THE CŌLAS VOL. I
Frontispiece.

SEAL OF THE TIRUVALANGADU COPPER-PLATES.

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THE CŌLAS

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To the accession of Kulottunga I

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PREFACE

In the age of the Cōḷas, the most creative period of South Indian History, the whole of South India was for the first time brought under the sway of a single government, and a serious attempt made to face and solve the problems of public administration arising from the new conditions. In local government, in art, religion and letters, the Tamil country reached heights of excellence never reached again in succeeding ages; in all these spheres, as in that of foreign trade and maritime activity, the Cōḷa period marked the culmination of movements that began in an earlier age, under the Pallavas.

This history of the Cōḷas, the first systematic study of a great epoch, has been rendered possible only by the work carried on steadily from year to year for half a century by the Archaeological Survey of India. My indebtedness to the scholars who, in the various publications of this department, have laid the foundations of Cōḷa history will be evident on almost every one of the following pages. I have based my account, however, on an independent study of the originals, for which the most ample facilities were afforded to me by the Director-General of Archaeology and the officers in charge of the Madras office.

Inscriptions come to our aid only from the accession of Vijayālaya in the ninth century, and even then their distribution in time and space is naturally very uneven; for the early period, and we do not know of a time when there were no Cōḷas, we depend altogether on extant Tamil Literature surviving for the most part
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<td>ASC.</td>
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<td>ASI.</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports of the Director-General.</td>
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<td>BEFEO.</td>
<td>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extreme Orient.</td>
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<td>BG.</td>
<td>Bombay Gazetteer.</td>
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<td>CSI.</td>
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<td>CV.</td>
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<td>JAHRS.</td>
<td>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS

**JBBRAS.** Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

**JIH.** Journal of Indian History.

**JOR.** Journal of Oriental Research.


**List.** Kielhorn: List of Inscriptions, Southern *(EI. vii and viii).*

**MAR.** Mysore Archaeological Reports.

**MV.** *Mahāvamsa,* edited and translated by Geiger (Pāli Text Society), continued in *CV.*

**NI.** Nellore Inscriptions edited by Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.

**PK.** The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1929).

**QJMS.** Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

**SII.** South Indian Inscriptions.

**Studies.** Studies in Cōla History and Administration by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (1932).

**TAR.** Travancore Archaeological Reports.

**TAS.** Travancore Archaeological Series.
CHAPTER I

SOURCES

On the history of the Cōḷaśas, as on many other subjects of early Indian history, we had, fifty years ago, little information of an authentic character. When, in the early years of the last century, Col. Mackenzie made his great effort to survey all and collect as many as possible of the antiquarian remains of the Madras Presidency, his agents in the Tanjore district failed to discover anything more remarkable on the ancient Cōḷaśas than the Cōḷavanśacaritram. This is a late Sthalapurīṇa which is legendary and full of miracles. Tradition knew nothing of the real history of the older rulers of the land and could not tell if the Cōḷa dynasty numbered eighty-four kings or sixteen. Epigraphy has made remarkable progress in South India during the last fifty years. Hultzsch, Venkayya and Krishna Sastri have brought out scholarly editions of many of the inscriptions. Of the Śaṅgam literature, which is doubtless the earliest group of Tamil writings extant, considerable portions have been recovered and published. Now it is both possible and necessary to attempt a comprehensive study which shall bring together the results so far attained, and so to approach a definitive history of the Cōḷaśas.

To attempt a task of this nature in a subject which, thanks to fresh discoveries or new interpretations of old material, is apt to have its foundations disturbed from time to time, is, we are warned, to run the risk of our structure collapsing no sooner than it is reared. But this is, in regard to Cōḷa history, greatly to underestimate the permanence of the results reached so far;
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for a careful review of the steps by which the reconstruction of this history has proceeded since the days when the clues obtained from Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates were correlated to the evidence from the Cōḷa inscriptions of Tanjore and other places in the Tamil country, must convince the most sceptical among scholars that a considerable tract of ascertained knowledge has been added permanently to the history of South India. A settled and continuous narration of the political history of the Cōḷas appears therefore not merely quite possible to undertake, but likely to be of more than transient interest. The case for such an undertaking becomes stronger if it is observed that, in its administrative system and in its literary and artistic achievement, Tamil civilisation may be said to have attained its high watermark under the Cōḷa empire of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Under this empire also flourished in their greatest strength the sea-faring instincts of the people of Southern India which enabled them to add for a time an overseas empire to the more abiding prospects of a profitable trade with the states of the Far-East. The telling of a story which fills so large a place in the past life of the land and is so full of colour and incident should not be unduly postponed. At the same time we should recognise that, in regard to certain points of the story, the preliminary researches, of which one should have desired to avail oneself, have yet to be made; and even the attempt to paint the picture as a whole may be the means, by drawing attention to their need, of bringing such researches into being.

The history of the Cōḷas falls naturally into four divisions: the age of the literature of the Šangam, the interval between the close of the Šangam age and the rise
of the Vijayasāla line, the Vijayasāla line which came to prominence in the ninth century A.D. and lastly, the Caḍukya-Cōla line of Kulottunga I and his successors from the third quarter of the eleventh century to about the middle of the thirteenth. Nearly two centuries before the rise of Vijayasāla in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, there flourished a Cōla kingdom in the Telugu districts comprising portions of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur, * whose kings traced their descent from Karikāla. Nothing definite is known, however, of their connection with the early Cōlas. Again, from about the twelfth century, there were a number of local dynasties which claimed also to be among the descendants of Karikāla and to belong to the Kaśyapa gōtra. Besides their legendary pedigree there seems to be no evidence connecting them in any manner with the Cōlas of the Tamil country. Of these late Telugu-Cōlas, who have left behind a large number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions, we need make only passing mention in this history.

The main source of our information on the early Cōlas is the early Tamil literature of the so-called third Šangam. The brief notices of the Cōla country and its towns, ports and commerce furnished by the Periplus and by Ptolemy are best interpreted in the light of this literature. The striking coincidences in these matters between the classical writers and the literature of the Šangam are enough to show that this literature belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era. And the somewhat obscure account in the Mahāvaṃsa of many conflicts between the inhabitants of Ceylon

* EC. xii (7) and EI. xi, Mahāvaṃsa plates.
and Tamil immigrants into the island receives some elucidation from a comparison of the proper names in the *Mahāvamsa* account with those occurring in the Śangam poems. The synchronism between Gajabāhu I and the Cēra king Śenuṭṭūvan was viewed with suspicion by Hultsch; but it rests not simply on the identity of the name of the Ceylonese king in the *Mahāvamsa* and in the *Śilappadikāram*, but on the existence of an active intercourse, political and cultural, between South India and its island-neighbour.

The period covered by the extant literature of the Śangam is unfortunately not easy to determine with any measure of exactness; though it seems most likely that it extended from five to ten generations at the most. Excepting the longer epics, the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* * which, by common consent, are taken to belong to the closing stages of the Śangam age, the poems have reached us in the form of systematic anthologies, some of which, like the *Ahanānūru*, follow a highly intricate scheme in their arrangement. Each individual poem has generally attached to it a colophon on the authorship and subject-matter of the poem; in the poems of the division called *Purāṇam* which deal with concrete objective situations, the name of the king or chieftain to whom the poem relates, and the occasion which called forth the eulogy or description, are also found. It is from these colophons, and rarely from the texts of the poems themselves, that we can gather the names of many kings and chieftains and of the poets and

* A relatively late date for this poem, later than A. D. 400, seems to be forced on us by the trend of the discussion of the relation between Canto XXIX of this poem and the *Nyāyapravṛtta*, unless indeed this Canto is treated as having suffered a later revision. See *Nyāyapravṛtta* pp. xiii-xvi for a succinct review of the discussion by A. B. Dhruba.
poetesses patronised by them. The task of reducing these names to an ordered scheme in which the different generations of contemporaries can be marked off from one another has not yet commanded the attention and patient thought that it merits. Some writers have been apt to draw on their imagination and invent genealogical connections not supported by the sources; others have confessed themselves beaten in the game and have denounced the colophons as late and untrustworthy guesses, not worth much considera-
tion at the hands of the modern historian. * Before adopting this counsel of despair, one would do well to recollect that some anthologies, like the Kalittogai, are said to have been put together by a poet represented in the collection itself, and that no reasoned case has been made out against accepting the literary tradition relating to these anthologies and the individual poems in them. † In any attempt to deal systematically with the data drawn from these poems, the casual nature of the poems and the wide difference between the purpose of the anthologist who brought them to-
gether and that of the modern historian must not be lost sight of; or one might fall easily into the error of finding a continuous story out of discontinuous material.

On the history of the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line, there is an abundance of authentic material from diverse sources. This makes the narration of their history a relatively easy task. But of the fortunes of the Cōḷas in the interval between the end of the Śangam age and the rise of Vijayālaya, that is, in the age of Pāṇḍya-Pallava dominance, we have practically no record. The scanty

† For a full discussion of this subject see Studies, I.
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references to them in the Pallava and Cālukya inscriptions are but feebly supplemented by the hagiology of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism relating to the period.

The dynasty of Vijayālaya has left behind a large number of stone inscriptions and a few copper-plate grants of great value to the historian. The illustrious Rājarāja I, under whom South Indian monarchy attained a sweep and splendour till then unknown, conceived the idea of prefixing to his inscriptions a set historical introduction recounting, in an ornate and poetic style of Tamil, the main achievements of his reign and kept up-to-date by additions made to it from time to time. The narration of the descent of a king and, incidentally, of some salient facts relating to himself and his ancestors was for centuries before Rājarāja’s accession the more or less universal practice of kings and chiefs who followed the norm set before them by the Smṛti and Dharmasāstra of the country for the drawing up of charters (Śāsanam) setting forth gifts (dāna) of various kinds. But such narration formed part, generally speaking, only of copper-plate grants (tāmra-śāsana) and was composed de novo on each separate occasion; and this practice, while it gave full scope for the fancy of the poet-composer of the prāṣasti, sometimes resulted in contradictory and confusing statements made about the same king in different grants. In ordering, therefore, the writing, on stone, in set form and in the language of the people, of an official and authorised account of the leading events of his reign, Rājarāja initiated a practice which, as it was kept up by his successors, not only satisfied the boundless vanity of this race of kings, but furnishes to the historian a formal record of exceptional value
of the transactions of each reign.* Most of these historical introductions have been the subjects of scholarly discussion and elucidation by Hultsch and Venkayya in the earlier volumes of the South Indian Inscriptions, and though these mey- kkērīttikal occasionally merit the waggish description of them as poy- kkērīttikal, still, as a rule, they furnish invaluable guidance to the internal chronology and general history of the reign, besides providing picturesque and trustworthy accounts of particular events.

Few of these inscriptions are purely historical in aim and character. The one at Tiruvēndipuram, † recording in detail the tribulations of Rājarāja III and the relief he obtained from the intercession of his Hoysala contemporary, is the most considerable among the handful of purely historical inscriptions. Generally speaking, inscriptions record gifts and endowments of a public or private nature, usually to temples, mathas and Brahmans; sometimes the construction of a temple or its renovation, or the setting up of a new image forms the subject of an inscription. To provide for the maintenance of a lamp in a temple was a common method of earning religious merit for oneself or of expiating an offence. This was done by gifts of money or cattle calculated at so much or so many per lamp, and it was possible for two or more persons to endow a lamp jointly and apportion the merit among themselves in accordance with the share contributed by each. Often the lamps were to burn throughout the day and night, to be perpetual, (nandā vilakkku); ‡

* These introductions were, in some inscriptions, omitted in part owing to exigencies of space. e.g. 96 of 1925 of the eleventh year of Rājendra I.
† 142 of 1902. EL. vii p. 161.
‡ It is interesting to observe that Parimēlajagār explains the phrase ' poyā vilakkam' in Kurōl 753 by 'nandā vilakkku'.
but day-lamps, night-lamps and lamps for the occasions when puja was performed (sandhi) were also known. * When the lamps were provided for by gifts of cattle, the expression ‘sāvā-mūva-pperādu’ invariably occurs, and it means literally ‘the big sheep that neither die nor age.’ That this was only a formal way of expressing the permanence of the endowment becomes clear from the use of the same expression even where cows, and not sheep, are given. Moreover, if for any reason the original herd went down in numbers, and in one instance a herd of fifty cows was reduced to twenty-six in less than three years, † the fact was taken into account in assessing the obligations of the herdsmen for the future. Among the donors we find not only kings and their officials, but several corporations including occupational and commercial guilds, caste organisations, military groups, and village assemblies, and many private individuals, men and women. The class of courtesans, the dēvaradiyār, ‘servants of the Gods,’ often made considerable benefactions to temples which were suitably recognised by privileges of a hereditary nature being conferred on them in relation to the services and festivals in the temples concerned.

Several inscriptions were obviously intended to publish and preserve in a more or less permanent form decisions and agreements on matters of public importance. In this class, which though not extensive is doubtless of greater interest to the student than the more numerous donative records, we find royal orders on taxation and land-revenue, the resolutions of village assemblies on their own constitutional arrangements,

* This, I believe, is the correct interpretation of the expression ‘sandil-vilakku’ which figures so often in the inscriptions and is usually translated into “twilight-lamp.” See Tamil Lexicon s. v. ***—canū.

† 120 of 1926 (year 6 of Rāṇendra I).
their awards in disputes between communities or other corporate organisations, judgements delivered against persons guilty of theft, adultery, murder and other crimes, and political compacts between powerful feudatory chieftains of particular localities. Quite often, inscriptions on temple walls served the purpose of a public registration office by conserving a trustworthy record of sales, mortgages and other forms of transfers of property-rights in village-lands. * Sometimes a record is expressly described as the copy of a copper-plate grant. † A unique inscription from Tiruviḷaivāyil (Tanjore) preserves an otherwise unknown Đēvāram of Gñānasambandar on the local shrine.

The language and script of the Cōla inscriptions varied with the time and place of the records. The language most commonly employed was Tamil; some Sanskrit records are known, besides several bilingual inscriptions employing both. Kanarese and Telugu were also employed in the Kāḷṇāṭaka and Telugu areas. The assumption has sometimes been made ‡ that Tamil was the prevailing language in Cōla times in all places where the Tamil inscriptions of Cōla rulers are found, and that Tamil receded from these areas at a time subsequent to the period of Cōla rule in these parts. Such inscriptions are, however, only proof at best of the presence of some Tamil immigrants in non-Tamil regions that were brought for a time under Cōla rule. The recovery of some Telugu and Kanarese records of the Vijayanagar rulers and their Nāyak viceroys, and of the Hoysalas from distinctly Tamil areas cannot prove

* In 134 of 1926 (Rejāk. 16) we have an instance of a temple raising money by mortgaging some of its land to a woman in the queen’s service.
† 180 of 1894 (Kulōttunga I, 23).
‡ ARE. 1895, 17 and 1908, II 49. See also Venkayya IA. xxxvii pp. 199-200.
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that the Tamil country exchanged its language for Telugu or Kanarese during the period of these records. The long Marathi inscription of Tanjore of A.D. 1803 is another instance. Vatteluttu was the prevalent script in which Tamil was written in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries; in the former it gave place to Tamil about the time of the Cōla conquest * though “in the insulated malainādu (Malabar) it continued as late as the middle of the eighteenth century A. D.” The Sanskrit language employed the Grantha script, closely allied to the Tamil in its evolution. Numerous as are the published inscriptions from which the evolution of the script can be traced with tolerable accuracy, chronological arguments drawn from palaeography are generally not so conclusive as might be wished, and must be received with caution. There are fewer chances of stone inscriptions being found to be forgeries than copper-plate grants and, as a matter of fact, very few Cōla inscriptions are of doubtful authenticity. One of the most conspicuous examples is that of a record † purporting to be dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year of a Rājendracōla Rājakēsari. By mixing up in its historical introduction the events of different reigns, the record rouses suspicion; its palaeography belongs to the fourteenth century, and it is found in a temple of which the walls bear no other inscription of an earlier date than the reign of Rājarāja III.

From the tenth century A.D., the period of Cōla rule was a great epoch in the building of structural stone temples. The walls of the new temples, their pillars and their plinths were usually covered with inscriptions in course of time.

* TAS. i p. 286.
† 490 of 1926, ARE. 1927 II 82.
The great temple of Rājarājeśvara in Tanjore furnishes, in this respect, only a leading example of a practice very common at the time. We are expressly told* that before older structures were pulled down for rebuilding a shrine, the inscriptions on the walls were, in many cases, copied out in books and re-engraved later on the walls of the new structure. Even brick temples had sometimes inscriptions engraved on their walls.† We shall never know the extent of the damage inflicted in recent years by the ignorant piety of renovators of ancient shrines. Government have been unduly slack in stopping such damage; they have even refused to lay down a procedure to be followed by renovators which would have minimised the extent of the damage.‡ Sometimes inscriptions are found engraved on rocks and boulders not forming parts of temples, but they are the exception.

* ASI. 1909-10 pp. 128-9; also 92 of 1895 and ARE. 1920 II 17.
† 123 of 1900; E.I. vii pp. 145-6.
‡ ARE. 1902, i 8 and G.O. (Madras) 763 Public, 6th August 1902. After drawing attention to the destruction of the Kalinari Īvara by the inhabitants of Tirunāmanallur, the government epigraphist says in his report: “The Naṭṭuṅkēṭṭai Chetties are spending year by year a portion of their large earnings in repairing the ancient Śiva temples of Southern India. In the course of these ‘repairs’ they have totally destroyed the following shrines with every one of their inscriptions: The Ekkārānātha temple at Conjeevaram, the Jambukēśvara temple on the island of Śrīrangam, the central shrine of the temple at Tiruvaṅkēmalai, the same at Tiruvenppainallur in South Arcot and the same at Tiruppugalūr in the Tanjore District. Of some of the inscriptions in the first two temples, I have inked estampages in my office. The remainder are lost for ever, as the inscribed stones have been dressed again before rebuilding the temples. Many other temples are now going to be treated in the same manner.” Government declined to restrict the activities of renovators by the issue of prohibitory orders as suggested by the epigraphical department which thereupon made ‘a more vigorous attempt to secure impressions of the inscriptions thus threatened with destruction.’ This has led to the accumulation of thousands of impressions in the epigraphist’s office which have little chance, as things stand, of being published in any reasonable period even in the bald form adopted in SII. (Texts). There is also a real danger that in the race between publication and collection, collection might suffer in the future without publication gaining adequately.
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The three copper-plate grants known by the names of Anbil, Leyden (larger) and Tiruvā-langādu, as well as the Kanyākumāri stone inscription of Vīrarājendra, give long legendary genealogies intended to bring out the solar origin of the Cōla dynasty. The Udayēndiram plates of Prithivēpati II Hastimalla* give a much shorter list of the legendary ancestors of Vijayālaya. Of the several names in these legendary lists, which are by no means identical with one another, † only two or three names appear to be historical. Karikāla, Kōccengānan and probably also Kīllī may be identified with the kings of the same names of whom we hear in the Tamil literature of the Śangam age. Barring the names of these kings, however, and some common legends,—e.g., that of Manu sentencing his son to death as he had by an accident crushed a calf to death under his chariot-wheel, and the story of Śibi rescuing a dove from the pursuit of a vulture by offering it his own flesh—there is nothing else to indicate the relation in which the Cōlas of the Vijayālaya line stood to those of an earlier time mentioned in early Tamil literature. We shall see that even in regard to Karikāla and Kōccengānan the account given in the copper-plates is more legendary than historical and has little in common with the earlier literary accounts.

The stone inscriptions often contain astronomical data which, being less enigmatic than those from the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of a later age, have yielded, in the hands of Kielhorn and others, results of great value to Cōla chronology. It is, however, easy to exaggerate the significance of such

* SII. II. No. 76.
† For a comparison and critique of these lists see TAS. iii; also EI. xv.
data. "The fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious." * Relatively few inscriptions quote any definite era like the Śaka or Kaliyuga, † but in several instances the details furnished are so full and accurate that, together with the historical introductions characteristic of particular monarchs and the regnal years cited, they have led to the attainment of chronological results of precision and value. These results show that whenever possible the Cōla monarchs followed the practice of choosing their successors and associating them in the administration of the country in their own life-time. This must have been done with the double object of avoiding disputed successions and providing opportunities for proper training, sufficiently early in life, for the future sovereigns of the country.

Sometimes years elapsed between the date when a royal order was issued or some transaction took place, and the time when it was engraved on stone. In a record ‡ of a money-endowment which was made in the thirtieth year of Parāntaka I, for instance, we are told that part of this money was invested in the thirty-fifth year with the assembly of a neighbouring village. Some important


† Writing of the Grāmam inscription of Parāntaka I which is dated in a Kali year and in which the day is expressed by giving the number of days that had elapsed since the beginning of the era, this is what Kielhorn says: "I may add that this is the earliest known Cōla date which can be verified and that, of the 136 dates hitherto examined, it is the only one in which the era of Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates 18 quote the Śaka era: and of these 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu and only 2 in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Virarājędra which does not admit of verification." EI. viii p. 261.

‡ 164 of 1912.
inscriptions give a full account of the different stages that intervened between the issue of a royal order, especially in revenue matters, and its actual execution. A careful study of them throws much welcome light on the administrative machinery and practice of the time. They also tell us a great deal about the numerous taxes, tolls and dues of various kinds in terms not always readily understood, and about the numberless changes in place-names that formed such a marked feature of the Cōla period. We also learn much of society, religion, arts and crafts from the inscriptions.

Side-lights on Cōla history are often obtained from the inscriptions of neighbouring dynasties. The Rāstrakūṭa inscriptions of the time of Kṛṣṇa III, those of the Eastern Cālukyas and some even of the Eastern Gangas, and the inscriptions of the Western Cālukyas, often go to confirm or modify impressions obtained by a study of Cōla records. The records of prominent feudatory dynasties, or of individuals like Köpperuṇi-jinga, become important as we approach the period of the decline of Cōla power. Hoysala records also explain in part the politics of the period of decline.

Next to the inscriptions, monuments are the most interesting and instructive source of history. And for the Cōla period these take the form mostly of temples and the sculptured halls and towers in them. It was also the age when the art of casting bronze images attained its high watermark. Though several temples dating from Cōla times are in a good state of preservation, very little has been done for the systematic study of their architecture and sculpture. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil has

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given a shrewd account of their general characteristics in his *Archeologie du sud de l'Inde*, and for the rest, we have only the haphazard observations scattered in the reports of the Archaeological department. When monuments standing on the surface have received such scant attention, it is no wonder that more ancient monuments buried in the soil remain undisturbed. Yet the importance of this branch of archaeology for the early history of Southern India can hardly be overestimated. *

Numismatics, which forms an interesting and important branch of archaeology in relation to the history of the rest of India, has so far not yielded, except in a few instances, any striking results for the general history of South India. South Indian coinages, however, have "as yet not received a scientific treatment in any way to be compared with that which has obtained such valuable historical results from the coins of the North." † The finds of Roman coins and the coinage of the Madura Sultanate have been rather closely studied and with good results. During the period of their paramountcy in Southern India, the Cōlas issued coins of gold, silver and copper. Specimens of the gold issues are extremely rare; silver coins are not so rare, and copper pieces of different sizes are met with every day. These coins, generally speaking, are of two types—one carrying on both sides the Cōla symbol of the tiger in the centre, flanked by the symbols of the subject powers, the Čēra bow and the Pāṇḍyan fish, with a legend giving the name of the king; the other, called by Prinsep and Elliot the 'Ceylon type', in which the symbols give place to

* *ARA.* 1912-13, I 10; 1915-6, I. 8.
† Rapson—*Sources of Indian History: Coins*, p. 123.
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’a rude human figure, standing on the obverse and seated on the reverse.’ * As the ‘Ceylon type’ makes its appearance in the reign of Rājarāja I and the type with the symbols is known to persist for a long time after, even up to the reign of Kulottunga I, the view, common at one time, that coins of the ‘Ceylon type’ are later than those of the other type must be modified. In fact, it may be doubted if we have any coin specimens clearly of an age anterior to Rājarāja I, so that the ‘Ceylon type’ would appear to be really coeval with the other. † None of the known specimens of Cōla coins have yet been identified with any of the coins mentioned in contemporary inscriptions.

Literature is in other countries the bed-rock of history; in India it is often a snare. The utter impossibility of basing any part of the ancient history of India solely, or even primarily, upon literary evidence has been deplored by several modern students. Not only is there a paucity of professedly historical works, but of very few really ancient compositions do we know with certainty the time and place of origin. Great

* Elliot, p. 108.
† Very little was known of the real history of the Cōlas when Elliot wrote his great work on the ‘Coins of Southern India.’ He indeed dates the origin of the ‘Ceylon type’ in the eleventh century (p. 108) and calls it ‘a remarkable change’ from the earlier type; the Cōla coins actually figured and described by him (some of which were considered again by Hultzsch /A. xxii p. 323) support this view.

Rapson (op. cit. sec. 126) stereotypes the theory of Elliot and gives, doubtless by oversight, c. A. D. 1022 as the date not only of the introduction of the Ceylon type but of ‘the beginning of the reign of Rājarāja Cōla.’ He also describes the figures in the Ceylon types thus: ‘obv. king standing: rev. king seated.’ It may be doubted if the ‘rude human figure’ (Elliot) which Tufnell (/Hints, p. 11) took to be that of a ‘rākṣasa’ was intended to represent the king. A unique silver coin with legend Śri Rājarājadēva’ (Hultzsch /A. xxv, p. 317) combines the squatting figure on the obv. with the symbols and legend on the rev.

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books which, like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, have for ages served as popular cyclopaedias of national culture, were frequently revised; the time, the authorship and the extent of such revisions are so obscure that it is hopeless to make an intelligent use of data drawn from these works. * Lastly, in the few works of which we have definite knowledge in regard to authorship and provenance, a great amount of space is taken up by conventional descriptions, and it is seldom that we come across the plain downright statement of a fact. In Tamil literature, the poems of the Śangam age are very realistic and prima facie trustworthy and do not share the demerits of the literature of a more fulsome age; but by a cruel irony of fate these poems are involved in some chronological obscurity; and the compositions, especially those of the Cōla period, of which we know the authors and dates, exhibit in abundant measure all the defects of court poetry. Still, after all allowance is made, the evidence from indigenous literature for the history of the Cōla kingdom will be seen to be not inconsiderable in volume and will, if used with care, go far to eke out the testimony of archaeology.

The Cōla empire under Vijayālaya and his successors witnessed one of the greatest periods of literary and religious revival in South India. Sometime in the tenth or eleventh century A.D., the canonical works of South Indian Śaivism were arranged more or less in their modern form by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, who was also its first hagiographer and whose work formed the basis of the far more elaborate Tiruttondar Purāṇam, known generally as Periya Purāṇam, of Śēkkiḻar, a contemporary of Kulōttunga II in the twelfth century.

* Foulkes's articles in the Indian Antiquary on "Civilisation of the Dekkan down to the 6th Century B. C." (viii pp. 1 ff) are a measure of what is possible with only such sources at our disposal.
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Great as is the value of the tradition preserved by these writers, they are to be accepted more as witnesses to beliefs current in their own times than as correctly recording what we should now call the early history of Śaivism. This distinction has not been sufficiently considered by those writers who have drawn rather freely from Śēkklīr in their accounts of transactions that took place centuries before his time. Moreover, a careful study of the Periya Purāṇam reveals that many details for which there is no warrant in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's short notes on the saints make their appearance for the first time in Śēkklīr's account; and for aught we know, Śēkklīr was guided only by his imagination and by popular belief. Such details, however valuable as reflecting a definite, and as it happened the final, stage in the growth of Śaiva hagiology, should not be accepted, without sufficient corroboration from other sources, as part of the early history of Śaivism in South India; much less would they be entitled to credence if they are opposed to the testimony of contemporary inscriptions or other evidence equally trustworthy. It seems only proper, therefore, that we accept the beautiful pen-pictures which abound in Śēkklīr's great work as idealised accounts of life and society as he saw them in his own day rather than as studies and portraits of a bygone age. Thus the description of the Brahman village of Ādanūr and of the hamlet of pariahs attached to it in the story of Nanda, the pariah saint, may well be used in any re-construction of rural life in Cōla times, allowance being made, of course, for the play of the well-understood conventions of literature that dominate such accounts.

Equally remarkable is the settlement of the Vaiṣṇava canon of the "Four Thousand Sacred
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Hymns" which took place about the same time as the Śaiva canon was fixed by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. The Divya-sūri-carīta and the Guri-paramparai form the Vaiṣṇava counterpart of the Periya Purāṇam from which they differ in providing an elaborate, though impossible, chronology for the lives of the Vaiṣṇava saints, the Āḻvārs. In addition to being a record of traditions and beliefs prevalent at the time of their composition, these works furnish the background necessary for a proper estimate of Rāmānuja and his place in the history of Vaiṣṇavism. And the great commentaries on the hymns of the Āḻvārs, written in a peculiar jargon more Sanskrit than Tamil, though perhaps of a slightly later age than the Cōla period, still have great value for us, as they record in a casual manner several incidents of Cōla times. This feature, as well as the idiosyncrasies of language that mark these commentaries, sometimes assists us in elucidating the Cōla inscriptions.

Among works of secular literature which can be dated with accuracy, the most interesting from our point of view are the Viraśāliyam of Buddhamitra, the Kalingattupparai of Jayangonḍār and the three ulās and the Kulōttungan Pillait-tamil of Ottakkuttan. The first is a work on Tamil grammar composed by a Buddhist writer in the reign of Vīrājēndra. The Yāpparungalam and the Yāpparungalak-kārikai are other works on one branch of grammar, prosody, by a Jaina writer, Amitasāgara, of somewhat earlier date. These three works possess glosses slightly later than the original texts; and the examples cited by the authors of these commentaries to illustrate particular rules of grammar are often of uncommon interest; they provide fresh information, and confirm, and sometimes elucidate, data drawn from the inscriptions. The Kalingattupparai of Jayangonḍār is a war-poem of the
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conventional paraṇi type, which has for its subject-matter the conquest of the Kalinga country by Karuṇākarat-tonḍaimān, the celebrated generalissimo of Kulōttunga I. The poem is justly celebrated for the excellence of its diction and its superb display of metrical effects; it fetched the title of Kavie-cakravarti (Emperor of Poetry) to its author, a title which seems to have been kept on as a sort of poet-laureateship, or at any rate was conferred also on Oṭṭakkūṭtan who, though himself a poet of no mean order, paid his predecessor the high compliment of imitating him closely in his Takkayāyapparaṇi on a well-known theme of mythology. For all its fabulous and supernatural elements, and the absurd hyperboles characteristic of it, the Kalingattupparaṇi is still valuable to the historian as it furnishes much welcome information on the Cōla genealogy and on the details of the Kalinga campaign of Kulōttunga, including the route taken by his army. Parts of the poems were translated into English by V. Kanakasabhai some years ago, and the translation was published in the Indian Antiquary. Oṭṭakkūṭtan chose the ulā as the vehicle of his encomiums on three successive monarchs who followed Kulōttunga I. The ulā is, like the paraṇi, a conventional literary form. If the paraṇi is par excellence a war-poem, the ulā is just its opposite; free from the cares and anxieties of his high station, with no troubles domestic or foreign to cloud his happiness, the king with his retinue is conceived as going for a stroll round the capital city; the beginning of the ulā generally gives a more or less studied account of the achievements of the king and his ancestors, and provides a somewhat detailed description of the chief men among his courtiers who accompany him and the place they occupy in the administration of the country; this
part of the poem is of considerable historical value. What follows in the *ulā* is not of much immediate interest to us; it is, to a modern student, a monotonous account of the amorous looks and the tell-tale acts of the women of the city who, at the sight of the king, become agitated and love-sick. Besides the three *ulās*, on Vikrama, Kulottunga II and Rājarāja II, Oṭṭakkūttan also wrote the *Kulottunga-sōlan-pilīait-tamiḻ*, a child-poem on Kulottunga II; notable for its fine sentiment and high eloquence, this poem is not nearly so useful to us as the *ulās*.

The number of late chronicles and Sthalapurāṇas is legion. The *Navacōlacakarita*, a Vīra-saiva compilation available in a Kanarese and a Telugu version, the *Brhadisvara-māhātmya* or the *Cōlavamsacakarita* in Sanskrit, of which there is a Tamil translation among the Mackenzie Mss., and the *Koṅgudēśa-Rājākkal*, also in the same collection of manuscripts, are the leading examples of this class. But as Fleet has observed,* the fanciful nature of such works and their utter want of reliability for any purposes of early history “are disclosed at once by the very slightest thoughtful examination.”

Though not copious, the evidence from Chinese writings is extremely valuable on account of its settled chronology and the matter-of-fact nature of the data furnished by it. Arab travellers, Muslim historians and the early European travellers like Marco Polo give important hints on the impression made by South India on foreign observers in those days. This line of external evidence is of particular value for an understanding of the nature and extent of the foreign commerce of the period.

* *IA.* xxx pp. 6-7.
CHAPTER II.
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According to tradition, the Cōla country comprised the land between two streams having the same name, Vellāru,* in the north and the south, the sea on the east and Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west. This area includes the modern districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and part of the Pudukkottah state. The Kāvēri and its branches including the Coleroon (Kollidam) dominate the landscape of this generally flat country which slopes gently towards the sea. The low tableland of Vallam broken by small ridges of grit and sandstone to the south and south-west of Tanjore, and a number of protruding masses of crystalline rock, of which the Trichinopoly rock in the centre of the fort is the best known, are the only relief to the monotony of the level surface. To find any hills of importance, we must turn to the northern taluks of the Trichinopoly district lying on the border, if not altogether outside, of the Cōla country proper. The delta of the Kāvēri is a large alluvial plain "devoid of all natural eminences, save the ridges and hillocks of blown sand, which fringe the narrow strip of beach along the sea-coast. "The sea rolls upon a shelving sandy shore unbroken by rocks of any kind"; hence the coast is remarkably monotonous in aspect.

* kadekal kalakkut-tekku-karai pura| Vellāru
kuda-tisaiyil kōṭṭaikkaraiyum—vaḍa tisaiyil
enētu Vellārīrupattu nūrīdam
Śōrīṭtk-kellaiyenac-col.

Though ascribed by some to Kamban (see e. g. p. 56 of the Śōlamandala Šatakam) the venē shows to be more ancient in origin; others ascribe it to Auvalīr. (Taylor III 42). Kōṭṭaikkarai "means 'fort bank' and tradition says that it refers to the great embankment of which traces still stand in the Kuljitalai taluk of Trichinopoly"—Gazetteer of the Tanjore Dr. I p. 15.
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The whole surface of the delta is one even level of paddy fields interspersed only with tops or clumps of coconut, mango and other fruit trees. There are no forests or tall tree jungles.” * The soil is very favourable also to the bamboo and the plantain.

The glory of the Kaveri forms an inexhaustible theme of early Tamil poetry. This noble stream was released from his water-pot by the sage Agastya in response to the prayer of the king Kanta and for the exaltation of the ‘children of the sun.’ † She was the special banner of the just race of the Colas, and she never failed them in the most protracted drought. The yearly freshes in the Kaveri formed the occasion of a carnival in which the whole nation from the king down to the meanest peasant took part.

Kaveripatnam on the coast, about eight miles to the north of Tranquebar, serves to identify the Kaveri proper from amidst its more considerable offshoots that find their way to the sea, and the little village apparently marks the site of the Cola emporium of ancient renown. ‡ Negapatam, about ten miles south of Karaikkal, also on the sea board, was perhaps known to Ptolemy as an important town; at any rate it became a seat of trade and the centre of many religious faiths including Buddhism, long before it attracted the attention of European merchants and missionaries. Tanjore, Trichinopoly, the

† Maqinalkalai 1, 9-12; 23-4
‡ “According to some it is the Chaburis Emporium mentioned by Ptolemy in the 1st cent. A.D. The inscriptions secured from the modern Kaverippatnam and its vicinity leave no doubt as to its identity with Kavirippamattigam alias Puhar, though the monuments of Pallavanacaram and Ryavanesvara are not of such early date as could be expected” — ARE, 1919 II 2.
modern representative of the more ancient Uraiyur which is now a suburb of Trichinopoly, and Kumbakonam are the other notable cities of the Cōla country. Gangaikoṇḍa-coḷapuram, at the meeting point of the modern districts of Trichinopoly, S. Arcot and Tanjore, rose into prominence as the Cōla capital in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is now a small place with a magnificent temple in ruins.

Of the origin of the name Cōla we have no knowledge whatever. The learned Paramēḷaḷagar is inclined to make it the name, like Pāṇḍya and Čera, of a ruling family or clan of immemorial antiquity * and renown. The story of the eponymous brothers Čeran, Śōlan and Pāṇḍiyian is doubtless an instance of euhemerism. † Whatever its origin, ‡ the name Cōla was from the earliest times used to describe the people and the country subject to the sway of the Cōla dynasty of rulers. Col. Gerini’s attempt to connect the word with the Sanskrit Kāla (black), and with Kōla which “in the early days designated the dark-coloured pre-Aryan population of southern India in general,” is hardly more convincing than the efforts to derive it from Tamil ‘Cōḷam’ (millet) or Sanskrit ‘Čōra’ (thief). §

* See Kugal No. 955 and his gloss on it.
† Caldwell, Tinnevelly, p. 12.
‡ Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, to whom I referred the question, writes to me as follows: “Tam. Cōḷa does not appear to be directly connected with any extant Tamil or Dravidian base. This fact of course need not necessarily lead us to postulate a foreign origin for the word. • • • • • If the postulate that—E—may have in some circumstances (for which we have parallels in Dravidian) changed to—S—, is justified, then one might conceivably connect Cōḷa with Cōḷi—with the meanings ‘to whirl’, ‘to hover’, and explain ‘Cōḷa’ as ‘hoverer.’”
§ See Gerini-Researches, pp. 85 ff and 101-3. There appears to be some other evidence, however, in support of Gerini’s view that a stream of dark emigrants of the negrito race, the descendants of the so-called Rikṣasas of old, came to Malay from Southern India and were followed by their early successors, the Dravidiants,
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Other names in common use for the Cōḷas are *Kīlī, Valavan and Šembiyan. Kīlī* perhaps comes from ‘kil’, meaning ‘dig’ or ‘cleave’ and conveys the idea of a ‘digger’; *this word often forms an integral part of early Cōḷa names like Neッドungilli, Nalangilli and so on, but almost drops out of use in later times. ‘Valavan’ is most probably connected with ‘valam’, ‘fertility’, and means owner or ruler of a fertile country, such as the land of the Kūvēri was. Šembiyan is generally taken to mean a descendant of Śibi, † a legendary hero whose self-sacrifice in saving a dove from the pursuit of a falcon figures among the early Cōḷa legends and forms the subject-matter of the Śibijātaka among the Jātaka stories of Buddhism. ¶

The Cōḷas adopted the tiger as their crest; the same animal was figured on their banner. Not one of the numberless references to this Cōḷa emblem which occur in Tamil literature tells us anything of its origin. Some late local chieftains of the Telugu country who claimed descent from Karikāla adopted the lion-crest. §

who constituted the pre-Aryan population of India. cf. Elliot Smith, Huma/n History pp. 69-71. But Gerini exaggerates the cultural importance of these pre-historic movements of population. He confounds them with later ones that took place in historical times after Southern India was more or less aryannised in its culture, and he goes on to suggest that the Indian culture of Siam, Kamboja and other places had its origin in the earliest pre-historic movements. (p. 101). For Cōja’ < cōra, thief, see Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 8-9.

* Dr. Pope suggested the fanciful equation Kīlī = Pallavan (IA. xxix p. 250.) Even if Pallava is accepted as the correct form of the word, rather than Pallava (Skt. ‘sprout’), it would mean more properly ‘people dwelling in low lands’ (pallam), and not ‘diggers’. It may be doubted if the Pallavas were indigenous to Southern India; and unless they were, it would be vain to look for a Dravidian origin for their name. In any case, they were by no means the same as the Cōḷas.

† See e.g. the Vīrāṅgīyam, comment on Tattita, v. 3.
§ Ed. xi, p. 338.
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And the Sindas of the Naga family, who used the Vyāghralāśchana, had the story that Sinda, their eponymous ancestor, born of the serpent king Dharaṇendra at Ahicchatra in the region of the Sindhu, was reared by a tiger. A slightly different form of the story makes him the offspring of a union between God Śiva and the Sindhu, brought up on tiger’s milk by the king of serpents. * These late inventions only confirm the fact that the origin of the tiger-crest was forgotten quite early by those who had adopted it.

The grammarian Kātyāyana knew of the Cōḍas. †

Early References.

Cōḷas and which can be dated with certainty are the Aśokan inscriptions, ‡ where they are mentioned among kingdoms which, though not subject to Aśoka, were on friendly terms with him. The Cōḷas, like the Pāṇḍyas, are spoken of in the plural in all the versions of the Aśokan edicts, and this has been held to imply that ‘in Aśoka’s time there were more than one Cōḍa and one Pāṇḍya king’. §

Two or three poets of the Śangam make rather enigmatic references to an invasion of the South by the Mōriyar (Mauryas) and one of them, Māmūlanār, also speaks of the wealth of the Nandas hidden under the Ganges at Pāṭaliputra. All the three poets agree that, in the course of the invasion, the Mauryas cut for their chariots a new path across some rocky mountain. Māmūlanār alone furnishes some more details. He says that the Vaḍugar formed the vanguard of the invading Mauryas (Aham 281); elsewhere

* EI. iii 231-2.
† Mahābhārata, ed. Kielhorn, II p. 270.
‡ Vide Hultsch—Aśoka Inscriptions—Index s. v. Cōḷa.
§ D. R. Bhandarkar-Aśoka p. 38.
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he adds that the Kōsar undertook the subjugation of the South and that, as the Mōhūr chieftain continued defiant, the Mauryas came down with their great forces on a warlike expedition to the South (Aham 251). Now, as Aśoka distinctly states that the Tamil kingdoms were not politically subject to him, and as there is little possibility of any Mauryan invasion of the extreme South having taken place after his time, we have necessarily to ascribe the events mentioned by Māmūlanār to a period anterior to Aśoka’s accession. In other words, this poet must be taken to provide a much earlier and doubtless more dependable, if somewhat meagre, confirmation of the stories of Bindusāra’s conquests in the Deccan and Southern India recorded by the Tibetan historian Tārānāth. * The Kōsar, who occupied the Tulu

* See M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, Studies in South Indian Jainism, pp. 127 ff., for a succinct summary of the evidence on the subject; also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Beginnings, pp. 88 ff. Following Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, M. S. R. lays (p. 134 ff. op. cit.) undue stress on vamba in the phrase vamba mōriyar (Aham 251), quotes late and obscure Gutta legends of the tenth century A.D. in support of his notion that the Imperial Guptas were confounded by Māmūlanār with the more ancient Mauryas, and seeks to establish a fifth century date for Māmūlanār and his contemporaries of the Śāgam. The fact that Pandit Raghava Aiyangar does not now see as much force in these arguments as he once did, and has suppressed them in the second edition of his Śrīna Śenguttvam, perhaps renders otiose any detailed discussion of these views. The phrase ‘vamba mōriyar’ is used by Māmūlanār only once; he himself, elsewhere, talks only of the ‘mōriyar’ and so do the two other poets, Parakkanār (Aham 69) and Āturaiyanār (Puram 175). The expression cannot therefore be made much of, especially because ‘vamba’ is an adjective with several meanings of which ‘unsteady,’ ‘restless,’ is admittedly one. And supposing for a moment that Māmūlanār was thinking of the Imperial Mauryas, he knows of the Nandas and their wealth,—nothing could have struck him more than the ‘restlessness’ of these Mauryas, eager to annex all the kingdoms of India to their empire. Even accepting the other meaning suggested for the word ‘vamba,’ ‘new,’ we are not aware of any insuperable difficulty in supposing that, at the time when Māmūlanār was writing, the Mauryan expansion to the South was a fact of recent history. One fails to see moreover how some confusion between the Mauryas and the Guptas that marks the legendary genealogy of an obscure clan of rulers in North India can furnish an analogue for a similar confusion in the mind of a South Indian Tamil poet of unknown age; much less, how such inferential confusion can be made the basis for suggesting a date for the poet and his compositions. M. S. R. was strongly influenced by Smith’s view of Samudragupta the Indian Napoleon’s campaign in the South based on his early
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country and have been with good reason identified with the Satiyaputa of the Asoka inscriptions,* perhaps agreed to serve as wardens of the marches for the Mauryan Empire in the South; when they found the chieftain of Möhür troublesome and themselves unequal to subjugating him, they were assisted in their task by the advent of Mauryan troops with a Vañguga vanguard. Möhür is probably represented to-day by its modern namesake in the South Arcot district, not far from the famous Ättür pass through which, in recent times, Haidar Ali came down so often on the southern plains.†

If this view of the relation of the Mauryas to the South Indian states is accepted as correct, it would follow that there was a slight set-back to the Mauryan power in the south sometime late in Bindusāra’s reign or early in Asoka’s, as these states, especially Satiyaputa, seem to have improved their political status in regard to the Mauryan Empire before the date of the Rock Edicts II and XIII.

The part taken from the sixth century B. C. by Southern India in the growing commerce between the Western countries

identification of ‘Palakka’ of the Allahabad pillar inscription with Paigah, which is no longer considered sound. Mr. P. T. Srimivasa Aiyangar says of Aham 281: “The Köšar are called here Vañgugar.” It may be so, in which case Vañgugar munuura of this verse should be a brief allusion to the failure of the Köšar to subdue Möhür, narrated at greater length in Aham 251. But Mr. Aiyangar’s assertion that the Konkan Mauryas “were the only possible Möriyar who, in conjunction with the Köšar, could have attempted a raid into the Tamil country” is hardly convincing. See his Tamilis pp. 522-3.

* It should be observed that, though Satiyaputa occurs in the singular in the Asoka inscriptions, the Köšar are always mentioned in the plural in Tamil literary works.

† Studies in South Indian jainism p. 140. Many other places also bear the name Möhür and the identification of the place must be considered tentative.

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and those in the East as far as China is sufficiently known. * Of the direction and nature of this trade and of its economic importance, something will be said further on. Here we may note that to this commerce we owe, in the main, two valuable notices of Southern India and the Cōla country separated by about half a century. The Periplus Maris Erythraei is the interesting handbook of an Alexandrian merchant, "which was written in the time of Domitian (81-96 A.D.), and by the evidence furnished by Pliny the Elder." † The anonymous author of this short treatise tells us a little about the Cōla country in particular which, considering the paucity of early notices of the Coromandel coast, is of uncommon interest to the student of Cōla history. He says: "Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the coast country, which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru." This statement is best understood as pointing to the division of the Cōla country into two parts, a coastal district and an inland district. There is, as we shall see, evidence of Cōla rule from two centres at this period—Puhār or Kāverippaṭṭinam on the coast and Uraiyūr inland. Paṭṭinam, meaning a port-town, was the name of the Cōla capital on the coast, and the phrase in the Periplus, 'the coast country, which lies on a bay',

* See Kennedy JRAS. 1898 pp. 248-87 for a full discussion of this subject. Prof. Jules Bloch in his paper "Nom du Riz" (Etudes Asiatiques Vol. I, pp. 37-47) denies that the Greek term for rice is derived from Tamil Arāti; and he holds that there is not much evidence, philological or other, in proof of the part of South India in this trade, which might after all have been confined, at any rate until a very late stage, to Northern India and to the land routes. L.V. Rama-swami Aiyar IA. Vol. lix pp. 178 ff., after a careful examination of Bloch's position on the etymology of the Gk. Orusos, comes to the conclusion: "Varigio or Varisi may be postulated for Dravidian from which, with characteristic modifications, the Greeks could have borrowed that word." Kennedy's conclusion that maritime trade between South India and the West dates from the sixth or even the seventh century B.C. still seems good.

† Rostovtzeff—Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire p. 91.
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unmistakably recalls the Paṭṭinam of the Paṭṭinappūlai,* specially as it is placed in contrast with ‘a region inland called Argaru,’ which doubtless is the same as Uragīyūr. The author has named each of the districts after its chief town. It is remarkable that, while he knows the name ‘Cerobothra’ and ‘Pandian,’ he does not mention ‘Cōla.’ His information on the east coast of India is meagre and apparently based on hearsay. † He mentions also three market towns and harbours ‘where the ships put in from Damirica and from the north,’ which ‘in order as they lie’ are ‘first Camara, then Poduca, then Sopotma’—names now not easily identified ‡, though Sopotma may be the same as Śō-paṭṭinam of Tamil literature, now called Markānām.

Writing about half a century later, the geographer Ptolemy has rather more to tell us about the Cōla country and its ports and inland cities. § Leaving aside all doubtful names which cannot be properly identified, we find that he gives particulars sufficiently precise of the positions of Kāvēripatnām (Khaberis) at the mouth of the Kāvēri and of Negapatam (Nikana); and as Cunningham has said: “Cōla is noticed by Ptolemy, whose Orthura regia Sornati must be Uragīyūr, the capital of Soranatha, or the king of the Soringae, that is the Soras, Chorais or Cholas.” ¶ Ptolemy also makes mention of the ‘Sorai

* The quotations are from Schoff. Periplus. Schoff says: “Coast country is from the native name, ‘Cōla coast,’ ‘Cōlamāṇḍalam.’” (p. 241). This is hardly satisfactory as Cōlamāṇḍalam only means Cōla country, not ‘coast.’

† See Rawlinson.—Intercourse between India and the Western World pp. 121-2.


¶ Ancient Geography p. 631. See also Caldwell—Comp. Grammar p. 93.
nomads' with 'Sora the capital of Arkatos.' “One is strongly tempted to suppose that here,” as Caldwell remarks, “the names given by the natives of the country to his informants had got transposed,” and that, consequently, we have to consider Arkatos as the capital of the Sorai nomads. Arcot is not so modern a name as it is often imagined to be. * A Cōla princeling by name Ṭiśi is said to have had for his residence “Ārkkāḍu surrounded by paddy fields”, † and very likely Ārkkāḍ means “forest of Ār” (Baukinea Racemosa), ār or āṭti being a Cōla emblem. This Ārkkāḍu may or may not be identical with the Arcot celebrated in later days as the seat of the Nawabs of the Carnatic; but it is probably the same as Ptolemy’s Arkatos. ‡ From the statement of Ptolemy on the

* Caldwell says: “General Cunningham objects to this identification that Arcot is quite a modern name; but it must, as Col. Yule has pointed out, be at least as old as 1340 A.D., for it is mentioned by Ibn Batuta. The name is properly ār—kāḍ, Tam. the six forests, and the Hindus of the place regard it as an ancient city, though not mentioned by the name in the Purānas, and point out the ‘six forests’ in which six of the rītis of the ancient period had their hermitage.” (op.cit. pp. 93-4.) Such local legends are not of much value in the face of the much stronger and earlier evidence cited. Ptolemy places Arkatos in the country between Mt. Battigo and Adesathros (VII, l. 68); but on account of the inextricable confusion into which he falls over the second of these names (I.A. xiii. p. 337), this does not help us much in the location of Arkatos on a modern map. The references in the early Tamil literature are valuable in this respect. Cunningham was doubtless influenced by Yuan-chwang’s data about Chu-lien when he proposed to identify Ptolemy’s Sora, the capital of Arkatos, with Zora or Jora (the Jorampun of the maps), an old town lying immediately under the walls of Karnul (Anc. Geogr. p. 626.)

† Poem No. 190 (anonymous) of the Nāṭṭinai has the following:—

tēṅgamal viritār—nyāṭraljīśi
vanaṭumīṇu neyda—nellīḍai malaru
mariyalangaḷanī—yārkkāḍanna.

