of Ceylon.

1291. Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha (sub-king ?)

1296–7. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāndya (II) (sub-king).

1303. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāndya (III) (sub-king).

1310–11. Murder of Kulaśēkhara (?). Civil war between Sundara Pāndya and Vīra Pāndya. Malik Kafur's invasion of Madura.

1311–13. The assumption of independence by Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, Chera, and his conquest of the Pāndya country. End of the Second Empire.

1314. Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara (II).

1315. Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāndya (I).

C. 1317. Assertion of independence by Kulaśēkhara Śāmbuvarāya. Invasion of Muppiḍi Nāyaka and his capture of Kāñchī.

1329–30. Establishment of the Sultanate of Madura.

A. D.

1334. Māṟavarman Vīra Pāndya (I).
1335. Māṟavarman Parākrama Pāndya.
1357. Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāndya (II).
C. 1364–70. Kumāra Kampana's wars against the Madura Sultanate.
1377–8. End of the Sultanate of Madura.
1395–6. Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (III).
1401. Jaṭāvarman Vikrama Pāndya.
1422. Arikēsari Parākrama Mānābharaṇa.
1429. Kulaśēkhara *alias* Śrīvallabha.
1436. Arikēśvara.
1443. Māṟavarman Vīra Pāndya (II).
1473. Jaṭāvarman Parākrama *alias* Vīra Pāndya.
1479. Parākrama *alias* Kulaśēkhara.
1531. Māṟavarman Sundara Pāndya (III).
1534. Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha 'establisher of the Pāndya Kingdom.'
1543. Kulaśēkhara Parākrama.
1551. Tirunelvēlipperumāḷ Kulaśēkhara.
1563. Ativīrarāma Śrīvallabha.
1588. Varatungarāma.
1615. Performance of a Vedic sacrifice by Varaguṇa Śrīvallabha *alias* Kulaśēkhara.

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