There is also a stray veṇṭhī (Perundogai No. 988) which mentions Ṭiśi-kāḍu, the kāḍu (forest) of Ṭiśi. This princeling had a son Śendan, who i. sometimes connected with the Cōla capital Uṇiyūr (Kurundogai No. 238). Ārkkāḍu is said to be in the Cōla country by the editor of the Nāṭṭinai.

‡ See Yule and Burnell-Hobson-Jobson s. v. Arcot, where it is pointed out that of several places of this name in the Southern districts besides the town of Arcot near Vellore, one in Tanjore would correspond best with Harkatu of Ibn Batuta.

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'Sorai nomads' and 'Arkatos,' the inference has been made* that there were two different Cōla countries or kingdoms at the same time; it is quite possible, however, that the 'Sorai nomads' were some nomadic tribe or tribes in the Cōla country itself. That such tribes were in existence, and that some of the early Cōla kings, especially Karikāla, made an effort to civilise them and train them to more settled ways of life, is borne out by Tamil literature.

The early chapters of the Mahāvamsa contain testimony, sufficiently authentic and precise, to the early intercourse between the Cōla country and the island of Ceylon; and generally, the early literature of Pali Buddhism makes very valuable, though scanty, allusions to the land of the Cōlas and Kāvēripāṭṭinam, its most celebrated emporium. Some of these references must be as old as the Periplus, if not earlier. "The Questions of King Milinda," a Buddhist work of the beginning of the Christian era, mentions Kola-Pattana among the best-known sea-port towns of the time, and Kola-pattana must be, says Rhys Davids, some place on the Coromandel coast. † Most probably this is a reference to Kāvēri-pāṭṭinam, the Pattana par excellence on the Coromandel coast, which figures elsewhere in Pali Buddhist literature as well. M. Sylvain Levi has pointed out that Puhār, the great centre of traffic between Southern India and the islands of the Archipelago, was the original abode of the somewhat obscure sea-goddess Maṇimekhalā — "girdle of gems"—after whom Mādhavi's celebrated daughter and the poem of Śāttan narrating the story of her spiritual life came to

* D. R. Bhandarkar-Aśoka p. 39.
† Rhys Davids-The Questions of King Milinda (SBE.) i, p. xliv and ii, p. 269.
BE CALLED. * In the Jātaka story, Akitti, in order to escape the attentions of his admirers, left the neighbourhood of Benares for the Tamil country where he spent some time in a garden near Kāvūripaṭṭana.

According to the Mahāvamsa, the island of Ceylon began to fall under powerful Cōla influences very early in its history. The relations between the Damilas and the natives of the island form one of the main strands in the narrative of this valuable chronicle, and the synchronisms furnished by it are among the more important sources of our knowledge of Tamil history and chronology. Though on several occasions the chronicle speaks only of Damilas in general, still the distinction between the Pāṇḍya and Cōla divisions of the Tamil country is well known and clearly observed in the Mahāvamsa. Towards the middle of the second century B.C., a Damila of noble descent, Eḻâra by name, came to Ceylon from the Cōla country (Cōḷaraththa), overpowered Asela who was then ruling in the island, and himself reigned as king for forty-four years, ‘with even justice towards friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law.’ † Many stories are told in illustration of the

* IIIQ. vi 597 ff. Without stopping to argue the matter fully, M. Sylvain Levi finds an easy explanation in ‘Tamil nationalism’ (p. 607; for the view which ascribes an early date to the poem. The relation between the Nyāyapravṛśa of Diṅnāga and the Maṇimēkhalai xxix is not simple, as readers of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar’s Maṇimēkhalai in its Historical Setting must see. And a careful examination of the other systems of philosophy propounded in that canto shows that there are many truly ancient doctrines in it which would not be easy to explain on the basis of a late date such as the sixth century A.D. See S. S. Suryanarayanana Sastri, JIII, viii and ix.

I have my own doubts if Canto xxix does not bear signs of a remodelling.

† See Geiger’s Mahāvamsa chh. xxi-xxv for the narrative. Geiger thinks that ‘Cōḷa-country’ means ‘Southern India.’ (Trans. p. 143 n. 4). This is unnecessary and seems to go against the precise expressions in the original, like Cōḷaraththa (xxi 13) and dakkhiṇam Madhuram puram Pāṇḍu-rājas (vii, 50), besides the common form Damila employed of both countries. Further, the story of the justice done by the king to the cow that lost its calf narrated of Eḻâra in.
justice of his rule, and among them is that of the king
sentencing his only son to death for having unwittingly
caused the death of a young calf by driving the wheel
of his chariot over its neck. Though not a follower of
the Buddha's creed, this king lived on friendly terms
with the Buddhist bhikkus * of his realm, and his rule,
so long as it lasted, was in every way acceptable to his
subjects. His rule was confined to the northernmost
section of the island and the Mahāganga, now Mahā-
va eliganga, was its southern limit. † Then began a
war between Elāra and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, so called because
he was wroth with his father who stood in the way of
his fighting the Damiḷas; the object of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in
undertaking this war was twofold: to restore the politi-
cal unity of Ceylon and to bring glory to the doctrine
of the Buddha by driving out the Damiḷas addicted to
false beliefs. The details of the campaign that followed
are very clearly recorded in the Mahāvamsa; ‡ success
attended the arms of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and his conquered
foe was pursued up to the vicinity of Amrūdhapura,
and Elāra met his death in a heroic combat with
Duṭṭhagāmaṇi beneath the walls of that city. Then
Duṭṭhagāmaṇi marched into the city, "and when he had
summoned the people from a yōjana around, he celebra-
ted the funeral rites for king Elāra. On the spot where
his body had fallen, he burned it with the catafalque,

the MV. is localised at Tiruvārūr on the continent, and there is a stone monument
in that place representing the central incident of the story. See Epigr. Zeylanica
iii pp. 1-47 for the chronology of the MV. "The length of Elāra's reign may
be accepted as correct." ibid p. 5 n. 1.

* MV. xxi, 21-6.
† MV. xxii 86 and xxiv 4.
‡ Geiger-transl. pp. 290-1 gives a lucid account of the details of the war.
On one occasion seven Damiḷa princes were defeated in one day (XXV 10), and
altogether thirty-two princes are said to have been thus overpowered in the war
(ibid. 75). They were probably all commanders of Elāra's forces which garrisoned
many fortresses on the frontier and elsewhere.
and there did he build a monument and ordain worship." And even in the days of Mahānāman, the author of this part of the Mahāvamsa, in the sixth century A.D., the princes of Lanka, when they drew near to that place, were wont to silence their music, because of this worship. Of these transactions that loom so large in the early history of Ceylon, there is no trace in Tamil literature * apart from the legend of the prince and the calf which is placed in the reign of Manu. We therefore lack all means of judging the extent to which the fortunes of the Cōla monarchs of the mainland were involved in the establishment and the overthrow of Eḻāra’s power in Ceylon.

* See JRAS. 1913, pp. 529-31. Some vague popular legends connect the poet of the Kural, Tiruvalluvar, with a merchant prince, Elala Singa, (V.R.R. Dikshitar-Studies in Tamil Literature and History-p. 129 ff.), but no one knows where these come from, and they lack all claim to credence and can furnish no basis for a date for Tiruvalluvar. For other instances of Tamil influence in Ceylon, not specially known to be Cōla, see MV. xxi 10, Sena and Guttaka; xxxiii 56, Pulattha and others; xxxiv, 19 ff. for the infamous career of Anulī-devī who made over the country to a succession of her Tamil paramours.
CHAPTER III

THE COLAS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

The earliest Cōla kings of whom we have tangible evidence are those mentioned in the Sangam literature. Scholars are now generally agreed that this literature belongs to the first few centuries of the Christian era. The internal chronology of this literature is still far from settled, and this remains at present an insuperable obstacle in the way of giving a connected account of the history of the period. We gather the names of kings and princes, and of the poets who extolled them; we also learn much of uncommon interest about the life and work of the people. Some of the kings, we can see, were men of real distinction with a good title to fame; and the poets were often great artists who could add beauty to truth in the manner of their expression. In this body of early Tamil literature, the individuals depicted stand out in bold relief and their characteristic traits are most unmistakably revealed to us; it is thus all the greater pity, that we cannot work it into a connected history. We shall see that when the chronology becomes firm, with the Cōlas of the Vijayālaya line, literature loses its early qualities of realism and strength, and lapses, particularly in the delineation of persons, into the easy devices of court poetry.

Two names stand out prominently from among those of the Cōla kings known to the Sangam literature; and their memory is cherished in song and legend by a loving posterity; they are those of Karikāla and Kōccenganān. There is

* There are still some who do not accept this view. See, however, PK. pp. 16 ff. and Studies, pp. 1-18 and 70-2.

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no sure means of settling the order of their succession, of fixing their relations with one another and with many other princes and princelings of about the same period. If Puhār or Kāvirippūmpatīnām rose in importance only in the time of Karikāla, * then the civil strife between the two branches of the Cōlas, one of them apparently stationed at Uṟaiyūr and the other at Puhār, may be taken to fall in the period subsequent to the rule of Karikāla. In any event, this strife between the rival branches of the royal family appears to have been a constant factor in the annals of the Cōlas of the Śangam age. Even Karikāla, the most illustrious among them, had his own troubles in the beginning. †

* This is how the obscure line pīrangu-nilai-mudatu-urandai-pokki (l. 285) of the Pattinoppālai has been generally understood by modern writers. But under the name of Kākandī (Maṉimēkalai-xii, l. 37) the city seems to have had great celebrity from very early times. Cf. n 2 at p. 561 of Pattupāṭṭu *(1931). A nur Sōmā from this place seems to be mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions of the second century B.C. (Linders, No. 817). The Śilappadikāram gives a legend of the foundation of Uṟaiyūr (Kōḷi) being due to a cock (kōḷi) winning in a fight against an elephant on the spot, x. Il. 247-8.

† Kanakasabhai’s work The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago (1904) remains still invaluable in many respects. But working solely upon ms. of work, little understood at the time, he succumbed to a natural temptation to formulate conclusions which had not been subjected to any proper criticism. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar (Śrāvan-Śenguttuvan, ed. 2, pp. 106-7 n) raises several valid objections to Kanakasabhai’s scheme of genealogy of the Cērav and the Cōlas. But the Pandit’s own scheme of Cōla genealogy (ibid. p. 103) is not altogether free from uncertainties, though it must be admitted that it is the best among those put forward so far. That Karikāla had two sons Maṉakkili and Peru-Viḷag-Kiḷḷi; that Neṉungkilḷi was the brother of NāRGōṇai, and that these were the children of Maṉakkili, and that Perunakkiḷḷi of Rājasiyam fame (Pūṟam 16) was the son of Neṉungkilḷi and identical with the prince who sought refuge with Malaiyamēn Tirumuddikkāri (Pūṟam 174), that Kiḷḷi Valavan (of the Maṉimēkalai, and Nalangkiḷḷi (the foe of Neṉungkilḷi) were the sons of Viḷag-Kiḷḷi, all these statements are based on assumptions which, however plausible, seem to lack positive evidence. Again, it appears unlikely that the same prince, Irāyasiyam-Vētā Perunakkiḷḷi, was aided on the same occasion both by Śenguttuvan and Malaiyamēn Tirumuddikkāri; there is nothing in the language of Śilapp. xxvii Il. 118-23 and Pūṟam 174 6 to suggest such an identification; on the other hand there is something to differentiate the two.
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Before we proceed to discuss the kings of the Bhāgavata Age, some attention may be given to the legends about the mythical Cola kings known to this literature. The Colas were even then looked upon as descended from the sun — a fact that received elaborate emphasis in later times in the long mythical genealogies incorporated in copper-plate charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in the Kanyakumāri stone inscription of Virarājendra, and in literary works like the Kilaṁattupparai and the Vikramasōlaṇ Ulā. Coeval with Agastya and Parasurāma was king Kāntan, whose devotion to the former brought the river Kāverī into existence, † and who at the bidding of Pärvati (Kanni) entrusted his kingdom for a time to his illegitimate son Kakandana, in order to escape the fury of Parasurāma, who waged relentless war against all Kṣatriyas. ‡ He ruled from Cempāi, later on called Kākandi, Puhār and Kāvirippūm-pattinam. Another legendary hero was Tūngeyil-erinda-toḍittōt-cembiyan, who destroyed some mysterious flying fortress of the Asuras § and also instituted in Puhār, at the instance of Agastya, an annual festival to Indra of the duration of twenty-eight days. ¶ The story of the king who sentenced his son to death for having killed a calf by rash driving || and that of another who rescued the dove from the hawk, but not the names of Manu and Śibi, are known ** to this

* Maniţkai: śengadiţ-celvan tirukkulum, Padigam, l. 9, Śil. vii-27; xxix li. 1-2.
† Mani, Padigam, li. 10-2.
‡ Mani. xxii li. 25-37.
§ Puţam 39 and the references quoted thereunder. This recalls the Tripura-sambahara of Śiva.
¶ Mani. i, li. 1-9.
|| Mani xxii l. 210 and n. It should be observed that this story does not occur in the earlier anthologies.
** Puţam 37 li. 5-6 and n.
early literature. The king of the bird-story is, however, once called Šembaliyan. * Some of these legends, like the story of the calf and the prince, † the origin of the Kāvēri and the institution of the festival to Indra, are not found in the anthologies of the Šangam, and make their appearance for the first time in the twin epics of the Šilappadikāram and the Maṉimekalai which may, at the earliest, be dated some generations subsequent to the reign of Karikāla.

Karikāla, the greatest among the Cōlas of the Šangam age, was the son of Ilaiṉjētcenni distinguished for the beauty of his numerous war-chariots. ‡ Karikālan means 'the man with the charred leg,' and the name perpetuated the memory of a fire-accident in the early years of the prince's life; § in later times, under Sanskritic influences, the name was explained as 'Death (kāla) to kali' or 'Death to (enemies') elephants.' Karikāla was deprived of his birth-right and confined in a prison by his enemies for some years. The plucky manner in which he effected his escape and established himself in power is a favourite theme with the poets. ¶

"Like the tiger cub with its sharp claws and its curved stripes growing (strong) within the cage, his strength came to maturity (like wood in grain) while he was in the bondage of his

* ibid. 1. 6.
† This story is localised at Tiruvārūr by the Periyaputiraṇam, a work of the twelfth century A. D.
‡ 'Uravappāṭar;' Paraṇar (Puyam ā) and Perungunge Kīr (Pugam 266) celebrated him. Line 130 of the Porumar-ṇāṇappāḍai gives his relationship with Karikāla.
§ Verse 3, end of Porumar-ṇāṇappāḍai.
¶ Pūṭinaṇappāḷai II. 220-228 and Porumar. II. 131 ff. — translated below.
A venēḷ in the Palāmoli says that a certain Piṉarttalai rendered much help to Karikāla.

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enemies. As the large-trunked elephant pulls down the banks of the pit (in which it has been caught) and effects its escape by filling in the pit, and joins its mate, even so after deep and careful consideration, he drew his sword, effected his escape by overpowering the strong guard (of his prison), and attained his glorious heritage in due course."

Again,

"This lord, dreaded by his enemies like Murugan's anger, inherited the throne from his mother's womb; he forced his enemies to do his behests, and filled with uneasiness the lands of those that did not submit; like the young sun spreading the rays of dawn on the ocean before rising in the sky, so from the day he began to crawl as a baby, he bore on his shoulders his excellent country, and daily increased its prosperity. As the fierce whelp of the lion, proud of its strength greater than that of Death, while it has not yet given up sucking the breast of its dam, quickly kills the elephant in its first hunt for food,"

so 'Karikāla-Cōla with the garland of ār pleasing to the eyes' fought a great battle at Veṃi in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cōra both suffered a crushing defeat.†

Veṃi has been identified with Kövil Veṃi, a village fifteen miles to the east of Tanjore. Though we know very little of the circumstances that led to this battle, there can be no doubt that it marked the turning point in Karikāla's career; for in this battle he seems to have broken the back of a widespread confederacy formed against him. Besides the two crowned kings of the Pāṇḍya and Cōra countries, eleven minor chieftains took their side in the campaign.

† The text has: ēṟu-perum vēndarum on kaḷat-taviya (146, Purun). Nacci-nārkkiniyar takes this to mean that they died (pāṇḍuṇpaḍi); but the Cōra, we know, sustained a wound in his back, and committed suicide by the process of slow starvation - Vāddakiruttal, on which see Puram 65 II. 9-11 and Pandit V. Svininatha Aiyar's n. thereunder. Also Studies p. 20 and n.
and shared the defeat at the hands of Karikāla.*
Much sympathy was felt for the Čēra king, who was
wounded at his back, the last disgrace that could befall
a soldier on the battle-field, and who expiated his
cowardice by committing suicide; † this is how one of
Karikāla’s own friends, the poet Veṇūikkuyattiyār,
possibly a resident of Veṇṇi and an eye-witness to the
battle, addresses the monarch: ‡

“Oh! descendant of that warrior who, sailing on the wide
ocean, compelled the winds to fill the sails of his ships! § Oh,
Karikāl-vaḷava, lord of mighty elephants! By this victory thou
hast displayed the greatness of thy valour which faced the fight
and carried it to success. Is not he even nobler than thee,—he,
who, after attaining great celebrity in the world, feels now the
shame of a wound in his back, and starves himself to death on
the plain of Veṇṇi watered by the freshes (of the Kāvēri)?”

If Veṇṇi was the first great battle of Karikāla’s
reign which established him firmly on
his throne and secured for him some
sort of hegemony among the ‘three crowned monarchs’
of the Tamil land, there was no lack of other opportuni-
ties for the exercise of his arms. He defeated a confed-
eracy of nine minor chieftains in a battle at Vākaip-
parāndalai: Paṇāraṇa, a contemporary both of Karikāla
and his father, mentions this fact, ¶ but tells us nothing
of the cause of the battle or of the enemies of Karikāla.
The poet of the Paṭṭinappālai describes fully the destruc-
tion carried by the forces of Karikāla into the

* Aham 55, 246; also Purāṇa 55, 66.
† ‘Vēḻ-vaṭṭakkurundan’ (Purāṇa 65, l. 11) does not seem to mean that
the king cut his throat with a sword (I'. T. Sriyivasu Aiyangar T. notes p. 336)
but that he held a sword while starving, to indicate the cause of his action-
vaṭṭogu vaṭṭakkurundan (comm.)
‡ I may say once for all that in the translations that follow, I have made use
of all existing translations—Kanakasabhai, Pope, P. T. Sriyivasu Aiyangar.
§ A reference to another legendary Cēja king.
¶ Aham 125.
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territories of his enemies and the awe inspired by his deeds of valour, * and adds that as a result of his campaigns, the numerous Oliyar submitted to him, the ancient Aruvāḷar carried out his commands, the Northerners lost splendour, and the Westerners were depressed; conscious of the might of his large army ready to shatter the fortresses of enemy kings, (Karikāla) turned his flushed look of anger against the Pāṇḍya whose strength gave way; the line of low herdsmen was brought to an end, and the family of Irungōvēḷ was uprooted. † If we disregard the vague statements about Northerners and Westerners in these lines from the Paṭṭinappāḷai, we see that for all his heroism on the battle-field Karikāla’s permanent conquests did not extend much beyond the land of the Kāvēri. The Aruvāḷar were the inhabitants of the Aruvānūd which comprised the lower valley of the Peṇpār, just north of the Kāvēri delta country. The Oliyar were perhaps some nomadic tribe of nūga extraction, whom Karikāla converted to a settled life. ‡ The description of Kāvirip-pūmpatṭīnam and its foreshore, which takes up so much of the Paṭṭinappāḷai, gives a vivid idea of the state of industry and commerce under Karikāla who is said to have promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land and added to the prosperity of the country by multiplying irrigation tanks.

Of Karikāla’s personal life we hear next to nothing. While Uruttiranganāṉanār, the author of the Paṭṭinappāḷai, tells us vaguely

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* ll. 228-73; the following lines 274-82 are translated here.
† Akham 141-śelkud niṟutta perumbeyar-Karikēl. This poem has been misunderstood as containing a reference to the Kurumbar.
‡ Kāḍu kongu nāṭēkkil kulandotta valam-herukki-i.e. destroying forests to extend the inhabited country, and digging tanks to improve fertility. Paṭṭinappāḷai ll. 283-4.
EXTENT OF KARIKĀLA'S KINGDOM
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that he enjoyed the society of women and children, * the late annotator Naccinārkkunīyar, possibly reproducing a correct tradition, states that Karikāla took to wife a Vēljir girl from Nāṅgūr, † a place celebrated in the poems of Tirumangai Āḻvār for the heroism of its warriors. A daughter of Karikāla, Ādimandi by name, is the subject of many poems. She lost her husband, a Čēra prince, by name Āṭṭan Atti, who was drowned in the Kāvēri, but subsequently, by the power of her chastity, she is said to have brought him back to life. ‡

Karikāla’s faith in the Vedic religion and the poignancy of the grief caused by his death find moving expression in the following lines of Karunguḷal-Ādanar: §

“He who stormed his enemies’ forts dauntlessly; who feasted his minstrels and their families and treated them to endless draughts of toddy; who, in the assembly of Brahmins noted for knowledge of dharma and purity of life, guided by priests learned in their duties and attended by his noble and virtuous queen, performed the vedic sacrifice in which the tall sacrificial post stood on a bird-like platform (garudacakayana), within the sacrificial court surrounded by a high wall with round bastions; he, the great and wise king alas! is no more! Poor indeed is this world which has lost him. Like the branches of the vēngai tree, which stand bare, when their bright foliage has been cut down by shepherds eager to feed their cattle in the fierce summer, are his fair queens, who have cast off their jewels.”

From very early times Karikāla became the centre of many myths which, in modern times, have often been accepted as serious history. The Śilappadikāram which, with studied

* ibid ll. 295-9
‡ Śil. xxi ll. 11 ff. and n.
§ Puṟam 224.
fairness attributes to each of the three Tamil monarchies some conspicuous success against northern Aryan kings, gives a glorious account of the northern expedition of Karikāla * which took him as far as the Himalayas and gained for him the alliance or subjection of the kings of the Vajra, Magadha and Avanti countries. The raising of the flood-banks of the Kāvēri by Karikāla seems to be first mentioned by the Malēpādu plates of Puṇyakumāra, † a Telugu-Cōḍa king of the seventh or eighth century. Nothing can be more typical of the manner in which legends grow than the way in which this story mingles with another stream of legend centring round Triṇētra Pallava, and culminates in the celebrated jingle of the late Telugu-Cōḍa plates: *caraṇa-sarōruha rihata - viścana - pallava - trilōcana - pramukhā-khila - prithivēśvara - kūrīta - kāvēri - tira, ‡ which has been made the basis of conclusions of the highest importance to the chronology of Early South Indian History. The choice of Karikāla to the Cēla throne by a state elephant which was let loose for the purpose from Kaḷumalam and which discovered him at Karūr, and his conquest of Kaṅcī and settlement of agrarian colonies in the Toṇḍaimāṇḍalam are other elements in the Karikāla legends that can find no support from the earliest authorities on his reign. It would seem that the Toṇḍai-nāḍ was ruled by Toṇḍaimāṇ Ilāndaraiyan in the days of Karikāla; and there is no satisfactory evidence in support of the suggestion that has been made that this chieftain was

* Śil. v. l. 89-110.

† Kavēra—tayāy—vēḷiḷaṅghana—prāśamana—pramukhā—śīyāṅkāṭiśaya—kāśiṇāḥ

‡ "He who caused the banks of the Kāvēri to be constructed by all the (subordinate) kings led by the Pallava Triṇētra whose third eye was blinded by his lotus foot."

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the grandson of Karikāla, or, at least, a viceroy appointed by him after his conquest of Kāncl. *

We now pass on to Nalangillī and his rival Neţungillī who, judging from the civil war between them which lasted till the death of Neţungillī † at the Kāriyāru, must have belonged to rival branches of the Cōla family which ruled with Puhār and Urāiyūr for their respective centres. Nalangillī had a younger brother, Māvalattān; and his memory is preserved to us by the poet Tāmappal-kaṇmanār who, when Māvalattān lost his temper in a game of dice and hit him with a die, so rebuked him that later he felt the need for an apology and composed a short poem, ‡ which is the only relic of this inflamable princeling and his boon-companion, the Brahman poet of Dāmal. §

The Maţimēkalai ¶ mentions a great battle at the Kāriyāru in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cōra were defeated by a junior prince (Iḷangōn) of the Cōla family in the reign of Māvankillī, also called Neţumuđikkillī and Killīivalavan in this poem. This battle has been identified with the one in which Neţungillī met his fate and the civil strife came to an end; ‖ from this the inference has been drawn that the Iḷangōn of the Maţimēkalai was no other than Nalangillī, and that Nalangillī was the younger brother of Neţumuđikkillī:

* See Studies, essay II, for a full discussion of these points.
† Though Neţungillī figures without any attribute in some colophons, there is nothing to prevent his being identified with the king who died at the Kāriyāru.
‡ Puṭam 43.
¶ xix, ii. 125-7.
some writers go further and argue that because Nalangiţli is called Şêţcenni-Nalangiţli, * he may be a grandson of İlanjêtcenni, the father of Karikâla, with the result that Neţumudîk-killî, Nalangiţli and Mâvalattan turn out to be three sons of Karikâla. But there is nothing except the name in favour of identifying the two references to the Kâriyârû in the Puranânûru and the Maţimêkalai; nothing is known of the circumstances of Neţungîlli’s death at the Kâriyârû, a fact which finds only the most casual mention in the colophon to Puram 47; we are to infer from this that as there was a civil war between Nalangiţli and Neţungîlli, a fight at the Kâriyârû might, by proving fatal to the latter, have closed the strife. On the contrary, the battle of the Kâriyârû described, though briefly, yet with considerable vividness, in the Maţimêkalai, appears as a first-class event in the foreign relations of the Cûla kingdom, and not as a petty fight incidental to a quarrel among blood relations; and there is no suggestion in the context that the Cûra and the Pûndya were, on that occasion, engaged in aiding one Cûla prince against another. The last argument adduced from the name Şêţcenni-Nalangiţli is not without force, and it appears quite likely that he and Mâvalattan were the sons of Karikâla.

Nalangiţli forms the subject of no fewer than fourteen pieces in the Puranânûru, and Kôvûr-Kîlîr, who contributes half the number implies that the king enjoyed, like Karikâla himself, a sort of vague hegemony among the Tamil states, and sings with intelligible exaggeration: †

“As true wealth and happiness are seen to follow in the wake of virtue, so the two umbrellas (of the rivals Pûndya and Cûra) follow thy peerless umbrella which is raised aloft,

* Puram 27, l. 10.
† Puram 31; Kanak. p. 73.
resplendent in the sky, like the full-moon. Ambitious of fair fame thou wouldst stay nowhere but in thy victorious camp. Thy elephants chafe, whose tusks are blunt with battering the walls of thy enemies' forts. Eager for fight, thy soldiers who wear anklets, make nothing of marching through wide stretches of forests to reach the enemy country. Thy war steeds starting from the Eastern sea stay not till the waves of the Western ocean wash their hoofs; in fine, the kings of the North keep watch with sleepless eyes as they dread the possibility of thy marching against them."

The poet who praised his lord with such strident notes was no base sycophant. In striking contrast with the foregoing, is the moving exhortation to peace addressed to the king when he was besieging Uṟaiyūr in order to reduce Neṟungillī to submission: *

"He does not wear the white flower of the palm. He does not wear the garland of the dark-boughed margosa. Thy garland is a wreath of the āv, and so is that of him who wages war with thee. If either of you loses the battle, it is your house that loses; in the nature of things, it is impossible that both of you win. Your action, therefore, forebodes no good to your race; this strife will rejoice other kings who, like you, ride on pennoned chariots."

This noble advice of the poet would seem to have fallen on deaf ears; for, as we have seen, the epithet Kūriyāyudduṭtuṇṭiyā applied to Neṟungillī seems to imply that the war came to an end only with his death.

Nalangillī, like several other princes of the age, cultivated literature himself, and of the two poems preserved from among his compositions, one takes the form of an uncanny oath in the following terms: †

"If gently approaching my feet, one prays for a favour, I shall grant him with pleasure my ancient kingdom, nay, I shall

* Purām 45; Kanak. p. 73. The palm and the margosa were respectively the Čīra and Pāṇḍya emblems.
† Purām 73; Kanak. pp. 74-5.
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give my life for his sake. If, like a blind man who stumbles on a tiger sleeping in the open, one is so foolish as to slight my strength and oppose my will, he shall hardly escape with his life. If I do not advance to the fight and cause (me) to suffer like the long-stemmed bamboo trampled under foot by a huge elephant, may my garland be crumpled in the wanton embraces of dark-haired harlots, who can never love with a pure heart."

That Kāvirip-pūmpatīnam with its extensive trade was in Nalangillī's possession, * and that Vedic sacrifices were common in his reign † are facts well attested by our sources. There is a poignant note of melancholy in some of the poems on Nalangillī ‡ composed by Uṛaiyūr Mndukaṇañā Sūttanār, and it is not easy to decide if this is due to the poet's own temperament or to the incidents of the civil strife. It would appear that Nalangillī died at a place called Ilavandigaip-palli. §

Neḍungillī, the opponent of Nalangillī in the civil war, is addressed in two poems by Kōvūr-Kilār, the author of the exhortation addressed to both of them to cease from their strife. These poems add a little to our knowledge of the occurrences in the war. One of them mentions that Neḍungillī was once shut up in Āvūr which, like Uṛaiyūr, was beset by the forces of Nalangillī. The poem gives a graphic description of the effects of the siege: ¶

"The male elephants, not led out to bathe with the female herd in the large tanks (outside the fort), nor fed with balls of rice mixed with ghee, chafe at the posts to which they are chained, heave long sighs, and with their trunks rolling on

* Puram 30 ll. 10-12.
† ibid 400, l. 19.
‡ ibid 27, 29.
§ Col. to Puram 61 where he is called Nalangillī Šēcenni.
¶ Puram 44. Kanak. pp. 73-4.

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the ground, trumpet loudly like thunder. Children cry for want of milk, the women plait their hair without flowers, the mansions of the city resound with the cries of people wailing for want of water. It is not possible to hold out any more here, thou, master of fleet steeds! If thou wouldst be kind, open the gates (to the enemy) saying, 'This is yours;' if thou wouldst be heroic, open the gates and lead thy soldiers out to victory; to be neither the one nor the other, to close the strong gates of the fort, and to shut yourself up in a corner behind the high walls, this, when one thinks of it, is shameful indeed!"

Neṇungilli, then, had ambition without courage, and brought much suffering on himself and his subjects by his pusillanimity. Like all cowards, he seems to have lived in constant dread of treachery and foul play. When he was besieged at Uraiyur, a minstrel, Ilandalattan by name, who had entered Uraiyur from the camp of Nalangilli, was taken to be a spy, and was about to be killed when Kövür-Kilär put in a successful plea for his life being spared. The short poem is a fine picture of bardsic life in the Śangam age: *

"They fly like birds and traverse many a long and arid route in search of patrons, and with untutored tongue, sing their praises; pleased with what they get they feast their train, eat without saving, give without stinting, and pine only for honour. Such is their living which depends on the free gifts (of patrons). Does this ever hurt others? No, to be sure. Only, they exult in their triumphs over rival bards, and when their rivals' faces are cast down, then do they walk proudly, and are well pleased; they have thus a primacy of their own, not less than persons who, like you, have attained to the rulership of the earth."

Close to Nalangilli and Neṇungilli in time, because the same poets are found composing poems in their praise, was Killivalavan who died at Kulaṉurram. Another Killivalavan, the subject of a single poem of Kövür-Kilär, † is said to

* Puram 47. Kanakasabhai, 73.
† Puram 373.

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have died at Kurāp-paḷḷi. It has been suggested that these two kings are identical, * and if that be so, this poem of Kōvūr-Kiḷḷar composed after the king had captured Karuvūr, depicts a later stage in his Cēra war than another † poem by Ālattur Kiḷḷar, which describes Karuvūr still in a state of siege. Killīvalavan is celebrated in eighteen songs by ten different minstrels, and himself figures as the author of a poem in praise of his friend Paṇṇan, ‡ the lord of Śirukkuṭi. He ruled with Uraiyūr as his capital. §§ “This king, who (we may infer) possessed considerable ability, was both brave and generous, but somewhat headstrong. Hence a great deal of good advice is, in a very tactful way, offered to him by the minstrels; and he seems to have been all the better for it.” The following lines are by Veḷḷaiκkuṭi-nākanar, ¶ who was rewarded on the spot by a remission of the arrears due on his lands.

The pleasant Tamil lands possess
For boundary the ocean wide.
The heaven, where tempests loud sway not,
Upon their brow rests as a crown.
Fertile the soil they till, and wide.
Three kings with mighty hosts this land
Divide; but of the three, whose drums
Sound for the battle's angry strife,
Thou art the chief, O mighty one!
Though the resplendent sun in diverse quarters rise;
And though the silvery planet to the south decline;
Thy land shall flourish, where through channels deep,
Kāvēri flows with bright refreshing stream,
Along whose banks the sweet cane's white flowers wave
Like pennon'd spears uprising from the plain.

* IA. xxix p. 250 n 2. Dr. Pope says that Kurāp-paḷḷi is the same as Kulaṃmugam, ‘Pavilion by the tank.’
† Pugam 36.
‡ Pugam 173.
§§ Pugam 69, l. 12.
¶ IA. xxix pp. 251-2. Pugam 35; I have reproduced Pope's translation.
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Let me speak out to this rich country's king!
Be easy of access at fitting time, as though
The lord of justice sat to hear, and right decree.
Such kings have rain on their dominions at their will!
The clouds thick gather round the sun, and rest
In vault of heaven:—So let thy canopy
Of state challenge the sky, and spread around
Not gloom, but peaceful shade. Let all thy victories
Be the toiling ploughman's gain.
Kings get the blame, whether rains fail, or copious flow,
And lack the praise: such is the usage of the world.

If thou hast marked and known this well,
Reject the wily counsels of malicious men.
Lighten the load of those who till the soil.
The dwellers in the land protect. If thou do this
Thy stubborn foes shall lowly bend beneath thy feet.

The siege and capture of Karūr, the Cēra capital,
was, doubtless, the greatest military achievement of
this king, and has called forth a number of poems.
Thus Ālattūr Kilār made an effort to divert the king's
attention from his enterprise and save Karūr from
destruction, by gently reproaching him with pitting
himself against a foe unworthy of his mettle:—

Whether thou wilt destroy or wilt release,
'Tis thine to ponder which befits thy name!—
The axe, bright-edged, long-handled, sharp by file
Of smith black-handed, smites the fragrant boughs
Of guardian trees in every park around;
They crashing fall and scatter the white sands
Of Ān-poruntham's river cool, where sport
The damsels with their golden bracelets gay;
Thro' town, and all the guarded hall are echoes heard,
And yet their king in pleasure slumbers on!
With bow-armed host, thy war-drum sounding loud,
'Twill shame thee to have fought such feeble foes.

'The intercession was unsuccessful; the fair city fell’; and a poetess, Mūrokkattu Nappasalaiyār, gave

* Puram 36. IA. ibid p. 252.
expression to her grief as follows *:

Thou scion of the Cója Lord who saved
The dove from woe,—Chief of the wrathful hosts,
Armed with the gleaming darts that work havoc,
As when a fiery dragon, angry, fierce,—
Bearing five heads, with gleaming poisonous tooth,
Has enter’d the vast mountain-cavern, where
The golden creepers twine;—and from the sky
Fire issues forth and loudest thunderbolt;—
Thou saw’st the lordly city old, whose king
Was circled round by girded elephants.
There in dark deep moat alligators congregate,
In the wide waters of the guarded lake
Are crocodiles that fierce in fight
Dart forth to catch the shadows cast
By gleam of watchman’s torch at midnight hour.
Its walls like burnish’d copper shone.
This seemed not fair to thine eyes; for thou didst
Work destruction mightily, glorious king!

The delicate lyric warning against arrogance’
addressed to the proud conqueror by Múlam-kilår of
Āvūr must have been composed soon after the capitulation
of Karuvūr: †

“Thou art the mighty one, who sparing not the guarded
fort broke thro’ and slew its king and made the yellow gold,
erewhile his crown, anklets to grace, O! hero! thy conquering foot.

Thy land is so fertile that a tiny piece thereof, where a
she-elephant might rest, can nourish seven lordly elephants.

That we may ever see, as now, the necks of thy traducers
bend, and those who laud thee raise their heads, be thou, great
king! pleasant of speech, and easy of access.”

Kōvūr - Kilår also described this event at some
length in a poem that has not been preserved in its
entirety. ‡

* Puram 37; IA. ibid.
† Puram 40; IA. ibid. 254.
‡ Puram 373.
The poems of the Puranānṛku are silent on the relations between Kiliḻivalavan and his southern neighbour the Pāṇḍya; but a poem of Nakkirar* in the Ahanānṛku makes pointed reference to a defeat sustained by the forces of a Kiliḻivalavan under the walls of Madura at the hands of the Pāṇḍya commander-in-chief, Paḻaiyan Māgan. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, we may assume that the king whose defeat is alluded to by Nakkirar was the one that died at Kuḷamurram. † Kiliḻivalavan evidently waged war in another direction against the Malaiyamān chieftain of Malāḍu, a district on the banks of the Peṅnār which had Tirukkōyilur for its centre. Though we cannot be quite certain of it, the Malaiyamān against whom this expedition was directed seems to have been Malaiyamān Tirumūḍik-kāri who is celebrated in several poems of the Puram by Kapilar and

*Aham 345.

†This identification was first suggested by Kanakasabhai, p. 76. But I am unable to follow him in identifying this king further with: (a) Vaḻavankiḷḷi who was 'maittutam' to the Cēra king Šenguṭṭuvan, and was established on the Cēja throne by the latter after suppressing, in the battle of Nērivēyil, a rebellion in which nine princes of the blood royal had taken part (p. 75); and (b) the Cēja king of the Maṇimikalai and the father of Udayakumaran (p. 77). It is not certain that the two Epics of the Ankleet and the Jewel-belt relate to the same period of time as the poems of the Puranānṛku and the other anthologies, and it is not clear how far the incidents mentioned in the epics may be treated as historical, and not simply meant to furnish a familiar background to a romantic story; there is, above all, a total lack of correspondence in the facts relating to the different kings whom Kanakasabhai proposes to identify. The phrase 'maittumavaḻavankiḷḷi' of the Silappadikāram (xxvii-l. 118) is not the same as 'Kiliḻivalavan,' and as there is nothing in the numerous poems of the Puram to suggest that the latter's succession to the throne was disputed, we must be slow to accept the identification in this case. It must also be observed that, as Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, (op. cit. p. 33) points out, the Cēja contemporary of Šenguṭṭuvan was according to the Silappadikāram, Perunakkīḷḷi, whom Adhyārkkunallēr calls Perunakkīḷḷi; and the Pandit himself identifies him with Kēţiyam-vēţa Perunakkīḷḷi, and this, in itself, is really more plausible than the suggestion of Kanakasabhai. The absence of all mention of a fight at the Kāriyēru or a combination of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra against Kuḷamurruṭtu-nūṭiyā Kiliḻivalavan, taken along with the positive references to his siege and capture of Vahē and his defeat at Madura, all of which are admitted by Kanakasabhai, is fatal to his other proposition. See also P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar History of the Tamils pp. 430-31.
Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyar for the liberal patronage he extended to the minstrels, a trait which is emphasised also by Kōvūr-Kilār in the following poem by which he succeeded in releasing the children of the Malaiyamān from a cruel death to which the victorious Cōla monarch had condemned them: *

"Thou art of the royal line of him who saved the dove from affliction and many another sufferer;

These are children of the race that, in their concern for the learned, share their food with them and save them from want, and under whose fostering care men lead happy lives;

See these little innocents, how first they stood fearing the sight of thine elephants; then, forgetting that, were daunted by the aspect of thy hall; and now stand trembling with troubles ever new!

Hear me, and then follow the promptings of thine own desire!"

A panegyric by Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyar applauds in equal measure and with much art the generosity, justice and heroism of this king. †

"Descendant of him who to save a dove from grief entered the balance whose beam was tipped with the carved white tusk of the heavy-footed elephant! Giving in grace was born with thee, and is not thy peculiar praise.

And, when one ponders how thy sires of old destroyed the mighty fort suspended in the sky which foes dreaded to approach,—to slay thy foes is not thy peculiar praise!

And since the council of Uraiýūr, impregnable city of the valiant Śōlar, is the home of Equity;—Justice is not thy peculiar praise!

O Vaḷavan, swift horseman, whose stout arms are like fortress-bars, whose wreath attracts every eye, how then shall I sing thy praises?

* Puram 46; IA. xxix p. 256.
† Puram 39; IA. xxix pp. 253-4.
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How shall I tell of thy glorious prowess that withered the fadeless Vañji, destroying the Cēran king with his mighty chariot cunningly wrought, who planted his guarded bow-banner on the immeasurably lofty gold-tipped peaks of Himalaya."

Two short odes on the death of the king, though they reveal nothing of the identity of Kulamur̄ram where he died or of the circumstances attending his death, are noteworthy for the quaintness of their conceits. One of them is by the gifted poetess, Mūr̄kkattu Nappasalai: *

If in his mind against thee he were wroth,  
Or if in outward act he showed his rage,  
Or if he touched thee with afflictive hand,  
Thou couldst not have escaped, O Death!  
Thou took'st great Valavan, entreating him,  
Like minstrels, bowing low, with suppliant hand,  
Praising, thou didst bear off his life,  
Leader of hosts that crowd the glorious field,  
Crowned with gold wreath, Lord of the mighty car!

The other, by Māsāttanār of Āduturai, though somewhat commonplace, as observed by Dr. Pope, still does not lack power: †

Death! Right silly art thou, ruthless one:  
Through lack of sense thou eat'st thine own seed-corn!  
Thou yet shalt see the truth of what I say.  
Warriors with gleaming swords, and elephant and horse  
Fall on the battle-plain that flowed with blood;  
Daily he was insatiate, slew his foes,  
And fed thine hunger! Like thyself a strength  
He had that knew no ruth nor vengeance feared.  
This Valavan who wore great golden ornaments,  
Whose flowery garland swarmed with humming bees,  
Since thou hast borne away,—who shall appease thine hunger now?

* Purān 226; I.A. xxix 283.
† Purān 227; I.A. xxix 284.
Another renowned Cōla king of the time was Kōpperuṇjōḷan who also ruled from Uraiyūr. Himself a poet, * he was an intimate friend of two poets—Āndaiyūr of (Irum) Piśir and Pottiyūr. Āndai (owl) sounds more like a nickname than a name proper †; but the poet is not known by any other name. He was a native of the Pāṇḍya country and gave some good counsel ‡ to the king of that country, Aṇivṉai Nambi. Pottiyūr was a native of the Cōla country and resided at Uraiyūr. The intimate friendship between these and Kōpperuṇjōḷan became a classic example in later literature § like that between Damon and Pythias. Āndai was a jolly good fellow and his poems ring with the true enjoyment of life. Asked once why, though old, his hair had not turned grey, he gave the answer: ¶

My years are many, yet my locks not grey:
You ask the reason why, 'tis simply this
I have a worthy wife, and children too;
My servants move obedient to my will;
My king does me no evil, aye protects;
To crown the whole, around me dwell good men
And true, of chastened souls with knowledge filled.

Here is another poem evincing the attachment felt by him to Kōpperuṇjōḷan, in preference to the king of his native land: ||

If you ask us 'who is your king?' Our king is he who
To the labourers gives strong palm-wine strained and
And with the fat of turtle satiates their desire,

* Author of Kurundogai Nos. 20, 53, 129, 147.
† The grammarians explain it, however, as Ādan tandai (Ādan's father).
‡ Puram 184.
§ Parimēñlagar on Kural 785; and Naccinārkkiniyar on Tol. Kurpu.
Sw. 52.
¶ Puram 191; IA. xxviii, p. 30.
|| Puram 212; IA. ibid.
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And fills their mouths with lamprey’s rich roast flesh,
They leave short toil for feast; the feast prolong!
In that good fertile land the minstrels with their kin
Find our king the foe of want and hunger’s pangs.
He is the lord of Kōli, the mighty Cēla king.
He loves converse with Potti, whose friendship knows
\[ no flaw. * \]

All the day long he laughs with heart right glad!

A beautiful poem† by Pullāṛur Eyiriyayanur which deprecates civil strife by a fine appeal to the simple parental emotions of the king is the sole relic left to us of what was possibly a serious quarrel between Kōpperamāḷi and his two sons. By a strange irony of fate, this winsome monarch, who engaged the deepest affection of two poets for life and in death, was unable to compose his differences with his own children.

His agnostic utterance on suicide is perhaps sufficient proof that he found in it his last refuge from the troubles of life: ‡

They who have not assured their minds
By the doubt-free vision pure, that aye endures,
Say not, ‘shall we do good deeds or shall we not,’
Who hunts an elephant may gain an elephant;
Who hunts a quail, may come back with empty hand.
Therefore if men have lofty aspirations,
They must carry them out in successful deeds, and so gain
Enjoyment of the world beyond the reach of sense.
Should this not be theirs, in some future birth they may
\[ win release. \]

And if there be no future birth,—yet to found
Their fame on earth like Himalaya’s lofty peak,
And to pass away with body unstained by evil,
Is surely asceticism’s highest gain.

* A play on words: \textit{potti} means ‘hollow’, but there is no hollowness in this Potti.

† \textit{Pugam} 213; \textit{IA. ibid.} p. 29.
‡ \textit{Pugam} 214; \textit{IA. xxviii} pp. 29-30.
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Two other short poems * express the king's eagerness to meet Ändai before the end came, as also his quiet confidence that his friend would not fail him. When Ändai turned up in good time and joined the king in his resolve to quit the wicked world, Pottiýär evinced † great admiration for the nobility of the king and the wisdom of Ändai, and the deepest concern for the country which was losing a monarch whose great qualities captivated the mind of Ändai, though he owed him no allegiance. Two short pieces ‡ commemorate the suicide of Ändai in the king's company. One of them records that Ändai starved himself to death under the shade of a tree in the river-bed. When Pottiýär wanted to follow, the king forbade him asking him to postpone his suicide till after his son had been born, § and Pottiýär had to go back. In the following lines the poet gave vent to his feelings as he returned to Ùáiýär : ¶

The keeper who has lost the huge elephant which he daily supplied

With its ample meal, and tended for many a year,
Is sad as he surveys the vacant pillar where it stood.
And weeps. Even so, did I not grieve when I beheld
The courtyard in the ancient town where Killi lived and died;
Killi, with wealth of chariots, o'er which waves the conqueror's wreath.

When, a little later, he visited the spot of the king's death, marked by a stone (nadukal), he was greatly moved by the recollection of his noble traits. ¶

* Puram 215, 216.
† Puram 217.
‡ Puram 218, 219.
§ Puram 222. Apparently "he" means that persons with eunuch wives were ineligible for vañakkirittal.
¶ Puram 220. /4, xxviii p. 32.
‖ Puram 221, /A. ibid.
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He had the praises manifold of minstrels whose wants he
[relieved;
He was most loving to the dancers who resorted to his
[court;
He swayed his sceptre in accordance with the teaching
[of the sages;
His friendship had the firmness honoured of the wise;
He was gentle to women, brave in the face of the strong;
He was the refuge of the spotless learned ones.
Such an one death did not spare, but carried off his
[sweet soul.

Therefore, my afflicted kinsfolk, let us
Embracing one another join in reviling death.
Come, all ye bards, whose words are true!
He hath become a pillar planted in the wild,
Crowned with imperishable praise!
While the wide world in sorrow mourns.
Such is the lot of him who was our protector!

Perunarkilli must have been a powerful monarch,
as he is the only one among the Tamil
sovereigns of the Sangam age, who
performed the Itājaśīya: it is likely that the Cēra Māri
Veṅkō and the Pāṇḍya Ugrapperuvaludi both attended
this great inauguration of Perunarkilli's rule, and that
the fine benediction of Auvaivār in which she includes
all the three was, as suggested by Kanakasabhai, pro-
nounced on this occasion: *

"This heavenlike country with its divisions, whether it
is yours or is owned by others who do not go with you but are
against you, belongs in truth to the saintly; may you, in your
lifetime, pour out with water flowers and gold into the out-
stretched hands of the Brahmans; drink of the sweet liquor
which your servant maids glittering with jewels hold before you
in golden cups, and in your exultation, bestow costly gifts with-
ot limit on the needy; only the good deeds that you do now
will stand by you at the time of your death. Ye monarchs!

* Puqam 367; Kanakasabhai, p. 78.

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(lord) of the white umbrella and the pennoned chariot † Seated together, you appear like the three sacred fires which the twice-born preserve day and night with ceaseless vigilance. Only this can I say: may your days be as many as the stars in the sky or the rain-drops in heavy showers."

Nothing is known of the events of this king's reign. That he had his share of fighting, we may, however, infer from a poem which gives a rather conventional description of the havoc wrought on enemy countries by his forces,* and from the colophon to another poem which mentions a fight between this king and a Cēra Māndarān-jēral-irumpōrai, in which the chieftain Tērvaṅmalaiyan fought on the side of the Cōla king. Neither the friend nor the foe † of the Cōla on this occasion could now be ascertained.

Before giving an account of Kōceenganān who was doubtless among the latest, if not the last, of the Cōlas mentioned in Śangam literature, the minor celebrities of the Cōla line may be briefly noticed. It is certain that many of them were petty princelings, members of the ruling family rather than kings themselves. There are two princes of the name Ilamētēnmē, distinguished by the epithets Neydalangānal and Śeruppāli-yeēinda, both of them celebrated by ūn-podi-paśunguṇaīyār, a poet otherwise unknown. The first is said to have distinguished himself by the capture

* Pūrāṇa 16. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar assumes that this poem is an account of a war in which the king "had to defeat recalcitrant Śōla princes before bringing the whole of the Śōla country under his sway." Tamils p. 432. The other poem mentioned above is Purāṇa 125.

† Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar has indeed suggested (Aingurunūru-introd. p. 15.) that the Cēra enemy was the same as Yēnaikkaṟṟēy-māndarān-jēral-irumpōrai who was defeated and captured by Pāṇḍiya Neḻu时时彩eian, the victor of Talaiyēlangānām. Great as is the weight of his authority, I hesitate to follow him here. See, however, Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, Ancient Decchan p. 202.
of Pāmulūr, a Cēra fortress; * how he earned the prefix to his name, Neydalangānal, is not known. Śeruppāḷi, overthrown by the second prince, is also only a name. The Cōḷa Muṉṭittalaik-kōpperunarkiḷḷi (the great good Kīḷḷi, the king with the crowned head) is remembered by a single poem of Muṉṭamōśiyūr (Mōśi, the Lame), who lived in the part of Ugaiyūr known as Ėniccēri. The poem † is a fine piece giving expression to the poet’s grave concern for the safety of the Cōḷa who was riding an elephant, which, having suddenly turned mad, was carrying him past Karuvūr. The poet was then in the company of a Cēra prince, and explained to him what was happening before their eyes. The rushing elephant is picturesquely compared to a ship sailing on the high sea.

Perum Tirumāvalāvan, ‡ who died at Kurēppāḷi, was the contemporary and ally of the Pāṇḍya Peruvāḷudi who died at Velli-yambalam. Kārik-kāṇṭanār of Kāvirīp-ṭūm-ṭāṭṭīnām while applauding their alliance, warns them against evil counsellors ever intent on dividing them: §

“Thou art the Lord of the Kāvirī and its cool waters; this king is the lion of the warlike race of Pañcavās, who, not disheartened by the death of his elders, valiantly protects his good subjects, like the long shoots of the shady banyan tree, which strike root in the ground and keep the tree alive though the parent trunk is withered; and who, though young, has speedily scattered his enemies like the thunderbolt which smites whole broods of serpents. Thou art the warrior of Uṟandai, where virtue abides; this king, thinking that paddy and water are cheap, has made himself Lord of the mountain sandal and the

* Purāṇa 203.
† Purāṇa 13.
‡ This king was wrongly identified with Karikēla by Kanakasahbhai.—See P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar Tamilis, p. 307 n.
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sea pearl together with the thundering drums, and rules with mercy Kōḍal, the seat of Tamil (learning). Majestic like the two gods standing together, one of whom is white (in complexion) and holds the palm-flag and the other of dark hue carries the wheel, you are now both terrible to your enemies. Is there anything pleasanter than this? Listen, yet, (to my words). May your fame last for ever! May you stand by each other, and if you do not break your friendship, you would not fail to conquer the whole of this sea-girt earth. Therefore, without giving heed to the specious words of thoughtless people which, though they appear good and wise and in keeping with ancient tradition, are intended to break the love that binds your hearts, may your friendship continue exactly as it is to-day! May your lances rise victorious on the bloody field of battle! May the hands of your enemies bear on the peaks of their mountains the crests of the striped tiger and the water carp."

Tiru-māvalavan had the misfortune of being pilloried in song by an irate poet who was kept waiting too long for a gift. In a song of great power and beauty, * the angry bard proudly declares that his race has a greater regard for the poverty of small discerning chieftains than for the vain pomp of heartless monarchs.

Vēr-pahraḍakkaip-peru-vīgar(nar)k-killi is the name of another Cōla prince celebrated by Paraṇar and Kaḷāṭataliyār, of the age of Karikāla and his father. Three poems † in the Puyanāṇīru describe the sad fate of this prince and his Cōra opponent Kuḍakkō Neḍuṇ-jēral-Ādan, both of whom fell on the field of battle. Another prince with a strongly marked individuality was Pōrvai-kōpperaṇaṁ-killi who figures in a dozen compositions, three of which are short lyrics composed by Nakkanṇai, ‡ a lady who appears to have loved this

* Pūram 197.
† Pūram 62, 63, 368.
‡ Pūram 83, 84, 85.

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erratic prince with a real passion. Śāttandaiyār, the poet of the remaining three pieces, * celebrates the prince's power as a pugilist and his quickness in taking cities. He also suggests that no love was lost between him and Tittan, who is said to have been his father, and who figures in several poems † in the anthologies as a celebrated king of Uṟaiyūr. Tittan once forced the chieftain Kaṭṭi and his companion Pānan to fall back in disorder after a hasty advance on Uṟaiyūr. ‡ As this incident is recorded by Paraṇar, Tittan and his eccentric son must have preceded Karikāla. Tittan had also a daughter Aiyai. § Śōḷan Nalluruttirar and Nambi NeṉṆjeliyan are represented each by a single poem. The former was a poet himself, and in fact we have no knowledge of him except as an author. A whole section on Mullai, comprising seventeen songs in the anthology called Kalittojai, is said to be his work, and in a short poem in the Puranāṇūṟu ¶ he sings his ideal of a felicitous life: to shun misers and seek the company of strong and noble friends. Nambi NeṉṆjeliyan forms the subject of a fine eulogium ‖ from Pēreyil Muṟuvalār (the Laughing Man of the Big Fortress),—a poem, remarkable for its fine array of short sentences and its vivid portraits.

The life of Kōccengaṇṭ, like that of Karikāla, came to gather a haze of legend round itself; and it is necessary to avoid mixing up facts drawn from contemporary sources with the beliefs of later times. A song in the Puranāṇūṟu **

* Puram 80 2.
† Puram 80, 352, 395; Ahom 6, 122, 132, 188, 226
‡ Ahom 227.
§ Ahom 6–Paraṇar.
¶ Puram 190.
‖ Puram 239.
** Puram 74.
and the forty verses that constitute the poem Kalavali by Poygaiyar form the earliest evidence on this king's life. The references to him in the hymns of Tirugnana-sambandar and Tirumangai Alvar as well as Sundaramurti take us to the next stage in which the emphasis falls on the religious side of the king's life. He figures also in the legendary genealogy of the Cola copper-plates of the tenth and eleventh centuries though his place in the list is not the same in all. * It is worth noting that the story which, after the manner of the Jataka tales of Buddhism, makes a spider of this king in his previous birth is first noticed by Appar and repeated by the Tiruvilangadu plates † of the reign of Rajaendra Cola. The Kalinduttapparangi and the Vikramaśālān-ulā more or less agree with the copper-plates, but the main stream of legend flows through the Andādi of Nambi-Andar-Nambi to the Periya Purāṇam of Sekkilar, the ocean in which all the streams of Saivite legend mingle in the Tamil country.

The Kalavali ‡ is a poem of moderate length, giving a somewhat conventional, though occasionally gruesome, description of the battle of Kailamalam, near Karuvar in the Kongu country, § in which Senganaṇ defeated and made captive the Cēra king Kanaikkal Irumporai. The poet Poygai, a friend of the Cēra, placated the Cola conqueror by singing of his valour in the battle-field and thereby secured the release of the Cēra from captivity. The verse in the

† Appar-Kupukki v. 4, Tiruppirūr-(Tiruttandakam)-v. 6; Also Sundarar Tiruvilangadu v. 2. Tiruvilangadu plates-v. 43: Tīna-ṭīṇa-a-bandhanū.
‡ See JA. xviii pp. 259-65 for a translation and critique of the poem by V. Kanakasabhai.
§ See Støyen Senguttuvan p. 183. Ahum 44 seems to give some details of the events which preceded the battle.
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Puṟanāṇūṟu to which reference has already been made purports to have been composed by the Cēra, while still in captivity in the Cōla prison at Kuḍavāyik-kōṭṭam (West Gate Prison), and makes a sad confession of his cowardice in surviving the disgrace that had befallen him:

"Even a babe that dies, and a mole that is born, though they are not men, are still put to the sword. * Can it be, that such a race gives birth to one who, subjected to misery like a dog held in leash, yet begs for water from his unkindly jailors, and drinks it, in his weakness, to allay the fire in his stomach?"

The story is that he declined to drink the water he had so obtained, and slept away his thirst. † Poygai’s successful intercession must have taken place soon after. So far the evidence of contemporary literature. There seems to be nothing incredible in the situation thus depicted. No deep-seated grounds of public policy governed the actions of kings and chieftains in those days, and the relations among them were more or less personal. Nothing seems more natural in such a state of things than for a prince, who fell short of the heroic ideal cherished by his age and who pined in captivity, to obtain his release owing to the intercession of a clever bard who made a subtle appeal to the vanity of the victor by celebrating his success in very glowing terms ‡) Very good reason can be shown for holding that Poygai, the friend of the Cēra captive, was no other than the celebrated Vaiṣṇava devotee Poygai-Āḻvār.

* The allusion is to a custom by which kings who died a natural death were supposed to secure the viravatāga if their corpses were cut with a sword before their final disposal; cf. Māṇimēkalai, xxiii, li. 11-14.

† ‘Tuṉṟiva’ in the colophon to this Puṟam verse must be taken to mean ‘slept,’ not ‘died,’ as this is the only way in which it can be reconciled with the colophon to the Kaḻarai. See Studies pp. 14-16.

‡ By understanding ‘Kaṇaiyan’ in Abham 44 as the abbreviation of KaṇaikkEḻirumpoṇai, it is possible to avoid much unnecessary confusion. Contra Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, Kaḻaraiṭ-introduc. pp. 6-7.
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Though we have no contemporary evidence bearing on Kōecenganān’s religious persuasion, there seems to be little reason to doubt that Tirumangai and Sambandar represent a correct tradition about him in their allusions to his religious zeal. And the probable identity of Poygaiyār of the Kalavālī with the Āḻvār of the same name strengthens this supposition. * Tirumangai-Āḻvār in one of his hymns on Tirunārāyār makes the achievements of Kōecenganān and his

* It must, however, be noted here that several scholars of repute are opposed to the identification of the two Poygais, and Pandit E. V. Anantarama Aiyar who is among them proposes to postulate two Śengāṇān as well (see his edn. of the Kalavālī-introd., p. 9). The debate has not been altogether academic, as religion, always an explosive subject, seems somehow to have got mixed up in it. On the strength of data drawn from the Vāpparungala-viruttai, a work of the tenth century A.D. or the eleventh at the latest, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar first proposed the identification of Poygai of Śangam fame with the Āḻvār (The Śen-Tamil Vol. i p. 6; also his Alvarka Kalanilai 2nd edn. pp. 230). The author of the Viruttai quotes a number of verses as those of Poygaiyār, and some of them are from the first Tirumandādi of the Āḻvār (see the Viruttai pp. 220 where the text seems to be defective, 350 and 459–60); he also counts the poet among the sages whose vision comprised eternity (350). Among the verses quoted in the whole work, however, there is not one from the Kalavālī. And Tirumangai’s pūsrām is silent about Kalumalam and the Kalavālī. But considering that the religious hymns of Poygai-Āḻvār are all, like the Kalavālī, in the Venbā metre, the presumption arises (especially as there seems to be no essential difference in style between the two) that they are compositions of the same writer. One argument that has been urged against this view is worth serious consideration, and that is the argument that a bhakta like Poygai-Āḻvār would not have stooped to the base flattery of an earthly monarch; the Āḻvār himself declares this expressly in his hymns. A complete answer to this position is furnished by the fact that some of the verses quoted in the Vāpparungala-viruttai and ascribed to the Āḻvār are on secular subjects and include the praise of kings. We may suppose the Āḻvār’s statements about his exclusive devotion to Viṣṇu to have been made in the later stages of his life when he had found his true self. So that, unless we put the late traditions of the Cīruparamparai regarding his age against the categorical evidence of Gupasēkara, the author of the Vāpparungala-viruttai, it seems necessary to accept the correctness of Pandit Raghava Aiyangar’s position. See, on the other side, K. S. Srinivasa Pillai-Tamil Varalāru pp. 176–7, Śentamilccolvi Vol. ii, article on Poygaiyār by Pandit N. M. Venkatassami Nattar, and Kalavālī, ed. Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, introduction. The novel suggestion of Pandit Anantarama Aiyar that Śengāṇān, the Śaiva nayanār, was different from Kōecenganān of the Kalavālī is based entirely on the silence of the Periyapuramam on the Kalavālī. The Pandit naïvely discovers another reason in that, according to him, Sēkkilār has marked off the nayanār from the other person by calling the former Śengāṇān 1!

+ Periya Tirumoli VI, 6.

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worship at Tirunaṟaiyūr the refrain of his song. Here is no room for doubting that the Āḷvār was thinking of the great Cōla king distinguished for heroism on the field of battle as the Śaiva devotee who was reputed to have constructed seventy beautiful shrines to Śiva, besides offering worship to Viṣṇu in Tirunaṟaiyūr. His pointed mention of the elephant corps of Śenganān's enemy, the cavalry of Śenganān himself and the part it played in his wars * is an important link which establishes a connection with the Kalavaḷi, which in like manner states repeatedly that the successes of the Cōla king against the Cēra elephants was primarily due to the infantry and cavalry in his army. Tirumangai also implies that Śenganān's sway extended far outside the Cōla country, † that he fought at Āḷvanda, and Veṇṇi, and that he killed in fight a chieftain Viḷandai Vēḷ. In the hymns of Gūṇasambandar and Sundaramūrti the great temples to Śiva at Ambari Vaigal, and Namīlam are definitely said to have been founded by Śenganān. The Anbil plates ‡ of Sundara Cōla state generally that Kōccenān built temples to Gaurīśa all over the country, while the Tiruvilāngādu plates, as we have seen, hint at the spider story. The Anbil plates give the name of Śenganān's son, Nallaḍikkōn. It is not till we get to the Periya Purāṇam that the king gets transformed out of recognition and figures as the son of Śubhadeva and Kamalavati, and the founder of Jambukōśvara. That Śēkkiḷār's account

* Verse 3 line 3 of the hymn looks almost a copy of the Kalavil, of course allowing for the difference in metre: Kavai-mukalinaṇḍi vēṇṇi-yeṣu-kāṇal-mammar maṇiṉudinēḷ kākamēḷ; also verse 4, l. 3.

† Ten-Tamilan Vaṭapalakkōn Śēḷum (5); Tenvaḷu Kaṭakōṇgum Śēḷum (6); see vvs. 4, 6, 9 of the hymn. Also Pandit Raghava Aiyangar Azīṟkāl Kāḷavilai pp. 157ff. The Vēḷ of Viḷandai might have been a commander on the Cēra side.

‡ Akkila-janapadī-kilav-gaurīśa-rahumā (v. 13), E.I. xv p. 60.
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includes the absurd story of the birth of Śengañān being delayed by artificial means in order to ensure its taking place at an auspicious moment, is clear proof that we have here a highly embellished account of things long since forgotten. The name Śengañān, his birth in the Cōla family and the foundation of numerous Śiva temples besides the Jambukēśvara are the only elements in Śikkilār’s narration which indicate the ultimate identity of the Nāyanar.

Before this straggling notice of the early Cōlas is brought to a close, some attempt must be made to fix their age a little more precisely than has been done up to this point. One thing is clear, that these kings are anterior to the earliest time to which we are taken by the existing monuments of the historical period. Though the names of Uraiyūr and Kāvēripaṇam still survive, nothing has been discovered yet in these places that furnishes even a trace of their former greatness.* We are left only with the evidence of literature and synchronisms with the history of neighbouring lands. When the suggestion was first made that Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon, who was the contemporary of the Cōra Śengutṭuvin, was no other than Gajabāhu I of the Mahāvamsa, who ruled from A.D. 113 to 135, Dr. Hultzsch entered a caveat, saying: † “With due respect to Mr. Kumara-swami’s sagacity, I am not prepared to accept this view, unless the identity of the two Gajabāhus is not only supported by the mere identity of name, but proved by internal reasons, and until the chronology of the earlier history of Ceylon has been subjected to a critical examination.” Now, the chronology of

* ARA. 1909-10, pp. 16-17.
† SII. ii, p. 378.
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Ceylonese history has been the subject of considerable discussion, and as a result, * the dates of the early kings of Ceylon are as well established as can be desired. There is only one Gajabāhu in the Ceylon list before the twelfth century, and he ruled from A. D. 173 to 195. † The only question, therefore, is whether the synchronism suggested by the Śilappadikāram between Śenguṭṭivan and Gajabāhu is to be taken into account, or whether, in view of the romantic and the supernatural elements in that poem, this synchronism must be rejected as untrustworthy. If there were no other factors to be considered, our answer to such a question must remain inconclusive. But there are several important factors which render it difficult, not to say impossible, for anyone to reject the synchronism, and with it the scheme of chronology arising from it.

There is perfect concord between the Śangam anthologies, the notices of South India by classical works of the early centuries of the Christian era, like the Periplus and Ptolemy's geography, and the numerous finds of Roman coins of the early Roman Empire in several places in Southern India. This would lead any unbiased student to the conclusion that the Tamil anthologies were contemporary with the classical works and the Roman coins. ‡

Attention has been drawn already to the occurrence, in the Mahāvamsa account of the early relations between Ceylon and the Tamil country, of names of

* See EZ. iii pp. 1-47.
† Ibid p. 9, No. 43.
‡ Periplus and Ptolemy have been noticed above p. 28. Sewell's discussion of the Roman finds in the South in the JKRAS. (1904) is still the most comprehensive. Recent studies of the nature and direction of the foreign trade of the Roman Empire tend, as will be seen later, to confirm the soundness of our position.
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Tamil chieftains which, with variations natural in the circumstances, are repeated in the poems of the Puranānūṟu, Pattuppāṭṭu and so on. The story of Elāra in the Mahāvamsa is doubtless the Ceylonese version of the Tamil Cōla story of the king who condemned his son to death for calf-slaughter. The Mahāvamsa places Elāra in the second half of the second century B. C. and the other Tamil princes mentioned in the latter half of the first. If we remember that the early chapters of the Mahāvamsa were composed in the fifth century A. D. from earlier chronicles, * we shall see that the somewhat confused account of the Tamil invasions of the island in this early part of its history are not bottomless fabrications, but preserve for us the faded memory of real events, and the dates assigned to these events cease to be altogether valueless for Tamil chronology. †

Again, the dates of the three Dēvāram hymnists and of Tirumangai Āḻvar have been fixed on proper grounds in the seventh century and after; Appar, the oldest of them all, must have lived in the early part of that century. The most superficial student of Tamil literature can hardly fail to notice striking differences in vocabulary, diction, and metre between the compositions of these holy men and the entire body of Sangam literature, which surely indicate a growth through some centuries. The fact that Appar knows of Śenagaṇān as a spider transformed into a Cōla king, by showing that Śenagaṇān had already become a legendary figure, points in the same direction; and Śenagaṇān was apparently among the latest of the early Cōlas of whom we have spoken in this chapter.

† See Aute pp. 33f. Notice also the names Panaya māraka and Pilaya-māraka in the Ceylon list recalling Pajaiyan Māgan of Tamil literature.
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With these considerations before us, it is no longer true that one has to depend on the mere identity of the name to accept the Gajabāhu synchronism. Once that is accepted, it follows that, as Śenguttuvan and his contemporaries had some generations of predecessors and successors, the best working hypothesis is to assign the Sangam Age to the first three or four centuries of the Christian era.

Recent discussions centering round the twenty-ninth canto of the Manimēkalai and its relation to Diṅnāga’s Nyāyapraveśa have turned out to be less conclusive than they appeared at first. The resemblance between the Nyāyapraveśa and this canto of the Manimēkalai is, doubtless, “so complete that the Nyāyapraveśa must be supposed to be either inserted in or extracted out of the Manimēkalai.” * We may go further and assert with some confidence that the Nyāyapraveśa has been inserted in the Manimēkalai. † But one can hardly fail to notice

† The grounds for this view may be briefly indicated here. The publication of the Sanskrit text of the Nyāyapraveśa makes the Manimēkalai account much more intelligible than it was when Dr. S. K. Aiyangar wrote his ‘Manimēkalai in its Historical Setting.’ In reproducing almost word for word the treatment of fallacies in the Nyāyapraveśa, the Manimēkalai (xxix ii. 111-468) differs from it in some remarkable ways. It compresses the N. in parts and expands it sometimes as in the treatment of Udbhavyāyinī in Vaidharmya-Dṛṣṭāntibhasa, (two lines and a half of the Sanskrit text being rendered into ii. 424-49). Again some refinements are introduced by the Tamil author, which, though not found in the Nyāyapraveśa, are clearly suggested by it. The instance cited above is a good example of this also: and in discussing the example Śūkṣmatva as an instance of avdyamāna-ubhayādhikā-sādharmyā-dṛṣṭāntibhāsa, the N. explains the example only as referring to the avatva-vādī; but the M. (ll 383-4) applies it to the sattva-vādī as well. Again there are differences in terminology which can only be noted, without criticism, as some at least of them may be merely textual errors in the Tamil work: (a) In the enumeration of p. k. śāhāsas the M. has aprasiddhasambandha, the ninth category, in the place of prasiddhasambandha of the N.; (b) for anyatasiddha and sandhyā-siddha of the N. among hetvibrāmsas, the M. substitutes anyathāsiddha and siddhasiddha; (c) for
that a different and a simpler exposition of logical principles has already been given earlier in the canto, and that the exposition of fallacies in accordance with the Nyāyapravṛtta has come in as a clumsy afterthought, introduced by the impossible statement that upanaya and nigamana may be subsumed under drṣṭānta. This statement gives, in our view, the clue to the real history of the chapter. In its original form it contained only the exposition which takes the first place in the chapter, was pre-Dīnāga in its content, and stood for a syllogism of five members. Some pious student of Dīnāga, in his anxiety to glorify his master, by giving a rendering of the Nyāyapravṛtta to the Tamil world, hit on the idea of putting it into the standard romance of Tamil Buddhism, and when he was up against the five-member syllogism in the original work, he solved the difficulty in a crude manner and annexed to the chapter a discussion of fallacies based on the three-member syllogism. This conclusion gains in force from a study of the other systems of philosophy, like the Sāṅkhya, which are reflected in the Maṇimēkalai in their earlier phases.

viruddha-yabhicari of the N. we have viruddha-yabhicari in M. (d) in naming drṣṭāntaḥ, where the N. has dīhanadharma-asuddha etc., the M. gives sūdhan-dharma-vikala etc. It may be noted that Dharmaṅkāra too uses 'vikala' for 'asuddha'. See fIII. x pt. ii, for a review of the Nyāyapravṛtta (ed. Dhrūva) by S.S.S.

* ll. 45-108.

† ll. 109-110. On this Mr. Dhrūva remarks: "The author of the Maṇimēkalai does not perceive that the last two avayavaś cannot ever be included in the drṣṭānta as he ignorantly imagines." (p. xv).

‡ Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, has studied the Sāṅkhya in the Maṇimēkalai and proved its early character. Vide fIII. Vol. viii (1929) pt. iii. See also ix pt. iii for his paper on Buddhist Logic in the Maṇimēkalai.
CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ŠANGAM AGE.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible for us to view the political events of the Šangam age as a connected whole and study them in their sequence. They pass before us in kaleidoscopic confusion, more or less the same accidental results of the ambitions and fears, the hopes and blunders of kings and chieftains that they must have appeared to their contemporaries. We totally miss the mutual connection and the perspective in which it is the task of history to set the events of the past. What we lack in this direction seems, however, to be more than made good in another. There is no age without its peculiar background of social and cultural ideas and ideals, a kind of communal psychology, which possesses men’s minds and to a large extent supports their institutions and determines their actions. Of this psychological background, the literature of the Šangam gives us an unusually complete and true picture.

The most striking feature of the culture of the age is its composite quality. It is the unmistakable result of the blend of two originally distinct cultures, best described as Tamilian* and Aryan. There is no task more fascinating, and none less easy, in the study of the pre-history of Southern India than that of disentangling

* The old term Dravidian, now fallen into much contempt with some writers, does not mean anything essentially different. Inferences from language or culture to race are of course not warranted.

[ 73 ]
the primitive elements of these disparate cultures, the stages by which they mingled and the consequences of their mixture.* Our task is the simpler one of studying the resultant culture as it is reflected in the extant literature of the Śangam. In the absence of a settled internal chronology, and of reliable data bearing on the growth of the Tamil language in this period, the relative dates of individual poems can hardly be fixed with any confidence. Attempts to base inferences on a fifth century date for Karikāla, or on subjective tests like the assumption that kings began to loom large only after Karikāla’s time, † or the assumption that minor chieftains gained power after the eclipse of the three dynasties in the Kaḷabhra interregnum, ‡ cannot be received with too much suspicion. Our course must be to treat the entire corpus of the Śangam works, (including also the Śilappadikāram and the Maṉimēkalai in this description but making more cautious use of them than of the other poems), as depicting the culture of a definite epoch extending for a period of three centuries: and thus to gain some knowledge of the background against which must be set the wars and disputes, the friendships and jealousies that have been sketched in the last chapter.

* Much recent writing on this subject makes one reflect on the justice of the remark made in another context by Wingfield-Stratford: “This is a field that has hitherto been largely left to free lances, and it is perhaps a pity that a closer liaison has not been maintained between orthodox historians, and imaginative pioneers, the boldness of whose conclusions is apt to take one’s breath away, and demands from the reader exercise of the critical faculty not always apparent in the author. The argument from words, of which the free lance is so glibly prolific, is one that ought to be used with the utmost caution, considering how easy it is, with a little ingenuity, to make out a philological case for the wildest absurdity.” (The History of British Civilization, i p. 14).

† P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar Tamil p. 485; surely there were heroes before Agamemnon.

‡ ibid. p. 537.
To trace fully the elements of pre-Aryan Tamil culture that survived into historical times would involve an extensive application of comparative methods to the literature of the Sangam age, such as cannot be undertaken here. These survivals are seen sometimes to exist by the side of the newer practices; just as the electric train and the country cart are both seen in use today, so in the Maṇṭimēkalai we see the prevalence side by side of no fewer than five modes of disposing of the dead which included cremation, exposure, and burial with and without urns. * Other instances show evidence of a conscious effort to blend the new with the old, and dovetail into one another modes originally distinct and self-contained. It is well-known that the earliest Dharmasūtras † mention eight forms of marriage as part of the Aryan code; these eight forms are mentioned in the Sūtras of the Tolkāppiyam ‡ and the Iṟaiyanār Kalaviyāl, and much ingenuity is spent in accommodating them to Tamil forms. The Tamils had a relatively simple conception of marriage; they recognised the natural coming together of man and woman (kāmak-kūṭam), and the slight differences in the manifestation of love, perhaps ultimately traceable to differences in the physical conditions of the different parts of the country. These they recognised as the five tiṇais. They had also names for unilateral love, kaikkiḷai, and abnormal love—perundiḷai. Into this scheme the eight Aryan forms are squeezed with results not altogether happy. § The five tiṇais are treated as varieties of Gāndharva, and the Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paisāca forms are grouped

* vi. ii. 66–7.
† E. g. Gautama iv. 6 ff. (Mysore ed. u.)
‡ Maṇṭiṟiyar-er-ettu-mangal ettanūl, Su. 92 in Porul; Iṟaiyamḻṟ, Su. 1.
§ Tolkāppiyam Porul. 104–6.
under *kaikkilai,* — courses not very satisfactory in themselves. But the attempt to impound the remaining Aryan forms, Brāhma, Prājūpatya, Ārṣa and Daiva under *perundinai* is even less happy, and shows that the synthesis was not easy or natural. But the most tangible result of the meeting of the Tamil and the Aryan is the tremendous richness and fecundity that was imparted to the Tamil idiom thereby, and the rise of a literature which combined a good deal of classic grace with vernacular energy and strength. This is the literature of the Śangam Age.

In a few broad sweeps of his pen, the poet of the *Pattinappālai* *conveys to us* the general aspect of rural life in the ancient Cōla country studded with numberless small villages. The unfailing Kāvēri spread its fertilising waters on the wide fields yielding golden harvests. The white water lilies growing in wet fields withered under wreaths of smoke issuing from hot ovens on which was boiling the sweet juice of the dark cane. The buffalo crammed its maw with well-grown ears of corn, while its young ones slept in the shadow of the tall barns. Cocoanut palms and plantains with bunches of fruit, the areca-palm and the fragrant turmeric, the mango in its variety and the palmyra with clusters of palm-fruit, the broad based *sēmbhu* (*Colocasia antiquorum*), and the tender ginger grew in abundance around each village. Bright-faced maidens, wearing tasteful jewels and innocent looks, keeping watch over the paddy drying in the open, flung their curved ear-ornaments of gold at the fowl that came to eat the grain. Little children, with anklets on their feet, played about on the thresholds of houses, with their

* ll. 1—28.
toy-carts with three wheels and no horses, and shouted out to people to get out of their way. Such were the many villages in which lived the rich families of the extensive Cōla country. The wonderful fertility of the soil is a favourite theme with the poets, and making all allowances for the license of poets, one can hardly deny the reality of the substance behind such utterances as that of Kōvür-Kilār: *

Glory be thine, O giver, whose brow knows no sweat
From labour done, but only that from eager feasting!
[—Like drops of rain
That fall in the full lake, drips down the fat
From the meats they serve up; roasted flesh is
Carved and eaten; from their emptied porringers they
Quaff large draughts of milk!—
Thy fields of rice,—wide are their borders, where
The sweet cane flowers! Thy pasture lands,—with stalls
For herds,—there cattle graze!
Archers with fortified camps guard the flocks, and from
[tree-tops
On the wooded shore count the ships that cover thy sea!—
In the bay they load the abounding salt with which thy
[craggy mountains teem!

Āvūr Mūlam-kilār affirms † that the small space in which an elephant can lie down produced enough to feed seven; another poet ‡ states that a vēli of land produced a round thousand kalams of paddy.

The government of the land was in form a hereditary monarchy. Disputed successions and civil wars were, as we have seen, not uncommon; and if the accounts we possess of the ravages that followed a conquest contain any truth,

* Puram 368, IA. xxix pp. 282-3.
† Puram 40, II. 10-11.
‡ Parunār-ṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṛṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟṟṟṟṟṟṝṆṟ所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所所
war was not, as so often made out, the pleasant diversion of a few professionals which left the normal course of life in the country untouched. The Sanskrit conception of the state (rājya) as an organism with seven limbs (angas) was known and accepted, and the Kural, * introducing a slight but significant change, makes the remaining six elements subject to the king. In other respects as well, the concepts of polity gain a certain clarity and precision in the hands of Tiruvalluvar, unknown to their sources. The ten verses † in which he deals with the essentials of nādu (rāstra) are far more clear-cut in their analysis of the physical basis of the life of the state than the corresponding statements in the Arthasastras known to us, and the concluding declaration ‡:

"Though blest in every other way, it avails nothing to a nādu if there be no peace between the people and the king"

shows a firm grasp on the part of the author of the fundamentally moral foundations of political independence. Again, the same combination of shrewd practical wisdom and high political principle characterises his discussion of the place of treasure in state life, § and in this section we have the remarkable statement that the king’s treasury is replenished from three sources ¶—land-tax, customs and tolls, conquest. And in striking contrast to Kautilya’s maxims on prañaya (‘benevolences’), is the sound rule of Tiruvalluvar: ||

* No. 381  
† Nos. 731-40  
‡ No. 740.  
§ Nos. 751-60.  
¶ No. 756 Parimelalagar has taken muporu to mean escheat and treasure-trove; but see Divākaram, sec. 9.  
|| No. 552
GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE

"A sceptred king imploring a gift is like a robber with
lance in hand crying 'give'."

It may be noted in passing that a verse in Ahanūru* states that the Čōlas had a strongly guarded treasury at Kumbakōṇam.

The king was in all essential respects an autocrat, whose autocracy was tempered by the maxims of the wise and the occasional intercession of the minister. The sphere of the state's activity was, however, very limited, and in a society where respect for ancestral custom was very deep-rooted, even the most perverse of autocrats could not have done much harm; and it must be owned that the general impression left on the mind by the literature of the age is one of contentment on the part of the people who were proud of their kings and loyal to them. The great author of the Kura, much of whose work is devoted to a systematic treatment of the affairs of state, may be accepted as a safe guide to the prevailing theory of the time; and theory is never so completely divorced from practice that we can make no inferences from the one regarding the other. No better method can be availed of to understand the nature of Tamil monarchy in this period than to discuss some of the salient statements of Tiruvalluvar on the subject. He warns kings, for instance, against the corrupting influence of unlimited power, saying: †

The king with none to censure him, bereft of safe-
[guards all

Though none his ruin work, shall surely ruined fail.

The possibility of oppression and its consequence to the tyrant form the subject of some verses which seem

* No. 60. ll. 13-5—Kurrag-cōlar kuṇṭondai vaiita nādu taru nādiyinā-
-jiṟṟu-yo-vairum-gaṟi.
† No 448, Pope's translation.
THE COLAS

to imply that even in the face of intolerable misrule there were no formal remedies open to the people: *

His people's tears of sorrow past endurance, are not they Sharp instruments, to wear the monarch's wealth away?

... ... ... ... ... ...

'Ah! cruel is our king' where subjects sadly say,
His age shall dwindle, swift his joy of life decay.

The importance attached to espionage would likewise imply that the king had little direct means of ascertaining popular opinion: †

These two: the code renowned, and spies,
In these let the king confide as eyes.

And the duty is cast on the minister of even braving the anger of a worthless king and speaking out to him when the occasion demanded it: ‡

"Though, himself unwise, the king might cast his wise words away, it is the duty of the minister to speak the very truth."

Lastly, the important place of learned men in the polity of the land and the potency of their influence in the country and on the court is neatly brought out in the Kural: §

Although you hate incur of those whose ploughs are bows,
Make not the men whose ploughs are words your foes!

Nothing can furnish more striking evidence of the great gulf that separated royalty from common humanity than the awe with which the power of the king for good and for ill was contemplated. In theory, he was not merely, nor even primarily, the guardian of the people from physical danger,

* Nos. 565, 564.
† No. 581.
‡ No. 638.
§ No. 872.
GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE

internal and external, but he was the custodian of the Universal Order. On his right rule rested the penance of the sage, the purity of the wife, * nay the very course of the seasons. The Kural affirms: †

The learning and virtue of the sages spring from the sceptre of the King; again,
Where King, who righteous laws regards, the sceptre wields,
There fall the showers, there rich abundance crowns the fields,
Not lance gives kings the victory,
But sceptre swayed with equity.

The result of misrule then is not rebellion, but famine. Some of these ideas, though not in so clear-cut a form, are also the common stock of Sanskrit treatises on polity. These statements, doubtless, are by no means to be understood literally; they are only meant to emphasise the importance and the glory of a just rule: and are part of the armoury of maxims and exhortations intended for the guidance of kings and for the good of their subjects. But from this mystic conception of kingship, it is a far cry to the control of the royal power by popular representation and the power of the purse. The early Sanskritic political thinkers, like some Roman Catholic writers of the sixteenth century, justified tyrannicide under conditions. Tamil literature does not seem ever to sanction resistance to the king’s will.

Mention is made in the Silappadikāram and the Maṉimekalai of groups called aimperungulu and eyperāyam. Another group of five categories of persons is sometimes added to these to make up the ‘eighteen kilaiappālōr’

* Maṉi. xxii 1. 208.
† Nos. 543; 545—6, cf. also Maṉi—vii ll. 8 ff.
as the early lexicon Divākaram calls them, or the 'eighteen suṟṟam' as they are more commonly known. There are noticeable divergences among the earliest authorities on the content of aippertungulu and enpēṟayam: * this, taken along with the contexts in which these phrases occur outside the lexicons, is enough to convince a student of Tamil Literature that these various groups are part of the royal paraphernalia which accompanied kings on ceremonial occasions. The Kural knows nothing of them. Kanakasabhai, † who recognised that the 'enpēṟaṉam' were the eight groups of attendants who contributed to the 'pomp and dignity' with which the king was surrounded, somehow convinced himself that the 'aippertungulu' was of another order, and has made a number of statements not one of which is warranted by his sources. "The council of representatives safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people; the priests directed all religious ceremonies; the physicians attended to all matters affecting the health of the king and his subjects; the astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events; the ministers attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and the administration of justice. Separate places were assigned in the capital town, for each of these assemblies, for their meetings and transaction of business. ...The power of government was entirely vested in the king and in the 'Five Great Assemblies.' It is most remarkable that this system of government was followed in the three kingdoms of the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Cēra, although they were independent of each other. There is reason to believe therefore that they followed this system of government which obtained in the country.

* See PK. pp. 32-3.
† The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago. pp. 109-10.
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from which the founders of the 'three kingdoms' had originally migrated, namely, the Magadha Empire."

Of this string of astonishing assertions, we can only observe that everything in them except the names of the groups is pure imagination, and the reader will search the texts in vain for support for these statements. What is here called 'the council of representatives' is described by the vague term 'māsanam' which at best may mean 'elders'. *

For the germ of a popular assembly, not organised on any scientific basis of representation, but still virtually representing such public opinion as there was, we must turn really to the institution called 'mantram' (hall) and 'podiyil' (common place) in this early literature. The two sections on 'avai' (sahā) in the Kurāl are quite general, and some verses in them may raise a doubt whether anything more than meetings for purposes of learned disputation is contemplated by them; but the term 'avai' is also applied in other works to the 'mantram' and in the Kurāl itself, the avai is clearly part of the mechanism of politics. We may therefore hold with Parimēla lagar that these sections have

* As may be expected, scholars who are not in a position to control Kanakasabhai's statements by going to his sources have been much intrigued by them. In his thoughtful work on Corporate Life in Ancient India, for instance, R. C. Majumdar takes a big leap forward from the point to which Kanakasabhai had taken him, and affirms: "It appears to me that the so-called Five Assemblies were really the five committees of a Great Assembly. The writer has traced them to the Magadha Empire, but they seem to me rather the modifications of the Vedic Samiti which left its reminiscence in every part of India." And these hoary assemblies also by a miracle anticipated the most modern developments in political organisation! For Majumdar continues: "In any case the representative character of these bodies, and the effective control which they exercised over the administration is clearly established. It is interesting to note also that the 'ministers' formed one of the assemblies. The assemblies, taken together, may justly be compared with the Privy Council referred to above, the assembly of the ministers corresponding with the Cabinet composed of a selected few." (Second Edition pp. 130-1). Aho nirankuṣatvam utprekyōṭih!

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reference to the king's sabhā. Frequent as are the allusions to the 'sabhā' or 'manṭam' in the works of the period, few specific details of its nature and working are forthcoming. Its place in the administration of justice, especially in the capital city of the king, is well attested. The sons of Malayāyamān were tried and sentenced, and later released by the intercession of Kovur-Kilār, in the manṭam of Uraiyūr; * and Pottiyār, after the death of his friend Kopperuniyil, could not bear the sight of the same manṭam bereft of him. The Porunav-arruppadai † makes a pithy statement about adults setting aside their feuds while they entered the sabhā, which might mean either that they got their disputes adjudicated or laid their private quarrels aside for the discharge of common duties. We can infer naturally that the sabhā or manṭam was also availed of by the king for purposes of general consultation; Tiruvalluvar lays stress on the importance of ready speech in the assembly by saying that the learning of a man who is afraid to speak out in the assembly is like a bright sword in the hands of a eunuch on the field of battle. ‡

Even less specialised and more entangled in the social and religious complex of village life was the manṭam of the rural areas. Each village had its common place of meeting, generally under the shade of a big tree where men, women and children met for all the common activities of the

* Puram 46.

† ll. 187-8—mudiyōr-avai-puku-poludiyān pākai muraṅ śelavum. Here 'mudiyōr' is to be taken in contrast with the 'ilaiyōr' immediately preceding in the sentence ilaiyōr vundal-agaram. Narciṅārkkiyār indeed does not do so, and understands 'mudiyōr' to mean 'old men', and finds occasion to introduce the legend about Karikāla putting on a wig of grey hair in order to appear older than the old men who came to lay their differences before him.

‡ No 727.
village; there were held the folk dances in which the women took part and which were suspended in the midst of a war or siege. * Lacking evidence on the place occupied by the manoram on the political side of rural life, we may still trace to these primitive folkgatherings, at least in part, the beginnings of the highly developed system of village-government which came into existence and functioned so admirably in later Cōla times. †

The chief sources of royal revenue appear to have been land and trade. The mā and the vēli as measures of land were already known; ‡ but we have no means of determining precisely the king's share of the produce of agriculture. The peasant was the backbone of the country's prosperity and was held in great esteem. The author of the Kural affirms that his was the only life worth the name, the life of all the rest being one of servitude and sycophancy. § The importance of foreign trade in the period, and the vivid account of the activity of customs officials given in the Paṭṭinappālai ¶ must go a long way to convince us of the high place occupied by customs duties as a source of revenue.

"In the broad street near the sea beach where are seen (to grow) white long-petalled clusters of tālai (Pandanus), officials of established renown guarding the property of the good king, collect customs from day to day, unting like the horses yoked to the chariot of the hot-rayed sun; yet, without abating, in the manner of showers in the rainy (season) when the water absorbed by the clouds is poured on the hill, and the water

* Parām 373.
† See Studies pp. 74 ff.
‡ Forinar. li. 180, 246.
§ No. 1033.
¶ ll. 118-137.
poured on the hill is despatched to the sea, immeasurable quantities of various articles are being brought ashore from the sea and sent to the sea from land; in heavy bales, precious articles come crowding in endlessly into the strongly guarded enclosure, and are sent to the stack after being stamped with the (seal of the) mighty and fierce tiger.”

The prison formed part of the system of administration. * The Cēra Kāṇaikkēl-Irumpo-rāi was detained by Šengānān in a prison, which, from its name Kuṭavāyir-kōṭṭam, is sometimes taken to have been in Kumbakōṇam or a smaller place, also near it, now called Koṭavūsal. †

An army of well-equipped professional soldiers was regularly maintained and no doubt found frequent employment in those bellicose times. The captains of the army were distinguished by the title of ēṇādī conferred on them in a ceremony of formal investiture at which the king presented his chosen commander with a ring and other insignia of high military rank. ‡ The Purāṇānūra contains two poems § on such military leaders who served the Kōḷa monarchs; of these, one gives a very clear notion of the ideals cherished by a good soldier in those days:

“You, when you see a fight, you rush to the front, divide your enemy’s forces, stand before them, and get your body scarred by the deep cuts of their swords; thus are you (your fame is) pleasant to the ear, not so your body to the eye. As for them (your enemies), when they see you, they turn their backs, and with bodies whole and unscarred, they are pleasant to the eye.

* Maṇi xix ii. 42-3.
† See Kaḷavali-ed. Anantarama Aiyar p. 10. (Introdn.)
‡ See Naccinārkkiniyar on mṛṇāyan-pērṣa-ṇeṇunaliyānuni (Tol. Porul. Purattiyai, Su. 8.)
§ Nos. 167, 394.
not so (their infamy) to the ear. Hence, you are pleasant in one way, they in another; what is there else in which they do not equal you? Yet, what wonder is it, tell us, noble one! that this world cherishes you, O! Kil!i, of the fleet steed and of the victorious anklet- adorned foot."

Even the common soldier when he fell fighting was cherished by his compatriots. The spot was usually marked by a stone bearing on it the name and the fame of the fallen hero. Such hero stones also sometimes became objects of worship. This custom survived till at least the tenth century in the Tamil and Kanarese country where several inscribed hero stones bearing dates in the ninth and tenth centuries and answering to the description given of them in Śangam literature have been brought to light. The setting up of memorial stones for this and other purposes was so common that, at an early date, literary convention came to standardise the procedure adopted on such occasions.†

Kings often took the field in person and delighted to rejoice with the common soldiers in their successes; on the other hand, if a king was killed or even seriously wounded in the midst of the fight, his army gave up the struggle and accepted defeat.‡ Yet only a warrior's death was held worthy of kings; one Cēra monarch, as we have seen, having been wounded in his back, decided to starve himself to death; another, less heroic, mourned his captivity in pitiful terms. It was a common practice to lay on a bed of kuśa grass the corpses of kings who died otherwise than in a fight, and cleave them with a sword before burial or cremation in order to ensure

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* Kural 771; Aham 131; Puram 306, 1. 4.
† Tol. Porul. Su. 63 (end.)
‡ Puram 62, 1. 13.
for them a place in the Valhalla of the Tamils. * The vanity of the victor often inflicted deep personal humiliations on his vanquished foe, the memories of which rankled and brought on further strife. The crowns of defeated kings furnished the gold for the anklets of the victor. † The horse, the elephant and war chariot, the sword, lance and bow, and the war-drum are among the paraphernalia of war most frequently described in the literature of the age. Elephants are often said to have carried flags in the battle-field, no doubt, the distinctive standards of each side which had, besides, other less prominent emblems like flowers and garlands of a particular variety. The Kalavali is one of the most detailed descriptions we possess of the battle-field in the Tamil country, and the poem supplies in a casual way much interesting information on military affairs. ‡ The soldiers, infantry and cavalry alike, wore leather sandals for the protection of their feet. § The nobles and princes rode on elephants, and the commanders drove in pennoned chariots. Poygaiyar mentions that women who had lost their husbands bewailed their loss on the field of Kaḷumalam; ¶ unless this is mere rhetoric, we may suppose that women, at least of the higher orders, sometimes accompanied their husbands to the field.

Besides being the head of the government and leader in war, the king also held the first rank in social life. He patronised poetry and the arts, and kept an open house. War

* Maṇi. xxiii ll. 13 ff and n.
† Puram 40. Modern warfare is no stranger to such unchivalrous practices. Witness enemy guns cast into memorial shields.
‡ Kanakasabhai has edited and translated the poem, IA. xviii. p. 253.
§ Kalavali 9.
¶ Verse 29.

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and women were, in fact, the universal preoccupations of the leisured classes, besides wine and song. The king and his ēnādis with their retinues must have formed a gay boisterous crew at the top of society with a huge capacity for enjoying the simple pleasures of life such as eating and drinking. No occasion was lost for holding a feast and the poets are most eloquent in their praise of the sumptuous fare to which they were so often asked. One poet declares to his patron: *

"I came to see you that we may eat together the unctuous chops of meat, cooled after boiling and soft like the carded cotton of the spinning woman, alternating with large pots of toddy."

Another records in grateful detail his exhilarating reception at the hands of the great Cōla king Karikāla: †

"In his palace, beautiful women decked in fine jewels and sweet smiles, often poured out and filled the ever-ready goblet of gold with intoxicating liquor, unstinting like the rain; thus drinking my fill, and chasing out my fatigue and my great distress, I experienced a new elation. * * * In good time, he plied me with the soft boiled legs of sheep fed on sweet grass, and hot meat, cooked at the points of iron spikes, in large chops which were cooled by being turned in the mouth from one side to another; when I said I would have no more of these, he kept me on, and gave me to eat sweets made in varied shapes and of excellent taste. In this wise, entertained by the music of the sweet drum and the well tuned lute of the bright faced viraliyar, I spent many pleasant days. On occasions, he entreated me to eat food prepared from rice; then I ate fine cooked rice which, with unbroken edges and erect like fingers, resembled the buds of the mullai (flower), together with curries sweetened with milk, in such quantity that they filled me up to the neck. So I stayed happily with him, and by eating flesh day and night, the edges of my teeth became blunt like the

* Puram 125.
† Poomar-āṟṟuppadai 11. 84-9; 102-21; see also Puram 34 translated by Pope IA. xxix p. 251.
ploughshare (after) ploughing dry land. Getting no time to rest, I began to dislike food; and one day I said: ‘O! prosperous (king)! expert in collecting tribute from your angry foes, let me go hence, back to my old city.’

The habit of eating betel leaves after food was well-known. Women are said to have given up eating betel leaves and bathing in cold water when their husbands fell in battle. * Kōvalan’s wife Kaṇṇaki gave him, after his last meal, betel leaves and areca-nuts to eat, before he went out on his fatal mission for the sale of the anklet in Madura. †

Easily the most cultured among the amusements open to the upper classes in those days were poetry, song and dance. The poets were men and women drawn from all classes; they composed verses to suit the immediate occasion and were often rewarded very well for their literary exertions. How much we owe to these occasional songs, gathered subsequently and arranged in ‘the eight anthologies’, must be clear from the numerous examples quoted already. The profits of poetry in this age were believed, at any rate by people of later times, to be absurdly high; and the author of the Kalingattupparaṇī tells us that Kaṇṭiyalūr Rudranganḍanār got for his Pattinappalai over a million and a half gold pieces from Karikāla. ‡ If legend says true, only a small part of early Tamil poetry has come down to us; but what we possess of this literature bears evidence of its great qualities. The poems, specially the shorter ones, are full of colour and true to life. They abound in fine

* Puram 62 l. 14.
† Sil xvi l. 55.
‡ v. 185-The figure given is 1600,000; ‘Pattinappalaiyiram,’
phrases giving compact and eloquent expression to the physical and spiritual experiences of the poet. They are generally free from the monotony and the artificiality that mar much of later Tamil poetry. And they do not lack width of range. The short poem, the long ode, the dramatic epic and the religious lyric were all known; and in the Kural of Tiruvaliuvvar we have a work that transcends the limitations of time and place.

Besides these poets, some of whom were resident companions of kings and chiefs, while others, the humbler ones, moved from one court to another in search of patronage, there were also roving bands of musicians followed by women who danced to the accompaniment of music. They were the pânar and viraaliyar who moved about the country in companies carrying with them all sorts of quaint musical instruments. They seem to have been the representatives of primitive tribal groups* who preserved the folk-songs and dances of an earlier age. Their numbers and their poverty form a frequent theme of the poetry of the age, and, from all accounts, they seem to have lived from hand to mouth and seldom known where their next meal was to be had. Here is a very humorous account† of their experiences after meeting a generous patron:

"The Cōla king showered great quantities of wealth in (the form of) fine and costly jewels not suited to us; on seeing this, some among the large group of my kinsfolk, used (only) to abject poverty, put on their ears ornaments meant for the fingers; others wore on their fingers things meant for the ear; others put on their necks jewels meant for the waist; yet others adorned their waists with ornaments properly worn on the neck; in this wise, as on the day when the mighty rākṣasa carried off Sītā, the wife of Rāma of the swift chariot, the great

* Puram 335.
† Puram 378, ll. 10-22.
group of red-faced monkeys shone in the fine jewels (of Śilā) that they discovered on the ground, we were the cause of endless laughter.”

Of the class of poems called arruppālui, in which a poet narrates his experiences of a patron and invites others to bring themselves to his notice, some are addressed to the pānar and one of these poems, a relatively short piece, may be reproduced here. *

“Minstrel, with little lute of sweetest strain !
Suppliant with words of ancient wisdom full !
Importunate thou askest me to rest and listen to the pleasant sounds of thy tambourine.
But hear what I shall say !
The modest home of Pannya, whose hands are full of gifts, is near the wide city.

There food inexhaustible is found like the waters of the cool tank under January’s moon, and the humming bees explore the sweets of the fragrant water-lily.

There he meditates the praise and glory of Kiliivalavan, king of the good land that yields in abundance rice and sweet water, and that knows the fire that cooks, but not the fire that consumes.

If thither,—together with thy songstress, whose hair diffuses fragrance of the ‘trumpet-flower,’ the bright-browed, sweetly smiling—you softly advance, you shall prosper well.

His gifts are not mere chance, like gold found by the woodman in the forest.

Hesitate not.
Long may he flourish ! ”

That the arts of music and dancing were highly developed becomes clear from the celebrated third canto, the Arangērrukādai of the Silappadikāram which gives a full account of the technique of the theatre

* Puram 70; IA. xxix p. 281.
and the dance, and of the music and musical instruments accompanying the dance. If we may trust the earliest glossator to whom we have access on this highly abstruse section of the Śilappadikāram, the dancing and music, of which hetaerae like Mādhavī were the exponents in high society, comprised at least two strains which had come together to form a complex scheme. These were the dēśi and mārga, the former doubtless as its name implies the strain indigenous to the country, and the latter an exotic Aryan mode. We may also infer the existence of an extensive literature on these arts most of which has been lost to us. Eleven scenes* from Aryan mythology seem to have been selected for standardised presentation and formed the classics of the arts. The Maṇiṁekalai † like Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra, indicates that the nāḍaka magalir, the hetaerae, underwent a regular course of instruction extending over a number of years and comprising royal dances, popular dances, singing, lute-playing, flute-playing, cookery, perfumery, painting, flowerwork and so on. Several varieties of the viṇai and the yāl are mentioned; it is not easy to understand their exact forms now, though it is clear that a high stage of development had then been reached in these arts, apparently after a long evolution.

The richer classes dwelt in houses built of brick and mortar, ‡ of which the walls were often covered with paintings of divine figures and pictures of animal life, § and surrounded by tastefully laid out pleasure gardens. ¶

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* These are detailed in Śīl. vi 39 ff.
† Maṇi ii ll. 18-32.
‡ Purāṇ 378.
§ Maṇi. iii. ll. 127 ff.
¶ Maṇi xix ll. 102 ff.
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Such gardens possessed shallow wells or tanks with mechanical fittings, artificial hillocks, rivulets and waterfalls, bowers of flower plants and glass houses, for the amusement of the inmates of the mansions that stood in their midst. Mirrors were also known and used. * The opening canto of the Śilappadikāram gives an account of a wedding in high society which, though no doubt slightly idealised, may perhaps be accepted as based upon reality. The bride, Kaṇṇaki, was twelve years of age; the bridegroom, Kōvalan, was sixteen. Their marriage was arranged by their parents, who were wealthy merchants, and announced to the citizens of Puhār by ladies riding on an elephant.

"On the day when the moon was in conjunction with Rōhini, in a maṇḍapa adorned with pearls and flowers and supported on jewelled pillars with flower-festooned capitals, underneath an azure canopy, Kōvalan, led in the Vedic rituals by an aged Brahman (priest), went round the fire in the company of her who rivalled Arundhati—blessed are the eyes of those who saw the sight."

The ceremonial over, the women strewed flowers and prayed for the life-long happiness of the couple, and the prosperity of the Emperor, and then followed the consummation. †

Of the life of the common folk, literature furnishes fewer details. The Paṭṭinappālai gives a vivid account of the life ‡ of the Paradavar, the deep-sea fishermen of Puhār, including some of their holiday amusements. On the wide dune of black sand, the large clan of the rough working

* Maṇi. xix 90.
† See also Aham 85, quoted by P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar Tamils pp. 78-80.
‡ ll. 59-117
Paradavar were seen eating the cooked flesh of the sea-fish and the boiled field-turtle. Wearing flowers of the aqumbu (Ipomoea bilboa) and the water-lily, they gathered in the spacious manryam like the stars and planets revolving in the blue sky. The stronger ones among them entered the wide arena and, without turning back, they fought fierce duels hurting one another with their fists and their weapons. Birds flew from the mottled palms, frightened by stones shot from slings. In the outer streets, pigs were wallowing in puddles with their young ones, together with many kinds of fowl, and rams and quails were seen fighting. Their huts with low thatched roofs in which were stuck the long handles of fishing rods resembled the little enclosures round hero stones made of rows of shields and spears. In the midst of these huts, fishing nets were drying on sandy thresholds, like patches of darkness in bright moonlight. Wearing the garlands of the cool white convolvulus growing at the foot of the screw pine (with aerial roots) they planted a branching jaw-bone of the sword fish and invoked a mighty god to dwell in it. Decked in the long-petalled tālai (pandanus) flowers, the big red-haired fishermen drank the toddy of the rustling palm in the company of their dark women clad in garments of green leaves. Refraining from going a-fishing on the wide blue water, they ate and sported on the sandy beach reeking of the smell of fish. Like the ruddy cloud embracing the high mountain, like the baby clinging to its mother's breast, the red waters of the Kāviri mingled with the clear sea water roaring at its mouth; there, the Paradavar washed their sins in the sea and the salt of the sea in the water of the river. They played with the crabs and, amidst the spreading waves of the sea, made dolls of sand and, feasting their senses in other ways, they spent the whole day in
games. In the night, they heard music and witnessed the plays acted in pillared mansions; lovers, changing silks for lighter robes and drinking wine without limit, slept on the sands in the last watch of night.

Puhār or Kāvirippūmpattinam was one of the few great cities of the time, and, being on the sea coast, it was also the great emporium of the kingdom. The city, its port and trade are fully described in the poems. The author of the Śilappadikāram says that the wise considered the prosperity of Puhār as stable as the Himalaya and the Podiya mountains; * again,

“This celebrated city, full of riches coveted by kings and teeming with sailors, is so well stocked that it will not fail in its hospitality even if the whole world encircled by the roaring sea become its guest; indeed in the hoards of (merchandise) brought in ships and carts, (the city) resembles a congregation of (all) the alien tracts producing precious goods.”

A poet, † addressing the Cōla king, says that big ships entered the port of Puhār without slacking sail, and poured out on the beach, inhabited by the common people, precious merchandise brought from overseas.

Its bazaar. The author of Pattinappālai, ‡ says many tall mansions surrounded by platforms reached by high ladders. These mansions had many apartments and were provided with door-ways, great and small, and wide verandahs and corridors. Well-dressed damsels glittering in jewels were looking out from the windows of the upper floors, and their palms joined in their front in salutation to Muruga resembled bunches

* i, ll. 14–19. ii, ll. 1 ff.
† Purān 30 ll. 11-14.
‡ Pattinappālai ll. 142-158.
of *sengāndal* (*gloriosa superba*) flowers seen high on the slopes of mountains. When Muruga was taken out in procession in the bazaar, which was done quite often, music and dancing parties accompanied him, and the sound of the flute, lute and drum mingled with the noises in the street. In all parts of the town there were flags of various kinds and shapes *flying in the air*; some were flags that were worshipped by many as a high divinity, and the entrances to their precincts were decorated with flowers. Others were white flags raised on frames supported by posts, below which were made offerings of rice and sugar to precious boxes of merchandise. Yet others were flags that announced the challenge of great and renowned teachers who had mastered many sciences. † There were also flags waving on the masts of ships heaving in the port of Puhār like huge elephants chafing at their posts. Yet others, flying over shops where fish and flesh were being sliced and fried and whose thresholds were strewn with fresh sand and flowers, announced the sale of high-class liquor to their numberless customers.

In the same poem which so vividly describes the external appearance of the city, there occurs the following idealised description of its merchants and traders and their moral: ‡

"They shunned murder, and put aside theft; pleased the gods by fire offerings; raised good cows and bulls; spread the glory of the Brahmins; gave (their guests) sweets to eat and (sometimes) foodstuffs raw; in these ways was their kindly life filled with endless good deeds. Holding to the golden mean,

* †* ibid ll. 159-183.

† This method of exhibiting one’s learning in public disputations is also mentioned in the *Maṇimēkalai*, ll. 60-1. It was quite common in Europe till modern times; and in India, it is well-known even now among pandits.

‡ ll. 199-212
like the peg of the loving farmer's long yoke, they feared
the untrue and ever spoke the truth; they regarded others'
rights as scrupulously as their own; they took nothing more than
was due to them and never gave less than was due from them;
trading thus in many articles of merchandise, they enjoyed an
ancient heritage of prosperity and lived in close proximity to one
another."

The general plan of the town of Duhūr is described
in considerable detail in canto V of the
Śīlapadikāram. The town built on the
northern bank of the Kāvērī near its
mouth comprised two parts, Maruvūr-pākkan near the
sea and Paṭṭinap-pākkam to its west. These were sepa-
rated by a stretch of open ground taken up by a garden
of trees under the shade of which was held the daily
market of the city. Near the beach, in Maruvūr-pākkam
were terraced mansions and warehouses with windows
shaped like the eyes of the deer. There was the abode
of the prosperous vavanas whose pleasant features
arrested the eyes of spectators, and of
other foreigners who, for the gains
from their maritime trade, lived close to one another on
quite friendly terms. Vendors of fragrant pastes and
powders, of flowers and incense, weavers who worked
silk, wool or cotton, traders in sandal, agil, coral, pearls,
gold and precious stones, grain-merchants, washermen,
dealers in fish and salt, sellers of betel-leaves and
spices, butchers, sailors, braziers and copper-smiths, car-
penters and blacksmiths, painters and sculptors (stucco-
workers), goldsmiths, tailors and cobblers, makers of
toys in pith and cloth, and the numerous pānar who were
experts in the music of the lute and flute—these and
others had their residence in Maruvūr-pākkam. In the
Paṭṭinam-pākkam were the broad royal
street, the car street and the bazaar
street. Rich merchants, brahmans, farmers, physicians,
astrologers lived in their respective quarters. "Surrounding the palace were the houses of charioteers, horse and elephant riders and the soldiers who formed the body-guard of the king. Bards, minstrels and panegyrists, actors, musicians and buffoons, chank-cutters and those skilled in making flower garlands and strings of pearls, time-keepers whose duty it was to cry out the nālikais or divisions of time, as each passed, and other servants of the palace also resided within the limits of Paṭṭinap-pākkam." *

Of the overseas trade of the Cōla kingdom in the Sangam Age again we get an excellent idea from a few lines of the Paṭṭinappālai. The city of Puhār had a large colony of foreign merchants from different parts of the world.

"Like the large crowd gathered in a city of ancient renown on a festival day when people from many different places betake themselves to it with their relatives, persons from many good countries speaking different tongues had left their homes and come to reside (in Puhār) on terms of mutual friendship ". †

Of the articles of foreign trade we have the following description from the same source: ‡

"Under the guardianship of the gods of enduring glory, horses with a noble gait had come by the sea; bagfuls of black pepper had been brought in carts; gems and gold born of the northern mountain, the sandal and agil from the western mountain, the pearl of the southern sea, the coral of the western sea, the products of the Ganges (valley), the yield of the Kāvēri,

* The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, p. 25. The Maṇimdhūral xxviii ll. 31-67 has a description of Kāṭēpuram which, apparently similar to the description of Puhār reproduced above from the Silappadikāram, strikes one as too conventional to be accepted as having any close relation to facts. The Silappadikāram account is much more convincing.

† ll. 213-17.

‡ ll. 184-193.
foodstuffs from Ceylon, and goods from Kālīgām, * all these materials, precious and bulky alike, were heaped together in the broad streets overflowing with their riches."

Of the ports in other parts of the Tamil country we have similar descriptions in the literature of the Šangam. † Even inland cities like Madura had guards of 'dumb mlecchas' and 'yavanas' in complete armour keeping watch in the king's palaces. The *Perumbāṉ-āṟṟuppadai, ‡ a poem of the same period, speaks of tall lighthouses on the coast summoning ships to harbour by the night.

If we compare this evidence with that of the classical writers of the early centuries of the Christian era, we shall see that the data drawn from these two disparate sources work into one another so closely that it becomes quite obvious that they relate to the same period of history. The author of the *Periplus says positively that the Roman merchants raised every year beautiful maidens for the harems of Indian kings and the fact is confirmed by what passes in some dramas of India. § The chart of Peutinger, prepared at a time when the Roman Empire was flourishing in all its power, carries on the sheet devoted to India, by the side of the names of Tyndis and Musiris, the words 'Temple of Augustus.' ¶ Large quantities of Roman coins found in the interior of the Tamil land || attest the extent of trade, the presence of Roman settlers in the Tamil country and the periods

* The annotator makes this Kadāram (Sumatra).
† PK. p. 35. Kanakasabhai op. cit. Chh. ii and iii.
‡ ll. 346-50.
¶ *Ibid* p. 183.
of the rise, zenith and decay of this active commerce. Casual statements made by the classical authors and, more decidedly, the evidence of the early Chinese annals, prove that along the sea-route from the Far-East to the West, India acted as an intermediary for many generations. The maritime trade of the Indian ocean in the early centuries of the Christian era is in itself a subject too vast, and authentic evidence on it is too extensive, * for us to attempt anything more than to draw attention to a few of its aspects that should interest students of Cōla history.

The feeble beginnings of the trade between the Roman Empire and India, confined at first to articles of luxury, may be traced to the reign of Augustus, if not to an earlier time. Trade with the East was one of the chief factors that brought about the extension and consolidation of the Roman Empire in that direction, and the Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus, though not a complete success, secured good harbours in the south of Arabia for the Roman traders on their way from Egypt to India. In the reign of Augustus, despite the ‘embassies’ to him from the Pāṇḍya country, this commerce was by no means extensive or economically important; the notices of some contemporary writers, whose imagination was struck by such trade, has led modern scholars, on the whole, to exaggerate its significance. But it soon assumed new and unexpected proportions, and ceased to be the negligible branch of Roman trade that it was in the beginning. The growth proceeded steadily through the times of the Julii and Claudii, and though there was a lively trade by land, the maritime commerce of

* Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (Cambridge 1923.)
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Egypt with Arabia, and through Arabia with India, was the most considerable branch of the commerce with the East. So long as the trade was confined to luxuries and carried on through Arab intermediaries, the Romans paid for it mostly in gold and silver, and the oft-quoted statement of the elder Pliny that not a year passed without the Empire paying out a hundred million sesterces (about £1,087,500) to India, China and Arabia * has, most likely, reference to this early phase. After Augustus, the trade with India grew naturally in the favourable atmosphere of a great Empire. "The discovery of the monsoons by Hipparchus of Alexandria in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman times, as well as the natural tendency of a growing trade to become more than a trade in luxuries and a merely passive trade on one side, led to the establishment of a direct route by sea between Egypt and India. The main centre of traffic was now Alexandria. The Arabian harbours lost their importance. . . . The new route was fully established at the date of the Periplus, that is, under Domitian. The trade with India gradually developed into a regular exchange of goods of different kinds between Egypt on the one side and Arabia and India on the other. One of the most important articles which came from India was cotton, † another probably was silk. Both of these products were worked up in the factories of Alexandria, which sent in exchange glass, metal ware, and probably linen." ‡ Nothing can prove better the increasing volume and regularity of the Indian trade of the Roman Empire than the contrast

* Warmington op. cit. pp. 274 ff. W. thinks that Pliny's 'Seras' were the Ceram. But see Hudson, Europe and China (Arnold, 1931) pp. 100-2. Roman coins need not actually have reached China.

† Periplus Sec. 59.

between the meagre description of the direct trade route to India given by the author of the *Periplus* and the elaborate precision of Ptolemy’s descriptions in the first half of the second century A.D. Ptolemy’s account shows that the Roman trade now reached beyond India to Indo-China and Sumatra, and that the trade with India and China was highly developed and quite regular. Relatively few Roman merchants visited the lands of the Far-East themselves; Southern India obviously acted as intermediary in the trade between China and the West. The carrying trade between the Malaya Peninsula and Sumatra in the East and the Malabar coast in the West was largely in the hands of the Tamils.* The direct trade between Rome and Southern India declined and died out in the period of military anarchy in the Roman Empire of the third century. Practically no coins of the third century have been found in India. Business relations were not resumed till order and a stable gold currency had been re-established in the Byzantine period,” † and then mostly through intermediaries.

Of the carrying trade of the Indian ocean and the Arabian sea, the Cōḷas had an important share and controlled ‘the largest and most extensive Indian shipping’ of the Coromandel coast.‡ In the harbours of the Cōḷa country, says the author of the *Periplus*, “are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica; § and other

† Rostovtseff-*op. cit.* p. 421. Warmington, pp. 139-40.
‡ Warmington, p. 65.
§ This means the west coast of India. “Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica” (Sec. 53)
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very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called sangara; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called colandia and are very large." * Here three kinds of craft are distin-
guished by the author of the Periplus—light coasting
boats for local traffic, larger vessels of a more compli-
cated structure and greater carrying capacity, and lastly
the big ocean-going vessels that made the voyages to
Malaya and Sumatra, and the Ganges. Quite obviously,
the light coasting craft is what the poet Rudrangaṇṇanaṅ
had in mind when he described rows of roomy boats
which had returned laden with grain secured in
exchange for the white salt they had sold and which
were seen in the back-waters of the port of Puhār tied
to rows of pegs and looking like so many destriers. †
The same writer mentions elsewhere larger ships which
 carried flags at their mastheads and which he compares
to big elephants. Navigation in the high seas and the
dangers attendant on it in foul weather are picturesquely
described in the Maṇimēkalai in a forcible simile in
which the mad progress of Udayakumara in search of
Maṇimēkalai ‡ is compared to that of a ship caught in
a storm on the high sea:

"The captain trembling, the tall mast in the centre broken
at its base, the strong knots unloosed and the rope cut asunder
by the wind, the hull damaged and the sails rent and noisy, like
the ship caught in a great storm and dashed about in all directions
by the surging waves of the ocean."

This coincidence of testimony drawn from the early
literature of the Tamil country and the Periplus on the
conditions of maritime trade in the Indian seas in the
early centuries of the Christian era is indeed very

* Section 60 and Schoff's notes thereon.
† Pattimappālai ll. 29-32.
‡ iv. ll. 29-34.
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remarkable in itself. When one considers this in the light of other evidence from Indo-China and the islands of the archipelago on the permeation of Indian influences in those lands from very early times, one can hardly fail to be struck by the correctness of the conclusion reached by Schoff: "The numerous migrations from India into Indo-China, both before and after the Christian era, give ample ground for the belief that the ports of South India and Ceylon were in truth, as the Periplus states, the centre of an active trade with the Far-East, employing larger ships, and in greater number, than those coming from Egypt." We shall see that, when after a long eclipse, the power of the Cōla kings revived in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the sea-faring instincts of the people had not deserted them and that, in the favourable conditions then obtaining, they attempted tasks more venturesome than anything they had achieved in the earlier age.

Before turning to a study of the internal trade and industry of the Cōla country, mention must be made of a unique example, in the second or third century A.D., of the working of Indian influence on the art and culture of the Roman Empire. The wide sway of Greco-Roman influences in India in Gāndhāran art and the art of Amarāvati is now generally admitted. A silver dish found at Lampasacus, partly inlaid with gold and partly enamelled, † "furnishes a valuable proof of the excellent knowledge which the Romans possessed about India and of the interest which they took in that country." The dish figures a "personification of India seated on a peculiar Indian chair, the legs of which are formed by elephant tusks. Her right hand is lifted in the

* Periplus p. 261
† Rostovtzeff op. cit. p. 126.
gesture of prayer, in her left she holds a bow. Around her are grouped Indian animals—a parrot, a guinea hen and two pet monkeys. Under her feet are two Indians leading a pet tiger and a pet panther, ready to fight, and making the gesture of adoration.”* It is possible that the animals represented on the dish formed the chief objects of trade by the land route from India to the Roman Empire.

Among the industries of the Cola country as of South India in general, in this period as always, the chief place was held by agriculture. The high place of agriculture in the national economy and the phenomenal fertility of the soil in the basin of the Kāveri are, as we know, clearly reflected in the literature of the time. Many agricultural operations were done by women especially of the lower classes, the ‘last classes’ † (kaḍaišiyar) as one of the poets of the Puranānūru calls them. There is no clear evidence of the prevalence of predial slavery, though it is possible that most of the labourers of the ‘last classes’ did not differ much from slaves in their status. The bulk of the land was owned by vellālar, the agriculturists par excellence, who commanded a high social rank. The late commentator Naccinārkkiniyar distinguishes between the rich and the poor vellālas by describing them ‡ as ‘those who maintained themselves by causing (land) to be ploughed, and ‘those who maintained themselves by ploughing (land)’. Of the former he says that besides owning land, they held official posts under the king in the civil and military administration, and the titles of Vēḻ and Araśu in the Cola and of Kāvidi in the Pāṇḍya country,

* See also Warmington op. cit. p. 143 for a slightly different interpretation.
† Puram 61, l. 1.
‡ Tel. Porul. Akattiṇai Su. 30.
and enjoyed the *jus connubii* with royal families. These were doubtless the nobles of the land who shared with the king the pleasures of war and chase and the table. The poorer veḷḷālas did not shun manual labour and for the most part worked on their own lands, and not as hired day labourers on estates belonging to others. They were in fact the peasantry of the country who worked themselves and sought the assistance of hired labour as necessity arose. A casual simile in the *Puranānāru*, * which mentions the poor farmer who having no income from his fields had to eat up the seed-corn, may lead us to infer that drought and failure of crops were not altogether unknown. We have no information on tenancy-rights or on the taxation of land in this period.

Spinning and weaving of cotton, and perhaps also of silk, had attained a high degree of perfection. Spinning was then, as in later times, the by-occupation of women. † The weaving of complex patterns on cloth and silk is often mentioned in literature, and we have the authority of the *Periplus* that Uraiyyur was a great centre of the trade in fine cotton stuffs. The *Porunarāruppaḍai* mentions ‡ cotton cloth, thin like the slough of the snake, bearing fine floral designs and so finely woven that the eye cannot follow the course of the yarn. The same poem alludes elsewhere § to silk cloth with its threads gathered in small knots at its ends. The *Mayimēkalai* speaks ¶ of artistic patterns of cloth giving evidence of the marvellous dexterity of expert weavers. The cotton and silk trades, therefore, must have provided occupation to a considerable part

* No. 230 ll. 12-3.
† *Puram* 125, l. 1.
‡ ll. 82-3.
§ l. 155.
¶ iii. 167-8.
of the population. No detailed or specific information is forthcoming on the other trades of which a general idea may be gathered from the descriptions of city life quoted above. Cots made of leather straps plaited apparently on wooden frames are mentioned; and the leather workers came from the low class of the pulaiyas.* If the mention, in the Maṇimēkalai, † of Magadhan artisans, Mahratha smiths, blacksmiths from Avanti and Yavana carpenters working by the side of Tamil craftsmen is not mere rhetoric, we may believe that by the side of foreign merchants from different countries in India and outside, there were also some industrial workers who had found more or less permanent employment in the Tamil lands by their exceptional skill in particular crafts. Much of the internal trade was carried on by barter, paddy forming the most commonly accepted medium of exchange. Salt, we have seen, was sold for paddy. We learn also ‡ that honey and roots were exchanged for fish-oil and toddy, the sweet sugar-cane and aval § for venison and arrack. The ladies of the prosperous agriculturist families in the Pândya country poured the white paddy from their barns into the pots in which the hunter from the forest had brought venison, or the shepherdess had fetched curds. ¶ Paddy was accepted as the most common measure of value in rural economy in the Cōla empire of the tenth century and later; the numerous inscriptions of that time furnish unmistakable evidence of the subordinate role of coin in the transactions of everyday life; the

* Puram 82.
† xix ii. 107-9.
‡ Porumar, ii. 214-17.
§ Rice-flakes obtained by pounding fried paddly-corn.
¶ Puram 33, ii. 1-7.
same feature survived until very recently in the rural parts of the Tamil country. It may be inferred, therefore, that in the early centuries of the Christian era paddy was the common measure of value in internal trade; and that metallic currency entered only in transactions of foreign commerce. It must be noted however that some evidence, not quite conclusive, seems to indicate the presence at this period in Madura, and only there, of a body of foreign colonists who appear to have used regularly small copper coins in their day to day transactions.*

In no sphere is the influence of Aryan ideas on Tamil culture in early historical times more evident than in that of religion and ethics. These ideas embodied in a number of myths, legends and social practices which form the common stock of practically the whole of India, had already become an integral part of the civilisation of the Tamils, and the Śangam literature affords instances without number of the thorough acquaintance of the Tamil poets with the Vedic and epic mythology of Sanskrit, and the ethical concepts of the Dharmāśāstras. An exhaustive study of the history of Indian Mythology, by tracing the stages through which each single legend passes before attaining a final and fixed form which it retains ever after, might lead to results of value to the internal chronology of the body of Śangam literature. Even otherwise, one can see that poems like the Śilappadikāram and the Maṇimēkalai which differ from the other poems of the Śangam, not only in their great length and their literary form, but in the much freer use they make of these northern legends and myths, must be

accounted to come rather late in the period and towards its close. Care must, however, be taken not to press this consideration too far, as it may, after all, be that the more or less epic form of these longer poems enabled their authors to paint the life and faith of their times more fully than the vignettes of the shorter pieces in the anthologies. In any case, it seems best not to mix up the evidence of the anthologies in these matters with that of the Śilappadikāram and the Manimēkalai, and to keep these apart.

The burning of the Three Cities (tripura) by Śiva, a feat often attributed also to a mythical Cōla king; Śibi saving the dove from the claws of a falcon; perhaps also the excavation of the eastern ocean by the Sagaras, and the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are among the legends known to the poets of the anthologies. In the Śilappadikāram and the Maṇimēkalai we come across a much larger body of Aryan myth and legend more freely used by the authors in many contexts. The whole cycle of Kṛṣṇa legends including his adventures with shepherdesses, Viśvāmitra eating dog's flesh, Indra's misconduct with Ahalyā and the curse of Gautama, the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a dwarf to bring ruin on Bali, the demon king *—these and other stories are used in these epics in so casual a manner that there can be no doubt about their common currency in the Tamil land at the time they were composed.

A number of quaint social customs and beliefs, some of which may be of a non-Tamil origin, can be traced in the literature we have been dealing with. The practice of speeding the parting guest known as saptapadi

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Some social Customs.

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* Maṇi xi ii. 84-87, xviii ii. 90 ff., xix ii. 51 ff.
in Sanskrit, is clearly mentioned in the Porunar-āryupa-pațai, * which says that Karikāla accompanied his guest on foot for a distance of 'seven steps' before requesting him to mount a chariot drawn by four milk-white steeds. Each householder laid out some food, rice mixed with flesh, every day before his meal, for crows to feed on. † The slaughter of a cow, the destruction of a foetus, the killing of a brahman were counted among the most heinous offences, but worse than these was ingratitude, according to the established code. ‡ Women of the courtesan class when they were guilty of unprofessional conduct were punished by being compelled to carry seven bricks on their heads round the public hall (arangu) and apparently expelled from the class thereafter. § A bath in the sea at Kanyakumari was held to absolve a woman from the sin of incest; at any rate it was accepted as an act of penance for those who had incurred the sin. ¶ After child-birth women bathed at night in tanks on the tenth day. || The phenomena of possession and the evil eye were believed in ** and carefully guarded against by the hair of children being dressed with ghee and white mustard. Divination was practised †† and faith in omens was common. The author of the Silapp-adikāram says picturesquely that coming events were foreshadowed by the throbbing of the left eye of Kāṇṇakai and the right one of Mādavi ‡‡ on the day of the festival of Indra.

* ll. 165-7.
† Porunar. ll. 182-4.
‡ Puram 34, ll. 1-7.
§ Maṇi xviii, ll. 33-4 cf. Sil. xiv, l. 146.
¶ Maṇi v. 37; xiii, 5-7.
|| ibid vii, 75-76 and m.
** ibid vi. l. 127; iiii, 134.
†† ibid xxi, 128-9.
‡‡ Sil. v, 237-40.
There was no single method adopted for the disposal of the dead, and both cremation and inhumation with or without urns are freely mentioned. And there appears to have prevailed considerable latitude in the choice of the method to be followed on each particular occasion in the same family. * And the *Maṇimekalai* mentions the construction of brick tombs of various shapes built by the relatives of the dead whether they were sages or kings or women who had become *Sati*. † It would appear that the shapes of these structures varied with the caste and rank of the persons commemorated by them. The funeral drum striking terror into the hearts of listeners is also mentioned in the same poem. ‡

*Sati* is frequently mentioned and was fairly common, but by no means universal. The celebrated utterance of the queen of Bhūta Pāṇḍya § shows that it was more or less the general practice to dissuade women who had lost their husbands from immolating themselves and that the practice was by no means encouraged, much less enforced. There can be no manner of doubt, however, that the heroism and devotion of the *Sati* were applauded by public opinion. The true wife was indeed she who, at the death of her husband, entered his burning pyre as if she were entering the cool water in a tank for bathing. ¶ Still, the more human, though less heroic, ideal that women were ordinarily expected to adopt is perhaps best expressed in the lines of the

* Puram 239, ii. 20-21.
† Maṇi. vi. 54-59.
‡ *ibid.* l. 71.
§ Puram, 246.
¶ Puram 246 and Maṇi. ii. 42-5; xvi 23 ff.; xviii 11-15

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Maṇimēkalai, * which contrast the daily life of the family woman with that of the hetaera by saying that the former was under guard in her maidenhood as in her married state, and so also when her husband was no more, that she controlled her mind and did not meet strangers and that she offered worship to no god other than her wedded husband. The Kurāl is silent on Sati. To lead a life of religious devotion in widowhood was recognised as proper for women of all classes. The Sati then was the exception rather than the rule, and we do not hear of a single instance of an unwilling woman being forced to it.

That the ritualism of Brahmanical Hinduism had struck root in the Tamil country in this early period must have become clear from the references already cited to the costly sacrifices performed by the Cōla monarchs of the time. The regular day to day fire-worship of the Brahmins is mentioned by the Maṇimēkalai; † and a song of Avūr Mūlam-kīlūr in the Puranānūru which eulogises the Brahman Viṇṇandāyan of the Kaunḍinya-gōtra who lived in Pūṇjarīr in the Cōla country gives an idea of the high position held in society by prominent Śrūtriya families: ‡

"O! Scion of the celebrated race of wise men who laid low the strength of those that opposed Śiva's ancient lore, who saw through the sophistry of the false doctrines, and preferring the truth and shunning error, completed the twenty-one ways of Vedic sacrifice! § Worn by you on the occasion of the sacrifice, the skin of the grass-eating stag of the forest shines over the sacred cord on your shoulder. Your wives, suited

* xviii, ll. 98-102.
† v. l. 133.
‡ Puram 166.
§ i.e., performed the twenty-one varieties of Vedic sacrifices.

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to your station, gentle and of rare virtue, wearing the netlike
garment laid down in the Śāstra (for such occasions), sparing
of speech, with small foreheads, large hips, abundant tresses, are
carrying out the duties set for them. From the forest and from the
town, having twice seven paśus in their proper places, supplying
ghee more freely than water, making offerings which numbers
cannot reckon and spreading your fame to make the whole world
jealous, at the rare culmination of the sacrifice your exalted
station gains a new splendour. May we ever witness it so! I,
for my part, shall go, eat, drink, ride and enjoy myself in my
village by the cool Kāviri, which gets its flowery freshness when
the thunder cloud roars on the golden peaks of the Western moun-
tains; may you, for your part, stand thus stable without change,
like the tall Himalaya which towers above the clouds and whose
sides are covered with bamboos."

This ode shows not only the dominance of Vedic
ritualism, but contains an allusion to disputes between
the followers of the Veda and other religionists, the
latter being stigmatised as followers of false doctrines
and sophists who make the false appear true. What
these other religions were can only be guessed; most
likely they were Buddhism and Jainism which had a
vogue in the Tamil country from very early times.
The ceremony of upanayana is clearly known to the
Maṅimēkalai which mentions Brahmans who began
the study of the Veda soon after they were invested
with the sacred cord. * The twice-born are mentioned
in the Purāṇa. † Even in the houses of merchants
marriages were, as has been seen, performed accord-
ing to Vedic ritual. The Tolkāppiyam defines karpū
in a manner which implies that, in one important
respect, the distinction between kalavu and karpū was
based on the difference between the indigenous Tamil
form of marriage and the exotic Aryan form which
had been superposed on it:

* xiii ll. 23-24.
† No. 367, l. 12.
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"Karpu is that (form) in which a bridegroom from a family fit to accept, accepts a bride given by persons of a family fit to give her and takes her to wife with the (proper) ritual." *

We learn further that the rites of marriage might be performed even when there happened to be no one to dispose of the marriageable girl, and that the rites primarily meant for the three higher classes, might also be adopted on occasions by the lower. † We are told, in fine, that these rituals were ordained by the sages (aiyar) after falsehood and sin had made their appearance. ‡ This last statement distinctly recalls the legends of the origin of human marriage current among Sanskrit writers and detailed fully in the Mahābhārata. As has been rightly pointed out, § such "myths are interesting but of no scientific value. . . . When men meditated upon the marriage ceremonial and system, they would naturally infer a time when there was not only no rite, but no institution of marriage."

From all accounts, Hinduism was the dominant religion in the Tamil country in this period. Within its spacious fold were worshipped all the gods of an extensive and eclectic pantheon ranging from the Great God with an eye on his forehead to the little demon (būtam) of the crossroads. ¶ Four divinities seem to have occupied a more distinguished position than the rest, ‖ and they were Śiva who is often placed at the head of the pantheon, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa who are frequently described together, and Murugan, apparently the favourite deity

† ibid. Su. 2, 3.
‡ ibid. Su. 4.
§ Crawley-The Mystic Rose ii, 259.
¶ Maṇi. i ll. 54-5.
‖ Śil. v ll. 169-72, xiv ll. 7-10.
of the Tamils. The worship of Murugan embodied some indigenous features like the *vēlanāṇal*. Indra came in also for special worship as on the occasion of the festival held in Puhār in his honour. That music and dance were from early times closely intertwined with religious rites is seen from the descriptions in the *Silappadikāram* of the more or less primitive worship of Kovāvai by *vēṭṭuvar*, of Kṛṣṇa (Kanṭun) by shepherdesses and of Murugan by *kuṟavaś*. A temple of Saraswati is mentioned in the *Maṇimēkalai*, * which also alludes to the presence of *kāṟulikas*. † If the author of the *Kalavali* was the same as the Vaiṣṇava saint Poygaiyār who is counted among the three earliest *ālvārs*, then we shall have to trace to this period also the beginnings of the *bhakti* cult of the Vaiṣṇavas, and there is nothing improbable in this. The *Maṇimēkalai* appears to mention even the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. ‡

Belief in reincarnation, the effects of karma in successive births and the power of Fate was part of the common basis of all religion in India, and this is clearly seen to have been generally accepted in the Tamil country also. The practice of austerities (tapas) was held to be meritorious and productive of great good. § The joyous faith in good living that breathes through the poems of the Sangam age gradually gives place to the pessimistic outlook on life that is, in the last resort, traceable to the emphasis laid by Buddhism on the sorrows of life and its doctrine that the only way of

* xiii, l. 106.
† vi, 86.
‡ xxvii l. 98. See PK. pp. 20-21.
§ Forunar. ll. 91-2.
escape was the repression of the will to live. This note of sadness, already traceable in Uraiyur Mudukanan Sattanar, * becomes more pronounced in the setting of the Maṇimēkalai which contains a round denunciation of the fools who, not meditating upon the ruthlessness of Death, spend their time in the blind enjoyment of carnal pleasures. † In all important centres in the Tamil country there were Jaina temples and Buddhist caityas and monasteries in which Buddhist and Jaina monks lived and preached their tenets to those who cared to listen. ‡ Aravaṇavadigal, the celebrated Buddhist monk, whom the Maṇimēkalai connects successively with Puhār, Vaṇji and Kaṇci, even though he may not be a historical figure, § may well be looked upon as a type familiar to town-dwellers in those times. We have no means whatever of estimating with any certainty the numbers professing these religions or the extent of their influence in society.

* Putam 27; see ante p. 48.
† vi ll. 97 ff.
‡ See s. v. Arugan and Puttan in the Indexes to the Silappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai; and Maduraiikkāṭi ll. 475-87.
§ He has been identified on rather insufficient grounds with Dharmapāla, JOR. 1927, pp. 197 ff.
CHAPTER V

FROM THE ŚANGAM AGE TO VIJAYĀLAYA

The transition from the Śangam age to that in which the Pāṇḍyas of the line of Kaṭungōṇ and the Pallavas of the Simhavijñāna line divide for three centuries the Tamil land between them is completely hidden from our view. The same darkness shrouds the fortunes of the Cōḷas for three centuries more, until the accession of Vijayālaya in the second quarter of the ninth century. Epigraphy and literature, however, provide a few peep-holes through which we obtain glimpses of the interesting transformations that come over this ancient line of kings in this long interval. One thing seems certain, that when the power of the Cōḷas fell to a low ebb and that of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas rose to the north and south of them, the scions of this ancient royal line found themselves compelled to seek service and patronage under their more successful rivals; this is a feature common to several dynasties of Indian kings in the days of their tribulation. The Western Cāḷukyas in the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, the Eastern Cāḷukyas between Rājarāja’s conquest of Vengi and the accession of Kulottunga I to the Cōḷa throne, the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas themselves, besides the Gangas and the Bāṇas after the expansion of the Cōḷa power under the successors of Vijayālaya, are among the most conspicuous examples of this common feature of Indian history. Ancient memories die hard, and great dynastic names, though borne for a time in obscurity, have often, with a turn in the wheel of fortune, been the cause of a renascence of power and glory. It may be
doubted if, for all their troubles in this period, the Cōlas ever completely lost their hold on Uraiyūr. Vijayālaya when he comes into prominence rises from the same neighbourhood, and the remotest claimants to Cōla descent in the Telugu country, and even further north, glory in the names of Uraiyūr and the Kāvēri; contemporary epigraphical evidence may also be cited pointing to the same conclusion. The dispersion of the Cōlas in the period of their weakness, the poor and dispossessed among them going out in quest of fortune, is attested by the occurrence of names of princes and chieftains claiming Cōla connections in places as far removed from one another as Koḻumbāḻur (Pudukottah), Siyyāli (Shiyali), Hēmavatī and Mālēpāḷu. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Guttas of Guttal (Bombay), like the Cōlas of the Telugu country, are examples of what may be styled dynastic drift in Indian History. *

The Veḷvikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍyas and some Pallava charters mention the obscure clan of the Kaḷābhraś who were responsible for much political unsettlement in the country, and whose overthrow formed the first step in the resuscitation of the power of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas

* Venkayya observes: 'It is at present impossible to ascertain how these Telugu chiefs came to claim the relationship with Karikāla.' A. R. E. 1900, paragraph 45. Strictly, this is quite true. As I understand the matter, however, there was a somewhat loose connection between the Cōlas of the Telugu (Pāṇḍyaṇu) country and the Tamil Cōlas; the Mālēpāḷu plates of Puṇyak-mārā, I think, form an important link in the chain of evidence, and suggest that the Pallava domination of the Simhavāyuśu line may have been the medium through which the drift of Cōlas to the north took place. The attempts to explain the origin of the Telugu-Cōlas by supposing that the Telugu country formed part of the empire of the early Cōla king, Karikāla, appear to be so much wasted effort. We can hardly treat the legends of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the history of the third or fourth. See Studies pp. 33-6, 61-6. Contra Venkayya AŚI. 1905-6 p. 175 n. 8.
towards the end of the sixth century. We may assume that the predatory activities of the Kaḷabhraśas brought the power of the early Cōḷas also to an end. The absence of any allusion to this fact in the Cōla inscriptions and copper-plates of the Vijayālaya line is easily accounted for. Unlike the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas who quickly succeeded in wresting from the hands of the Kaḷabhraśas what they had lost to them sometime before, the Cōḷas were submerged for nearly three centuries under the rising tide of the Pāṇḍya and Pallava powers. They could not find their feet again until these newly risen forces had spent themselves in mutual hostility. In the writings of Buddhādatta we have singularly interesting evidence on the rule of the Kaḷabhraśas in the Cōla country. The date of Buddhādatta is, unfortunately, not as certain as has sometimes been assumed; the tradition that makes him a contemporary of Buddhaghōṣa is late, and not warranted by any statement in the extensive works of either of these divines. Buddhādatta might have been the earlier of the two to visit Ceylon for studying Buddhism. It is quite certain, however, that he lived in the dark period of South Indian history after the light of the Sangam literature fails, and before a fresh dawn commences with the Pāṇḍya and Pallava charters mentioned above; and his evidence is all the more welcome. At the close of his Abhidhammāvatāra, he gives a glowing account of Kāvēripattana, with its concourse of rich merchants,

* See PK. pp. 47-9.

† Buddhādatta's Manuṣa Part I (1915) and Part II (1928)-ed. A. P. Buddhādatta (Pali Text Society).

‡ Cf. A. P. Buddhādatta's introduction to Part II of the Manuṣa; contra P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar-Tamil p. 528. He makes nonsense of the line 'Ayam sumatiṁ añāhū yācitrna kato tato' by translating it: "(By me) who am intelligent and good and a beggar, this was composed and propounded extensively."
its palaces and pleasure-gardens, * and states that, in a
great monastery built there by Khaṇḍadāsa, he lived
for a time and composed that work at the very proper
request of Sumati, evidently one of his pupils. Like-
wise he informs us at the end of his Vinayaviniccaya
that he composed that work for the sake of Buddhhasīha,
while he was residing in the lovely monastery of
Veṇhudāsa in a city on the banks of the Kāvēri, by
name Bhūtamangalam, † described by him as the hub
of Cōḷaraṭṭhiha. He adds also that this work was begun
and finished when Accutavikkanta
of the Kaḷabhakula was ruling the
earth. ‡ This Accuta could have been no other than
the king of the same name who is reputed, in literary
tradition, § to have kept in confinement the three
Tamil kings, the Cēra, Cōḷa and Paṇḍya. Some songs
about him are quoted by Amitasāgarar, the author of
the Yāpparungalal-kārikai, in the tenth century A. D.
Possibly Accuta was himself a Buddhist. At any
rate, by calling the Kaḷabhras a tribe of Kali kings
and stating that they uprooted many adhirājar and
meddled with brahmādeya rights, the Vēlvikudi grant
makes it clear that there was no love lost between
these interlopers and the people of the lands overrun
by them. In the colophons to his works, Buddhaddatta
is called an inhabitant of Uragapura which perhaps
means that Uraiyaṟṟ was his native place.

* This fine description may raise a doubt whether the story of the
destruction of the city by a tidal wave (Maṇimēkalai xxv ll. 194-204) is to
be accepted as literally true.

† The identification of this place with Būḍallur (P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar
op. cit. p. 531) is doubtful.

‡ Accut Accutavikkante Kalabhhakulavaddhane /
Mahim samanuṣaante śradhāḥ ca samāṣitaḥ [/
A. P. Buddhaddatta adopts the reading Kaḷamabakula, and holds them to be
Kaḷambas.

§ Tamiḻ Nāvular Caritai vv. 154-57.

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Of these Dhanañjaya is represented by a single stone inscription * in the Cuddapah district and possibly by some others in Hēmavati and Niñugal. Though several of the stone inscriptions mentioned above belong to Cōla Mahārāja, none of them adds anything to our knowledge of the king’s reign, and we have no direct means of explaining his titles, among which occurs an ambitious claim to the overlordship of the three Tamil kingdoms of the South. The title of Prthivīvallabha borne by Puñyakumāra, and the name of his queen Vasanta-Pūri-Cūla-Mahādēvi † show his connection with the Cālukyas. It is difficult to say whether he or his father was ruling at the time of Yuan Chwang’s visit; but there can be no doubt that this line of rulers had an important role in the hostilities between the Pallavas and Cālukyas of this period. King Cūlamahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya Satyāditya and his queen Elāncūla Mahādēvi ‡ are no doubt other members of the same family who do not figure in the short genealogy of the Mālpāḍu plates. It is to be observed that this king has a higher title than the usual Cōla Mahārāja, his territory including Siddhī 1000 (Sidhout country) besides the Rōnāṇḍu 7000. A Cōla Mūhārāja Kumārānkuṣa figures as the vijñāpti in the Vellūrpaḷaiyam plates of the sixth year of the Pallava king, Nandivarman III. § The history of this line cannot be fully understood until fresh discoveries are made. But it is already clear that they form the link connecting the early Cōlas of the Tamil country and the numerous dynasties of petty chieftains in the Telugu and Karnataka country claiming to have

* 380 of 1904 (Rangachari–Cd. 435).
† 384 of 1904 (Rangachari–Cd. 560);
‡ 393 and 400 of 1904. (Rangachari Cd. 453 and 409). Vikramāditya II claims to have conquered the Cōjas among others. SII. i p. 146; El. v. p. 204.
§ SII. ii 509 v. 26.
been of the Kāśyapa Čoṭra and to have descended from Karikāla and ruled at Uraiyūr.*

Of the Cōḷas of the Tamil country in this period we know even less than we do about the Rēnāṇḍu Cōḷas; for though there are fugitive references to them in the epigraphy and the literature bearing on the age, which show that the Cōḷas lingered on the banks of the Kāvēri all the time, they tell us little else of historical interest. And no epigraphical or architectural monuments of this period that can be directly attributed to the Cōḷas have yet been discovered. No conclusion can be based on the absence of any reference to the Cōḷa kingdom in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, as the limits of his conquests are now known to have been much narrower than they appeared once.† The Pallava charters furnish the bulk of the epigraphical evidence on the Cōḷas during this period, and this is, at times, finely supplemented by the W. Cāḻukya and Pāṇḍya grants.

Epigraphy. The Vēḻurpāḷaiyam plates describe Buddhavarmā of the late fourth or early fifth century A. D. as ‘the submarine fire to the ocean of the Cōḷa army.’ † Again, Simhavishṇu (c. 575-600 A. D.) is stated to have seized the Cōḷa country watered by the Kāvēri and adorned by groves of areca-palms and rich paddy fields. § About the same time the Cāḻukyas claim to have conquered the Cōḷas; ¶ either the

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* 231 of 1908 (Bastar) EJ. xi p. 338. Even the Kākatiyās sometimes connected themselves with Karikēla. See also EJ. v p. 123, n. and Cut. of copperplates (Mad. Mus.) p. 14 for the undated plates of Śrīkaṇṭha.

† Much less can anything be made of the silence of the Śrītāvahana inscription recording Gauṭamiputra’s conquests. Čint arranged Venkatya. ASI, 1905-6 176 n.

‡ SII. ii p. 508 l. 14.

§ ibid ll. 16-17.

¶ Kielhorn’s List of SII. No. 5 (EJ. vii).
claim is false, or the Rēṇāṇḍu Cōḷas are meant. Mahēndravarman (c. 600-630 A. D.) was proud of his sway over the Cōḷa country; and in his inscriptions the Trichinopoly rock is called the crown of the Cōḷa country, * and Lord Śiva enjoins the king to build a temple for him on the rock as otherwise he would miss the sight of the rich splendour of the land of the Cōḷas. † In a grandiose and apparently meaningless enumeration of kings overthrown by Narasimha- varman I (c. 630-660 A. D.), the Kūram grant (of Paramēśvara-varman I) includes the Cōḷa among the countries conquered by him. ‡ The Aihōle inscription of Pulakēśin II (634 A. D.) states that he confined the power of the Pallavas inside the four walls of Kānēpuram and thus brought prosperity to the Cōḷa, Kērāḷa and Pāṇḍya. § Vikramāditya I, the successor of Pulakēśin II, also claims conquest of the Cōḷa country, and his Gadvāḷ plates (674 A. D.) mention his victorious camp in the ancient Cōḷa capital Uraiyyūr on the southern bank of the Kāvēri. ¶ The Vēḻvikuḍi grant tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kōcçaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (c. 710-40 A. D.) assumed the title Śebiyan, among others, thereby implying that a part of the traditional Cōḷa country passed under his sway. The Trichinopoly inscription || of Māraṇḍaiyan calls him the tilaka of two races, the lunar and the solar. The Cōḷas are

* SII. i, 33.
† "Viḥūtim Cōḷānāṁ katham - aham avēkṣeya vipūlām",—ibid. 34. Hultsch understands by 'viḥūtim Cōḷānāṁ' 'the great power of the Cōḷas'. But as it is not a proper description of the position of the Cōḷas after their conquest by Simhavishṭu, and as such a description is hardly likely to be found in a Pallava grant, I take 'Cōḷānāṁ' to mean the country.
‡ SII. i, p. 151 ll. 14-5.
§ E1. vi, p. 6, verses 29-31.
¶ E1. x, p. 103. Uragapura is not as Hultsch thought Negapatam, but Uraiyyūr near Trichinopoly.
|| ASI. 1903-4 p. 275.
counted by the Śinnamanur plates among the allies of the Pallavas who sustained a severe defeat near Kumbakonam at the hands of Śrī Māra Śrī-Vallabha (c. 815-62 A. D.).

Religious tradition confirms our general inference that the Cōḷas, though they had lost their power, did not disappear totally from the banks of the Kāvēri at this time. The Periya Purāṇam, a work of the twelfth century A. D., contains traditional information of some value. It tells us that the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Tiru-Nānasambandar had for his queen a Cōḷa princess of the name Mangaiyarkaraśi. Pugaijcōḷa-Nāyanār was a Cōḷa ruler of Uṟaiyūr who held Karuvūr in subjection, conquered an Adigan * and promoted Śaivism. The Purāṇam also affirms that when a petty chieftain of Kaḷandai, who became, later, celebrated as Kūṟṟuva-Nāyanar, wanted the Brahmans of Cidambaram to invest him with the diadem and thus confer the dignity of royalty on him in recognition of his extensive conquests, they declined to do so on the ground that only the ancient family of the Cōḷas was entitled to this high privilege, and, to avoid further trouble, migrated to the Cēra country in a body. The family of another Nāyanār, Ėyarkōn-kalikkāman, was living in a village on the banks of the Kāvēri, and devoting itself to agriculture and military service under the Cōḷa monarchs. † Lastly, a Cōḷa prince married a Pāṇḍyan princess and lived at Madura when Sundarāmūrti visited the place in the company of Śēramūnīn

* The dynastic name of the chiefs of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri).

† The references are easily got in any edition of the Periya Purāṇam. See also ASJ. 1905 o pp. 176-7. I cannot discover why Venkayya should have included Idangal, a Cōḷa chieftain of Kōṇāṭu (Pudukkottah) in his account of the Cōḷas of this period.
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Perumāl. * Though Śekkiḷār, the author of the Periya Purāṇam, is our main authority for these statements, many of them are also found in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi’s brief andādi which was the basis of the Purāṇam, and the names at least of the kings and chieftains go back to the time of Sundaramūrti, in the eighth century A. D. The Divyasūri-carita and the Guru-paramparā tell the same tale from the Vaiṣṇava side. Dēvadēvi, the hetaera who captivated Āḻvār Tōṇḍaraṉḍippodi for a time, met the holy man first when she was returning from the court of the Cōla king at Uṭaiyūr. The celebrated Uṭaiyūr-nācciyūr, who declined to marry a mortal, and insisted successfully on her union with Lord Ranganātha, was a Cōla princess, the daughter of Dharmavarmā of the solar line ruling at Uṭaiyūr. Tirumangai-Āḻvār started life as a military official appointed by the Cōla king. Possibly, some of these literary references to the Cōlas are due to the mere fact that the works in which they occur were composed in the days of Cōla ascendency; but the unmistakable references to the Pallava contemporaries of the earlier Āḻvārs and nāyanārs in these works are sufficient indication that some old and genuine traditions must have survived at the time and that a few, though not all, of the allusions to the Cōlas culled from these books may be quite trustworthy.

We see then that in the long historical night that envelops the Cōlas from the third or fourth to the ninth century A.D., their condition is best described as one of suspended animation. They managed, in some manner hidden from view, to find a second home for themselves in the Rēnāṇḍu country. In their original abode, they bent low before every storm that passed

* Śrīnāṭkum Perumāl-Nāyanār Purāṇam v. 92.
over them and bided their time. For aught we know, they were occupied in finding suitable matches for their children, often with a view to political influence, with their more successful rivals, and in promoting the religious movements of the time. Buddhism and Jainism seem to have dominated the land for a while; Accuta, the Kaḷabhra king, was a Buddhist; and there were adherents of Jainism among the Pāṇḍya and Pallava rulers; the rich monastery of Negapatam with its large Buddha image of solid gold was, according to the Guruparampara, looted by Tirumangai-āḻvār. Buddhadatta gives testimony to the construction, at an earlier period, of two large monasteries in the Cōla country. But, thanks to the pious exertions of the āḻvārs and nāyanārs, who led a great Hindu revival, and gave fervent expression to the cult of bhakti in the language of the people, the spread of the protestant faiths was stopped and the orthodox creeds restored to their place of dominance. The Cōlas, in an unostentatious way, assisted the Hindu revival by lending their support impartially to the apostles of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.
CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF VIJAYĀLAYA. ĀDITYA I

(c. 850-907 A. D.)

"At the head of the great battle of Śrī Puṇrambiya, this hero (Pṛthivīpati I) quickly defeated Varaguṇa, the Lord of the Pāṇḍyas; and having, at the expense of his own life, secured that his friend was Aparājīta (unconquered) in fact as in name, he ascended to heaven." * In these terms the Ūdayendira plates of Ganga Pṛthivīpati II record the part of his ancestor and namesake in the decisive battle which proved to be a turning-point in the history of Southern India. For the Pāṇḍyas never recovered from this staggering blow, and the Pallavas, though victory remained with them in the battle, owed it more to their allies than to their own strength. Thoroughly exhausted by incessant warfare on two fronts, against the Cāḷukyas and Pāṇḍyas, they were themselves in no position to pursue the advantage gained. Among the allies of the Pallavas were, besides the Ganga feudatory, the Cōla ruler Āditya I who, though he must have taken a subordinate place in the battle of Śrī Puṇrambiyam, very soon discovered his advantage, and commanded the strength and energy to pursue it. The latest date known for Pṛthivīpati I is A. D. 879; † the battle in which he lost his life must have taken place about that date.

* S.II. ii, No. 76, v. 18; 337 of 1912.
† Rangachari, NA. Nos. 536–7; E.I. iv, pp. 180-3.
VIJAYALAYA AND ADITYA I

Aditya I was the son of Vijayālaya, the first of the Imperial line of Cōla. An inscription from the Trichinopoly district * mentions a grant of land made in accordance with an earlier charter issued by Parakēsari Vijayālaya, and this shows that the revival of Cōla power at this time begins from the neighbourhood of Uṟaiyūr, their ancient home on the banks of the Kāvēri. The Tiruvilangūḍu plates † quaintly affirm that Vijayālaya caught hold of Tanjore for his pleasure as if the city were his lawful spouse, and that he founded a temple to goddess Nișumbhasūdini (Durgā). Notwithstanding the high authority of Hultzsch, we can scarcely think that Vijayālaya became powerful enough to leave stone records in distant places like Kāneipuram and Ukkal ‡ and Śucindram. On the other hand, in a record of the fifth year of Vikrama Cōla from Kilputtur in the North Arcot District, there is a specific reference to a stone inscription of the fourth year of Vijayālaya. Possibly Vijayālaya, though a vassal of the Pallava ruler, still dated records in his own regnal years—a privilege exercised by certain vassals at all times and by all of them when the power of their suzerain was on

* 675 of 1909. A Vijayālaya-caturvēḷumangalam is mentioned among the brahmadāya villages which were required to supply men for service in the Tanjore temple in Rājaṅa’s reign (SI, ii 69, para 139). See also 164 of 1915 (Vikrama Cōla 5) for a reference to a kal-veṭṭu of the fourth year of Vijayālaya in the North Arcot district. A Taniḍya inscription of the thirteenth century from Nattōmalai (Pl. 282) mentions a Vijayālaya-cōḷāṟavu temple.

† SI, iii, No. 205 vv. 43 and 46. The Kanyākumāari inscription of Vira-rājendra (PAK, iii, p. 142, v. 54) exaggerates this and says that Vijayālaya founded Tanjore. The Anbil plates put on his name Vijayālaya in praising his valour on the battle-field (v. 16).

‡ See SI, v, Nos. 85, 148 and iii, No. 11, and Kielhorn’s List FL, vu, App. Nos. 672-75. Krishna Sastri’s argument at SI, iii, p. 267 and n. 2 does not convince me.
the decline. It is certain, however, that some of the Parakēsari records nearer home are really his.*

What was the political position of Vijayālaya and from whom did he capture Tanjore? In order to answer these questions, we must try and establish the probable date of Vijayālaya's rule. This is easily ascertained by calculating backwards from the accession of Parāntaka I, the grandson of Vijayālaya. The accession of Parāntaka has been fixed by Kielhorn between 15th January and 25th July A. D. 907. † This date rests on the copious and unimpeachable testimony of astronomical data drawn from his numberless stone inscriptions, and forms the sheet-anchor of Cōla chronology in this period. The duration of the reign of Parāntaka's father, Āditya I, was at least twenty-seven years, possibly more. A very interesting record from Tirukkaluk-kunṟam, ‡ dated in the twenty-seventh year of Rājakēsari, may for very good reasons be ascribed to Āditya; palaeographically, it certainly belongs to the time before Parāntaka; the subject-matter of the record is the renewal of the gifts of some lands to the local temple, made originally by Skandasīṣya and continued by Pādāvikōṇḍa Narasinga-pōttaraiyar, both well-known Pallava kings. Such a renewal is normal after a conquest, and as Āditya I is known to have conquered the Pallavas and annexed the Tōṇḍaimanḍalam to the Cōla country, it is practically certain that this inscription is one of Āditya's. It should also be observed that in the earliest copper-plate grant, so far known, of this line, Āditya I is simply

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* 436, 439 of 1908 from Tiruvilīmīkalai.
† EJ. viii. p. 260.
‡ 167 of 1894; EJ. iii, p. 279.
VIJAYALAYA AND ADITYA I

called Rājakēsari, * without any other name. How much longer Aditya ruled after the date of the Tirukkāḷuk-kunṟam inscription cannot now be ascertained. But an inscription from Takkōlam dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsari, no doubt Aditya I, mentions a solar eclipse which occurred in 894 or 895 A.D. † This would give A.D. 870 or 871 for the accession of Aditya, and a rule of about 36 years for him till 907 A.D. We thus get 870 or thereabouts for the close of the reign of Vijayālaya, which might have begun, therefore, sometime before 850 A. D. ‡

The date thus obtained for the beginning of Vijayālaya's rule is some years earlier than the date of the accession to the Pāṇdyan kingdom of Varaguṇavarman, who sustained defeat at Śri Puṟambahyam, near Kumbakōṭam in the Tanjore district. The power of the Pāṇdyas was still, at the accession of Varaguṇa, quite considerable in spite of the set-back it suffered after the battle of the Ariśil in the reign of his father. § At this time, moreover, the enterprising chieftains known to history as the Muttaraiyar were in possession of part of the fertile delta land in the Tanjore district; their inscriptions come from Śendalai ¶ and clearly describe them as ruling Tanjore also, though they had

* Anul Plates (E.I. xv) vv. 17-18.
† E.I. xix, No. 12.
‡ K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar observes: "If Vijayālaya came of the same family as the Cēla Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his". T.S. iii, p. 108. Kumārāṅkuśa, as we have seen, figures as the vijñapti in the Vellupāḷiyam plates of Nandivarman III. It is extremely doubtful, however, if he and Vijayālaya belonged to one and the same branch of the Cēlas. See ante p. 124.
§ 1A. pp. 73 ff.
¶ E.I. xiii pp. 134 ff. where these records are tentatively referred to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (p. 130). Note particularly Taṇṭai-rūṟu paṭṭi minguṟ; Taṇṭai-kōnta; Taṇṭai nappagaḷḷan occurring in them.
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their head-quarters at Sendalai or Niyamam. Like the Colas, the Muttaraiyar found it impossible to set up an independent rule, and had to support themselves by clinging to the Pandyas or the Pallavas.

Their inscriptions and their titles show that they played a clever game and were ready to change their allegiance to suit their interests. In Varaguṇa's time, either of their own accord or as a result of temptations offered by Varaguṇa, they appear to have thrown in their lot with the Pandyas. The result was that they lost Tanjore, which was captured by Vijayālaya acting in the interest of the Pallavas. Little could the Pallava ruler have suspected that in thus employing his Cōla subordinate, he was, as the Indian saying has it, training his tiger-cub to a taste for blood. Nor could Vijayālaya have dreamt that his vicarious victory was to be the beginning of one of the most splendid empires known to Indian History.

The success of Vijayālaya meant the weakening of the Muttaraiya allies of the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇavarman, who undertook an expedition calculated to redress the balance. This began well enough, and Iḍavai, on the north bank of the Kāveri in the Cōla country, was reached. * But the Pallava ruler Aparājīta who succeeded Nṛpatungavarman, just before this Pāṇḍya invasion, made a great effort. He got all his allies together, most prominent among them being the Ganga king Prthivipati I. The alliance between the Gangas and the Pallavas was of ancient standing, and though there is no definite evidence to prove it, we may assume

* 690 of 1905 (Rangachari - Mr. 8). The name Pāṇḍiyana - ven - kaṇḍa - Cōla-caturvedimangalam is applied to this place in a late record (42 of 1914) dated S. 1369; this can hardly be a reference to the discomfiture of Varaguṇa-varman. Contra Rangachari Tj. 185.

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that the Cōla Aditya, who succeeded his father in the meanwhile, also fought on the side of Aparājita* in the great battle of Śrī Puṟambyam. More lucky than the Ganga monarch, Aditya lived to share the spoils of victory. Possibly, in his gratitude to his Cōla ally, Aparājita not only allowed Aditya to keep what his father had taken from the Muttaraiyar, but added some new territory in the neighbourhood to the sphere of his rule. Such were the humble beginnings of the great empire of the Cōlas.

Of Aditya (c. 871–907 A. D.) the Anbil plates state only that on both the banks of the Kāvēri he built in honour of Śiva rows of tall stone temples which stood, the monuments of his success, from the Sahayāḍri mountain to the wide

* Inscription 337 of 1912 (Rangachari Ct. 226) of Prudhvaya mentioning the Cōla-rājya is too fragmentary to throw any light on the political relations of the age. Cintā Dhibraul, Pallivasal p. 83. T. A. Gopumatha Rao writes (E. L. xv, p. 49) 'It is known from other records that Aditya and the Pañḍya king Varagupa marched against the Pallava Nīpatungavarman, otherwise known also by the name of Aparājītavarman, defeated and killed him.' Apart from the identification of Aparājīta with Nīpatunga for which there is no evidence, it is difficult to believe that the expedition which led to the overthrow of Aparājīta had anything to do with Varagunavarmar's campaign. As I understand the evidence, it was different, and most probably, some years later. (See Dhibraul-Pallivasal p. 84)

It must be admitted, however, that our view of the relation between the Cōlas and the Pallavas in the time of Vijayalaya and in the early years of Aditya I is not final. It is quite likely that the aggrandisement of Vijayalaya at the expense of the Muttaraiyar had nothing whatever to do with the struggle between the Pañḍyas and the Pallavas. In that case, Vijayalaya took advantage of the confusion in the borderland between the dominions of the Pañḍyas and the Pallavas, and his son also gained by the weakening of both after Śrī Puṟambiyam. See, however, E. L. xix p. 87 n. 6. Yet another view may be taken: The Muttaraiyar being allies of the Pallavas, the Cōlas may, under Vijayalaya, have found occasion to join the Pañḍyas and to throw off the Pallava yoke. On this supposition the capture of Tāmōre by Vijayalaya would be at once an act of aggression undertaken by him against the Pallava, to favour the Pañḍya, and a decisive step in the assertion of Cōla independence from Pallava suzerainty. On this assumption, it is not unlikely that Aditya fought on Varagupa's side at Śrī Puṟambiyam. An objection to this view is the difficulty of explaining how, after the defeat he suffered on this occasion, Aditya recovered sufficiently to overthrow Aparājīta later, and why Aparājīta failed, after his success at Śrī Puṟambiyam, to reassert his supremacy over the Cōla.

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ocean. The Tiruvālāngūdu plates state that he overthrew the strong Pallava ruler Aparājīta, and deprived him of his territory. The Kanyākumāri inscription gives him the surname Kōdanaṇḍarāma, and states that in a battle he pounced upon and slew the Pallava king who was seated on the back of a tall elephant. A record from Tillaisthānam confirms this evidence by clearly stating that Rājakēsari extended his power to the Toṇḍaināḍ. Āditya must be taken, therefore, to have put an end to the Pallava power by annexing Toṇḍaināṇḍalam, and to have extended the Cōla dominions, till they bordered on those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Aparājīta’s inscriptions mention his eighteenth regnal year; and no record from Toṇḍaināṇḍalam that can be attributed to Āditya bears a date earlier than his twenty-third regnal year. But as a gift, a dēvadūna, was made in the 21st year, the conquest and annexation of the Pallava territory may be dated roughly about 890 A. D.

The Ganga king may have assisted Āditya in this conquest; at any rate we find him soon after acknowledging Āditya’s suzerainty; Pritipatīyār, son of Māramaraiyar, no other than the well-known Pṛthivipati II, son of Mārasimha of the Udayēndiram grant, presented a silver vessel (keṇḍi) to the temple of Takkōlam in the twenty-fourth year of Rājakēsari (Āditya). The Cōla overlordship, which is elaborately acknowledged in the reign of Parāntaka in the Udayēndiram plates, is in this stone inscription briefly recognised by the record being dated in the regnal year of Rājakēsari-varman. Attention has been drawn already to the

* v. 18. † v. 49. ‡ v. 55.
§ 286 of 1911. ¶ S.II. iii No. 142.
|| 5 of 1897; E.J. xix No. 12.
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Tirukkalukkunram inscription recording the renewal of an ancient Pallava grant to the local temple. Aditya married a Pallava princess, as may be inferred from an inscription of his twenty-third year which says that the mother of the Cōla queen was a Kādu-panṭīgal.* Another record from Niyamam mentions that Adigal Kanḍan Mārāmbāvai, queen of Nandipōttaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, granted to the local temple some money for certain specified purposes. † In the eighteenth year of Rājakēsari (Aditya I), the same lady had made another gift to the Pidāri temple in the same place. ‡ Despite her regal titles, the identity of this lady and her Pallava lord must remain somewhat doubtful. §

The Kongudēṣa-rājākkaḷ affirms that Aditya, after being crowned at Taṅjāvūr-paṭṇam, came to Kongudēṣa, conquered the country and governed it in addition to his own; it also says that he took the town of Taḷaikūḍ. Despite the lateness and the general untrustworthiness of this chronicle, this statement looks very

* 161 of 1928.
† 16 of 1899. The regnal year 24 is given by Krishna Sastri (SIL, iii No. 94) but does not seem to be borne out by the text.
‡ 13 of 1899.
§ The place of Aparājīta, though not his relation with his predecessor Nṛpatunga, is well attested. The narrow range of the provenance of his inscriptions needs an explanation. It seems strange that the victor of Śrī Puṇambiyam appears to have left no inscriptions to the south of Kānchipuram. The death of Pṭhivipati on the field perhaps left Aparājīta at the mercy of his overbearing ally Aditya who managed to take the southern Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as the price of his co-operation. He chose the next opportunity to complete the destruction of the Pallavas.

It seems unlikely that Maṅambāvai was the queen of Nandi III of Teḷḷīṟu, whose reign ended about A. D. 850. The earliest Cōla record which mentions her is in the 18th year of Rējakēsari, c. 889. She is also named in two of Nṛpatunga’s inscriptions, both from the Tanjore Dt. (Nos. 300 and 303 of 1901). See ARE. 1901, paragraph 10; SIL. ii. p. 513, n.

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plausible. For one thing, Parāntaka’s records are found in the Kongudēśa, and he does not claim to have conquered it. Early in his reign is mentioned an officer of his supervising temple affairs in Kongu. * So it is quite reasonable to suppose that Āditya conquered the Kongu country. The mention of Taḷāikāḍ implies that Āditya took the country from the Western Gangas; there is again nothing improbable in this, and we have seen Pṛthivīpati II acknowledging the overlordship of Āditya. About the same time the Pāṇḍya king Śri Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa claims to have fought in Kongu; Āditya might have taken part of the Kongu country from him. The Anbil plates, which say that Āditya built temples along the entire course of the Kāvēri from the Sahyūḍri to the sea, also seem to lend support to the statement in the chronicle of Kongu kings.

An undated inscription † from Tillaisthānam shows that Āditya was on very friendly terms with his Cēra contemporary Sthānu-Ravi. This records a gift by Kaḍamba-mādēvi, on whose husband, Vikki-AṉṆan, the two monarchs jointly conferred the personal privileges, of ‘throne, chaūri, palanquin, drum, a palace, pōnakam (?) , bugle, elephant-corps’ and the hereditary title Ģembiyan Tamilā-vēḷ. Here is clear indication that Vikki-AṉṆan who was so honoured must have distinguished himself in some manner that greatly pleased these two kings. Can it be that he was a Cēra general whom Sthānu-Ravi employed to co-operate with Āditya in his Kongu campaign against the Pāṇḍya? We know that Āditya’s son Parāntaka married a daughter of the Cēra king.

* 258 of 1907. The regnal year of this record is 10, not 30.
† 286 of 1911.
VIJAYALAYA AND ADITYA I

It is natural to assume that this friendship between the two ancient lines of rulers began with the extension of Cōla rule to Kongu.* There is mention of a Vikkiyāṇṇa, son of Pṛthivipati, in a Ganga inscription † of this period.

It is not possible to point with certainty to the temples erected by Āditya. We know of several stone temples whose consecration took place in the reign of Āditya’s son and successor; some of these might have been commenced in the time of Āditya. ‡

Āditya died at Tōṇḍaimāṇḍ, near Kālahasti, in the Chittoor district. A temple was erected over his remains by his pious son Parāntaka and called by the names Kōdaṇḍarūmēśvara and Ādityēśvara; § he also provided for the feeding of a thousand brahmans on certain festival days. Āditya had besides Parāntaka another son, Kannaradēva by name. ¶

* ARE. 1912 II, 11 suggests the identification of Sthāṇu-Ravi with Kōkkandan Ravi of the Candrāditya family (148 of 1910) on palaeographical grounds. The epithet ‘pāl-yāṇai-kōk-kaṇṭan’ in the Illaisthānām inscription, like the phrase ‘Tōṇḍai-nāḍu-pārīna-Sōḷan’, applies to Rājakēsari and not to Sthāṇu-Ravi, as ARE. (ibid) appears to suggest. “It is not impossible that Sthāṇu-Ravi substantially assisted Āditya in his conquest of the Pallavas and the acquisition of their territory, and that Vikki-Aṇṇan distinguished himself on this occasion as an able general.” (ibid). In the same paragraph we find the suggestion thrown out that Vikki-Aṇṇan was, like his wife Kaṭamba-mādēvi, of Karṇāṭaka origin, and that he was a Vēḷir chieftain of Koḷumbēḻir (Pudukkōṭṭai).

† 332 of 1912. Sembiyán Mahībali Bāṭarasa (of this record) is no other than Pṛthivipati II.
‡ EI. xv, p. 50.
§ 286 of 1906; also 230 of 1903. Before the Kanṭakumāri inscription gave us the information that Āditya had the name Kōdaṇḍarāṇa, the only Kōdaṇḍarāṇa known was his grandson Rājadēva; but Rājadēva must have been living in the 34th year of his father’s reign. EI. xviii pp. 23-24.
¶ 38 of 1895.
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It is remarkable that the kings of the Vijayālaya line were ardent Śaivites. Vijayālaya himself established a Durgā temple in Taṅjavūr after he captured it; Āditya built temples to Śiva. His son raised a shrine over his sepulchre, establishing a linga on it—a Śaivite adaptation of the Buddhist practice of erecting memorial stupas.

The Cōla rulers of this time were not slow to acquire for themselves a pedigree; and a mythical ancestry tracing their descent from the sun was soon provided, though some kings of lunar genesis were also mixed up in it. The earliest version of it is in the Anbil plates which give fifteen names before Vijayālaya including the genuinely historical ones of Karikāla, Killi and Kōccengaṇān. The Tiruvālangādu plates swell the list to forty-four, and the Kanyakumāri list runs up to fifty-two, while the Leyden grant is satisfied with a dozen. There are others of varying lengths to be gathered from literary works like the Kalingattupparanī, the ulās of Oṭṭakūttan and so on. No two of these lists agree, though some names and details are common to all. An eponymous Cōla finds a place in all the copper-plates, and the Kanyakumāri inscription dresses up a pretty story* about his advent to the south. He was drawn in that direction in pursuit of a Rākṣasa who had assumed the form of an antelope, and he was followed by some of his commanders. Then he killed the Rākṣasa and moved along the banks of the Kāvēri, “the river which brings to the earth, in the guise of water, the nectar obtained by the gods after churning the ocean of milk.” Having bathed in the river, when he looked for some brahmans, apparently to bestow some gifts on them,

* vv. 28-35.
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he found none there; and so he summoned many excellent brahmans from Āryāvarta and settled them on the banks of the river. He then cleared the forest, planted groves of areca-palms and laid out fruit-gardens and otherwise improved the country. Such is the quaint account of the origin of the Cōla kingdom as it was imagined by the court-poet of Virarājendrā.*

* See T.A.S. iii. for a full discussion of the legends in this record. Also SII. iii, Introd. pp. 4-5 for those in the copper-plates, and EL. xviii pp. 26 ff.
CHAPTER VII

PARĀNTAKA I (907-953 A.D.)

At the time of the battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam, the Cōla expansion. Čōla expansion. Čōlas held a small principality including Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr, perhaps in subjection to the Pallavas. But within twenty-five years their power had become formidable. This expansion was exclusively the work of Āditya I, a remarkable warrior and able diplomat. Circumstances favoured him and he made full use of his opportunities. The Pāṇḍyas, after Śrī Puṟambiyam, were engrossed in their own troubles at home; Varaguna died soon after the battle, and his successor Śrī Parāntaka Viṟanāraṇa had to deal with a serious rising headed by the haughty Ugra. * With the Pallava Aparaṇija, Āditya was on friendly terms for some years after Śrī Puṟambiyam. He then turned against him and deprived him of the bulk, if not the whole, of his possessions; in this enterprise, Āditya was possibly aided by his Ganga contemporary; and the obscure conflicts that were engaging the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas, the Gangas and the Nolambas, of which the battle of Sorēmati was the central event, must have indirectly facilitated Āditya's success. Before the end of his reign Āditya conquered Kongu and annexed it to his territories. Thus at the accession of his son Parāntaka, 907 A.D., the Čōla kingdom embraced the whole country between Madras and Kāḷahasti in the north, and the Kāvēri in the south, with the exception of the Mysore table-land

* PK. p. 78.

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and the strip along the west coast. It kept the Ganga power in a position of subordinate alliance and was friends with the Cēra. The first conflict with the Pāṇḍya power had perhaps already taken place in the Kongu country.

Parāntaka I ruled for about forty-five years, as the latest inscription of his reign is dated in his forty-fifth regnal year; even the forty-sixth year seems to occur in a single inscription from Kāṇḍiyūr, near Tanjore. Parāntaka’s rule was one of increasing success and prosperity for the best part of it; he followed up his father’s victories by putting an end to Pāṇḍyan independence and extending the empire up to Kanyākumāri in the south; he even invaded Ceylon, though the raid, as we shall see, failed of its object. Elsewhere, he subjugated the Bānas, and the Ganga king Hastimalla acknowledged his sway. The last vestiges of Pallava power disappeared and the dominion of Parāntaka extended up to Nellore in the north. Towards the end of his reign, however, an unforeseen disaster overtook the Cōla empire; the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under the powerful Kṛṣṇa III invaded the empire in great force from the north-west, and in the conflict that ensued Parāntaka’s eldest son Rājāditya lost his life, and Parāntaka himself did not long survive the cataclysm. A heavy gloom settles on Cōla power for a period of over four decades thereafter until the accession of the celebrated Rājarāja I in 985 A.D.

* Was it an accident that Aditya’s Pāṇḍya contemporary was a Parāntaka Viranārīyaṇa, and that Aditya’s son also had the names Parāntaka and Viranārīyaṇa? Or was it more common then to name the first children after their maternal grandparents than it is now?

† 465 of 1918. Krishna Sastri is sure that year 46 is clear in 15 of 1895.
Parāntaka invaded the Pāṇḍya country very soon after his accession. He bears the title Maduraikonda (who captured Madura) as early as his third year. The conquest and subjugation of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was, however, a gradual process; the earliest inscription of Parāntaka actually found in the Pāṇḍyan country is dated in his 24th year.† The Śinnamanūr and the Udayēndiram plates concur in the name of the Pāṇḍya king, Rājasimha, who suffered deprivation and exile at the hands of Parāntaka. Says the Mahāvamsa ‡:

"While thus the sovereign of Lankā (Kassapa V, 913–23 A.D.) held sway in justice, the Panḷu king was vanquished in battle by the Cōla king. To gain military aid he sent numerous gifts. The king, the ruler of Lankā, took counsel with his officials, equipped military forces, appointed his Sakkasēnāpatai as leader of the troops, and betook himself to Mahātīttha. Standing at the edge of the coast he spoke of the triumph of former kings, and having thus aroused their enthusiasm, he made his troops embark. With his army the Sakkasēnāpatai thereupon safely crossed the sea and reached the Panḷu country. When the Panḷu king saw the troops and him, he spake full of cheer: 'I will join all Jambudīpa under one umbrella'. The king took the two armies; but as he could not vanquish him (the king) of the Cōla line, set out once more with the purpose of fighting further, made halt, and died of the upasagga (plague) to the undoing of the Panḷu (king). When the ruler of Lankā heard that the troops were also perishing of the same disease, out of pity he had the army brought back.'"

In this account we can recognise three stages in the conflict. In the first the Pāṇḍyan king suffers a

* The date in 29 of 1907 is not so clear, but see 157 of 1928 and 11 of 1931.
† 446 of 1917. The copper-plates furnish little assistance in the study of these campaigns; the Tiruvālangādu plates, however, give some information which is borne out by the contemporary account given by the Udayēndiram plates of Ganga Prthivipati II. The stone inscriptions of Parāntaka and the Mahāvamsa provide a fairly clear and cogent account of what happened.
‡ CV. Ch. 52, vv. 70 ff.
defeat at the hands of Parāntaka. The second stage begins with his appeal for aid to the Ceylonese ruler and ends with a fight in which the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese troops together sustained defeat and retreated before the Cōla forces. Lastly, another effort made by the Ceylonese commander came to nothing owing to a plague which killed him and led to the recall of the Ceylonese army. The inscriptions so far as they go corroborate this account in every respect; only, they make no mention of the second effort of Sakkasēnāpati and the plague.

The first stage in the account of the Mahāvamsa corresponds, doubtless, to the raid on Madura in the first years of Parāntaka’s rule which led to his adopting the title Madhurāntaka, the destroyer of Madura. The second stage in the war is thus graphically pictured by the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthivīpati in 921–2 A. D. *

“His (Parāntaka’s) army, having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāṇḍya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants together with (the city of) Madhurā. Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army, despatched by the lord of Lankā, which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in the world the title Sangrāma Rāghava (i. e., Rāma in battle) which is full of meaning. When he defeated the Pāṇḍya (king) Kājasimha, two persons experienced the same fear at the same time: (Kubēra), the lord of wealth, on account of the death of his own friend (and) Vibhiṣaṇa on account of the proximity (of the Cōla dominions to Ceylon).”

These events must have taken place some years before the date of the Udayēndiram grant. As early as 923 A. D. we find the title Maduraiyum Īlamun

* SH ii, No. 76 vv. 9–11.

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Kouḍa, in a record of Parāntaka.* Two inscriptions of the twelfth year make casual allusions to incidents in the battle of Vellūr in which the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese forces were defeated by the Cōla. † One is a gift to commemorate the victory of Puluvēṭtaraiyar Kanḍan Amudanār on the occasion when the Pāṇḍya king, helped by the Ceylonese army, attacked the Cōla king at the battle of Vellūr. † Another is an endowment for the merit of four soldiers (śevakar) who died in a frontal attack (neriśenā) led by Šennippēraraiyan at Vēḷūr (Vellūr) on the occasion when the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle with the Cōla. ‡ It is clear that there was a great and decisive battle at Vellūr in which the Cōla troops had to fight hard before securing victory and which was well remembered for some years after the event for the exceptional heroism of its incidents. It seems probable that this battle was fought about 915 A. D.

The victory of Parāntaka at Vellūr paved the way for the progressive conquest and annexation of the Pāṇḍyan country. Frustrated in all his attempts to stem the tide of the Cōla invasion, the unlucky Rāja-simha took to flight, leaving his ancient heritage to fall into the hands of his enemy. In the reign of Dappula IV (923–934 A.D.) the Mahāvamsa records: §

* 331 of 1927. ARE. 1927, II 10 seeks to effect a weak reconciliation between the new evidence and Venkayya's account of the wars by suggesting that this title was assumed after Vellūr (Vellūr) and fully justified only later—a curious instance of academic orthodoxy. See, also SII. iii, Introd. p. 11. No. 332 of 1927 is a Rājakesari record, not one of Parāntaka, as stated in ARE. 1927, App. C.

† 231 of 1926. The Pāṇḍya did not die, as stated in ARE. 1926 II, 16. There must be some mistake here. The actual phrase in the inscriptions is 'antigai leyda rāntu'.

‡ SII. iii. No. 99. Another inaccuracy here—the Ceylonese king did not come to the fight himself, according to the MV.

§ CV. Ch. 53 vv. 5 ff.
"At that time the Paṇḍu king through fear of the Cōla (king) left his country, took ship and came to Mahātittha. The king had him brought to him, rejoiced greatly when he saw him, gave him an abundant income and granted him a dwelling outside the town. When the king of Lankā had armed (with the purpose): ‘I will make war on the Cōla king, take from him his two thrones* and give them to the Paṇḍu king,’ the nobles dwelling on the island for some reason or other stirred up a sorry strife to the undoing of the Paṇḍu king. The Paṇḍu king thought his sojourn here was of no use to him. He left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kēraḷas."

This is confirmed by a verse † in the Tiruvāḷangālupa plates saying:

"Encircled by the fire of his (Parāntaka’s) prowess, the Paṇḍya, as if desirous of cooling the heat caused by it, quickly entered the sea (embarked for Ceylon), abandoning his royal state and the kingdom inherited from his ancestors.”

Rājasimha proceeded to Kēraḷa from Ceylon because it was the home of his mother Vānavan-mahādēvi. ‡

The rulers of Kēraḷa were in such close political alliance with the Cōlas in this period, that Rājasimha depended more on the Ceylonese king for help in the first instance, and went to Kēraḷa only as a last resort, even then leaving his crown and other valuables behind in Ceylon. The flight of Rājasimha may be dated, following the chronology of the Mahāvamsa, sometime between the sixteenth and the twenty-sixth year of Parāntaka’s reign.

Parāntaka spent many years in reducing the newly conquered country to subjection, and when he felt he was near the end of

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* Meaning evidently his own Cōla throne, in addition to the Paṇḍyan recently captured by him. See Geiger, CV. i p. 172 n. 1.
† No. 51.
‡ PK. p. 79.
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his task, he wanted to celebrate his success by a formal coronation at Madura at which he was to invest himself with the insignia of Pāṇḍyan monarchy. These had been carried away by Rājasimha and left in the custody of the Ceylonese king, and Parāñṭaka made an unsuccessful effort to secure them in the reign of the slothful and intemperate Udaya IV (945-53 A.D.): *

"The Cōḷa king hearing of his sloth was greatly pleased, and as he wished to achieve consecration as king in the Pāṇḍu kingdom, he sent (messengers) concerning the diadem and the other (things) which the Pāṇḍu (king) had left behind (in Lankā). The king did not give them up, so the mighty Cōḷa equipped an army and sent it forth to fetch them by force. Now, at that time the Senāpati here (in Ceylon) was absent in a rebellious border province. The king had him fetched and sent him forth to begin the war. The Senāpati set forth, delivered battle and fell in the fight. Thereupon the king (Udaya) took the crown and the rest and betook himself to Rohaṇa. The Cōḷa troops marched thither, but finding no way of entering Rohaṇa, they turned and betook themselves through fear from here to their own country."

The exact date of these occurrences cannot be determined; the Ceylonese account is no doubt right in placing them in the last years of Parāñṭaka's regin. † His failure was remembered, and made up for, years later, by his powerful descendant Rājēndra I.

* CV. Ch. 53, vv. 41 ff.

† See Geiger, CV. i p. 176 n. 4. Also ii p. xx n. 18. It must be noted that Venkayya's proof that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943/4 to 947/8 that Parāñṭaka calls himself "Conqueror of Ceylon" no longer holds good; and the date 948 accepted by Geiger for this invasion is not so trustworthy as it appeared to Hultzsch. (See 332 and 331 of 1927 of years 8 and 16 respectively of Parāñṭaka). The MV. goes on to add that a new Senāpati of Udaya "laid waste the borderland of the Cōḷa king and forced him with threats to restore all that he had carried away" as booty. What exactly is meant by the 'borderland' is not clear.
Besides the friendliness of the Kērala ruler and the assistance of the Paḻuvēṭtaraiyar chieftains of Kēlappalūvūr, Parāntaka was aided in his Pāṇḍyan campaigns by the Vēḻir chiefs of Koḻumбавāḷur. Records dated very early in Parāntaka’s reign show that prince Arikula-kēsari, one of the sons of Parāntaka, had already married Pūdi Ādicca Pīḍāri, daughter of Tennavan Iḷangōyvēḷar of the Koḻumбавāḷur line. * Other evidence of the close connection in this period between the Cōḷa line and the Koḻumбавāḷur chieftains is furnished by records from Pudukottali and the Trichinopoly district. † Their hostility to the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha becomes clear from the Sinnamanūr plates of the sixteenth year of Rājasimha (c. 916 A.D.). While giving an account of Rājasimha’s relations with the Cōḷas in the early years of Parāntaka’s rule, the Pāṇḍyan inscription says that Rājasimha “defeated the king of Taṅjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḻumbai (Koḻumбавāḷur), the seat of one of the powerful Cōḷa subordinates, burnt Vaṅji and destroyed the king of Southern Taṅjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Cōḷas) at Nāval.” ‡ This rather obscure and, no doubt, highly embellished account, from the Pāṇḍyan side, of the early stages of the Cōḷa war is valuable in two respects. It confirms the impression derived from the Mahāvamsa and the inscriptions of Parāntaka that his conquest of the Madura kingdom was a gradual and difficult process which involved much fighting spread over many years. It provides, moreover, a clear idea of the alignment of the political powers in these struggles, and corroborates the view

* SII. iii 96.
† See ARE. 1908, II 84 ff.
‡ SII. iii p. 449.
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that the Cēra and the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs * were friendly to the Cōla and fought on his side.

The intervals between his Pāṇḍyan wars were employed by Parāntaka in extending his power elsewhere. The Sholingur rock inscription † of the ninth year mentions that the Ganga Prthivipati II got the title of Bāṇādhirāja from Parāntaka and that he distinguished himself in a fight at Vallāla. The Udayēndiram plates of Prthivipati ‡ state that Parāntaka uprooted two Bāṇa kings and conquered the Vaidumbas. The Bāṇas were an ancient line of kings who ruled for over two centuries in the tract that came to be called Perumbāṇappādi, the Bāṇa country. § This was the area to the north of the Pūlār, between Punganur in the west and Kālāhasti in the east. There is reason to believe that at an earlier period they ruled the territory further north and were forced to migrate south in the period of the rise and expansion of the Cāḷukyas of Būdūmi. In the last stages of their existence as an independent power their

* We have only one inscription (129 of 1907, Pd. 14), its beginning lost, giving the genealogy of these chieftains for eight generations or so. It is probable that there were collateral branches of which we have as yet no information and if, failing to allow for this possibility, we seek to accommodate all the inscriptions in the genealogy of this single record, we come across a number of difficulties not easily settled. It should also be borne in mind that a title like Tennavan Ḥangōvēḻṟ may have been borne by several persons, and no identification can be confidently based on the recurrence of such titles in different inscriptions. At any rate, if Pūḍi Vikramakēsari was, as there are strong reasons to believe, the contemporary of Āditya II who ‘took the head of Viṟa-pāṇqiyan,’ it is difficult to believe that he was also the Tennavan Ḥangōvēḻṟ whose daughter Ḍicca Pūḷāṭi had become the wife of Arikulakēsari as early as the third year (910 A.D.) of Parāntaka I. These chiefs were Kaḷḷar (140 of 1928-Parāntaka I, year 17), and had dynastic connections with the Muttaraiyar (337 of 1904, Pd. 45). Ḥangaljī-ṉīyāṆ was believed to be of their family (Pēriya Purāṇam), contra Nambi Āṇḍēr Nambi.

† El. iv pp. 221–5.
‡ SII. ii No. 76, v. 9.
§ On the Bāṇas see El. xi, pp. 229–40; and xvii pp. 1–7. I follow Hultsch’s table (El. xvii p. 3) for the numbering of the Bāṇa kings.

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capital was at Paṇivi * which is first mentioned in the Sholingur inscription and may be identical with Parigi, in the Hindupur Taluq of Anantapur district. The last ruler of the line was Vikramāditya III, Vijayabāhu, described as the dear friend of Kṛṣṇarāja, doubtless Kṛṣṇa III, his powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa neighbour. The course of events which is nowhere described in explicit terms can only be inferred from a careful study of the dates which, fortunately, are clearly recorded in the inscriptions bearing on this topic.

( Hastimalla got the title Bāṇādhirāja from Parāntaka before 916 A.D. (Sholingur record). Vijayāditya II Prabhamaṅgu ruled the Bāṇa territory independently till 909 A.D. † The conquest of the Bāṇas by Parāntaka must have taken place in the intervening period of six or seven years. The great-grandson of Vijayāditya Prabhamaṅgu is known from his Udayendiram grant to have been the friend of Kṛṣṇarāja III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa. There were two Bāṇa kings intervening—Vikramāditya II and Vijaya-
ditya III, Pugalvippavargaṅga. Considering the fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III could not have begun his reign much earlier than A.D. 940, it seems proper to infer that the two Bāṇa rulers who were dispossessed of their kingdom and perhaps forced by Parāntaka to seek refuge within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion were Vikramāditya II and Vijayāditya III. The title conferred on Prthivipati II, Bāṇādhirāja, was not then an empty name; it carried with it the real overlordship of the Bāṇa country for some years. And this uprooting of the Bāṇas, so proudly proclaimed by the

* Paṇivi and Nandagiri occupy in late Bāṇa records a position similar to that of Ujjayīr and the Kṛvṛi in the Telugu Cōla records. It may be observed that Parigi answers to the description of the Bāṇa country being to the west of the Andhra.
† 99 of 1899.

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Ganga ruler who benefited thereby, contributed to the invasion of the Cōla lands by Kṛṣṇa III which ended so disastrously for the Cōlas.

Forming part of the campaign against the Bāṇas, or at any rate closely connected with it, was the war against the Vaidumbas. These were a Telugu family who have left behind a few records in that language and in Kanarese. In the ninth century they claim to have had the Rēnāṇḍu 7000 country under them, and their inscriptions tell us that in the great battle of Sorēmati (c. 880 A.D.) they took the side of the Bāṇas against the Nolambas and the Gangas. This alliance with, and possibly subordination to, the Bāṇas continued until the time of Parāntaka’s war with them. We have no direct means of identifying the opponent of Parāntaka. Some records * of Kannaradēva (Kṛṣṇa III) from the South Arcot district mention the Vaidumba Mahārāja Śandayan Tiruvayan and Tiruvayan Śrikaṇṭha; the Vaidumba chief reduced to submission by Parāntaka about 915 A.D. must have been Śandayan Tiruvayan himself or his immediate predecessor. The Vaidumbas, like the Bāṇas, sought refuge with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the onslaught of the Cōlas. In later times, under Rājarāja I and Rājendra, when the Cōla empire regained its ascendancy, the son and grandson of Tiruvayan accepted subordinate positions under the Cōlas.

Two inscriptions † from Tiruvorriyūr contain the most casual reference to a campaign in the Nellore district. An officer of Parāntaka, Māgran Paramēśvaran, a native of

* 235, 267, 268 of 1902 (EL. vii pp. 142 ff) and 16, 743 of 1905; ARE. 1905 II, 28.
† Nos. 160, 236 of 1912, the former being SII. iii 108.

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Śīgukulaṭṭūr, overthrew Śītpulī and destroyed Nellūr, and on his way back to the south, he stopped at Tiruvorrgiyūr to make a thanks-offering to Mahādeva in the form of a grant of land, which four years later was released from the fiscal dues falling upon it. The original gift was made in the thirty-fourth year of Parāntaka (A.D. 941). This campaign was probably directed against the power of the Vēngī ruler Cālukya Bhīma II. Śītpulī was a district in the southern regions of the Eastern Cālukya kingdom. * Considering that no records of Parāntaka have been discovered in the east coast region to the north of Tiruvorrgiyūr, it may be doubted if the campaign had any permanent results. †

From about 940 A.D., Parāntaka experienced the increasing difficulty of defending an empire at a great many points; in less than fifty years a small principality had grown into a widespread dominion at the expense of its neighbouring states; the very quickness of the expansion was fraught with danger and dynasties which had been dispossessed and driven out of their traditional homes could not all be expected to give in without further struggle. Nor was it likely that other powers like the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Eastern Cālukyas would view without concern the progress of the Cōla power. We have seen already that some time after 945 A. D., Parāntaka experienced a repulse in Ceylon and failed to take from Udaya IV the Pāṇḍyan diadem. We must now turn to a narration of the occurrences elsewhere that must have had no small share in forcing

* A.R.E. 1913 II 18 and S.I.I. iii 108 (introda.) make Śītpulī a personal name, and suggest that Śītpulī was the general of Bhīma. But 79 of 1921 (Rājjak. 6) mentions Śītpulī-nāḍu and Pāki-nāḍu. The latter is well known as Pāka-rāṣṭra.

† See Ch. viii below, under Arijjaya.

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The death of Ganga Prthivipati II, the trusted friend and grateful vassal of Parântaka I, which must have occurred about 940 A. D., * may be said to mark the commencement of Parântaka’s troubles from this quarter. Prthivipati left no son, Vikkiyâṇa having pre-deceased him. † Būtuga II, who had married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Rēvakā, the sister of Kṛṣṇa III, and assisted Kṛṣṇa in securing his throne from a usurper, was now left in unquestioned supremacy in the Ganga country, because he had murdered his elder brother Rācamalla and annexed his possessions also. ‡ And the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas were already by the side of Kṛṣṇa soliciting his protection and aid against the powerful Cōla. Kṛṣṇa was in the prime of life and had just encountered and overcome opposition at home and was not reluctant to seize the favourable moment that chance offered to him for making a great advance to the south.

It is possible that these developments were fore-shadowed even in the life-time of Prthivipati and a little before the accession of Kṛṣṇa to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne. A record § from the North Arcot district commemorates the death of a hero in 936 A.D. in a cattle-raid by a Western Ganga king (Perumāṇadigal), and this may be taken to

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* Rangachari says that Prthivipati became a vassal of Kṛṣṇa III, and was living in A.D. 953 (N A. 586). In saying this, he overlooks Hultsch’s warning that the Attimallar of this record is a different person (ET. vii p. 195)

† 332 of 1912.

‡ Rice Mysore and Coorg, p. 45


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give the first indication of the coming storm. There is also evidence to show that about this time Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka, was stationed with a large army including an elephant corps and some cavalry* in the district known in inscriptions and literature as Tirumunaippādi-nādu. Vellangumaran, a Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya’s forces, was present at Grāmam as early as 936 A.D., † where seven years later he constructed a stone temple to Śiva on the banks of the Peṇnār. ‡ Tirunāvalūr, a village near Grāmam, called Rājādittapuram till about 1140 A.D., § was the residence of Rājāditya for many years. We also find Arikulakēsari ¶ in the same region about the same time, no doubt assisting his brother, Rājāditya. It is clear, therefore, that Parāntaka was not unmindful of the repercussions of his aggressive policy against the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas, and that though he expected much from the loyal support of Pṛthivīpati II, he did not leave everything to him, but made his own preparations to meet an emergency.

The chronology of Krṣṇa’s campaign against the Cōla has been the subject of some difference of opinion, but it is not incapable of precise determination. The Śoliapuram inscription || which is dated in three different ways may furnish the starting point. This record which bears the Śaka date 871 (A.D. 949) is also

* ASI. 1905–6 p. 181. Also 180 of 1921. ARE. 1921, II 25.
† 739 of 1905.
‡ 735 of 1903 dated Saturday, 14th January 943 A.D.
§ 374 of 1902.
¶ 280 of 1902.
|| 428 of 1902; EI. vii p. 194.
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dated in the second year of some king not named in
direct relation to this regnal year. But as Kannara-
dēva started his rule in or about 940 A.D., * the second
year cannot be his. Venkayya, however, affirms †
that this is ‘evidently a record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king
Kṛṣṇa III’ and suggests that the date is ‘probably the
second year after the occupation of the Tōṇḍainūḍu’
by him. But the suggestion is contradicted by the
record itself which says that it was the year in which
Kṛṣṇa entered Tōṇḍaimanḍalam; and we have no other
instance in his numerous records from that country
of his using the date of his entry into Tōṇḍai-
manḍalam as the starting point of an era; they give
invariably his regnal year. The only alternative is to
assume with Hultsch that it refers to Rājāditya’s rule
as the inscription comes from a place within the
sphere of his jurisdiction as viceroy. It is not to be
supposed ‡ that Rājāditya began to rule and issue
inscriptions in his own name only after the death of
his father; for nothing is more common in Cūḷa
inscriptions than for records of successive rulers dated
in different series of regnal years to overlap. Rājāditya
had by A.D. 948 served his father actively in a
subordinate capacity for over a dozen years, and it is
not a violent assumption to make that Rājāditya was
made ‘co-regent’ § in that year. There is one
circumstance which may be said to support this
suggestion. The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīra-

* No. 236 of 1913 dates his death in Ś. 889 (A.D. 967). It is possible he
started rule somewhat earlier. His earliest inscription is dated, however,
A.D. 940; perhaps the conflict with Lalleya, the rival claimant to his throne,
filled the early years.

† ASI. 1908-9. p. 122 n. 2.

also ARE. 1911, ii, 22.

§ Though not a happy term this may be retained as familiar to students
of South Indian epigraphy.
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rājendra categorically affirms that Parāntaka earned the name Vīra-Cōla by his victory over the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja. * Despite the lateness of the testimony, it is so definite and so probable in itself that we can hardly brush it aside as of no value. If this victory was a fact, it can be placed only in the interval between 940 and 948 A. D., and it is quite likely that Rājāditya had an active share in gaining this success, and that Parāntaka in appreciation of his son's valour and his own growing age, conferred on Rājāditya the position of co-regent in the administration of the empire. †

The third method in which the Śoḷapuram record is dated is by describing it as the year in which Cakravartin Kannaradeva Vallabhan entered Toṇḍai-manaḍalam after the overthrow of Rājāditya. It seems likely that this record was engraved very soon after Rājāditya's death, when the consequences of the battle of Takkōlam were not yet fully realised. By the evidence of this record the successful invasion of Kṛṣṇa took place in A.D. 949.

The Āṭakūr inscription of Būtuga II affords striking confirmation of this date. It dates the battle of Takkōlam (in which Rājāditya lost his life at the hands of Būtuga) in the current Śaka year 872, i.e. A.D. 949-50. ‡ Again Parāntaka's own inscriptions tell the same tale. His inscriptions bearing dates in A.D. 948 are found in the South and North Arcot districts, §

* Verse 58. Note the phrase ajitam-narādhipaiḥ.
† This is indeed contradicted by the larger Leyden grant (verse 19). But see note † p. 162 (below).
‡ EJ. vi p. 51.
§ 419 of 1903; 184, 313 of 1906; 149 of 1916.

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and it is a remarkable fact that not only are his inscriptions not found in these districts after that date, but no inscriptions of his dated in his regnal years 42-44 (inclusive) are at all known—a fact clearly to be accounted for by some great disaster like the battle of Takkōlam. Thus all lines of evidence point to one date, 949 A.D., as the year which decided the fortunes of the contest between Parāntaka and Kṛṣṇa.

One inscription * from Siddhalingamaḍam (South Arcot), dated in the fifth year of Kṛṣṇa's reign, already in A.D. 944-5 gives him the title Kacciyum-Taṅjaiyum-koṇḍa. This has created some confusion, and led some scholars to imagine that Kṛṣṇa's invasion and occupation of Tounḍaimanḍalam was earlier than the battle of Takkōlam. † But the difficulty of reconciling this datum with the rest of our evidence is so great as to be almost insuperable, and we can hardly help suspecting some mistake here. For if Kṛṣṇa was in Tounḍaimanḍalam as early as A.D. 944-5, how can we account for Parāntaka's inscriptions being found in the Arcot districts till 948 A.D., for the presence of Rājāditya at Takkōlam in 949 A.D., and for the battle of Takkōlam itself? Again, how can we account for the fact that, barring this single record from Siddhalingamaḍam, there is no other inscription of Kṛṣṇa dated before his sixteenth regnal year (956 A.D.) in the North and South Arcot districts? There is no alternative, in fact, to our rejecting this record as spurious at least in its date. It should be noticed that the Vyāghra-pādēśvarara temple from which the inscription comes was renovated in the reign of Kulōttunga I.

* 375 of 1909.
† K. V. S. Aiyar, EI. xii p. 123; xix pp. 82 ff. ARE, 1926 II 12.

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by one of his officers,* and that it is quite probable that an error crept into the copy of this old inscription reproduced on the new walls more than a century after it was originally recorded, and this, I think, is the real explanation of the difficulty. †

We may now turn to the actual course of events connected with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion.

It has been pointed out before that Parāntaka was quite alive to the danger from the north-west frontier of his dominions, and that he took early steps to maintain a strong frontier force intended to resist any hostile movements on the part of his enemies. It would seem that the arrangements made by Parāntaka fulfilled their purpose for quite a number of years, and that in this period the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler suffered a defeat at the hands of Parāntaka and his warlike son Rājaditya. But to a powerful ruler like Kṛṣṇa whose dominion extended over the whole of Western Dekkan from the Central Provinces to Mysore, and who had the Ganga and others in the south for his allies, such a defeat was only a spur to greater effort. This he made in 949 A.D., and the decisive engagement took place at Takkōlam, six miles to the South-east of Arkoṇam in the North Arcot district. ‡ The Ātakūr inscription tells us that Kannaradēva 'was making a display of triumph after fighting against and killing the Mūvaḍi-Cōla-Rājaditya at a place called Takkōla'; it also adds: 'when

* See Rangachari, p. 217; Studies pp. 178—9; 197.

† It may also be noticed that while in some records Kannaradēva is given the title Kīcchiyum-Tāhjaiyum-kōṇa, in others he is simply called by his name without any distinguishing title. But as the range of dates and the provenance of both sets of these records are identical, and as no palaeographical differences divide the two groups, they may both be treated as relating to Kṛṣṇa III.

‡ EJ. iv, p. 331 n. 3.
Kannaradeva was fighting the Cōla, Būtuga made the howdah the battle-field, and aimed at, pierced and killed Rājāditya—an act for which Kṛṣṇa rewarded him by granting him the districts of Banavāse 12,000, and Beḷvōla 300.* The Cōla version of what happened on the occasion is not different; the Tiruvāḷangādu plates† say that Rājāditya went to heaven after conquering Kṛṣṇarāja; the larger Leyden grant is more explicit and records‡:

"The heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race, having shaken in battle the unshakable Kṛṣṇarāja with his forces, by means of his sharp arrows flying in all directions, was himself pierced in his heart while seated on the back of a large elephant by the sharp arrows of the enemy, and (thus) winning the praise of the three worlds, he ascended to the heaven of heroes in a tall vimāna."

This clearly implies that there was much hard fighting, and that the Cōla army lost the battle mainly on account of a well-aimed arrow of Būtuga having fatally wounded Rājāditya.

* This important inscription has been edited twice by Fleet—E.I. ii pp. 167 ff; vi pp. 50-7. The text has: 'Mūnde-Cōla-Rājādityana mātu (b)ondum Takkōla-ded kādi konūni bījāyam-jeyyuttu jādu' (l. 4); and "Kannaradevan Cōthanam kādawendu Būtugam Rājādityanam bīrugeye kālām-āgi guri (sur)-giridu kādi kōndu Banavasam Panmircastaram etc." (ll. 20-4).

On both occasions Fleet translated the second extract so as to imply treachery on the part of Būtuga. And in discussing No. 181 of 1912, a most baseless conjecture was hazarded in ARE. 1913, II, 17 that Caturāmana Paṇḍita betrayed his master and friend Rājāditya to his foes. But the phrase 'bīrugeye kālām-āgi' must really be read: 'bīrugeye kālānāgi' ; the words 'bīruge' and 'kālām' mean respectively the howdah fastened to the back of elephants for riding on, and field (of battle). Būtuga made the howdah of Rājāditya's elephant itself the battle-field. This interpretation is borne out by the Cōla inscriptions. The larger Leyden grant says: 'Rājāditya-ya viro ranikulatilakah Kṛṣṇarājam rasanīyam samkṣobhākṣobhyam-ājana... nāgīndra-shandha-varitā vīdālīta-hrdayakā... virolokāk-jagāma,' — a clear statement which leaves not the slightest room for the suspicion of treachery on the part of Rājāditya's opponent. See JRAS. 1909, pp. 443-6. Other Cōla inscriptions from Kumbakōnam and Tirunāḷgāvaram mention the 'king who died on the back of an elephant.' ARE. 1912, II, 14, Fleet's old mistake is repeated in the Kudamba-kula (Bombay, 1931) p. 86

† v, 54.
That even this decisive battle was not followed by the total collapse of all resistance to Kṛṣṇa's advance, and that he had some more years of rather hard fighting, may be inferred from the fact that inscriptions dated in his reign do not begin to appear till his sixteenth year, 956 A.D. or at the earliest 953 A.D. Inscriptions from South Arcot dated in Śaka years 874–876 (A.D. 952-954) * recording gifts of minor chieftains but not acknowledging either Cōla or Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy may be taken to support this inference. There is much uncertainty, however, about the exact course of the events that followed Takkōlam. We have no Cōla records from the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput for several years after the battle; Kṛṣṇa's records with dates ranging from the sixteenth to the thirtieth years of his reign are found in the same area. By assuming the tittle 'Kacciyum-Taṅjaityum-koṇḍa,' Kṛṣṇa claimed to have captured Kāṇcipuram and Taṅjavūr. The 'spurious' Sudi plates † state that Būtuga, after conquering Rājāditya, assaulted Tanjore, Nālkoṭe and a number of other fortresses and handed over to Kṛṣṇa elephants, horses and a vast amount of treasure captured from these places. The Karhāḍ grant (959 A.D.), which shows Kṛṣṇa still in his camp at Mēlpāḍi (N. Arcot) at the end of his southern campaigns, states that in the course of his digvijaya in the south, he uprooted the family of the Cōḷas, distributed their territory among his followers, extorted tributes from several kings, including the king of Ceylon, and erected a pillar of victory in Rāmeśvaram ‡. We cannot say for certain if these are merely empty

* 338, 356 of 1902 (Tirunēmanallīr).
† EJ. iii p. 179-80. Also the Kudīr plates of Mūrasimha (A.D. 963) ll. 88 ff.
‡ EJ. 1921, pp. 11, 26.

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boasts or the record of a triumphant raid across the Southern countries. No inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa or his vassals are found south of the latitude of Pondicherry. *

But there can be no question that the effect on the Cōḷa empire was ruinous, and that as a consequence of the blow in the north, much of the south also slipped out of Parāntaka’s hands. The Cōḷa empire was no more; it had to be built up all over again.

Only a few inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Tanjore attest the closing years of Parāntaka’s reign, and they are dated in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth regnal years of Parāntaka who must have therefore lived up to 953 A.D. † He had many wives, of whom the names of no fewer than eleven occur in his inscriptions. Kōkkiḻān ‡ was the name of the mother of Rājakītya, called also Kōdaṉdaruma, the eldest son of Parāntaka who died in the battle of Takkōḷam. Another queen of Parāntaka, a Kēraḷa princess, § the mother of Ariṅjaya, deserves special notice as her marriage, contracted

* Al-Birūnī seems to say that Tanjore was in ruins and that in consequence the Cōḷa king built a new capital. Sewell, Antiquities ii p. 155. Is this a late reference to the effects of Kṛṣṇa’s inroad, or merely the assignment of a wrong reason for the foundation of the new capital at Gangaikondar-SAḻapuram?

† Nos. 465 of 1918, 15 of 1895, and 135 of 1931. Kriahna Sastri has said (S. II. v, p. 226 n) that in 1895 the figure 6 is clear on the stone, and this must set at rest any lingering doubts on this question of fact. See also ASJ. 1908-9, p. 123 n 1. The larger Leyden grant (v. 19) categorically asserts that Rājakītya began to rule after the death of Parāntaka, and then proceeds to give an account of Rājakītya’s war with Kṛṣṇa. I am inclined to accept the contemporary stone records as more valid evidence than the statement in a copper-plate grant dated after more than half-a-century of the utmost confusion.

‡ 335 of 1902. Gopinatha Rao thinks that this queen and Parāntaka are named among the donors in the Huzur Treasury Plates of Tiruvalla. (TAS. ii. 141). But this is doubtful.

possibly in Āditya’s lifetime, not only gave proof of the friendly political relations that obtained between the Cōla and Kērāla rulers, but apparently furnished the occasion for a large influx of Malaiyālis into the Cōla country in search of service under the king and his sons. Veḷḷangumaran, the Kērāla general of Rājaditya, who built a temple in Grāmam was only the leading example* of a large class of less known immigrants figuring as donors of small charitable gifts in the inscriptions of the period. Besides Rājaditya, Parāntaka had four other sons: Gaṇḍarāditya, Arikulakēsari, Ḩattamaśīli and Arindigai or Ariṇjaya of the plates. One daughter of his, Vīramadēvi, called also Gōvinda Vallavaraiyar is mentioned; † and it is likely that another, Anupamā, was married to the chieftain of Koḍumbāḷūr. That Parāntaka was fond of many high-sounding titles ‡ is clear from his inscriptions, amongst which the most noteworthy, in this as well as in other respects, are the celebrated records of the twelfth and fourteenth years of his reign dealing with the constitutional arrangements of the Sabhā of Uttramērū. § He performed several hēmgarbhās and tulābhāras, and gave brahmādēyas. ¶ The Tiruvālangādu plates describe

* Iravi Nīli, the daughter of the Cēra King, Vijayarāga, is another. She gave 30-kalāṇjīn of gold for a lamp in the Tiruvoggiyār temple. (S.II. iii No. 103).
† Nos. 245-6 of 1921 (year 31).
‡ T A. Gopinatha Rao (E.I. xv. p. 50), basing himself on 110 of 1895 suggests that Vikramaśīla Ḩangōvēḻṟ of that record must have been Parāntaka. If that be so,—the name Pāluvēṭtaraiyar favours the supposition,—the record must be one of Āditya I, as Ḩangōvēḻṟ would not apply to Parāntaka in the record of any other sovereign. Then the interval between this record mentioning the marriage of Parāntaka and his death would be eighty years (34 plus 46) at least, which looks improbable. There were many Pāluvēṭtaraiyars, and Ḩangōvēḻṟ is not the same as Ḩangō. Perhaps Vikramaśīla Ḩangōvēḻṟ was only a minor chieftain of some feudatory family.
§ See Studies pp. 163 ff.
¶ S.II. ii. 383 v. 7.
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Parântaka as the bee at the lotus feet of Śiva (Parântaka), and they and the Leyden grant concur in stating that he covered with gold the Śiva temple of Cidambaram. * In fact Parântaka’s reign was a great epoch in the history of South Indian temple architecture, and the work of temple-building begun by Āditya was continued vigorously during the best part of his reign. We have also much valuable and interesting evidence from the inscriptions on the details of administration, central and rural, on the state of religious faith and so on. These matters have been reserved for detailed study at a later stage.

* See also Gaṇḍāditya’s Tiruvilāippā on Kṛyāl: Tennamñđum Ilamum-kovēḻa āṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟруд Šembiyan ponnapinda • • • • Tūḷaiyambalattu (v. 9).

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CHAPTER VIII
FROM THE DEATH OF PARĀNTAKA I (953 A.D.)
TO THE
ACCESSION OF RĀJARĀJA I (985 A.D.)

I.—Chronology and order of succession.

The relatively short interval of about thirty years from the death of Parāntaka to the accession of Rājarāja I is one of the most difficult passages of Cōla history. The evidence is confusing, and no two scholars are agreed in its proper interpretation. It is hardly possible to put forward a scheme of succession without a more or less full discussion of possible alternatives.

We may begin by setting forth in some detail the nature of the evidence at hand. Stone inscriptions constitute the chief source of our knowledge, and there are several among these that unmistakably belong to this period.* The inscriptions of Kannaradēva (Krṣṇa III) bearing regnal years higher than twenty-three, and found in the districts

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* Three inscriptions, all of the ninth year of a Parāntakadēva, pose one of the minor problems in Cōla epigraphy. No 16 of 1896 from Tiruvellāṅgu, North Arcot, calls the king Parakāsari and Tribhuvana-Cakravartin. No. 261 of 1923 from Kōyil-Tēvarāyanpēṭtai, Tanjore Dt., does the same, and in addition gives a historical introduction beginning pā-mangai-vaḷara. No. 225 of 1929 from Tiruvadattugai, S. Arcot, gives the same introduction, but calls the king Rājakāsari and Cakravartin. If the records are genuine, they must be of the reign of either Parāntaka I Parakāsari, or Parāntaka II Rājakāsari. But the absence of other Cōla prāṣāṭis before Rājarāja I, the title Tribhuvana-cakravartin applied to the king in two of these records, and the fact that the third is found in a temple which has no other inscription of a period earlier than that of Vīrājlendra, render these records suspicious. They furnish no information of historical importance. See ARE. 1924, II 9; 1929, II 26.
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of North Arcot and Chingleput constitute the first group of these records; the latest year in them is twenty-eight, and this would take us to A.D. 965. *

Of Maduraikonda Râjakâsari.

Of the remaining stone inscriptions of the period, ten inscriptions belong to Maduraikonda Râjakâsari and bear dates in regnal years ranging from five to seventeen. Four inscriptions belong to Sundara Cûla with titles Madhurântaka and Pândiyanaic-curam-irakkina; two of these are dated in years five and seven, while the two dates in the other two are lost. A considerable number with years ranging from two to five are those of Parakasari who had the title (Vira) Pândiyana-talai-kônâ; and a still larger number belong to a Pârthivendra-varman with the same title and with other variants to his name like Vêndrâdivarman, Pârthivendradhipati-varman and so on; these records give dates up to the thirteenth regnal year. †

Of Ultrama Cûla.

Lastly, we have a number of Parakasari Uttama Cûla’s inscriptions with regnal years from two to sixteen; two of them are precisely dated and fix the limits of his reign. The title Parakasari, and the dates in his inscriptions ‡ which

* Krishna Sastri (SIH. ii Introd. 12) says: "Perhaps the years quoted in Kannara-Kûsa’s Tamil inscriptions must be taken to count from 949 A.D."

† On the same page he admits that Kûsa died in Saka 889 or 967 A.D. He does not explain why, after this date, records should bear his name and his regnal years till about 977 A.D. Again, he admits that 949 A.D. was not the year of Kûsa’s entry into Tondaimanadalam but the following year; why, then, should this year have been the starting point for the dates in his Tamil records? The highest regnal year in the Tamil inscriptions is not 30 as was believed till recently but only 28 (364 of 1902, 159 of 1921); the date in No. 232 of 1902 (Kilur) is now read as 20, not (39) which was given in ARE. 1903. See SIH. vii 859.

‡ See SIH. iii, 125, 138.
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couple Kali year 4083 (A.D. 981-2) with his regnal year thirteen, fix Uttama Cōla’s place as the immediate predecessor of Rājakēsari Rājarāja I. It should also be observed that some of the numerous records which give no more detailed specification of the ruling sovereign than to call him Rājakēsari or Parakēsari will, no doubt, on any scheme of chronology, be found to fall in this period; but these may, for the most part, be left on one side in the present discussion.

Besides the stone inscriptions, we have the evidence of copper-plate grants. The only grant that falls in this period is that in the Anbil plates of the fourth year of Sundara Cōla. Unfortunately for us, Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, the composer of the Sanskrit praśasti in these plates, was less anxious to record facts which must have been very well known to him than to display his capacity for alankāras in his verse. As it is, even for the fact that Sundara Cōla was a Rājakēsari we have to depend on the opening of the Tamil part of the record. The Tiruvāḷangādhu plates imply, and the Leyden grant expressly affirms, that after the death of Rājaditya the succession took place in the following order: Gaṅḍarāditya, Arindama, Parāntaka, Āditya and Madhurāntaka. The Kanyā-kumārī inscription of Vīrarājendrā, which, though a stone inscription, resembles the copper-plates in the form of its lengthy preamble, gives only the names of Arindama and Parāntaka I between Parāntaka II and Rājarāja, apparently because the author of the praśasti had no other object in view than to trace the descent of the reigning king in the direct line from Vijayālaya. The genealogy of the Cōlas from Parāntaka I to Rājarāja as it is given in these records may be set
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down before proceeding further:

By Kökkilân | By Kērala princess

Rājāditya | Gaṇḍarāditya | Ariṇjaya m.
| Kalyāṇi of the Vaidumba race

Madhurāntaka | | Sundara Parāntaka (Rājakēsari)
Uttama (Parakēsari) | | |

Āditya II. | Rājarāja I.

One thing is clear and it is necessary to grasp this firmly; that we cannot treat the regnal years gathered from the stone records as those of kings whose reigns succeeded one another in regular order in the manner implied by the copper-plate grants. For in that case the period would, if we omit Pārthivēndra-varman from the reckoning and add the highest regnal years known of Maduraikōṇḍa Rājakēsari, Sundara, Āditya and Uttama, extend to 45 years, a period much too long for the interval between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja. Then there is the possibility that Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariṇjaya also ruled as kings. A Rājakēsari inscription possibly of Rājarāja I’s reign * mentions the second year of Gaṇḍarādityadēva alias Mūmmudicōla-dēva, while taking stock of the gifts made by his queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi at various times to the temple of Tiruvēn-kāḍu. Records of the eighth year of Rājakēsari † show that Arikulakēsari, the son of Parāntaka, stood in the

* 44 of 1918 under year 6 of Rājarāja I.
† SII. iii, 111 and 112.

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relation of Pillaiyar or Alvar, * (terms often applied to junior members of the royal family), to the ruling king who, being a Rajakshari, could only have been Gaundaraditya.

As for Ariyajaya, besides the statements in the copper-plates regarding his rule, there is a Rajakshari record dated in the twelfth year † which mentions two queens of 'Ariyajigaivarman who died at Arur'; and inscriptions from Melpadi dated late in the reign of Rajaraja I ‡ mention the construction by him of the Colesvara temple as a memorial shrine (palliappadai) to Aruruttumini-dvya. These references render it probable that Ariyajaya lived long enough to rule in his own right, though, perhaps, only for a short time. Taking all these facts into consideration, we see clearly that there must have been a great deal of overlapping of the regnal years of the different kings quoted in the lithic records.

Another preliminary question that must be considered is the exact significance of the phrase 'talai-kongda' which is of some importance to the history of this

Meaning of talai-kongda.

* Krishna Sastri remarks: "The epithet Alvar is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time," and then proceeds, "if Arikulakesari, Arikeshari, Ariyajaya or Arindama died before the 8th year of Gaundaraditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arikulakesari who, as the Anbil plates say, was Prince Sundara Cula born of a Vainumbha princess. (S.II. iii, Introd. p. 14). But though Arikulakesari may be identified with Ariyajaya, there is nothing to show that he predeceased Gaundaraditya. We know that, in many records of Rajaraja I, his elder sister Kundavai is called Alvar during her life-time. Further, seeing that Gaundaraditya and Sundara Cula who succeeded him were both Rajakesaris, Krishna Sastri suggests (ibid n. 2) that the intervening Parakesari must be identified with the infant son of Gaundaraditya who, though chosen for succession, 'may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.' Ingenious, but not likely. See also E.I. xv, p. 53 where Gopinatha Rao adopts the same arrangement, cutting out Ariyajaya and making Gaundaraditya a Parakshari who followed his elder brother Kajaditya Rajakesari.

† 587 of 1920 (under Sundara).
‡ 83, 84, 86 of 1889 (S.II. iii 15-17).
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period; because Vīra Pāṇḍya claims to have done this to a Cōla king and others claim to have done the same thing to Vīra Pāṇḍya himself. The phrase has been generally understood to mean ‘having cut off the head’, and the identity of the Cōla king who died at the hands of the Pāṇḍya has been much discussed.* It appears, however, that the true meaning of the phrase is that the vanquished king had to acknowledge his defeat by humbling himself before the conqueror in a particular manner, as it were placing his head at the disposal of the conqueror. Hultsch has pointed out † that in the inscriptions of Kulottunga III, the phrase ‘Pāṇḍiyanai muḍittalai kōṇḍarulīya’ employed in some records is explained by another phrase: ‘avan muḍi mēl adi vaillu’ of other inscriptions of the same reign; so that the process of ‘taking the head’ consisted in the vanquished king bowing and touching with his head the feet of the conqueror seated in open darbar. The celebrated Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar only varied this traditional procedure slightly when he demanded that, as the price of peace, Adil Shah of Bijapur should visit him and kiss his foot. ‡ The Guruparamparaiphi, a work which often gives a true account of the practices of Cōla times, mentions that the king from Gangai-kōṇḍa-śēlapuram mounted his state elephant by placing his foot on the head of his sāmantha, or feudatory. § The above interpretation of talai-kōṇḍa has a bearing on the discussion of the chronology of this period, because it follows that a king whose ‘head was taken’ by another need not be assumed to have died at the time this happened to him. It is, of course,

* Gopinatha Rao thinks it was Sundara Cōla EJ. xv p. 54; others say Gaṇḍarāditya, QMS. xvii p. 195. See also ARE, 1921, II 61.
† SJII. iii p. 215 n. 4.
‡ Sewell: Forgotten Empire p. 145.
another matter where we have clear statements of a person being killed. Applying this to the cases arising in this period, we see that the Tiruvālangādu plates make an express declaration that Āditya II killed Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle and brought his severed head to the Cōla capital.* Even here the lateness of the testimony throws suspicion on the event. There is no clear evidence, however, that a Cōla sovereign lost his life at the hands of Vīra Pāṇḍya, and apparently Vīra Pāṇḍya’s boastful title meant no more than that he inflicted a temporary humiliation on a Cōla king or prince.

Evidence has been cited above showing that Gaṅḍarāditya was a Rājakēsari and that he ruled for at least eight years. His rule might have commenced from the death of Rajaḍitya, whose place he must have taken as heir apparent in Parāntaka’s lifetime. A suggestion has sometimes been made that Gaṅḍarāditya was a Parakēsari and that Arindama, placed immediately after him by the Tiruvālangādu plates, was identical with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.† This seems to rest really on two assumptions; that Rajaḍitya ruled after Parāntaka’s death, and that as he was a Rājakēsari, Gaṅḍarāditya who succeeded him must have been a Parakēsari. But it has been shown that the first of these assumptions is not true. It is likely enough that Rajaḍitya assumed the title Rājakēsari when he was made heir apparent; but considering that he predeceased his father, Gaṅḍarāditya who took his place must have assumed the same title so that the sovereign ruler next after Parāntaka Parakēsari

* vv. 67 and 68. Contra Kielhorn, List p. 115 n. 2 written before the Tiruvālangādu plates were discovered.
† ARE. 1904 II, 20 ; 1909 II, 39.
might be a Rājakēsari. In fact the general opinion now prevailing is that Gaṇḍaruditya was a Rājakēsari, although the implication that Rājaditya predeceased his father does not seem to have been so clearly grasped. For we shall see at a later stage of this discussion that an application of the rule that every heir apparent, whether one or more, adopted the title Rājakēsari or Parakēsari, according as the ruling sovereign was Parakēsari or Rājakēsari, furnishes a neat solution of the difficulties that could not otherwise be adequately met.

The Rājakēsari title may, therefore, be admitted for Gaṇḍaruditya. But the suggestion, first made by Venkayya, that Gaṇḍaruditya was no other than Maduraikōṇḍa Rājakēsari, appears to have been accepted without sufficient examination of the evidence. The title Maduraikōṇḍa was taken to imply that the king was the son of Maduraikōṇḍa Parakēsari, Parāntaka I. Hence when Gaṇḍaruditya was believed to be a Parakēsari, Maduraikōṇḍa was identified with Ariñjaya Rājakēsari. Later when Gaṇḍaruditya became a Rājakēsari himself, he was said to be also Maduraikōṇḍa Rājakēsari. But this assumption is by no means an

* SII. iii Introd. p. 14; and ASI. 1908 9 p. 122; also ARE. 1912 II 17, more halting in its tone.

† ASI. 1908–9 p. 122.

‡ As a matter of fact, the discussion of the subject in ARE. 1912, II 17 with reference to No. 306 of 1911 (year 7) is very cautious. It is said that the title Maduraikōṇḍa implies that the king was a son of Parāntaka. On the other hand it is admitted that G. is nowhere ‘clearly stated’ to have been a Rājakēsari, and that it is difficult to see how the seventeen years of this king can be treated as the period of the rule of Gaṇḍaruditya when there are only twenty years for three reigns—Gaṇḍaruditya, Sundara Cēja Parāntaka II and Āditya II Karikāla. The conclusion is: "In any case we may for the present provisionally presume that Maduraikōṇḍa Rājakēsari is identical with Gaṇḍaruditya." It is on the basis of this provisional conclusion that Krishna Sastri arranges the inscriptions in SII. iii, part 3. See p. 250 No. 114, introduction and note 4.

¶ ARE. 1909 II 39.
argument, and one must be prepared to relinquish it if reason is shown for doing so. Now, let us turn to the provenance of the records of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. All of them, except three records of the fourteenth and seventeenth years, come from the North Arcot and Chingleput districts. Three of these are dated in his fifth year, and a fourth in the seventh. One of the records of the fifth year belongs to a place called Karikkal, near Shōlingur, in the Walajapet Taluq of North Arcot. Its date falls about 954 A.D. At the latest, that is, assuming that Parāntaka I died in 953 A. D. and that Gaṇḍarāditya did not begin his rule till after that event, it might be 958. A. D. It is difficult to see how this can be reconciled with the fact that Kṛṣṇa III was still at Mēlpāḍi in 959 A.D. distributing conquered territory among his followers, and that his inscriptions are found in Tōndai-manṭḍalām up to about 965. A. D. These objections to identifying Gaṇḍarāditya with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari are weighty, and should prevail even if no other identification were possible from the later inscriptions of the time. But fortunately there is open to us an easy, and doubtless the correct, solution of the question which would be readily accepted, once the idea is given up that Maduraikoṇḍa must have been a son of another Maduraikoṇḍa, that is, Parāntaka I. A single record from Koṭumbāḷūr, * from which the date has been lost, opens by mentioning Ṽulaiyār madurāntakan Sundara-śōlan. This unique record disposes of the notion that the title Madurāntaka (Madiraikoṇḍa) in the records of this period must have been borne only by a son of Parāntaka I, for we know of no Sundara-śōlan who was his son. This inscription offers the clue to the correct identity of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. Sundara

* 139 of 1907; Pl. 82.
Cōla, the son of Ariñjaya, was a Rājakēsari, as the Anbil plates tell us, and he had also the title 'Madurāntakan.' He has yet another title which gives evidence of his Pāṇḍya war, namely, Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-irakkina.* These facts seem to point definitely to the conclusion that Sundara Cōla Parāntaka II was the king who, in some of his records, is called Madi(u)-raikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.

There is one record of Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari which, at first sight, seems to render it more likely that Gaṇḍarāditya rather than Sundara Cōla was the king of that record. This inscription † from Tiruvorriyūr is dated in the fifth year and registers the endowment of a lamp by one of the nobles of Udaiyar Śri Uttama Cōla-dēva who accompanied him to the temple. Krishna Sastri, in editing this record, says: "A reasonable doubt may arise why Uttama Cōla is given here the title of a ruling king and not that of a prince. It was perhaps because he was the chosen successor of Gaṇḍarāditya at the time. We know, however, that he actually came to the Cōla throne only after one or two other kings had reigned subsequent to his father's death." But if this was so, if Uttama Cōla was in the fifth year of his father's reign old enough to be chosen heir apparent, to adopt regal style and to visit temples with his (perundaram) nobles, and if his father continued to rule for twelve years thereafter, it is hard to see why he did not succeed his father immediately on his death and had to wait until most probably Ariñjaya and Sundara, possibly also Āditya II, had finished their rule. Not only does Krishna Sastri not

† *SI.* iii 115 (246 of 1912).
explain this, but he says elsewhere: "At the time of Gaṇḍarāditya's death, Uttama Cōla must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gaṇḍarāditya had ruled and died." Surely it is not easy to reconcile the two positions that the king of the Tiruvagraṇyūr record was Gaṇḍarāditya, and that at his death, his son was a young boy, so young that he had to wait through the reigns of three of his successors before he could himself rule. There is a more serious discrepancy. Even assuming that Gaṇḍarāditya counted his regnal years from the death of Rājāditya (949 A. D.), if we identify him with Maduraikōṇḍa Rājakēsari, who ruled for at least seventeen years, his reign would extend up to 966 A. D. And Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōla began to rule in 969-70. A.D. The interval of three years is too short to take in the reign of even Sundara Cōla whose records unmistakably give him a rule of not less than seven years †, much less those of three kings. The Tiruvagraṇyūr record cited at the beginning of this paragraph cannot, therefore, be assigned to Gaṇḍarāditya. It must be admitted, however, that even if we take it to be a record of Sundara Cōla, the difficulty still remains of explaining the regal title of Uttama Cōla in it. Seeing that Sundara had a son Āditya who was ably assisting him in his warlike enterprises, it seems unlikely that he recognised, and that so early in his reign, a prince from a collateral, although senior, branch of his family as heir apparent. The only suggestion that offers itself, and for which support may be found in analogous cases from Cōla records, is that though the gift recorded in the inscription was made in the fifth year of Sundara Cōla when

† 291 of 1908.
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Uttama might have been old enough to have a retinue of his own with which he went about touring the country, it was not actually engraved on stone until Uttama Cōla had begun to reign in his own right, which he did, as we shall see, immediately after Sundara Cōla. *

There remain two further questions to be discussed—the position of Vīra-Pāṇḍiya-talai-konḍa Parakēsari and the identity of Pārthivēndravārman who bears the same title. The former may certainly be identified with Āditya, the son of Sundāra Cōla, who according to the Tiruvālāngādu plates and the Leyden grant fought against Vīra Pāṇḍya. † But Āditya II was followed by another Parakēsari, viz., Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōla. This appears, at first sight, to violate the normal rule of the Rājakēsari alternating with the Parakēsari title among the ruling sovereigns of the Cōla dynasty. Krishna Sastri says of Uttama Cōla: ‡ “Contrary to the usual order, according to which he ought to have been a Rājakēsariarvarman, his predecessor Āditya II being Parakēsariarvarman, he too was called a Parakēsariarvarman, evidently because he was the son of a Rājakēsariarvarman and succeeded to the throne not by the right he possessed, but at the request of his cousin's son Rājarāja I who was the chosen successor.” Two remarks may be made on this explanation: first,

* One writer (Q/MS. xvi, p. 197) claims that 'after a close and patient study of many inscriptions published, unpublished and not yet copied by the Epigraphical department,' he has come to the conclusion that all Rāja Rājakēsari records (with one Rāja) must be assigned to Gaṇḍarādītāya, as Rājarāja to whom such inscriptions are assigned really called himself K3 Rājarāja Rājakēsari, (with two Rāja-s). No. 176 of 1906 is a record in the seventh year of Rāja Rājakēsari and mentions the fifteenth year of Uttama Cōla; see also 298 of 1908.

† vv. 67-8 and 28 respectively.

‡ S.II. iii. Introd. p. 16.
it seems hardly consistent with the position held by Krishna Sastri, not by us, that Uttama Cōla was chosen successor in Gaṇḍarāditya's reign, and that on account of his tender age, "the claims of Gaṇḍarāditya's chosen successor were temporarily set aside and postponed." * For, if this was so, how can it be said that he succeeded to the throne not in his own right, but at the request of Rājarāja? Then again the implication that the son of a Rājakēsari must be a Parakēsari is contradicted by the example of Rājarāja I, who was a Rājakēsari himself and the son of a Rājakēsari. It may also be stated here that Ariṇjaya, who must have ruled a short while as Parakēsari, was also the son of a Parakēsari. The true explanation of two Parakēsarīs coming one after another seems to be that the earlier Parakēsari, the chosen heir apparent, Āditya II, died in the life-time of his father Sundara Cōla, and the prince chosen next for the throne also took the title of Parakēsari in order that Rājakēsari Sundara might be followed on the throne by a Parakēsari after his death. At the death of Āditya II, † Sundara Cōla had to choose Uttama Cōla and not his younger son Rājarāja, either because Uttama Cōla forced the choice by threatening civil war, or because Rājarāja of his own will preferred to wait. The verses in the Tiruvālangādu plates, which are the only direct source of our information, can support either interpretation. They declare on the one hand that Uttama Cōla was eager to rule and on the other that Rājarāja was too good a kṣatriya to dream of the throne for himself while his father's cousin wanted it. And we shall see that Uttama Cōla made clear his eagerness to rule by, possibly, instigating a political murder.

* See ibid pp. 14 n. 2; 16, n. 1.
† For a possible son of Āditya, Karikēla-kaṭṭan by name, whose existence may be inferred from the inscriptions of Rājarāja, see S/J, ii, p. 460 and n. 2.
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The identity of Parthivendravrmnn, whose records, are found in the districts of North and South Arcot, and Chingleput, is involved in much obscurity. The suggestion * that he was the same as Pthivipati II, the Ganga feudatory of Parantaka, is the result of a very dubious inference from the resemblance in meaning between the names Pthivipati and Parthivendra. It is also partly the result of a confusion between the Ganga king and a feudatory of Krsha III who, though he had the name Kannaraeva-Pthivigangariyar, was quite different from the Ganga. † After examining the records of Aditya II and Parthivendravrmnn, Krishna Sastri has reached the following conclusion: ‡ "Both these kings claim the epithet, 'who took the head of Pndya or Vira-Pndya'—evidently the same Pndya king who was at war with Sundara Cula Parantaka II—and the title Parakasivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Tondai-mandalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Parthivendra Adityavrmnn may have been a prince of the royal family and viceroy of Tondai-mandalam. Aditya Karikala appears to have been the actual successor." The inscriptions of Pndiyantalai-kound Parakasari are not so very few after all; and what is more important, they are not confined to 'the south,' if by that is meant the country to the south of and outside Tondaimandalam. There are five inscriptions of his in North Arcot and more in South Arcot. On examination we find that the Parthivendra records

* AKE. 1921 II 61.
‡ SII. iii (Intr.) p. 15.

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differ from those of Śāditya Parakēṣari in their provenance only in so far as the former are found in Chingleput district also, and are not found south of Tondai-mandalam. We also find the following features which have a cumulative significance in the consideration of his identity. He is a Parakēṣari; * he has the regal title and calls himself ‘Kōvīrājamārāyar’; † in an early record of the third year he is even called Pārthivēndra Ādittaparumā; ‡ his queens have also the full regal style,—udaiyār dēviyār Villavan mahā- dēviyār; § Perumānadigal dēviyārt-tanmapponnār-āgiyA Trailōkya mahādēviyār. ¶ It seems clear that, far from being a feudatory of the Cōla king, the ruler who can lay claim to so much distinction must himself be a Cōla monarch, and the name Śāditya and the title Parakēṣari clearly suggest his identity with Śāditya Karikūla Parakēṣari. ‘Pārthivēndra Śādityavarman’, and its variant forms occurring in his records show that he took the title ‘Pārthivēndra.’ The Cōla kings were very fond of high-sounding birudas, and almost every one of them had many such titles. As the latest recorded regnal year in his inscriptions seems to be the thirteenth year, ‖ it follows that he must have been chosen co-regent within the first few years after his father Sundara Cōla’s accession. This looks very probable considering that the Leyden grant gives him credit for having successfully attacked Vīra Pāṇḍya as a young boy. Afterwards he must have been deputed to rule the northern part of the Cōla dominion. Apparently he died in the life-time of his father and was

* SL. iii 180. † SL. iii 186. ‡ SL. iii, 158.
§ SL. iii 193. ¶ 17 of 1921.
‖ See, however, post pp. 180-1.

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succeeded in the place of heir apparent by Parakēsari Uttama Cōla.

The results of the foregoing discussion may thus be summarised before the history of the period is taken up:

Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarūditya A.D. 949 - 957
Parakēsari Ariṇjaya c. A.D. 956 - 957
Rājakēsari Sundara Cōla (Madurai-kōṇḍa) c. A.D. 956 - 973
[Parakēsari Āditya II Pārthivēndra Karikāla c. A.D. 956 - 969]

There is just one record* of Pārthivēndravaranman from the Chingleput district which is dated in the fifteenth year. Though the inscription is damaged, a careful examination of the impression of the record establishes two things: the date of the record is clearly 15; and though the chiselling of the letters is by no means good, and the stone is apparently much decayed, there is no reason to question the genuineness of the record which exhibits most of the characteristic palaeographic features of the period. This date must, if accepted, upset the scheme of chronology given above which is based on the identification of Āditya II with Pārthivēndra, for we cannot possibly find room for the fifteen years before the accession of Uttama Cōla and within the reign of Sundara. The period of thirteen years takes us almost to the limit and involves the assumption, in itself by no means unlikely, that Sundara associated his son Āditya in his administration very soon after his accession to the throne. On the other hand, this inscription of the fifteenth year from Parandūr is the only record so far

* 75 of 1923. Nos. 62, 63 of 1889 (S.I. iv, 291:2) are late copies and they are most probably Parakēsari records.
known of Pārthivēndravarman with a regnal year higher than thirteen. We have several records of the thirteenth year, none whatever of the fourteenth, and only this one of the fifteenth. And it is extremely difficult to see any other solution to the riddle presented by his records than the one offered above; for if Pārthivēndra was not Āditya himself, how are we to explain the numerous coincidences to which attention has been drawn above, and which cannot all of them be accidental? The suggestion may therefore be made that in the regnal year in the Parandūr record, the second figure which looks like the ordinary ṭ (Ṭ) contains some mistake on the part of the engraver. This record need not be taken into account, therefore, unless other records with higher regnal years than 13 are discovered in future years.

One final consideration remains to be urged in addition to those so far dealt with. If Āditya and Pārthivēndravarman were not identical, the highest regnal year for Āditya would be that found in the records of Parakēsari who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, namely five. We must naturally assume these five years to have been those immediately preceding Uttama Cōla's accession in A.D. 969-70; this would lead to Āditya's initial year falling somewhere about A.D. 964/5, which would be in the 8th or 9th year of Sundara Cōla according to the chronology suggested above. The fact that Sundara Cōla is clearly described as having come out successful in the Pāṇḍya war before his seventh year (A.D. 963), together with the statement of the Leyden grant that Āditya took part in the fight at Ševar when still young, may lend some support to the view that Āditya had become subking earlier in Sundara's reign. This argument cannot
be pressed far, as it is possible that Āditya fought without being formally associated in the government; or a second fight with the Pāṇḍyās might have come about later, about the year A.D. 964/5.

II. History.

The rule of Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya is attested not only by the statements of the Tiruvālan-gādu and the Leyden grants which, though vague, doubtless imply that he ruled in his own right as king, but by three Rājakēsari inscriptions* from the Trichinopoly district, all dated in the eighth year and mentioning Pillaiyār or Āḻvār Arikulakēsari-dēva. The sphere of Cōla rule in his day must have been very limited and at the time of his death, about A.D. 957, † Kṛṣṇa III was still perhaps in Tounḍai-maṇḍalam consolidating his position and distributing the conquered country among his allies and servants. Gaṇḍarāditya left behind an infant son, Uttama Cōla, by his queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi. This lady who survived her husband and even her son for many years, and lived on till 1001 A.D. ‡, must have been widowed in early youth. After the death of her husband, hers was a life devoted to religion and charity. The number of stone temples to Śiva built by her, and of substantial endowments for their up-keep after the commencement of her son’s rule will be noticed later. Very probably Gaṇḍarāditya was the author of the single hymn on the temple of Cidambaram. In this hymn there is a distinct statement that Parāntaka I

* 176 of 1907; 570, 574 of 1908, (SII. iii 111, 112.)
† Krishna Sastri assigns 287 of 1911 (SII. iii 113) to G. I rather think it is a record of Sundara Cōla. See post, p. 187 n. ‡
‡ 200 of 1904.
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conquered the Pāṇḍya country and Īlam, and covered the temple of Naṭarāja with gold; and the author calls himself, like Parāntaka, the king of Kōli (Uraiyūr) and the lord of the Taṅjaiyar (people of Tanjore). * Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have been known also as Meṅkeḷundarulina-ᵈᵉᵛᵃʳ, the king who went to the west. †

The identity in meaning of the titles Arikulakēsari and Ariṅjaya or Arindama has often led to the supposition that they refer to one and the same person, a younger son of Parāntaka I. This may be so. In any event, Ariṅjaya Parakēsari succeeded his brother Gaṇḍarāditya and had a short reign. As yet we have no direct evidence of the transactions of his reign. Two of his queens Vīman Kundavaiyūr and Kōdai-pirāṭṭiyūr survived him and made gifts in his son’s reign. Though it has been thought that Vīman Kundavai was a daughter of the Cāḷukya Bhīma II of Vēngī, ‡ such an alliance between the Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas in this period when the Cōḷas were reduced to virtual subordination to the Rāstrakūṭas seems hardly likely. If, however, Kundavai was an Eastern Cāḷukya princess, her marriage with Ariṅjaya must have taken place before the invasion of the Cōḷa country by Kṛṣṇa and sometime after the raid on Nellore by Māraṇa Paramēśvaran, in the reign of Parāntaka I. But two inscriptions § from Tiruppaḷanam, dated in the second year of Parakēsari, mention an Araiyān Āḍittan Vīman making some gifts to the local

* These features of the hymn render it more likely that its author was this king rather than the official of Rājarāja, Madhurāntaka Gaṇḍarādittar, who is found employed in enquiring into the affairs of temples and whose name seems to imply that he was the son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa. * Contra Venkayya ASI. 1905-6 p. 173, n. 5.
† 540 of 1920.
‡ 587 of 1920. AKE. 1921, II 26.
§ 162, 172 of 1928.
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temple, and there is nothing to preclude this noble (Araiyan) from being the father of Ariñjaya's queen. * If this view is correct, these Parakēsari records must be assigned to Ariñjaya, and in view of the strict limits placed on the duration of Ariñjaya's rule by the general chronology of the period we must assume, what is not unlikely, that Ariñjaya was chosen heir apparent to Gañḍarāditya † sometime soon after the death of Parāntaka I. Ariñjaya is said to have died at Āṛrūr, ‡ a place that cannot be definitely identified. An inscription of Rājarāja I states that he built at Mēlpādi a memorial shrine (pallipadai) § to the king who died at Āṛrūr and this implies that Āṛrūr was somewhere in that neighbourhood. Probably, Ariñjaya had entered upon the task of regaining the Cōla possessions in the north lost to Kṛṣṇa III. This suggestion gains force from an inscription ¶ from Tirunāgēśvaram which mentions Ariñjigap-pirāṭtīyār, daughter of prince Ariṅkulakēsari and wife of a Bāṇa king.

This is a record of the second or third year of a Rājakēsarivarman who may be identified with Gañḍarāditya. It suggests that even under Gañḍarāditya attempts were made to retrieve the losses sustained in the closing years of his father's rule, and that, possibly, the Bāṇas, or some among them, were successfully seduced from their allegiance to Kṛṣṇa III. This Bāṇa alliance may thus be counted among the earliest indications of the emergence of Cōla power from the eclipse it suffered

* See ARE. 1928 II 3.
† This, if correct, would be an additional objection to Krishna Sastri's reconstruction of the order of succession.
‡ 587 of 1920.
§ SII. iii 17.
¶ 215 of 1911; the date given as [9] is not clear in the original, but it cannot be 9. ARE. 1912 II 46.
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for a time. After the death of Gaṇḍarāditya, his efforts were continued by Ariṅjaya who fell fighting at Āṛṛur. If this view of Gaṇḍarāditya’s reign is correct, it is possible that he also sought, at first with little success, to recover lost ground in the south, and that Vīra Pāṇḍya’s boast of ‘taking the head’ of a Cōḷa may be referred to the same reign.

Ariṅjaya was succeeded by his son by the Vaidumba princess Kalyāṇi, the only queen of Ariṅjaya mentioned by the Anbīla plates. This son was Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II who, as we have seen, was also known as Maduraikonda-Rājakesari. The attention of Sundara Cōḷa was first directed to the south. Vīra Pāṇḍya, having repulsed Gaṇḍarāditya’s attempt to restore Cōḷa supremacy in the Pāṇḍya country, was ruling as an independent potentate. The Leyden grant * tells us that in a great battle at Cēvūr, Parāntaka caused rivers of blood to flow from the deep cuts inflicted by him on the elephants of the enemy and that his son Āditya, while yet a boy, played with Vīra Pāṇḍya in the battle, like a lion’s whelp sporting with a tusker. Āditya’s heroism was probably exhibited in the field of Cēvūr, and that battle must have furnished the occasion for his claim that he ‘took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya’. The Leyden grant does not, like the Tiruvāḷangūḍu plates, state that Vīra Pāṇḍya was killed by Āditya, and it is possible that the composer of the Tiruvāḷangūḍu plates, struck by the forcible simile in the Leyden grant, embellished the account of Āditya’s contest with Vīra Pāṇḍya; and his account of Āditya’s rule adds nothing else to what we learn from the earlier grant. The chances are that, after the battle of Cēvūr

* vv. 25, 28.

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in which Vīra Pāṇḍya sustained a bad defeat, the Cōla forces led, among others, by Parāntakan Śiṅiyavēḷar of Koṭumbāḷur, continued the campaign into the Pāṇḍya country, and forced Vīra Pāṇḍya to seek refuge in the forests.* The Pāṇḍya sovereign was on this occasion also supported by Ceylonese troops in his endeavour to resist the Cōla aggression; for Śiṅiyavēḷar led an expedition to Ceylon, and there he fell fighting in the third year of Sundara Cōla, about 959 A.D. † The Mahāvamsa, corroborating this account, records the following in the reign of Mahinda IV (956-72 A. D.): ‡

"The Vallabha king sent a force to Nāgadīpa § to subdue this our country. The Ruler hearing this, the king sent thither the senāpati Sena by name, to whom he had made over an army, to fight with the troops of the Vallabha king. The senāpati betook himself thither, fought with the troops of this (Vallabha) king, defeated them and remained master of the battle-field. As the kings with the Vallabha (king) at their head, were unable to vanquish our king, they made a friendly treaty with the ruler of Lankā. In this way the fame of the king penetrated to Jambudīpa, spreading over Lankā and crossing the ocean."

The Vessagiri slab inscription ¶ of Mihindu which mentions the successful campaign of senāpati Sena against the Damiḷas furnishes epigraphical confirmation of the statements in the chronicle and the Cōla inscriptions. ||

* 302 of 1908. Kanyākumāri inscription v. 63.
† 116 of 1896, S.H. v. 980 (Yr. 27 of Rājarāja I).
‡ Ch. 54 vv 12-16.
§ The N. W. part of Ceylon (Geiger). The Vallabha has sometimes been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (Codrington Ceylon Coins p. 59). But the Cōlas were called ‘Vājava’ and the Vessagiri inscription implies that the invaders were Tamils. See Codrington’s Short History of Ceylon pp. 39 and 53.
¶ EZ. i. pp. 29 ff.
|| Some statements in Chapter VIII of PK, on the chronology and the course of the Cōla conquest, are seen to need considerable modification. To one point
Besides Aditya II, two other persons claim success against Vira Pāṇḍya. One of these is Pārthivendravarman of whom something has been said already. The other is Bhuṭi-vikramakēsari of Koḍumbāḷūr, who claims to have conquered Vira Pāṇḍya in battle. The inscription* which gives this information, also states that Vikramakēsari turned the waters of the Kāvēri red with the blood shed by the army of the Pallava, put an end to Vaṇcīvalī and ruled from Koḍumbāḷūr. He had two queens Karrāḷi and Varagunā. A Rājakēsari inscription, from which the date has been lost,† mentions that Karrāḷip-pirāṭṭi was the wife of Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār alias Maṅavan Pūdiyār, which may be other names of Vikramakēsari. Two others dated in the thirteenth year of Rājakēsari mention Varagunā-perumānār, apparently the other queen of Vikramakēsari. One of these, from Tillai-sthānam,‡ says that she was the queen of Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār, a title showing doubtless the subordinate relation in which Vikramakēsari stood to Parāntaka in particular attention may be drawn here. Vira Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Cōḷa' bore that title for thirteen years. (PK. p. 102). This clearly means that Vira Pāṇḍya did not lose his life at the hands of Aditya and his confederates. For if we accept, for the sake of argument, the latest date suggested for the accession of Aditya II, 965 A.D., Vira Pāṇḍya must have lost his life in A.D. 966, because Aditya's records of the second year mention the event. Thirteen years earlier than this date takes us to A.D. 953 or 954, a date which seems to be too soon after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion for a contest between the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas in the South—a contest which gave Vira Pāṇḍya the occasion to 'take the head of the Cōḷa.' If Pārthivendra-varman and Aditya were identical, then this contest would be pushed back to 944-5, an impossible date.

* 129 of 1907; Pd. 14 (Text)
† 273 of 1903, ARE. 1908 II, 90.
‡ SIL. iii 113; Krishna Sastri ascribes this record to Gaṇḍāditya on the ground that Vikramakēsari is palaeographically earlier than the time of Aditya II to which Venkayya ascribed him. I think Venkayya was right. Arguments from palaeography can be hardly conclusive when the difference in time is so little as that between Gaṇḍāditya and Aditya II. See JOR. vii. pp. 1 ff.
Sundara Cōla; the other, from Lālgudi, * states that Nangai Varaguna Perumānir was the sister of the Cōla king. Again, Vikramakēsari called his two sons by Karrali by the names of Parāntaka and Ādityavarmū, apparently after his Cōla sovereign and his son. Lastly, as has been mentioned before, Parāntakan Śiriyavēḷur of Koḻumbāḷūr was one of the leaders of the Cōla army in its southern expedition. When taken together, these facts suggest that the close terms of friendship and loyalty that subsisted between the chieftains of Koḻumbāḷūr and the Cōlas under Parāntaka I continued under his successors also, and that Vikramakēsari † assisted Sundara Cōla and his son in subduing the rebellious Vīra Pāṇḍya.

The other achievements of Vikramakēsari are not so easily explained as his war with Vīra Pāṇḍya. Even if we ignore the minor success against Vaṅcivēḷ, it is not easy to see how Vikramakēsari could have fought with

* K. V. Subramania Aiyar who edits this record (E.J. xx p. 53) assigns it to Āditya I (ibid pp. 47-8) and says that its date corresponds to A. D. 883-4. He grants the identity of Varaguna with the queen of Parāntaka Ilāṅgāveḷūr altar Tennavan Ilāṅgāveḷūr, whom he also identifies with Vikramakēsari; but does not deal with the problems raised by the Vikramakēsari record from Koḻumbāḷūr.

† A record of the sixth year of Parākēsari (337 of 1904) from Koḻumīyamalai mentions a Varaguna-kēṭti-pērumānir, queen of Šembiyam Irakkuvēḷ; from thus, the conclusion has been drawn that this was another name of Vikramakēsari (A.R.E. 1908 ll, 90). But the Varaguna-kēṭti mentioned in this record was the daughter of a Muttaraiyar chief (Pd. 45 Text) and different from the Cōla princess mentioned above. Hence Šembiyam Irakkuvēḷ cannot be the same as Parāntaka Ilāṅgāveḷūr, if our view that the latter married the Cōla princess is correct.

The suggestion may be made that the Muttaraiya lady was the queen of Vikramakēsari and that Parāntaka Ilāṅgāveḷūr, the husband of the Cōla princess, was the elder son of Vikramakēsari. In this case, the 6th year of Parākēsari (337 of 1904) must be the 6th year of Parāntaka I, which would fall nearly 52 years before the wars with Vīra Pāṇḍya in which Vikramakēsari took part. It seems better to treat Šembiyam Irakkuvēḷ and his Muttaraiya wife Varaguna as persons not represented in the genealogy of the Koḻumbāḷūr record. There are other names of Irakkuvēḷs, like Madhuvrāntaka Irakkuvēḷ and Mahimālaya Irakkuvēḷ in the Pudukkottah inscriptions for which there is no room in the Koḻumbāḷūr genealogy. Possibly Madhuvrāntaka Irakkuvēḷ of Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Pd. 63 and 65), also called Ādittan (Accan) Vikramakēsari, was a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāntaka I.
the Pallavas on the banks of the Kāvēri. This by itself might justify a much earlier age for the Koḻumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsari; but as on palaeographical considerations no earlier date than that of Gāṇḍarādītya can be assigned for this record, * the suggestion may be made that by the Pallava in this context we must understand Vallabha, and explain the fight in which Vikramakēsari took part with such distinction as having occurred on the occasion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa’s raid into the Cōḷa country which is said to have taken him as far as Rāmēśvaram.

The reign of Sundara Cōḷa then marked the recovery of the Cōḷas from the disasters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. For all the fighting in the south, however, the Pāṇḍyas and their allies of Ceylon held their own, and it is not till the reign of Rājarāja I that Cōḷa inscriptions begin again to appear in the Pāṇḍya country. In fact Rājarāja claims to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas when they were still powerful and illustrious, implying thereby that in spite of their exertions, his father and his elder brother Āditya had not made much headway against them. The inscriptions of Āditya, Pārthivēndra, and of Sundara himself show on the other hand that remarkable success attended the Cōḷa efforts in the north. As Kṛṣṇa’s inscriptions get fewer in the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput, records of these others become more numerous; but we have no knowledge of the stages by which this change came about. That Sundara Cōḷa took an active share in directing affairs in the north may be inferred from the fact that he died in his golden palace at

* See ante p. 187 n †
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Kāñcipuram and was thereafter known as Pon-māligait-
tuñjina dēva. * One of his queens, Vānavanmahādēvi, a
princess of the line of Malaiyamāns, performed sati at
the king’s death, † and her image was perhaps installed
in the Tanjore temple by Kundavai, her daughter. ‡
Sundara left behind him the reputation of a second
Manu born to wean the world from ways of evil §
(Kali). Another queen of Sundara Cōla, a Cēra
princess, survived him till the sixteenth year of his son
Rājarāja’s reign, A.D. 1001. ¶

In Sundara Cōla’s reign literature, both Sanskrit
and Tamil, received encouragement; not only does the earliest Cōla copper-
plate grant known so far date from his time, but a highly
poetic eulogium of his reign, in the commentary of the
Viraśāliyam, bears witness to his patronage of letters. ||
This eulogy, which calls Sundara Cōla the king of
Nandipura, is addressed to the Buddha to secure the
strength and prosperity of the king, and furnishes
evidence of the prevalence of friendly relations between
the Cōla monarchs and the southern Buddhist Sangha
several years before the date of the larger Leyden
grant which records the gift of a village to a foreign
Buddhist monastery at Negapatam.

Sundara Cōla’s last days appear to have been
clouded by a domestic tragedy. An
inscription from Uḍaiyāruguḍi dated
in the second year of Rājakēsari **
records the measures taken by the Sabhā of Śrī

* See S.II. iii p. 288 and n. 5.
† Tiruvālāṅgādu plates vv. 65–66; also 236 of 1902 (Rājārāja I 27).
‡ S.II. ii p. 73. § Tiruvālāṅgādu v. 57. ¶ 159 of 1895, ii. 127-32.

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ADITYA II

Vīranārāyana - caturvēdimangalam under orders from the king for the confiscation and sale of the properties of some persons who were liable for treason as they had murdered "Karikāla Cōla who took the head of the Pāṇḍya." This record clearly shows that Āditya II fell a victim to assassination. The only possible kings to whom this Rājakēsari record can be assigned are Sundara Cōla himself, and Āditya's younger brother, Rājarāja, who succeeded Uttama Cōla, a Parakēsari. But the early regnal year rules out Sundara Cōla, as we cannot suppose that Āditya, whose inscriptions range at least up to the fifth year, began to reign before his father. Therefore the inscription is doubtless a record of Rājarāja's reign. If this inference is accepted,—the palaeography and the astronomical data of the record support this view—then it follows that the murder of Āditya II remained unavenged throughout the sixteen years in which Uttama Cōla ruled, Sundara Cōla himself having either died of a broken heart soon after the murder or after having found the natural course of justice obstructed by a powerful conspiracy. It seems impossible under the circumstances to acquit Uttama Cōla of a part in the conspiracy that resulted in the foul murder of the heir apparent. Uttama coveted the throne and was not satisfied with the subordinate role assigned to princes of the blood in the administration of the kingdom; as representing a senior branch of the royal family, he perhaps convinced himself that the throne was his by right, and that his cousin and his children were usurpers. He formed a party of his own, and brought about the murder of Āditya II, and having done so, he forced the hands of Sundara Cōla to make him heir apparent, and as there was no help for it, Sundara had to acquiesce in what he could not avert. The
Tiruvāṅkāṭu plates seem to gloss over the story on purpose, and make statements which, though enigmatic in themselves, are fairly suggestive of the true course of events, when read together with the datum furnished by the Uḍaiyāṛguḍī inscription. The plates say:

"Āditya disappeared owing to his desire to see heaven. * Though his subjects, with a view to dispel the blinding darkness caused by the powerful Kali (Śiśu), cunteived Arumōḷivāṅkāṭu, he, versed in the dhārmā of the Kṣattra, did not desire the kingdom for himself even inwardly as long as his paternal uncle coveted his own (i.e., Arumōḷivāṅkāṭu's) country."

The sun of Āditya had set; the darkness of sin prevailed; the people wanted Arumōḷi to dispel it; but Uttama's cupidity triumphed, because of Arumōḷi's restraint. Arumōḷi was not a coward; nor was he lacking in political ability or legal right. Anxious to avoid a civil war, he accepted a compromise, and agreed to wait for his turn until after Uttama's desire to be king had found satisfaction; it was apparently part of the compromise that Uttama was to be succeeded not by his children, but by Arumōḷi, and in the words, again, of the Tiruvāṅkāṭu plates: †

"Having noticed by the marks (on his body) that Arumōḷi was the very Viśṇu, protector of the three worlds, descended (on earth), Madhumāṅkāṭu installed him in the position of guṇarāja, and (himself) bore the burden of (ruling) the earth."

* vv. 68-9. The expression employed literally means 'set' (astam gatavān) — a play on his name Āditya; a hint of his premature death may be seen in 'his desire to see heaven.'

† The suggestion has been made that verse 69 of the Tiruvāṅkāṭu plates "is rather stating in an indirect way that as Uttama was reigning, Rāja did not wish to rebel against authority. (OJMS. xvii p. 196). If such was the real meaning of the composer, his language has indeed concealed his thought most successfully. I am, however, unable to accept this view (1) because it gives a higher value to Uttama Cēḷa's claim to succession than they merit — for why did his son not succeed him? and why did he make Arumōḷi guṇarāja in his own reign if not at his accession? and (2) because it ignores the important evidence of the Uḍaiyāṛguḍī inscription of Rājakaṭari.
We find accordingly Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan, who must have been a son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōla, occupying high office under Rājarāja when he came to power and loyally assisting him in the administration of the country.* If this reading of the story of Uttama Cōla’s accession is correct, Uttama Cōla furnishes an instance, by no means unique in history, of selfish and perverse offspring born of parents distinguished for piety and right-mindedness; and his rash and bloody self-seeking stands out in striking contrast to the true nobility and statesmanship of the future Rājarāja.

The inscriptions of Āditya Parakēsari (who took the head of Vira Pāṇḍya) and of Pārthi-vēndra-varman show that, by the time of the accession of Uttama Cōla, the Cōlas had recovered much in the north that had been lost on account of the Rāstrakūṭa invasion. These inscriptions are found in Uttaramērū, Kāncipuram, Takkōlam and Tiruvaṅkūmalai, and furnish clear evidence of the renewed Cōla occupation of the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput, and considering that the bulk of these inscriptions relate to normal transactions like endowments, sales and irrigation works, we may conclude that general peace had been restored, and that the effects of the wars were fast fading out of memory.

Of the reign of Uttama Cōla we have many stone records and one set of copper-plates. The beginning

* Contra K. V. S. Aiyar—Ancient Dekhan p 243. The difficulties regarding the ages of Uttama Cōla and his son pointed out by Aiyar are not so serious as he makes them out. We may suppose that Gaṇḍarāditya died A.D. 957 and that then Uttama was 12; he came to the throne when he was, say, 24 in 969, and then had a son aged three; this son would be about 23 in 989 when he is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja’s reign. The omission of his name from the Leyden and Tiruvēḷangādu plates is only to be expected in the conditions of the case.
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of the latter, which probably contained a genealogical account of the dynasty in Sanskrit verse, is unfortunately lost; only the concluding prose portion mentioning the object of the grant survives. In some of the stone inscriptions and in the copper-plate grant, the king is clearly described as Parakēsari Uttama Cōla; but a number of other stone inscriptions bearing only the Parakēsari title can be assigned to his reign either on astronomical grounds, or because they mention the relatives of the king like his mother or one of his queens, or lastly, because they mention officials in his service. It should be observed also that the earliest Cōla coin of which we have any knowledge belongs to his reign; it is a gold piece, a unique specimen once in the possession of Sir Walter Elliot and figured by him from a faithful drawing, the coin itself having been lost; * its obverse and reverse are identical, the centre occupied by a seated tiger facing a fish to the proper right and separated from it by a line, the legend Uttama Cōlan in grantha characters along the circular margin and a ring of beads at the perimeter. Elliot estimated the weight of the coin at between 50 and 60 grains, and this conforms to the standard in the Deccan and Southern India before the time of Rājarāja. †

The Madras Museum plates of Uttama Cōla, though they add little to our knowledge of political history, are of very great interest to the study of the social life and the administrative methods of the Cōla kingdom in

* Elliot CS I. p. 132, No. 151 p. 152 G. ARE. 1904. I 20, Nos. 152 4 are, no doubt, coins of Rājendra I.
† Codrington—Ceylon Coins p. 74.
Uttama Cōla's time; they form moreover beautiful specimens of the palaeography of the period.* Even the stone inscriptions of the reign contain little information on political transactions. Some inscriptions recently discovered in the Trichinopoly district, †

* See S.II. iii No. 128. After this fine edition of the plates by Krishna Sastri, we might well have been spared the belated publication with negative plates in 1925 (IA. Vol. 54 pp. 61 ff) of a paper contributed by T. A. Gopinatha Rao and another in 1911. This paper begins with the wild statement that the seal of these plates "belongs to the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman, one of whose documents is also found in the Museum". I examined the seal and found it true to the fac-simile in E.II. iii. plate p. 104, No. 3, which again very closely resembles the seal of the Tiruvālängāpu plates of Rāṣṇḍra (plate opp. p. 413 in S.II. iii).

Krishna Sastri holds that the Parākṣarivarman, a record (hālikharā) of whose 22nd year is quoted in ll. 28-29, was Vijayālaya (S.II. iii p. 267 and n. 2), and that "the statement in our grant that a stone inscription of his 22nd year did provide for permanent income to a temple at Kacchipāṇḍu is proof enough to show that though he was the first of the new line, Vijayālaya had a peaceful, long and prosperous rule like any of his powerful successors." This view derives support from the express mention of "Maduraiyum Iḻandum Kōṇḍa Parakṣeri" in l. 96, which might naturally lead to the supposition that the Parākṣari of ll. 28-29 must be a different king. There is, however, another mention of Parākṣari (year 16) in ll. 72-3, which Krishna Sastri takes to be a reference to Uttama Cōla himself; but it is possible to hold that ll. 72-98 record one continuous transaction by which, in the 18th year of Parāntaka I, the Nagaratr of Kacchipāṇḍu regulated the expenditure to be met from endowments made in the sixteenth year of Parākṣari (note in particular cēvu ḫparrīnu in l. 96). If this view is accepted, the Parākṣari of l. 72 would be not Uttama, but Parāntaka I, and the same may be true of ll. 28-9. In any event, there are difficulties in the way of accepting Krishna Sastri's views on the extent of Vijayālaya's power, and another solution seems called for. It is inconceivable that before the date of the battle of Śrī Pugambiyam, when Pallava power was still unbroken, Vijayālaya could have ruled an extensive territory independently, and what is more, engraved stone inscriptions in the capital of the Pallavas. (See p. 131 ante and n. 1) Again, Uttama Cōla is mentioned by name with the Parākṣari title in l. 12; we have only the Parākṣari title in l. 72. By assigning the latter to Uttama Cōla, K. Sastri grants that the same king may be mentioned in two different ways in the same record. If that is so, it is easier to assume that Parākṣari of ll. 28-9 and 72 is the same as Maduraiyum Iḻandum koṇḍa Parākṣari of l. 96, than to equate one of them with Vijayālaya and the other with Uttama. I wish also to add that Karikāla-tegri might have got its name as much by association with Ādivya II Karikāla as after "the ancient Cōla king Karikāla." (Krishna Sastri ibid, p. 268).

† 165-7 of 1929.
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dated in the twelfth year of Parakēsari, introduce to us a high official of Uttama Cōḷa’s government by name Ambalavan Paḻuvur-nakkan of Kuvalālam (Kōḷār). He was an officer of perundaram rank who built of stone the old shrine of Vijayamangalam celebrated by Tirunāvukkaṟar as a temple in Gōvandaputtūr on the banks of the Coleroon, * commemorating Arjuna’s (Vijaya’s) penance for obtaining the favour of Śiva; † and on this officer, Uttama Cōḷa conferred the title Vikramaśīlamārāyār, ‡ from which we may conclude that Uttama had also the title Vikrama. The same officer continued in Rājarāja’s service later; in the records of Rājarāja’s reign he has the title Mummuḍisūḷa prefixed to his personal name, and also bears the alternative title Rājarāja Pallavaraiyan. § No other evidence exists to show that Uttama Cōḷa’s suzerainty extended as far as Kōḷār in Mysore, and all the inscriptions mentioning this official come from one place, and that in the Trichinopoly district. It must be assumed, therefore, that for some reasons unknown to us, this person migrated from Kōḷār into the Cōḷa dominions and rose to a high position in the royal service.

The inscriptions give the names of several queens of Uttama Cōḷa, of whom five are mentioned together in one inscription. ¶ The chief place was held throughout the reign by Oraṭṭaḷan (Urattāyan) Sorabhaiyār, a Kanarese name (?), who is called agramahādēviyār and mūttanambirāṭtiyār in the fifth and the fifteenth years of the reign; ‖ she had also the title of Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār,

* v. 3 of his Dēvaram on Tiruvīḻayamangai. † v. 8 ibid.
‡ 164 of 1929—ARE. 1929 II 29. § 168, 184 of 1929.
¶ 494 of 1925 (Yr. 12). ‖ 165, 488 of 1925.

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significant of her rank as chief queen. The queens of Uttama Cōla are almost all of them found making endowments in a village in the Tanjore district which bore the name of their mother-in-law, Śebiyan-mahādevi—proof of the high regard in which the pious widow of Gaṇḍarāditya was held by the members of her family. One son of Uttama Cōla is known, * Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditya, who held high office under Rājarāja, as has been mentioned already.

A record of the fifth year of Rājakōsari † mentions a Pāṇḍya princess, ‡ with the name Puṭiccayan Śāmi Abbai, as the spouse of Vikramaśōla Malāduḍāiyār. This Malāḍa chieftain, a feudatory of the Cōlas, in the hilly tracts of South Arcot, might have got the title from Uttama Cōla, who was also known as Vikrama; if this view is correct, the inscription is certainly one of Rājarāja I.

* * *

† 7 of 1905.

‡ The name of the Pāṇḍyan princess seems to imply a Kanarese origin for her, though we cannot be sure of this.
CHAPTER IX

RĀJARĀJA THE GREAT (A.D. 985-1014).

Rājakēśari Arumoli varman, as he was known in the early years of his reign, came to the throne, after a long apprenticeship as yuvarāja, on some day in the month following the 25th June, 935 A.D. * He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōla by Vānavaṇ-mahādevi, and the joyous occasion of his birth is described in particular detail in the Tiruvālangaṇḍu plates. † The star of his nativity was Śatābhiṣaj, as we learn from the inscriptions recording endowments for offerings in temples on his birth-days.

With the accession of Rājarāja we enter upon a century of grandeur and glory for the dynasty of the Cōlas. Quite obviously, the personal ability of the first Rājarāja, in some respects the greatest of all the great Cōla rulers of the Vijayālaya line, laid the foundation for the splendid achievements of his son and successor Rājendra I, under whom the empire attained its greatest extent and carried its arms beyond the seas. The thirty years of Rājarāja's rule constitute the formative period in the history of the Cōla monarchy. In the organisation of the civil service and the army, in art and architecture, in religion and literature, we see at work powerful forces newly liberated by the progressive imperialism of the time. A relatively small state at his accession, that had hardly recovered from the disasters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion, the Cōla kingdom had, by the end of Rājarāja's rule, grown to be an extensive and well-knit empire efficiently organised and administered, rich

* El. ix p. 217.
† vv. 61-3.

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in resources, possessed of a powerful standing army, well-tried and equal to the greatest enterprises. More wonderful than the work of this great monarch must have been his personality. But of him we have no authentic description; no eyewitness has rendered to Rājarāja the service which Nuniz and Paes did to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya. There is not even a well-attested statue, or painting of this king * that has come down to us. All that we know of his reign, however, and that is not little, attests his potent personality and the firm grasp of his intellect which allowed nothing to escape its vigilance and applied itself with as much vigour to the minutest details as to the sublimest ambitions of state-craft. The affection he lavished on his sister Kundavai, after whom he named one of his daughters, † and the privileged position accorded to his grand-aunt, Śemibyan-mahādévi, the mother of Uttama Cōḷa, indicate that he was a great and good man as well as a far-sighted ruler.

Very early in his reign ‡ Rājarāja assumed the title Mummaḍi Cōḷa-dēva, a term whose meaning is not clear. § Almost the first military achievement of his reign was the campaign in the Kōrāla country of which the result was summed up in the phrase ‘Kāndalūr-sālaik-kalamarutta’, which precedes the name of the king in several of his

* I am inclined to agree with T. G. Aravamuthan, who rejects the Tanjore bronze sometimes taken to be Rājarāja as late and spurious. See his Portrait Sculpture in South India p. 36 and fig. 11. Contra ARE, 1925 II 12. I have examined the paintings round the garbha-gītha of the Tanjore temple; it seems possible that a stalwart royal figure which recurs in many of those groups as the central figure is that of Rājarāja himself and that the paintings are as old as the temple. Their existence was discovered by Mr. S. K. Govindasami. A sculptured representation of a king (and queen) at Tiruvīsaiḻūr may be of this king.

† 633 of 1902.

‡ 433 of 1908 (yr. 9).

§ See SII. ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 6. The best explanation seems to be: ‘the thrice (powerful) Cōḷa.'

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inscriptions from the fourth year * onwards. Though this title appears from the fourth year, no inscription of Rājarāja has been found in the Kērala and Pândya countries bearing a date earlier than the eighth year.† Some years of fighting were apparently necessary before the conquest could be completed and the conquered country become sufficiently settled for its administration being properly organised. The Tiruvālāngādu plates giving a detailed account of the king’s digvijaya state that he began with the conquest of the southern direction.‡ This account mentions the capture of the Pândya king Amarabhujanga, and then states:

“The commandant (dangānātha) of this ornament of the solar race then conquered Vilinda which had the sea for its moat,

* 395 of 1922 is the earliest record so far known mentioning this achievement and dated in the 24th day of the fourth year. It is no longer true therefore to say that “until the 8th year of his reign, A.D. 994, he did not undertake any expedition” (SII. ii Introd., p 2). What Rājarāja’s achievement at Kāndāḷur exactly was has been the subject of much discussion. Though Sālai and kailam mean respectively ‘a feeding house’ and ‘(eating) plate’, these meanings seem hardly satisfactory in the present instance (Contra T.A.S. ii 2 5). On the other hand Sālai in the sense of ‘road-sted’ is not known in any other context. But, after all, Sālai may only be part of the name of the place; or it may have the ordinary meaning of a road. In any case, no other meaning seems more likely than the one usually adopted for the whole phrase viz., ‘who destroyed the fleet in the roadstead of Kāndāḷur.’ The alternative suggestions that the ‘scale of feeding in the feeding-house of Kāndāḷur was regulated by the king’ (S. Desivinayagam Pillai - Kērala Society Papers, Series 2 pp. 100 fl.) necessitates a far-fetched explanation of the need for the use of force in the transaction, and fails to explain why such a thing had to be done over again, for instance, by Kāndāḷurāja. D. Pillai’s objection that the destruction of a fleet would not be described as an act of grace aruḷi as this is done in the usual introduction, ‘ṭirumagai pūla’ etc., of Rājarāja, is easily met; Kāndāḷurāja caused the Pândya Vīra Kērala to be trampled by an elephant, and this is described as an act of grace kadakknāṭṭatru-udapiπṭatruḷi. Perhaps, aguttu does not mean ‘destroyed’, but simply ‘overcame’, cf. Kalingattu-parāṇi (verse 370) saying that Vilham was destroyed and Sālai captured. It must be admitted, however, that the earliest mention of Kāndāḷur (T.A.S. i p. 6, l. 6) does support D. Pillai’s interpretation. Gopinatha Rao had correctly identified Kāndāḷur with a part of Trivandrum now called Vāliya Sāli. Sālai is sometimes sanskritised as jīṭā. (T.A.S. ii. p. 4).

† The Darśanamānkappu record (T.A.S. i p. 238) seems to be the earliest so far known.

‡ vv 76-79.
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whose extensive ramparts were shining aloft, which was impregnable to other warriors and which was the permanent abode of the goddess of victory."

We have often found before that the three southern kingdoms of Pándya, Kērala and Simhaľa were allied against the Cōla; this alliance was still effective in the time of Rājarāja, and it would seem that Rājarāja’s southern campaign was directed against the Pándya and the Cēra together. The Cēra king at this time was Bhāskara Ravi Varman Tiruvaḍi (A.D. 978-1036), whose inscriptions have been recovered from different parts of Travancore.

The Pallavas and Pándyās followed the injunctions of the Dharmasāstras, and in their copper-plate grants, they caused a brief history of their ancestors to be engraved before recording the occasion for and the details relating to the particular gift. But Rājarāja was the first Tamil king who conceived the idea of formulating in set phrases an official record of the chief events of his reign which was to serve as an introduction to his stone inscriptions. In this he was followed by almost every one of his successors on the Cōla throne, and we shall see that the praśasti of his son Rājendra I, which is rather brief in the early regnal years, grows in length as the reign advances and descriptions of fresh events are added on to it as they take place; these official ‘historical introductions’ in the Cōla inscriptions are, in fact, an important aid to the discovery of the particular king to whose reign any given record belongs. Sometimes the same king used two or more forms of such introductions, and Rājarāja I

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* T.A.S. ii pp. 31-2. It must be noted that the period of this king’s rule has been fixed on the evidence of a single record, the Tirunelli plates.

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seems himself to have employed at least three forms, of which the one beginning ‘tirumagal-pōla’ was the most common from the eighth year onwards. * In this introduction the only reference to the first campaign of the reign seems to be the phrase employed about Kāndaḷūr Śālai already quoted. A second form of the introduction † also places the victory at Śālai first among the achievements of the reign. Yet another, dated in the twentieth year, ‡ mentions that Rājarāja “destroyed the town of Madurai, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolla-đēsam and Kođun-gūţir and that the kings of the sea waited on him.”

One question suggests itself naturally in relation to this southern campaign of Rājarāja. Did he conquer Madura and the Pāṇḍya country first and march into Kērala by the southern passes that led into it from the Tinnevelly district, or was the line of his march the other way round? \ The Tiravālāngūḍa plates and the last of the introductions cited above seem to suggest that the capture of Madura and the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga preceded the advance on the strong fortress of Viliṇam and on Śālai. § But the bare mention of Kāndaḷūr Śālai in the earlier records of the reign and in the opening lines of the ‘tirumagal-pōla’ introduction, and the provenance of Rājarāja’s inscriptions which appear in South Travancore about two years earlier than in the Tinnevelly and Ramnad districts point to the other alternative. ¶ It is possible

* 261 of 1910. Only a few records before the thirteenth year contain any introduction.
† 67 of 1923 (Year 14). ‡ 394 of 1911 A.D. 1912 II 22.
§ “Perhaps Kāndaḷūr or Kāndaḷūr Śālai was near Viliṇam. . . . Kāndaḷūr Śālai which is said to belong to the Cēra king in later inscriptions was probably held by the Pāṇḍyas when it was attacked by Rājarāja.” Venkayya, SII. ii. Intr. p. 2.
¶ Darśanamkēppu (Yr. 8), Sūcindram (Yr. 10), Vījayanārāyaṇam (Yr. 10).
that the Tiruvālangāṇu plates and the later inscriptions of Rājarāja mixed up facts relating to several distinct campaigns against the southern country. For it is clear that Rājarāja sent more than one expedition against the Pāṇḍya and his ally the Cēra. One seems to have been directed specially against Kollam. The campaign in which Rājarāja claims, in his Tanjore inscriptions, * to have conquered the Cēra and the Pāṇḍyas in the Malai-nāḍu (Mountain country) was quite obviously different from and later than that in which Kāndaḷūr and Vīḷiṇam were attacked.

The chief event of this expedition which took place sometime before the year 1008 A. D. † was apparently the storming and capture of the strong fortress of Udagai. ‡ Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu, the western hill-country, may be identified with Coorg, § and the fortress of Udagai must be looked for in the Western Ghats in that region, or perhaps a little to the south. Inscriptions of the fourteenth and sixteenth years, ¶ though they mention the occupation of Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu, do not yet record the attack on Udagai. The statement made in the inscriptions that Rājarāja deprived the Pāṇḍyas of their splendour when Udagai was still flourishing || in all its glory seems to indicate that the capture of this fortress was not effected in the first war. The Kalingattuparaṇi ** in its notice of this king’s reign mentions

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* SII. ii 1 paragraphs 34, 51 etc. It is these campaigns to which the Tiruvālangāṇu plates refer in v. 83 as the conquest of Parāsūrāma’s country. Contra Venkayya SII. ii, Intr. p. 4.

† SII. ii 1 para. 51

‡ 236 of 1902 (Yr. 27).

§ See Adiyārkkunallār on Stil, xi 1. 53. Kiellhorn calls it Malabar. EI. vii-List No. 704. See also EC. iii TN. 122.

¶ SII. iii 19, 51.

|| End of the tirumaga[ introduction.

** viii v. 24
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only the conquest of Udagai besides the foundation by him of the Śadaiyam festival in the Cēra country. In all his three ulūs, the poet Oṭṭakkūttan says that Rājarāja's great achievement was the crossing of the 'eighteen forests' for the sake of his ambassador and setting fire to Udagai. We are unable to explain this satisfactorily; apparently the immediate cause of the march against Udagai was an insult offered to the king's ambassador.

The Cōḷa general who most distinguished himself in the campaigns in the West was perhaps no other than the crown prince Rājendra.* He was afterwards made Mahādanḍanāyaka of the Vēngī and Ganga-maṇḍalas. He had also the title Paṅcavanmāraya. This "tusker of Mummuḍi-Cōḷa," as he is called, 'seized the Tuluiva and Konkaṇa, held Malēya (Malabar), and pushed aside the Cēra,' as well as the Telunga and the Raṭṭīga. † As chief military officer in the Ganga-maṇḍala, he carried out the royal order conferring on Manija the village of Māḷavvi (Coorg) and the title Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi-kongāḷva in recognition of his heroism in the battle of Paṇasoge. We do not know the occasion of this battle; perhaps it was fought against the Cangāḷvas, a petty local dynasty. In any case, this was the beginning of the line of Kongāḷvas who ruled a small kingdom for about a century as the subordinates of the Cōḷas to whom they owed their existence, and then disappeared with the expulsion of the Cōḷas from these regions after the rise of the Hoysalas. ‡

* EC. iii Sr. 125.
† No. 5 of 1895 (Yr 28), EC. iii Sr. 140; also i. Cg. 46 and pp. 12-13.
‡ A record from Kaleyur (353 of 1901) dated Śaka 929 mentions that a Cōḷa general Apramēya defeated some Hoysalā leaders. But Kielhorn considers this date ' of no value for historical purposes' EI, iv pp. 67-8. Contra Rice, Mysore and Coorg pp. 86, 144-5.
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I läm (Ceylon) is included among the conquests of Räjarāja from the first in the *tirumagal* introduction, *(993 A.D.)*. The king is said to have taken the Iłamaṇḍalām owned by the fierce Singalaś and famed in all the eight directions. † In his twenty-ninth year (1014 A. D.) Räjarāja made a grant of several villages in Ceylon for various purposes to the celebrated temple he had erected at Tanjore.)‡ The Tiruvālangādu plates contain the following picturesque account of the invasion of Ceylon: §

"Rāma built, with the aid of the monkeys, a causeway across the sea and then slew with great difficulty the king of Lankā by means of sharp-edged arrows. But Rāma was excelled by this (king) whose powerful army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt up the king of Lankā."

(This naval expedition of Rājarāja against Ceylon must have taken place in the reign of Mahinda V who came to the throne A.D. 981 and was still ruling Ceylon at the time when the island was invaded by Rājarāja's son and successor Rājendrā I. But the *Mahāvamsa* makes no mention of Rājarāja's invasion, apparently because the annals of Mahinda's reign became confused after the tenth year (991 A.D.) on account of the military revolution which led to the ascendency of Kāraṇa and Kāṇṇaṇa mercenaries in a large part of his kingdom. ¶ As a result of the military rising, Mahinda had to take refuge in the inaccessible hill country in the south-east of Ceylon called Rōhaṇa. Rājarāja then found his opportunity and made himself master of Northern Ceylon which became a province (maṇḍalam) under the name of Mummuṇḍi-sūla-maṇḍalam. **

* 261 of 1910. † *SII* ii 4, 15. § v. 80.
‡ *SII* ii 92 paragraphs 12-15. ¶ *CV* Ch. iv, v. 4-12. ** *SII* ii 92 paragraph 12.
The Cōḷa invasion had one permanent result. Anurādhapura, the capital of Ceylon for over 1000 years, was finally destroyed by the armies of Rājarāja. Polonnaruwa, formerly a military outpost of the ancient capital as seen from its alternative name Kandavura Nuvara (the camp-city), now became the capital under the Cōḷas. While the earlier Tamil invaders of Ceylon had aimed at the overlordship only of Rājarattha, the Cōḷas were bent upon the mastery of the whole island. This decided the choice of their capital. There is practically no trace of Cōḷa rule in Anurādhapura.\(^1\) When Singalese sovereignty was restored under Vijayabāhu I, he crowned himself at Anurādhapura, but continued to have Polonnaruwa for his capital, as it was more central and rendered easier the task of controlling the turbulent province of Rōhana.\(^*\) Polonnaruwa was renamed Jananātha-mangalam,‡ after another title assumed by Rājarāja about the middle of his reign.\(^\dagger\) Rājarāja's inscriptions have been found in Ceylon.\(^\S\) It is probable that Rājarāja signalised the Cōḷa occupation of Ceylon by the construction of a stone temple to Śiva in Polonnaruwa.\(^*\) This 'beautiful little' Śiva Dēvale, 'constructed of granite and limestone' which 'stands within the walled confines of the old city' of Polonnaruwa, is among the few Hindu monuments of Ceylon, which are still in a good state of preservation; and 'its architectural form seems at once to class it with the Hindu fanes of South India erected from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, of which the

† ASC. 1906 p. 27.
‡ 132 of 1910 (Year 17).
§ ASC. 1891 p. 12 Nos. 78-80. The record from Padaviya dated in the 27th year cited at SII. ii. Intr. p. 5 must be among these.

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great temple of Tanjore is the finest and most elaborate exponent.” * The earliest inscription found in this temple is dated early in Rājendrā I’s reign. An officer from the Cōla country by name Tūli Kumaran built another temple called Rājarājēśvara at Mahātīttha (Mantota) which was also named Rājarājapura, and richly endowed the new temple. †

Turning now to Rājarāja’s conquests in other directions, Gangapādi Nolumbapādi and Taḍigaiiapādi sometimes called Taḍigaïvalī, all of them in the Mysore country became parts of the Cōla kingdom in Rājarāja’s time.) One of the variant forms of the introduction to the king’s stone inscriptions implies that the conquest of the Mysore country immediately followed the victory at Śālai, and that it was undertaken before the expedition against the Eastern Cālukyas into the Vēṅgī country. ➥ After his victory at Śālai, Rājarāja is here said to have gained successes at Tattapādi (Taḍigaïiapādi?), Tulaikkā đu, Nolumbapādi and Pirudigangar-vaḷanā đu. This campaign against the Nolambas and the Gangas, first mentioned in the eighth and ninth § years of the king’s reign, would seem in reality to have advanced very far, if not actually ended by the sixth year (A.D. 991), as we find an inscription of Cōla-nārāyaṇa, obviously a name of Rājarāja I, in the Mysore country dated in this year (Śaka 913). ¶ An official from Kōḷār in the Ganga-rasāyira with a Ganga name made an endowment in

* ASC. 1906 pp. 17 ff. † 616 of 1912 (SII. iv. 1412).
† 67 of 1923. ARE. 1923 II, 27.
§ 97 of 1921 (Yr. 9?). See SII. ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 1, where a record of the 8th year from Tiruvaṇḍai is said to mention these conquests; the reference is doubtless to 361 of 1910.
¶ MAR. 1917, p. 42.
South Arcot in the seventh year of Rājakōsari, perhaps Rājarāja I. * This conquest was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the Cūlas had never lost their hold on the Kongu country or, if they had done so, had very soon recovered it when they began to reassert themselves after the troubles consequent on the invasion of Kṛṣṇa III. Rājarāja does not claim to have conquered the Kongu area, and he was master of it early in his reign. Copper-plates † recording a gift of land in the fifth year of Rājakōsarivarman have been found at Tiruccengōdu, and these may with tolerable certainty be assigned to Rājarāja I, if they do not belong to an earlier Rājakōsari like Parāntaka II. The conquest of Taṅgaiapāḍi was probably undertaken from the side of Kongu and as part of the campaign in Kuṭalamaḷai-nādu. By the time of this war the Noḷambas had long ceased to be an independent power and become subordinate to the Gangas. In the tenth century the name Noḷamba-vāḍi still included ‡ not only the districts of Tūmkūr and Citaldurg, but much of the Bangalore, Kōḷār and Bellary districts and even parts of Salem and N. Arcot; this is sufficient proof of the place once held by the Noḷambas in the politics of Southern India. Though they lost much of their power at the time of Rājarāja's invasion, they did not by any means die out altogether, and in Śaka 920 Gannarasā, the son of Ayyapa, was ruling a portion of Daligapāḍi as a vassal of Rājarāja. § A certain Noḷambādhirāja was the general of the

* 127 of 1919. The official's name Gangan Ambalavanavan Gāḍārāditta Śōla Vilupparaiyan seems to imply that he rose to prominence in Uttama Cūla's reign, if not earlier.

† S.II. iii 213. No. 212 also of Rājakōsari and of the 10th year mentions Malavaraiyan Sundaraśīlājan as the donor. This name suggests the reign of Parāntaka II Sundara Cūla, and if this is correct, the father of the donor must, like Śigiyavēṭar have met his fate in the Ceylonese expedition of that monarch's time. ARE. 1914 II, 15.

‡ E.I. x p. 57 and n. 3. § 169 of 1911 (Yr. 13)
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Cōla monarch in his sixteenth year. * Either the same person or another, Noḻambādhirāja Cōravya, is again mentioned as feudatory to the Cōla in Śaka 933. † These instances raise a suspicion that the Noḻambas subordinates of the Gangas turned against their Ganga overlords and paid off old scores by taking the side of the Cōlas openly, or by assisting them in other ways. The Gangas then were the chief enemy against whom was directed the expedition into Mysore. This invasion, which started with an attack on Tādīganāpādi ‡ and Taḷakkēṅ after crossing the Kāvēri from the Kongu country, was a complete success, and made the Cōlas supreme in the entire Ganga country for a period of more than one century. The easy success was partly also the result of the disappearance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, which had taken place about 973 A. D., when Taila II Āhavamalla restored the ancient Cāḻukya line to power. By this political revolution the Gangas and the Noḻambas lost their chief support, as there was nothing as yet to bind them to the newly risen Cāḻukya power corresponding to the dynastic alliances and common enterprises that had brought them close to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But the Western Cāḻukyas were by no means indifferent to the advancing power of the Cōlas under Rājarāja, and in an inscription dated 992 A. D., Tailapa II claims to have gained a victory against the Cōla king. § In the present state of epigraphical knowledge it is not

* E.C. x Mb. 208.
† ibid. Ct. 118.

† 36 of 1904; IA. v. p. 17. Attempts have been made to account for the hostility between the Western Cāḻukyas and the Cōlas by the assumption that it was a continuation of the Pallava tradition by the Cōlas, that the Cōlas were of the Solar race while the Cāḻukyas were of the Lunar, and that the former were Śaivas while the latter were Vaiṣṇavas and patronised Jainism (S.II. ii Intr. p. 5 and n. 4.). Such efforts lead nowhere.
possible to give a complete account of the political relations among the Western Cāḷukyas, the Western Gangas and the Noḷambas at the time of the Cōla invasion of Mysore.

Within a few years after 992, Tailapa II died and was succeeded by Satyaśrava on the Cāḷukya throne. The later inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign state that he fought a successful war against Satyaśrava and captured some of his treasure, part of which went to the enrichment of the great Tanjore temple.* The W. Cāḷukyas were also hard pressed in the north by the hostility of the Paramāras of Mūlwa and must have found it hard to sustain themselves against two powerful enemies attacking them from opposite directions. The inscriptions of Rājarāja from about 1003 A.D.† roundly assert that he captured by force Raṭṭapaḍi, 'the seven and a half lakh country.' This is a violent exaggeration. More trustworthy is the poetic statement in the Tiruvālangādu plates ‡ that Satyaśrava, though, true to his origin from Taila (oil), he fled from the battle-field in order to escape the misery of facing the ocean-like army of Rājarāja, still became himself the abode of misery (kaṣṭāṣrava). An inscription of Satyaśrava from Hoṭṭür (Dharwar), dated Śaka 9(2)9 (1007 A.D.), states that the Nūrmaḍi Cōla Rājēndra Vidyādhara, the son of Rājarāja Nityavinōda and the ornament of the Cōlakula, advanced as far as Dōnūr in the Bijapur district, with an army of 900,000 troops, plundered the whole country, killed women, children and Brahmans, caught

* S.II, ii 1, paragraph 92. Judging by the relative value of the presents made to the temple at the conclusion of these campaigns, it would seem that the success in the Cāḷukya war was nothing by the side of the victories gained elsewhere.

† 338 of 1927 (Year 18), ARE. 1927 ii 11. 97 of 1921 also mentions Raṭṭapaḍi.

‡ v. 81.
hold of girls and destroyed their caste. The same record proceeds further to say that Satyäśraya, 'the slayer of the Tamil' (Tigula-mūri), thereupon forced the Cōla to turn back, captured his paraphernalia (vastu-vāhana) and thus conquered the southern quarter. * Though the account of wholesale slaughter and rape must be discounted as proceeding from a hostile source, still this account given by the Cāñkukya inscription of Rājendra's invasion of Raṭṭapāḍi rings very true, and may be accepted as substantially correct. Though overwhelmed for a time by the strength and rapidity of the Cōla onslaught, Satyäśraya soon recovered himself, and by hard fighting rolled back the tide of invasion. In Raṭṭapāḍi proper there are no traces (as there are in Nūḷambapāḍi and Gangapāḍi) of the occupation of the country by the Cōlas. † The existence of an inscription of a feudatory of Āhavamalla Sattiga dated Śaka 928 at Cēbrōlu ‡ in the Guṇṭūr district indicates that at this time Satyäśraya may have commanded the resources also of the Eastern Cāñkukya kingdom of Vēṅgi in his Cōla war, and this was doubtless the cause of Rājarāja's invasion of Vēṅgi which followed soon after.

The campaigns in the N. W. that have so far engaged our attention resulted in the annexation to the Cōla empire of practically all the territory that had ever been held by the Gangas and the Nōḷambas in Mysore, and nearly the whole of the modern district of Bellary, § so that the Tungabhadrā became the

* EL. xvi. p. 74.
† See the next chapter for further particulars of this war or another which followed not long after.
‡ 145 of 1897; SII. vi. 103.
§ ARE. 1904, para. 17. See, however, the next chapter on Rājendra's campaigns for proof that later in this reign part of this territory was regained by the Cāñkukyas.
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boundary between the two empires. No inscriptions of Rājarāja have been found in Bellary so far; but then there are no Cālukya inscriptions of the period either. As a rule, Cōla inscriptions are not found in the remote provinces of the empire in as great numbers as in areas nearer home, and we cannot on this account entertain doubts about the correctness of facts clearly attested by contemporary records. That Rājarāja had a Mahādānḍanāyaka for the Ganga and Vēṅgli maṇḍalas * towards the close of his reign is sufficient proof of the extent of his empire and of the contiguity of these two maṇḍalas.

Rājarāja's intercession in Vēṅgli affairs was the direct and natural result of the political development of the early years of his reign, rather than of any diplomatic design to dissociate the Eastern Cālukyas from their Western cousins.†

Contrasted with W. Cālukya Kingdom.

(If Rājarāja and his successors found it easier to spread their power along the east coast than across the Tungabhadrā, this was partly due to the different conditions in which the Eastern and the Western Cālukyas found themselves when the Cōlas entered on their imperial career under Rājarāja. After more than three centuries of rule in Vēṅgli, the Eastern Cālukyas had become an old and decrepit race, and their kingdom was falling a prey to disputed successions and anarchy. The coming of the Cōlas brought fresh blood into the family and became a source of strength to this declining dynasty which, sustained for nearly a century by the Cōlas in a position of respected though subordinate alliance, soon after, more than repaid the debt by contributing largely to

* 5 of 1895 (Yr. 26)—E.C. iii Sr. 140
† Contra Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Ganga-Koṇḍa, pp. 541-2.
the continuance of the Cōla empire under Kulottunga I and his successors, the Cōla-Cāḷukyas, as they are sometimes called. The Western Cāḷukyas, on the other hand, had just emerged under Taila II, after centuries of subordination to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the restored dynasty was in its full vigour. As the Cebrōlu inscription of Satyāśraya implies, they even made an attempt to unite the resources of the Eastern Cāḷukyas to their own; but being subject to attacks from the Paramāras in the north and the Cōlas in the south, they failed to do more than just keep their hold over their ancestral territory, the Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country. They were on the whole less fortunate than their Cōla contemporaries, and being compelled to wage many wars of defence, they found little time or inclination for aggression. Difficult as it may be to find a satisfactory scientific explanation for it, the fact remains, and it receives ample confirmation from the general course of history, that the chief dynasties throw up for a time a succession of very able rulers, that this succession occurs generally in the earlier part of the dynastic history, and that no dynasty flourishes for more than a limited number of generations. (The relative importance of the Western and Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Cōlas about 1000 A.D. forms one of the numerous illustrations of this general rule furnished by the course of Indian history.)

Under Parāntaka I the Cōla power extended in the north up to Nellore. The northern provinces were lost after the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa invasion and recovered in part under the successors of Parāntaka I. The northernmost limit reached under them was in the neighbourhood of Tiruvōrṇiyūr, a few miles north of Madras.
Rājarāja who aimed at recapturing every province that had ever been held by Parāntaka I and extend the empire still further, sent an expedition in the northern direction early in his reign. An inscription from Kāncipuram, * dated in the 6th year of Rājakēsari and recording a royal gift of a large herd of sheep to a Durgā temple states that the sheep were got when Śītpuḷi-nāḍu and Pāki-nāḍu were conquered by Paraman Maḷapādiyār alias Mummaḍi-śōjan, the chief of Kāru-kuḍi in Taḷḷāvūr Kuruṇam. The titles of the commander make it clear that the expedition was undertaken in Rājarāja’s reign.† This interpretation of the record is confirmed by another inscription † dated in the eighth year of Rājarāja from Reḍḍipālem (Gūḍūr ‘aluk) in the Nellore District which records a gift by Mummuḍi Vaitumba Mahārūjan alias Durai Araśan, perhaps an official in the king’s employ.

The actual occasion for Rājarāja’s interference in the internal affairs of Vēngī must have occurred later than the expedition just mentioned. The presence of Satyāśraya for a time in the Vēngī kingdom had, no doubt, something to do with it. There were, however, deeper causes accounting alike for the presence of Satyāśraya in Gunṭūr and for the interest of Rājarāja in the affairs of Vēngī. Despite the abundance of Eastern Cālukya copper-plates, some of them directly bearing on this period, the history of the dynasty is by no means settled, and its chronology presents many little problems which cannot be considered here. The troubles of the Eastern Cālukyas appear to have begun sometime in the reign of Amma II (945–70 A.D.)

* 79 of 1921.
† V. Rangachari–Nellore 239. There is a village Cippili in the Madanapalli Taluk of the Chittoor district.
and they were started apparently by the intrigues of the ambitious Rāstrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa III with the younger branch of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. After the eleventh year of his reign, Ammarāja is said to have fled to Kalinga from the anger of Kṛṣṇa III, and this receives remarkable confirmation from the Arumbāka plates of Bādana which state that, having made himself a suppliant of Kṛṣṇarāja, the Vallabha king, Bādana drove out of his kingdom the powerful king Ammarāja, fought against some of his relations, favoured his friends and ruled the Vēṅgī kingdom with justice. These statements cannot be accepted literally, but when considered along with the information furnished by other sources, they provide an important link in the confused story of this period. We now possess this story in two rival versions vouchsafed by the two branches of the Eastern Cāḷukyas who were at war for a whole generation. The Pabhuvāraṃu plates of Śaktivarman are particularly valuable as they record the events that ended this confused period and brought Śaktivarman to the throne.

All the copper-plates of the elder branch after the time of Dānārṇava, including those of Śaktivarman, the first king of this branch who came after Dānārṇava, declare that there was an interregnum of twenty-seven years immediately after Dānārṇava. According to these plates, Ammarāja had some trouble from Kṛṣṇa about the eleventh year of his reign, but it was not serious; at

—* Māṅgallu plates-agamati Kṛṣṇa-kopat Kalingam. ARE. 1917 II 24.

† E.I. xix No. 24. The text (p.142) has Karṭarāja; K. V. Lakshmana Rao has satisfactorily explained this mistake as due to a wrong sanskritisation of Kaṭṭa.

‡ Journal of the Telugu Academy ii. pp. 399 ff.

§ Arījakam in Śaktivarman's grant (l. 35); anāyikaḥ in the Raṇastapūṇḍi grant (l. 40) of Vimalāudditya.
any rate Amma II repelled all the attempts made by his enemies against him, and after a rule of twenty-five years from his accession in 945 A. D., he was followed by his half-brother Dānārṇava (970-3 A. D.). After Dānārṇava came the interregnum of twenty-seven years. The Arumbāka plates of Bādapa, without stating the duration of Amma II’s reign, say that Bādapa succeeded in expelling Amma II from the throne with the aid of Kṛṣṇa III and ruled the Vēṅgī kingdom after him. If this means that Bādapa’s rule began in Kṛṣṇa’s life-time, the reign of Bādapa must to some extent have overlapped the reigns of Amma II and Dānārṇava. By and by, about 973 A. D., at the close of Dānārṇava’s reign as implied by the later plates of the elder line, Bādapa succeeded in uniting the whole of the Vēṅgī kingdom in his hands and forcing the senior line into exile. It is remarkable how the Śrī Pūṇḍi plates of Tāla II ‘reconstruct’ the story of the interval between Tāla I and Tāla II manifestly with a view to showing that the younger line had the greater right to the Vēṅgī throne. * Whether Tāla I II ruled independently after his elder brother Bādapa or not, † there can be no question that the plates of Bādapa and Tāla II are to be properly assigned to the interregnum mentioned in the later plates of the elder line. The long feud between the two branches which began in 925 A. D. with the usurpation of Tāla I reached a head in the reign of Amma II, and as a result the kingdom was divided for a time between the two branches till the princes of the elder line were driven out and completely

* EJ. xix p. 149. From an inscription at Kālācīpuram (237, 238 of 1931) it would appear that the Eastern Gauḍa Kāmānava declared himself in favour of the younger branch and fought against Dānārṇava, and fell in battle.

† ibid 151-2.
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dispossessed of all power for about 27 years before 999 A.D.—a period which from the standpoint of the elder line formed truly an interregnum. The Raṇaṣṭa-
pūṇḍi grant ascribes this to a bad stroke of fate.* Of the events that led up to Śaktivarman’s accession, his Pabhūbaraṇu plates say:

“His youth shone like that of a lion when in the Tamil battle (drāmīḷhane) he attacked the formidable elephants (of the enemy). He performed a wonderful feat when with his own hands he killed the sharp and peerless hero sent (against him?) by Cōḍa Bhima. † He dug up the wide-spread tree of Jaṭā-Cōḍa to its very roots—the tree which rose aloft in its boughs (with the division of its army), which had its base spreading on the top of a mountain (had its feet adorned by the crowns of the heads of kings) and which was strong within.”

The Tiruvāḷangūḷu plates seem to mention the same events in the verse: ‡

“As Rājarāja of my name and skilled in battle has been attacked by Bhima with his army, so shall I attack the flawless Telugu (arandhraṇ-andhram) Bhima by name—(thinking this wise, he (Rājarāja) attacked him with an army.”

Here then is a campaign directed against a Telugu-Cōḍa king, Bhima by name, in which both Rājarāja Cōḍa and Śaktivarman took part. An inscription § of Rājarāja from Kaṅcipuram, dated in Ś. 923 (1001–2 A.D.), gives many titles of Cōḍa Bhima and records his capture by Rājarāja. The exact course of events is, however, by no means easy to determine. This is due

* Daiva-duśāṇyā (l. 39).
† There follows a stanza about Baddema Mahārāja which I am unable to translate as the verse is very corrupt. Jaṭā-Cōḍa is the legendary founder of the Telugu-Cōḍa race of rulers.
‡ v. 82. Krishna Sastri, by translating ‘danaḍa’ into a ‘club’ or ‘mace’ and ‘kaṇa’ into ‘kill,’ has missed the obvious meaning of the verse.
§ 237, 238 of 1931; ARE. 1931, II 10.
to a number of reasons. First we have almost no records of the Telugu-Cōḷas of this period, as the inscriptions so far discovered relate only to other periods, earlier or later than the second part of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh. Again, we have no means at present of deciding who the Cōḷa monarch’s namesake was whose cause was espoused by him in this expedition. Lastly, we cannot say whether this ‘Tamil battle’ against Bhīma was part of a plan for the restoration of Śaktivarman to his ancestral throne, or was one of Rājarāja’s campaigns of conquest, the one which, as we have seen, was directed against Pāki-nāḍu and Śīṭpuli-nāḍu, i.e., the Telugu-Cōḷa country. On the latter assumption, the facts relating to the war against Bhīma will be valuable as proof that Śaktivarman had sought refuge with the Cōḷa king* and that, early in his life, he was fighting in Rājarāja’s campaigns in the hope of being able later to achieve, with his aid, the main object of his life, the recovery of the Vēṅgī kingdom. In any event, it is quite certain that Śaktivarman owed much to the Cōḷa king’s support, and possibly he consented to recognise the overlordship of Rājarāja in some form after becoming king of Vēṅgī. We know that the exact date of Vimalāḍitya’s accession in Vēṅgī was 10th May, 1011 A.D. † and that his predecessor and elder brother Śaktivarman ruled for twelve years before him. This would give 999 A.D. as the date of Śaktivarman’s accession and the end of the interregnum. Śaktivarman is called in his plates Cāḷukya-

* K. V. S. Aiyar says that Vimalāḍitya was in North Arcot in the second year of Rājarāja’s reign (Ancient Deccan p. 247). If it is true, it will go far to support the suggestion here made. But no authority is cited, and I am unable to trace any.

† EI. vi p. 349.
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nārāyaṇa, a surname evidently modelled on that of Rājarāja, Cōla-nārāyaṇa. Thus a study of the affairs of the E. Cālukya dynasty before Rājarāja began to interest himself in them makes it plain that, far from their being sought out by Rājarāja as valuable political allies, they owed their position to that great monarch. By the part he played in restoring order and putting an end to the long-drawn civil strife in that kingdom, Rājarāja was well justified in claiming to have conquered Vēngī. This is not to say that Vēngī became at once an integral part of the Cōla Empire* like the other areas where, as in the Ganga or even the Pāṇḍya country, the separate political existence of the conquered country was deliberately put an end to, and the administrative system of the Cōlas was imposed. If the analogy suggested by the term is not pressed too far, the political relation in which Vēngī stood to the Cōla empire under Rājarāja is best described as that of a protectorate. The alliance between the two ruling families was sealed by a dynastic marriage; Vimalāditya married Rājarāja’s daughter Kundavā, the younger sister of Rājēndra. †

Two undated inscriptions from Mahēndragiri ‡ record, in Sanskrit and Tamil, an invasion of Rājēndra Cōla against a king of Kulūta, who had the name Vimalāditya. This chieftain probably was a recalcitrant feudatory of the Eastern Cālukya Vimalāditya. §

* See JAHRS. iii, iv, B. V. Krishna Rao’s History of Rajakumudry for an unconvincing attempt to show that Rājarāja had no part in the restoration of Saktivarman. K. Rao’s identification of Jaṭā-Cōla with Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya is impossible.
† Korumellī plates—LA. xiv p. 52 ill. 55–65.
‡ 366, 397 of 1896; ASI. 1911–12 pp. 171–2.
§ ASI. 1911–12 p. 172 n. 2.

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The inscriptions are recorded in the name of Rājendra and mention the erection of a pillar of victory by him on the high peak of the Mahendra mountain. But this expedition against Vimalāditya finds no place in Rājendra's historical introduction. It took place in the reign of his father and accounts for Rājarāja's claim that he conquered Kalinga. * Vimalāditya, the Cālukya son-in-law of Rājarāja, made some presents in 1014 A.D. to a temple in Tiruvaivīyāru, in the heart of the Cōla country. †

The last of the conquests, mentioned only in the latest inscriptions of Rājarāja, is that of the 'old islands of the sea numbering 12,000,' the Maldives. ‡ This naval conquest, of which we have no details, is sufficient indication that the navy which, as we shall see, Rājendra used so effectively some years later, had been organised under his great father who stands in many ways in the same relation to Rājendra as Philip of Macedon to Alexander the Great. An earlier occasion in Rājarāja's reign in which the navy played a part was the conquest of Ceylon. In this increasing realisation of the importance of a good navy, we may find a reason for holding that the expedition against Kāndalūr in the early years of Rājarāja's rule was primarily intended to sterilise the naval power of the Cēras.

* Krishna Sastri is inclined to make this conquest part of Rājendra's campaign for 'fetching the Ganges into his country.' (SII. iii p. 388 n. 6). But Kulīta is not mentioned in the detailed list of countries given in that connection.

† 215 of 1894.

‡ "The king of the Maldives assumes the style of king of the Twelve Thousand Islands."—Renaudot quoting Pyrard—Ancient Accounts, Remarks p. 2. Also Young Pao xvi, p. 388 n. 1.
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In the closing years of his reign Rājarāja associated his son Rājendra with himself in the official administration. This formal recognition of Rājendra as heir apparent took place some time between the 27th March and 7th July 1012 A.D. * Rājendra must have been at least twenty-five years of age at the time as he is mentioned in Rājarāja’s inscriptions of the fourth year as a young prince. † Considering the large number of Tanjore inscriptions which mark the twenty-ninth year of his father, we may conclude that this year (1014 A.D.) marked the close of Rājarāja’s illustrious reign. ‡

There is in existence, however, at Kanyakumāri an inscription dated in the thirty-first year of a Rājakēsari Rājarāja-dēva. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated, its beginning being lost; it records the establishment of a shed for supplying drinking water (tanūrppandal) called Jayangonḍa-śōlan, § a name which Rājarāja assumed in the later years of his reign. ¶

(Rājarāja’s great reign is commemorated by the magnificent Śiva temple which he built at Tanjore, the Rājarājēśvara, which stands to this day, the finest monument of a splendid period of South Indian history and the most beautiful specimen of Tamil architecture at its best.) The temple is remarkable alike for its stupendous proportions and for the simplicity of its design. A

* E.I. viii p. 260.
† 117 A of 1896.
‡ This seems to be the proper explanation of the apparently puzzling reference to a gift of the third year of Rājendra in S.II. ii 90.
§ Gopinatha Rao thought this surname to be that of Rājadhirāja and assigned this record to Rājarāja II, who, however, was a Parakēsari. (T.A.S. i, p. 168). 232 of 1915 is another Rājarāja record of the 31st year.
¶ S.II. ii, p. 312; 468 of 1908.
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rectangular court, 750 feet by 250, is divided into two by a partition wall, which carries a low tower of beautiful design; the inner court is twice as long as the outer. The chief shrine occupies the centre of the Western half of this inner court and the Vimāna, which rises over the sanctum to a height of nearly 200 feet on a square base of about a hundred feet, dominates the whole structure. The boldly moulded basement, the huge monolithic Nandi, the simple and tasteful bas-reliefs and the decorative motifs on the Vimāna and the balustrades, the graceful sculptures in the niches on the sides of the Vimāna and the fine chiselling which marks the entire work, including the lettering of the numerous inscriptions, are not equalled by anything known in South Indian architecture. Viewed from any angle, the effect produced by the whole of this wonderful structure is pleasing and impressive. That the stone walls round the garbhagṛha right under the Vimāna in the interior of the temple were overlaid with a thin coat of chunam (lime) plaster, and painted, is beyond question. * When he saw this great enterprise of his reign drawing to completion, on the 275th day of the 25th year of his reign, Rājarāja solemnly dedicated the copper-pot intended for adorning the finial at the top of the Vimāna. We have no authentic information as to how the colossal labour involved in transporting the huge blocks of granite over great distances, and the technical problems involved in raising them to position, were met. The conquered countries doubtless paid part of the cost. (After its completion, the temple in the capital city had close business relations with the rest of the country; year after year villages from all parts

* I base this statement on a personal inspection of the walls. Some of this ancient painting may yet be rescued by timely action.
of the empire were required to supply men and material according to a fixed schedule for the various requirements of the temple. Those nearer home took out perpetual loans from the numberless money endowments showered on the temple by the piety and the generosity of the court and its officials, and undertook to contribute regularly the annual interest in cash or in some other way previously determined. In the minute care and precision with which most of these arrangements were completed before Rājarāja’s twenty-ninth year we see the hand of a masterful and imaginative administrator. Karuvūr Dēvar, a contemporary hymnist, celebrated the new temple in one of his sacred hymns. Taṅjāvūr, it should be noted, was not among the numerous sacred spots of Śaivism consecrated by the hymns of the Dēvāram Saints, Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramūrti. The temple was altogether a creation of Rājarāja’s policy.

(The accurate survey and assessment of the country for purposes of land-revenue, the perfection of the administrative organisation of the country by the creation of a strong and centralised machinery corresponding to the staff of secretaries in a modern administration, and the posting of representative officers of the central government in suitable localities, the promotion of a system of audit and control by which village assemblies and other quasi-public corporations were held to account without their initiative or autonomy being curtailed, the creation of a powerful standing army and a considerable navy which achieved even greater success under Rājendra than under himself, mark out Rājarāja as the greatest among the empire-builders of Southern India.) Himself
an ardent follower of Śiva, Rājarāja was, like all the
great statesmen of India, tolerant in matters of religion,
and all creeds received equal favour at his hands.
The decorative sculptures on the walls of the Tanjore
temple and the construction of some Viṣṇu temples by
him in Mysore and his gifts to other Viṣṇu temples
recorded in his inscriptions are proof of his liberal
religious policy. (The celebrated Leyden grant records
how he encouraged the erection of the Cūḍāmaṇi
Vihāra in Negapatam by the Šailendra king, Śrī
Māra-vijayottunga-varman, the lord of Śrī Viṣaya and
Kāṭāha across the sea. This Vihāra, which was
building in the twenty-first year of Rājarāja *, was
named after the father of its founder, and the Cōla
monarch, with whose permission the construction was
undertaken, dedicated to Lord Buddha dwelling in this
Vihāra the village of Ānaimangalam, and his son
Rūjēndra confirmed the grant after his father’s death
and caused it to be engraved on copper-plates. That
Negapatam was the first port on the mainland touched
by vessels from the East bound for South India
becomes clear from I-tsing’s itineraries. † This must
have been the reason for the foreign king construct-
ing a Vihāra there.)

If names are the music of history, this noble king
greatly indulged his taste for this
music; and what is more, he sought to
make these names current coin by attaching them to
new foundations or substituting them for old ones.
Besides Rājarāja, Mūmmaḍicōla, Jayangoṇḍa and
Arunoḷi, which became part of the names of cities
(Puram), vaḷanāḍus and maṇḍalams, the king also called

* I. 118 of the grant (Tamil part).
† Gerini-Researches p. 527. Also ARE. 1899, paragraph 48.
himself Cōḷendrasimha, Śivapādaśekhara, Kṣatriya-sīkhāmaṇi, Jananātha, Nigarili-sōḷa, Rājendrasimha, Cōḷa-mārtanda, Rājuśraya, Rāja-mārtanda, Nityavinōda, Pāṇḍyakulasāṇi, Kēralāntaka, Śingalāntaka, Ravikulamāṇikya, Telingakulakāla * and so on. Many of these names, together with those of other members of the royal family, like Kundavai, Śembiyan-mahādēvi and others often distinguished the wards (ēris) in the larger villages and towns of the Cōḷa empire. † The regiments in the army also bore names formed out of the surnames of kings and princes.

Rājarāja had a number of wives but apparently only a few children. The queens mentioned in his inscriptions as making gifts to temples and in other connections number about fifteen, and though we can hardly be sure of it, Dantiśakti Viṭanki, also called Lōka-mahādēvi, appears to have occupied the most important place among them. With her we find the king in Tiruvisalūr in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. On this occasion the king performed the tulabhāra and his queen Dantiśakti the hiranya-garbha in the temple at Tiruvisalūr. ‡ The inscription recording this fact is engraved below a sculptured representation of the king and the queen in a worshipping posture. Some of the gold was used to make some flowers for Kṣetrapāla in the shrine built by the queen at Tiruvalaṅḍuḷi. § The mother of Rājendra, the

* Pd. 91.
† Mannār-kōvil in the Tinnevelly district had twelve ēris so named, see 109 of 1905 (E.I. xi pp. 292-8). Tirukkalīṭtīṭai in Tanjore had the following ēris, among others: Arumoliddaccerī, Jananīthaccerī, Nittavinōdaccerī, Rājakēsaccerī, Nigarilīḍaccerī, Aḷagiyāḍaccerī, Śingalāntacakcerī, Kundavacakcerī, Soḷakulasundaraccerī, Rājamārtandaccerī, and Rājarājacakcerī (292 of 1908 of the ninth year of Rājendra I).
‡ 42 of 1907. For hiranya-garbha in modern times, see Galletti—The Dutch in Malabar p. 110 and n.
§ 633-C. of 1902 (Rājendra 3).
only son of Rājarāja we know, was Vānavan-mahādēvi alias Tribhuvana-mahādēvi. * An inscription of the twenty-seventh year mentions Ilangōn Picci as the name of the senior queen (mūtta-dēviyār) of the Cōla king (Śoḷaperumān) and calls her the daughter of Vallavaraiyan. † We know that Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar was the husband of Kundavai, the elder sister of Rājarāja, ‡ who is often called in the inscriptions Ālvār Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār and the daughter of Pon-māligait-tuṇjina-dēvar. § Kundavai was much respected and treated with great affection by her brother. Her gifts to the Tanjore temple were recorded, next to the king's own, on the walls of the central shrine, while those of the queens and the officers of state found a place only on the niches and pillars of the enclosure. ¶ One wonders if Ilangōn Picci was the daughter of Kundavai whom the king, her mother's younger brother, took to wife; such marriages are not unknown in the Tamil country to-day. Rājarāja must have had at least three daughters, because an inscription from Tiruvalaṅjuri mentions besides the younger Kundavai, the queen of Cāḷukya-Vimalāditya, a middle daughter of the king called Mādevadigaḷ. || Peculiar interest attaches to two memorials erected by Rājarāja which show his eagerness to fulfil his obligations to his family, and that in a manner productive of public good. They are the construction at Tirumukkūḍal ** of a maṇḍapa called after Śembiyan Mahādēvi, the queen of Gaṇḍarāditya and mother of Uttama Cōla, and the foundation of the Cōḷēśvara or Ariṇjigai-Īśvara temple at Mēlpādi. ††,

* 117-A of 1896; 448 of 1918.
† 14 of 1920.
‡ S.II. ii 2.
§ 8 of 1919.
¶ S.II. ii. Introd. p. 8.
|| 633 of 1902 (Yr. 25).
** 178 of 1915 (Yr. 28).
†† S.II. iii 15.
This history of the reign may be concluded with an account of the leading officials and feudatories who distinguished themselves in the royal service. Mention has been made already of the place held by Mahādanānāyaka Pañcavān Mahārāya, (probably identical with the crown-prince) the sphere of whose command extended over the Ganga and Vēṅgli maṇḍalas, and the Noḻamba feudatories of the king in the Ganga country. Paraman Maḷapādiyār * alias Mummuḍi-sūḷan was a general who conquered the Śītpuli and Pāki naḍus early in this reign. In the Trichinopoly district, the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, of uncertain origin but closely allied to the royal family from the days when Parāntaka I married a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar princess, were occupying a respected position, and were apparently in the enjoyment of full responsibility for the administration of a small area around Paḻuvūr. The inscriptions of Aḍigal Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṇavaṉ, which clearly acknowledge the overlordship of Rājarāja are found in Kiḷa- and Mēlappaluvūr from the third year of the reign and show him ruling in state. He had for instance officers or nobles of the perundaram, like the Cōla monarchs and princes themselves. * This chieftain built a temple to Tiruttōṭṭam-uḍaiyār in Mēlappaluvūr, † and adopted the ancient standard prevailing at Nandipuram for regulating taxation in Paḻuvūr. ‡ The latest records mentioning him seem to be dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja. § Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan apparently a son of Madhurāntaka Uṭtama Cōla, ¶ served Rājarāja as an important official in the department.

* 115 of 1895.  † 394 of 1924 (Rējak. 4).  ‡ 365, 367 of 1924 (Rējak. 10, 16).  § 363 of 1924.

¶ Hultsch SII. iii 49; ante p. 193 and n. • A certain Gaṇḍarādittan Madhurāntakan is also mentioned in 356 of 1917 (Yr. 10).
of temple-affairs, so to say. We see him conducting enquiries into the affairs of temples in various parts of the country, punishing defaulters * and making proper arrangements for the prevention of neglect in subsequent years. He has been wrongly identified with Gaṇḍarādittar, the author of the Tiruviviappā, which was in reality composed by his grandfather. † In the district of North Arcot there were the Ilāḍarāya (Lāṭa) chieftains who had apparently been ruling the region round Paṇcapaṇḍavamalai continuously from the days of Parāntaka I; in the eighth year of Rājarāja, Udaiyār Virasoḷar, son of Udaiyār Ilāḍarājar Pugalvippavargaṇḍan, remitted, at the request of his queen, some taxes in favour of a Jain temple. ‡ The regal titles employed in the inscriptions of these chieftains are perhaps an indication of the high favour in which they stood with their Cūla overlords. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Rājarāja, we find mention, in a Tiruvallam inscription, § of a Tiruvaiyan Śankaradēva who claimed descent from the Gaṅga kings of Kōḷūr and built at Tiruvallam a temple called Tiruvaiya-Īśvara apparently after his father. The high-sounding titles that precede the name of this obscure chieftain constitute a clear warning against hasty inferences from such titles in regard to the political status of the person employing them. Nannamarāyar of the Vaidumba family, the son of Tukkarai who possessed the Ingallūr-nāḍu in Mahārājapāḍi, in the Cuddapah district, gave an endowment at Tiruvallam in North

* 283 of 1906; 218 of 1921.

† The mistake seems to have arisen from the false belief that G.'s Tiruviviappā refers to the Tanjore temple whereas it is on Cidambaram. See T. A. G. Rao—Sūlamia-carittirai-curukkam p. 16 n.

‡ 19 of 1890 (EL. iv p. 139.)

§ 11 of 1890 (S.II, iii 51.)
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Arcot about 1005 A. D. * A Mummuḍi Vaitumbamahārājan made a gift in Redḍipālem in Nellore about A. D. 993. † This shows that the Vaidumbas continued under Rājarāja, as under his predecessors after Parāntaka I, to occupy subordinate official positions in the Cōla administrative system. Mention is made of a Śālukki Vīmayan whose dēvi (queen), Vīmayan Vambavai, endowed a lamp in the temple at Tiruvaiyāṟu in the twenty-second year (c. 1007 A. D.) of Rājarāja; ‡ his dynastic connections and the locality of his rule are not quite clear. Like the Vaidumbas, the Bāṇas, who shared the same fate with them at the hands of Parāntaka I, seem to have become officers sharing in the administration of the country under the Cōlas. A Bāṇa prince, Maṉavaṉ Narasimhavarman, whose records commence with the usual introduction of Rājarāja and then proceed to give the traditional titles of the Bāṇas in all their fullness, was apparently ruling some part of the South Arcot district in the neighbourhood of Jambai towards the close of Rājarāja’s reign, as we learn that he excavated a new irrigation tank in that locality. § The Tanjore inscriptions mention Sēnāpati Śrī Kṛṣṇan Rāman of Amaṅ-kuḍi, ¶ who is called Rājendrasōla Brahmatīrāyan in the larger Leyden grant, ‖ as the person who built the tiruccurrālai, the surrounding enclosure and maṇḍapa of the Tanjore temple under the king’s orders. Irāyiravan Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍi-sōḻappōsan was another officer of perundaram rank who presented an image and some jewels to the Tanjore temple. ** He was doubtless a high official in the secretariat of the revenue department as we find him

* S.II. iii 52.
† N.I. G. 88.
‡ 217 of 1894 (S.II. v 516).
§ 84, 86 of 1906.
¶ S.II. ii 31.
‖ 1. 437.
** S.II. ii 55.

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attesting the Leyden grant and an important inscription from Ukkal* relating to revenue settlement. Sēnāpati Kuravan Ulagaḷandān alias Rājarāja Mahārājan who is also mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions, † apparently got his surname Ulagaḷandān (one who measured the world) after carrying out the revenue survey which began in the sixteenth year (A. D. 1001), formed one of the most original and important administrative achievements of the reign ‡ and furnished the basis for the revenue policy for many years thereafter, as can be seen from the numerous references to the survey in subsequent records.

* SII. iii, 9.
† SII. ii 98, p. 459.
‡ 624-A of 1902; 44 of 1907 (Yr. 24).
CHAPTER X

RAJENDRA I – (1012-1044 A. D.)

Parakšari-varman Rājendra-cūladēva I was declared heir apparent and formally associated with his father in the administration of the Empire in the closing years of his rule. Accordingly he counts his regnal years from some date between 27th March and 7th July, 1012 A.D. * and we find clear evidence of joint rule in the third year of Rājendra. This year is mentioned in Rājarāja's Tanjore inscriptions of his twenty-ninth year; † Rājarāja is also stated to have made a gift in the third year of his son's rule. ‡ The star of Rājendra’s nativity was Ādrā. §

Rājendra inherited from his father an extensive empire comprising the whole of the modern Presidency of Madras and parts of Mysore and the island of Ceylon. The administration had been carefully organised and a fairly powerful bureaucracy brought into existence which, while it scrupulously respected the ‘liberties,’ feudal and corporate, of the various magnates and associations that studded the land, successfully maintained the king's peace, and enforced all civil rights. The army was a strong and tried body of men, well able to defend the wide land frontier and to keep down any threatened outbreaks in areas newly subjected to the empire, and ready for aggressive warfare abroad. The hold on Ceylon and some other islands like the Maldives was securely maintained by a powerful naval

* EI. viii p. 260.
† See ante p. 321, n. ‡
‡ 196 of 1917.
§ 271 of 1927 (Yr. 7)
force which also served to protect the considerable overseas trade of the empire with the islands of the East Indies and with China. During the thirty-three years of his reign, Rājendra turned these initial advantages to the best possible use and succeeded in raising the Cōla empire to the position of the most extensive and most respected Hindu state of his time, and one which possessed though perhaps only for a time a not inconsiderable dominion over the Malay peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago. The history of Rājendra's reign is very largely the history of the extensive wars and conquests he undertook in the first half of his reign. Like his father, he has left behind in his stone inscriptions and in the Tiruvālāngai copper-plates a trustworthy account of the military and naval transactions of his reign which receive confirmation at all points at which we have the means of controlling it by other evidence.

The most common form of Rājendra's Tamil praśasti is that which begins tiru manni valāra. We come across this form as early as the third year, though it is more generally employed only from the fifth. This introduction progressively increases in length by the narration of fresh conquests until the thirteenth year, after which date it becomes stereotyped. By tracing its growth we are able to fix the internal chronology of the reign with a precision not often attained in the annals of Ancient India. Another Tamil praśasti known so far from only one inscription* of the tenth year, gives some particulars about Pāṇḍyan affairs which are confirmed by the Tiruvālāngai plates. In another inscription dated in the twenty-fourth year, † the Tamil praśasti

* 363 of 1917.  
† 118 of 1888.
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follows the usual form up to the conquest of Takkanā-lādam, and then proceeds to record transactions relating to princes of the blood royal, and Rājendra's relations with Ceylon and the Cālukyas; this unique text which ends by calling him Rājakēsari * is beset with many difficulties of interpretation, and as it is a copy of an earlier original, it is possible that a mistake has occurred in the re-engraving. Lastly, the account given of Rājendra's military achievements in the Sanskrit part of the Tiruvālangādu plates was written, quite obviously, † after all conquests were over, and by the side of indications gained from the different stages of the Tamil prāsasti in different years, this Sanskrit account must be held to be of decidedly inferior import to the chronology of the reign. But the poet Nārāyaṇa who composed the long Sanskrit prāsasti is entitled to our admiration not only for his high literary quality but for the attention he gives to the facts of his patron's reign which is fuller than is usual with court-poets. In fact, his account forms, at several points, a valuable supplement to the Tamil prāsasti.

Very early in Rājendra's reign, he appointed his son Rājadhirāja as yuvārāja to assist him in the work of the state. Calculations made from Rājadhirāja's records have led to the conclusion that this happened on some day between 15th March and 3rd December 1018 A.D.,‡ most probably in the early months of the seventh year of Rājendra himself. For over twenty-five years from that date, father and son, Parakēsari and Rājakēsari ruled together and shared the burdens of empire. The inscriptions of Rājadhirāja, with the introduction

* The mistake possibly arose from a Rājakēsari also having ruled jointly with the king for some years before the date of the record; but see infra.
† ARE. 1906 II 13.
‡ EI. ix p. 218.

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beginning *tingaṭṭtaru*, give an account of the part played by this prince in the campaigns of his father, and up to about the twenty-sixth year of Rājadhirāja's reign, his records must be understood to supplement those of Rājendra by giving an alternative description of more or less the same transactions from the standpoint of Rājadhirāja's part in them. * In an inscription of his twenty-sixth year from Tirumalavāḍī which adopts the shorter form of his introduction, † Rājadhirāja's umbrella of state is said to have functioned as if it were the shadow of the white umbrella of his father who conquered with his army the Ganges in the North, Ceylon in the South, Mahādai in the West and Kadāram in the East. This clear statement that the son ruled in full regal state in the life-time of his father, and that for as many as twenty-six years, provides the key for the proper understanding of an important aspect of Cūla history. Adopted in the first instance, possibly, as a device to obviate disputed succession, the system of choosing a successor in the life-time of the ruling king and associating him, after a formal installation, in the discharge of important public duties pointed the way, under the stress of empire, to a more deliberate and extensive application of the

Princes as administrators.

* Huultseh observed: "Rājadhirāja appears to have been co-regent of (his predecessor Rājendra Cūla I) and cannot have exercised independent royal functions before the death of the other. It is in perfect accordance with this conclusion that his inscriptions which have been discovered so far are all dated in the later years of his reign viz., between the 26th and 32nd years." *SII.* iii. p. 52. When Huultseh said this, 172 of 1894 (Tirukkaḷukkuṇgam) of the 26th year was the earliest record available. Since then, the *tingaṭṭṭ* introduction has been reported as found in 484 of 1925 (Year 10) and 392 of 1921 (year 18), but on examining the impressions of these records, I have found that they are both dated in the thirty-sixth year. It is possible, however, that some records (with early regnal years) which, though containing no praśītit, give imperial titles to Rājadhirāja e.g., Tribhuvanacakravarin (241 of 1927) and Cakravartigal (124 of 1922), really belong to Rājadhirāja I. See also 244, 245 of 1929.

† 75 of 1895 II. 2-4. (*SII.* v. 633). These lines seem to have been taken to mean no more than that Rājadhirāja inherited his kingdom from his father—ARE. 1913 II 26.
principle to the administrative arrangements of the empire. The princes of the blood royal who had come of age were appointed to positions of authority in the different provinces of the empire, care being taken to give to each the position suited to his capacity and talent. The person chosen as heir apparent was distinguished from the rest by a formal installation, and by his higher status; in the case of Rajādhirāja, who was not the eldest son of Rājendra and must have been chosen as yuvarāja for his outstanding ability, his status is clearly implied by his separate historical introductions and by his titles even during his father's life-time. The contemporary Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroyals, also Cōla princes, either use no historical introductions in their inscriptions, or when they do so, adopt that of the ruling sovereign, Rājendra. In the early years of his reign Rājendra seems to have been assisted only by one such subordinate ruler with jurisdiction over the Pāṇḍya and the Kēraḷa countries, besides the crown prince Rājādhirāja, though it is possible that in later years others were similarly recognized elsewhere. It is probable that when chosen for such employment, the princes underwent an investiture of some sort which, among other things, conferred on them the right to wear coronets of their own, suited to their relative positions in the state. Rajādhirāja and his successor are said, in their inscriptions, also to have continued these arrangements. This wise system initiated by Rājendra I, by finding suitable occupation for the energies of restless princes of the royal family, doubtless allayed their discontent, diminished the chances of palace intrigues and revolutions, and at the same time brought new strength to the administration of an over-grown empire which was called upon to face many difficult problems, domestic and foreign.
We shall now trace the progress of Rājendra's conquests as recorded in the sources above mentioned, accepting as our basis the precise indications of chronology in the tiru manni vaḷara introduction. From this introduction we learn that up to the third year of his reign he had conquered Iḍitūrai-nādu, Banavāse (Vanaśī) encircled by a continuous hedge of forest, Kolliippākkai whose ramparts were surrounded by sullī trees, and Maṇṇaiikkaḍakkm whose fortifications were unapproachable. Whether this account is a retrospective version of Rājendra's invasion of Raṭṭapāḍi of the year 1004 A.D. so vividly described in the Hoṭṭūr record dated three years after it, or recounts a second campaign necessitated by the recovery of Satyāśraya, cannot be decided with certainty. In any event, the campaign took place before 1008 A.D. because it was directed against Satyāśraya himself, who was succeeded by Vikramādityā V about that year. Iḍitūrai-nādu, Egedore 2000, "was a stretch of country between the rivers Kṛṣṇā on the north and Tungabhadra on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district."* Kolliippākkai was, doubtless, Kulpak, about 45 miles north-east of Hyderabad, "invariably termed Kolliippāka in the inscriptions," † and the centre of a 7000 district which was later on, at the beginning of the next century, ruled for some time by Sōmēśvara III, as viceroy under his father Vikramāditya VI. Kulpak was still the centre of a province ruled by a governor under the Kūkatiyās in the thirteenth century. In Maṇṇaiikkaḍakkm with its strong fortifications one may easily recognise the Māṇyākhēṭa which according to the Kanyākumāri


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inscription * became the sporting ground of Rajendra’s forces in battle. Manyakheta (Malkhed) must have suffered greatly in this invasion of Rajendra. In the closing years of Rashtra Gupta domination, it had been once sacked and plundered by the Paramara ruler of Mula; and now, forty years later, under the Calkyas, a worse fate overtook the unfortunate city. This must have weighed greatly with the Calkyas who, soon after, transferred the capital to Kalyani or Kalyanapura, 48 miles to the N.E. of Malkhed. † An inscription of Rajendra from the Trichinopoly district, dated in his third year, ‡ mentions an incident in the fight with Satyashraya before Maninakka Dakkakham. A certain Srutimana Nakkan Candran, a native of Urankur, was ordered by the king’s own mouth (perumal tiruvaiyil moliya) to attack the enemy’s elephant and apparently lost his life, and for his benefit a gift was made to the temple of Mahadeva in his native village of Urankur. In this campaign, therefore, Rajendra crossed the Tungabhadra, carried the war into the heart of the Calkya country and attacked their very capital. It is not easy to see how these operations across the Tungabhadra could have been coupled with an attack on Banavase, long celebrated as the centre of Kadamba power, and then part of the W. Calkya kingdom. Banavase lies much outside, and too far to the west of the line of advance indicated by the rest of this campaign; § and yet the language of the inscription

* v. 70.
‡ 515 of 1912.
§ Dr. S.K. Aiyangar apparently finds no difficulty here. He says: “Having mastered possession of this debatable frontier of all South Indian history (Rajhur doab), he proceeded northwards into the southernmost districts of the Rashtra Gupta country;” (italics mine—GangaiKonda Chola p. 544). It is possible that more than one army took the field at the same time.

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seems to render it obligatory to treat the whole as one campaign, and the names mentioned as the different stages, though not in that order, of a single expedition. This and the date of the Hoţţur inscription go far to suggest that the data furnished by Rājendrā’s inscriptions also belong to the war which was waged about 1004 A.D. against Satyāsraya by Rājarāja, and that in this war the advance of Rājendrā against the Cāḻukyas started from somewhere in the N.W. of Mysore, took a generally north-eastern line along the course of the Tungabhadra until the Raichūr doab was reached, when a more northerly course was struck, and Kulpak and Mālkhed became the objects of attack. A maṇḍapa at Tiruvorriyūr called Maṇḍaiikoṇḍa-Śoḷa was among the mementos of this campaign. *

The conquest of the whole of Īḻa-maṇḍalamaṇḍapa (Ceylon) is the next achievement mentioned. As some of the inscriptions of the fifth year † do not include this conquest, while others ‡ do so, we may be sure that the war against Ceylon was undertaken in the fifth year, A.D. 1017-18. The Mahārāmsa places the completion of the Cōḷa conquest of Ceylon in the 36th year of Mahinda V which falls also in A.D. 1017 according to the latest scheme of Ceylonese chronology established by Geiger. § About twelve years before this date, Rājarāja, taking advantage of the confusion in the island kingdom which arose from a military revolt against Mahinda V, had brought it under his power with the

* 103 of 1912. † 50 of 1897; 439 of 1907. ‡ 4 of 1890; 257 of 1903. 585 of 1906 from Embēḍi (also fifth year) carries the conquests further up to Śāndimattivu. But as the inscription mentions the 25th year of the reign, it was engraved much later and is to be accepted with caution.

§ CV. ii p. xiii.
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exception of its remoter parts which were still held by the Sinhalese. As a result of his expedition Rājendra claims to have captured the crown of the kings of Ceylon* the exceedingly beautiful crowns of their queens, the fine crown and the garland of Indra which the Pāṇḍya had previously deposited with them (the kings of Ceylon), and the whole Ḫa-manḍalam on the transparent sea. The Mahāvamsa does not mince matters and gives a straight account which confirms the claims made by Rājendra in his inscriptions: †

"In the six and thirtieth year of the king's (Mahinda V's) reign the Cōlas seized the mahāsi, the jewels, the diadem that he had inherited, the whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword and the relic of the torn strip of cloth. ‡ But the Ruler himself, who had fled in fear to the jungle, they captured alive, with the pretence of making a treaty. Thereupon they sent the Monarch and all the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to the Cōla Monarch. In the three fraternities and in all Lankā (breaking open) the relic chambers, (they carried away) many costly images of gold etc., and while they violently destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-sucking yakkhas, they took all the treasures of Lankā for themselves. With Pulattinagaram as base, the Cōlas held sway over Rājaratthu as far as the locality known as Rakkhaṭṭiṣuraṇaṭṭha. . . . King Mahinda dwelt twelve years in the Cōla land and entered into heaven in the forty-eighth year (from his ascent of the throne)."

* Hultzsch (SII. iii p. 28) translates: "the crown of the king of Īlam (who was as tempestuous as) the sea in fighting." But in the phrase: "porumkaṭal-

† CV. Ch. 55 vv. 16 ff. The three preceding verses talk of a horse-dealer informing the Cōla king of the confusion in the island and bringing about the invasion: this part of the story perhaps applies to Kāraṭṭu's invasion which is not otherwise noticed by the MV.

‡ Chinnappaṭṭiṭhāṭuka which Geiger thinks might have been a Buddha relic, highly prized, among the regalia of the Sinhalese kings. Wijesinha translates: "and the Sacred forehead band."
Rājendra thus succeeded in getting hold of the Pāṇḍya regalia left behind by Rājasimha, which Parāntaka I had sought and failed to secure. The Cōla inscriptions are silent on the details of the conquest and draw a veil over the pillage of Lankā so vividly chronicled in the Ceylonese annals, though one inscription apparently mentions Mahinda's submission to the Cōla king after he was transported to the mainland.*

Rājendra's success was complete, and the whole of the island became a Cōla province. We have some inscriptions of Rājendrapāla of Polonnaruwa and in the Colombo museum with the tiru manni valara introduction †; but these are in a very damaged condition, and valuable only as furnishing clear epigraphical confirmation of Rājendrapāla's conquest and rule in Ceylon. Several Hindu temples, Dēvīles devoted to Śiva and to Viṣṇu, have been discovered in the vicinity of Polonnaruwa; these are built of stone and in the Tamil Cōla style of architecture, and all of them must have been constructed in this period of Cōla rule in the island. The Mahāvamsa adds that twelve years after Rājendrapāla's invasion, possibly also after the death of Mahinda V, his son Kassapa who had been brought up in secret by the Singhalese for fear of the Cōlas, became the centre of a national resistance against the Tamil power, and that, after a six month's war in which a great number of Damīlas were killed by the Singhalese forces, he succeeded in making Rōhanā once more independent of the Tamil province and ruled it as Vikkanabāhū I for a period of twelve years (1029-41 A.D.). The events of Vikkanabāhū's reign belong to a later stage of Rājendrapāla's rule and may be reserved for further consideration at the proper place.

* 642 of 1909 (yr. 7).
† 595, 618 of 1912 (S.II. iv 1389; 1414).
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In his sixth year, * A.D. 1018, Rājēndra seized the heirloom of the Kērala monarch including the crown praised by many and rightfully worn by him, and the garland emitting red rays. † He also took the "many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound." In the next year, he captured the crown of pure gold worthy of Tiru (Lakṣmi) that had been deposited in Śāndimattīvu, in view of its strong fortress, by Parasūrāma who, roused in war, had uprooted the kings (of the world) twenty-one times. ‡ Some light is thrown on these rather obscure transactions by the account of Rājēndra’s southern campaign given by the Tiruvālangādu plates and by a single stone inscription of the tenth year § which gives an account of Rājēndra's policy in the Pāṇḍyā country, not found in the other stone records of the reign. The Tiruvālangādu plates ¶ say:

"This famous and heroic king, possessed of a powerful army and bent upon the performance of meritorious deeds with heaps of money acquired by his own arm, then set his heart upon a digvijaya.

Accordingly after arranging for the protection (in his absence) of his own capital, the unrivalled king Uttama Cōla first started in the direction marked by Triśanku (the south) desirous of conquering the Pāṇḍyā king.

The commander (daṇḍanātha) of the ornament (tilika) to the Solar race (Rājēndra) (thereupon) struck the Pāṇḍyan king who had a great force; and the Pāṇḍyā abandoned his home in fright and fled for refuge to the Malaya mountain, the abode of Agastya.

* 22 of 1897; 211 of 1911.
† Epīndha means 'victorious army'; 'Pungadi-mālo' may be taken more literally as above instead of being understood as meaning the sun. Contra Hultzsch E. l. ix p. 233.
‡ 29 of 1897 (S.II. ii 82); 74 of 1907 (yr. 8).
§ 363 of 1917.
¶ vV. 89-97.
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Rājarāja’s son, the master of policy, took possession of the bright spotless pearls, the seeds of the spotless fame of the Pāṇḍya kings.

After establishing there his own son, Śrī Cōla-Pāṇḍya, for the protection of the Pāṇḍya country, the light of the Solar race then proceeded to the conquest of the West.

Having heard of the ignominy sustained by kings at the hands of Bhārgava in battle, this proud king, not finding him (Bhārgava) on the face of the earth, developed a desire to conquer the land created by him.

Who else, other than this supreme lord (Paramāśvara) can entertain the thought in his mind of subjugating (lit. humiliating) that ancient land protected by the glory of the ornament of the Bṛṛgukula and free from the inroads of enemies?

The fearless Madhurāntaka crossed the Sahya (mountain) and forthwith set upon the Kēraḷa in great force, and there ensued a fierce battle which brought ruin upon kings.

After having (thus) conquered the Kēraḷa king and harrowed the land guarded by the austerities of the lord of the Bṛṛgus, the prince returned to his capital, the abode of prosperity."

It may be doubted if by this campaign Rājendrā added any new territory to his dominions. The Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries had been conquered by Rājarāja very early in his reign, and the many ancient islands towards its end. These islands were the Maldives; the obscure Śāṃdimattīvu of legendary fame is apparently to be sought also among the islands of the Arabian sea. The effective hold retained by Rājarāja on his southern conquests becomes clear from his numerous records in the Pāṇḍya country and from an inscription of the third year of Rājendrā * mentioning an endowment in Tiruvīqalūr by the queen of a Pāṇḍya king called Śrīvalḷuvar. While the Tamil praśasti of Rājendrā mentions some new achievements

* 46 of 1907.
of the king in Ceylon and Kērala, the most considerable among them being the seizure of the regalia of the different kingdoms of the south, it has nothing to say on Pāṇḍyan affairs. The vague statements of the Tiruvāḷangādu plates that the Pāṇḍyan king fled to the Agastya hill and that Rājendrā took his pearls are too conventional to be accepted literally; a stone inscription of the tenth year, * however, confirms the statement of the copper-plates that the king established his own son in Madura as his viceroy with the title Cōla-Pāṇḍya and also states that Rājendrā built a palace in Madura by, whose weight the earth became unsteady.' The same inscription implies that Rājendrā repeated his father's performance at Kāndaḷūr-sālai. This Pāṇḍyan viceroy, who was soon after placed in charge of the Kērala country as well, was Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya to whose time belong the largest number of the Cōla-Pāṇḍya inscriptions so far known.

An inscription † of Rājendrā informs us that in his twenty-fourth regnal year, the emperor made a grant of land to the temple built at Mannārkōvil (Timnevelly) by the Cēra king Rājasimha and called Rājendrā-Śōla-viṇṇagar, and that this grant was to take effect from the fifteenth year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Assuming that the fifteenth year of the viceroy fell either in the twenty-fourth year of the emperor or possibly a little earlier, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya must have been appointed viceroy about the sixth or seventh year of Rājendrā, a date which fits in with the indications furnished by the Tiruvāḷangādu plates taken along with the Tamil praśasti. The

* 363 of 1917.
† 112 of 1905

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Mannārkōvil inscription is also valuable in other respects. It shows that the viceroys enjoyed almost regal status and were allowed officially to issue orders dated in their own years of office. It also indicates the close contact maintained between the headquarters of the empire,—Rājendra was residing in his palace at Kāncipuram when this gift was made,—and the viceregal courts. Lastly, the jurisdiction of the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy over the Cēra country is clearly seen in the Cēra king building a temple in the Pāṇḍya country and naming it after the Cōla emperor. From his inscriptions we see that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya ruled as viceroy for at least twenty-three years, up to about A. D. 1040. One of the latest * of these inscriptions opens with the praśasti of Rājendra himself, (tiru manni vaḷara). Another states that Sucindram in Nāñjināḍ (South Travancore) came to be called Sundara-śoḷa-caturvēdimangalam after the viceroy. † One curious fact not easy to explain is the record of a grant at Kōṭṭār (near Nagercoil) in south Travancore by an Eastern Cālukya prince who called himself Sarvalōkaśraya Śri Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja alias Cālukya Vijayāditya Vikkiyanṇa. The inscription is dated in the 11th year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya ‡ i.e., about A. D. 1029. / Kōṭṭār was a strong fortress of strategic importance in those days and the Cōlas maintained a strong garrison there; it is quite possible that an Eastern Cālukya prince who held an important place in the army lived in Kōṭṭār for some years. But his identity is uncertain in the extreme.

In the years A. D. 1021 and 1022, Rājendra resumed the war against the Western Cālukya power. Jayasimha, who had succeeded his brother Vikramāditya V about 1016 A.D.,

* 617 of 1916. † TAS. iv pp. 134-5. ‡ 44 of 1896.
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was displaying unwonted energy in recovering territory lost to the Cōlas in previous wars. The Balagūme inscription of 1019 describes him as defeating the Cōlas and the Cēras, * and this is borne out by the presence of his inscriptions about this time in Bellary and the N. W. of Mysore. † Rājendra's war against Jayasimha is described in his Tamil prasasti in the following terms:

"(He captured) the seven and a half lakhs of Raṭṭapāḍi (which was) strong by nature, and vast quantities of treasure, together with the inestimable reputation of Jayasimha who, out of fear and to his great disrepute, turned his back at Musangi and hid himself." ‡

The assertion that the whole of Raṭṭapāḍi fell into the hands of Rājendra is, of course, a gross exaggeration. In fact, in the Cōla inscriptions of this period, this is no more than a conventional way of recording some temporary advantage gained in the field against the Cāḻukyas. The rest of the statements in the prasasti seem to be true. There was an engagement

* Fleet D.K.D. 436.
‡ Hultsch translates 'payangoḍu paḻigama' into 'out of fear and full of vengeance,' (E.F. ix p. 233). Paḻi means 'vengeance' in some contexts; but here it has surely another meaning: 'disrepute.' The idea is that by his flight he lost his reputation as king or warrior. The phrase 'navaṇidikkuḷap-perumaligalum' is not clear. Hultsch understands this independently of the Raṭṭapāḍi campaign, and translates: 'the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubēra). This flawless literal rendering is not intelligible, and Hultsch has not explained what he understands by it. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is inclined, on the other hand, to see a place name of unknown identity in Navaniṭh-kula, like Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Paḻappalli and Musangi-cēţa. (Sewell-Historical Inscriptions p. 65, n.) But unlike kōṇam, paḻḷi and drēśam, an ending in kula seems most unlikely for a place name. I think the whole expression is a rhetorical way of stating that much treasure fell into the hands of Rājendra. 'Kulap-perumaligal' suggest, by recalling the 'Kulaparvatas' of legend, the vastness of the treasure; and 'navaṇidi,' though usually employed of the insignia of Kubēra, is introduced here to suggest the variety of the treasures of the Cāḻukya monarch. cf. kuladhanam-akōṭdam paḻigama mukkā bhayam avalambha paḻiyanaṃ caṅkāra (v. 105) of the same context in the Tiru- Vīlandiṅḍu plates.
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at Muśangi or Muyangi, as it is spelt variously in the inscriptions, and Jayasimha certainly did not get the best of it. Muśangi was most probably the same as Uccangidrug in the Bellary district. * To a description of this campaign the Tiruvālangāḍu plates devote a considerable number of well-turned verses in the best Kāvyā style, and though there are ten such verses, † we learn on the whole less about the actual occurrences in the war from these than from the few lines of the Tamil prabasti translated above. The king started from Kāņeipuram on his march against the Raṭṭa country, there was fierce battle between the forces of the Cōla king and those of Jayasimha, the latter fled to the forests and Rājēndra returned to his capital with much booty. Typical of the turns of thought of the composer and suggestive of the date of composition is the verse: ‡

“It may be no wonder that the fire of his anger burst into a flame as it came into contact with the descendant of Taila. This, however, is strange that, having crossed the waters of all the oceans, it (the fire of his anger) consumed the enemy fuel (dvīṣadindhāna.)

Despite his defeat at Muśangi, and the consequent boast of Rājēndra that he captured Raṭṭapūdi, Jayasimha was successful in retaining his hold on his territory up to the Tungabhadra, if not beyond. § The Miraj grant dated in A.D. 1024 shows that Jayasimha was then in possession of Ededore 2000 and affirms that he had regained it after driving out the strong Cōla, lord of the five Drāvidas.

* SII ii p. 94-5. n. 4. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks Maski more likely.
† 99-108.
‡ v. 101, SII. iii p. 423.
§ IA. viii 18; Fleet DKD. 436; EI. xii pp. 295-6. Krishna Sastri’s translation of verse 103 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates is wrong in implying that the Raṭṭarāja lost his life in the war; parikhaṇḍita means ‘defeated’, not ‘cut to pieces.’

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(The next campaign undertaken by Rajendra was the northern expedition in quest of the Ganges.) In the words of the Tiruvālangādu plates:

"The light of the Solar race (Rajendra), mocking Bhagiratha who by the force of his austerities caused the descent of the Gangā, set out to sanctify his own land with the waters of that stream brought (thither) by the strength of his arm." †

Judging from its duration, this campaign which lasted less than two years,‡ in which so many kingdoms of the north are stated to have felt the strength of Rajendra's troops, could hardly have been more than a hurried raid across a vast stretch of country. And the Tiruvālangādu plates state explicitly that the expedition was led by one of the king's generals and that Rajendra met him on his return somewhere on the banks of the Gōdāvari. § The events of the campaign as narrated in the same source may be summed up as follows: After crossing many streams by making the elephants in his army serve as bridges across them, the commander of Vikrama Cōla's forces first fell upon the strong army of Indraratha and took possession of

* v. 109.

† Dr. S.K. Aiyangar is fond of the notion that the scholarly Rajendra, Paṇḍita-Cōla as he was, had his imagination fired by a study of the Cēra Śenguttuvan's exploits as narrated in the Šilappadikāram. (Gangai-kenḍa-Cōla p. 548). We may wonder whether Rajendra was such a Quixote! The poet Nārāyaṇa has made another guess (uṭṭēḻiṉ), not less plausible, of Rajendra's motive. And we have no record of the table-talk of Rajendra or of his reminiscences. But is there anything calling for an explanation? The ideal of ancient Indian monarchy was uṭṭhāna and viṣiṇīṭā; the power of a king was held to be in proportion to the extent of territory conquered and the number of victorious raids led by him into foreign territory.

‡ 476 of 1911 (year 11) mentions it; records of the tenth year do not. The detailed account first appears in the twelfth year SII, i, 68; 467 of 1903.

§ vv. 110, 118.

¶ Note this surname of Rajendra.
the territory of that ornament to the Lunar race of kings; then he captured the vast treasures of Raṇa-
ṣūra and entered the land of Dharmapāla and subdued him also; thereby, he reached the Ganges and caused
the water of the river to be brought by the conquered kings to his sovereign lord Madhirāntaka, whom he
met on the banks of the Gōdāvari after conquering Mahipāla and taking away his fame together with
many precious jewels. Then the valourous Rājendra struck the evil-minded Oṭṭa king and his younger
brother and forced from him a tribute of rutting elephants. Thereupon, after himself killing an ele-
phant that charged him while he was seated on the back of another, the king returned to his own splendid
capital. The Tamil praśasti records the same transac-
tions, almost in the same order, but with much more
detail, as follows: *

"(He seized) Śakkarakkōṭtam, whose warriors were brave;
Madura-maṇḍalam destroyed in a trice, † the prosperous city of
Nā-maṇaik-koṇam with its dense groves, ‡ Paṇcap-pal̄li whose
warriors (bore) cruel bows, § Māṇuni-dēśa with its green
fields ¶; a large heap of family-treasures together with many
(other) treasures (which he carried away), after having captured
Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon, together with (his)
family, in a fight which took place (at) Adinagar, || (a city)

* See E.I. i: p. 233. The notes below explain the variations in my rendering.
† Hultsch has: "whose forts (bore) banners which (touched) the clouds," which has no support from the text.
‡ The translation here is based on the reading in 176 of 1923: 'Kāmiḍai
valanagar Nāmaṇaikkoṇamum,'
§ Another form has 'veṇjina virar' for 'veṇjilai-virar.'
¶ Read: "प्रान्त्राप-पाण-माणुि-दिताम' (S.II. ii 20 l. 5 and p. 108)
for 'प्रान्त्राप-पाण-नान-माणुि-दिताम' (Hultsch) of the Tirumalai rock; or
translate "Māṇuni-dēśa celebrated for fruits (amidst) green foliage." ||
Read: "Adi-nagar-vaiyi-candira" etc., where "vaiyi" is the locative
case ending, not to be read 'nagarvaiyi' as has been done.

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Map showing Rājendra's Expedition to the Ganges.
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whose great fame knew no decline *; Oḍḍa-visāya which was
difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence †; the
good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brahmins assembled; Tanḍabutti, in
whose gardens bees abounded, (land which he acquired) after
having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkapalādham,
whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after
having forcibly attacked Raṇaśāra; Vangāla-dēśa, where the
rain water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindacandra fled,
having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare
strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having
been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong
Mahipāla ‡ together with Śāngu who wore the anklet (of valour);
Uttirakūḍam (on the shore of) the expansive ocean (producing)
pearls; and the Gangā whose waters bearing fragrant flowers §
dashed against the bathing places (tīrtha)."

The facts that Śakkarakkottam was the first
taken by Rājendra's army in the
course of this campaign and that the
king met his victorious general on the banks of the
Gōdāvari on his way back at the end of the cam-
paign imply that the Vēngi kingdom retained under
Rājendra the same relation of close subordinate
alliance with the Cōḷa empire which it had held in
Rājarāja's time. ¶

* This seems better for 'ayarril van-kirriti Adivarag', than 'which was famous for unceasing abundance' (Hultzsch).
† 'Miḷai' is a synonym for kāvar-kāḍu'; Manimākalat, xxviii, l. 25.
‡ Read: "taju-kāḷag-cangoḍ-aḍal Mahipālai" (Tanjore S.II. ii 20
plate.) Hultzsch's talk of 'ear-rings, slippers and bracelets' of Mahipāla is
tirely out of place. Often also "taju-kāḷag-cangoḍ-aḍal Mahipāla"
(478 of 1602), where 'sāngu' may mean conch (bānuka).
§ 'Veṭimalar' for 'veṭi-maṇal' in some copies.
¶ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar suggests that this campaign started from Kulpak, the
northern limit of Rājendra's earlier campaigns, or 'from somewhere not far
off,' (Gangai-konda-Cōḷa p. 549). There is no evidence, however, to show that
at any time Rājendra became master of the W. Cēḷukya territory in the present
Hyderabat state so as to organise and despatch a large army from there on a
campaign of aggressive warfare into foreign territory. And the Tiruvāḷāṅgāḷu
plates are explicit, as Dr. Aiyangar has himself noticed (ibid. p. 547), that the
expedition started from the Cōḷa capital.

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Śakkarakkōṭṭam has been identified with Cakrakōṭya which finds mention in a Nāga-vamśi copper-plate grant from Bastar dated A.D. 1065, and its modern representative is probably Citrakūṭa or Citrakoṭa, 3 miles from Rājāpura where the copper-plates were found. Rājāpura, the capital of Bastar, is itself 22 miles north-west of Jagadālpur, on the bank of the Indrāvati river.* Śakkarakkōṭṭam and the places that follow up to Māṣuṇi-dēśam have thus to be sought in the territory contiguous to the Vēngī kingdom to the north-west of it. Māṣuṇi-dēśam literally means the land of the snakes; the kings of the Chindaka family represented by the Rājāpura plates, called themselves Nāga-vamśo-dbhava (born of the Cobra race), and Bhōgavati-pura-varēśvara (lord of Bhōgavati, the best of cities); in a later stone inscription of Śaka 1140, one of them is called Śri-bhujagavara-bhūṣaṇa-mahārājulu, † the māharāja who was the ornament of the race of the best of serpents. It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that by Māṣuṇi-dēśam is meant the land ruled by these kings. On this assumption, Madurai-maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam and Paṅcappalli must be sought in the same region and held to be parts of Māṣuṇi-dēśam. It may be noted that Cakrakōṭa is itself called a maṇḍala ‡ like Madurai-maṇḍalam, and that the donor of the Rājāpura plates is called Madhurāntaka.

Of Indraratha of the lunar race, whose defeat at Ādinagar led to the surrender of the Oḍḍa (Orissa) country and the (southern) Kōsala, nothing can be added to Kielhorn's suggestion § that he might be the same as the opponent of

† ibid p. 163.
‡ ibid p. 180, l. 29.
§ E.I. vii List p. 120 n. 3.
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Bhōja of Dhārā mentioned in the Udaipūr inscription.* The Tamil inscription says that after the capture of Kōsālai-nādu, the Cōla general attacked and overthrew in order Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, Raṇaśūra of southern Lāḍa and Gōvindacandra of Vangāla before he fought with Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa and reached the Ganges. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates, on the other hand, state that the attack on Raṇaśūra preceded that on Dharmapāla, and that the overthrow of Dharmapāla led the Cōla general to the banks of the Ganges. They also imply that the conquest of Mahīpāla was achieved on the return march. Obviously, both these accounts cannot be true, and as a choice has to be made, the Tamil praśasti which was recorded almost immediately after the campaign must be accepted as the more authentic. On this basis, "most probably Daṇḍabhukti was the march-land between Orissa and Bengal," † and its ruler Dharmapāla, of whom we know nothing more than his name, may have been a relative of Mahīpāla, the powerful Pāla ruler of Bengal at the time. The language of the Tamil inscription appears to suggest, ‡ what seems likely even otherwise, that Mahīpāla had a sort of

* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that 'Śālinagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādīnagar, Jāmagar of the Muhammadan historians,' is no other than Vāyūnagar, identified with Bunka by Hiralal and said to have been founded by one of the early Kīsari kings of Orissa. (Gangaur-kōṣa-Cōla p. 550). But he does not say how he gets his new reading Śālinagar. The Tirumalai rock inscription clearly has "vaykirtti-yādīnagar" (I.E. ix p. 232, plate 1.8) and the Tanjore record equally clearly "vaykirtti Ajīnagar" (S.II. ii plate 3, 1.5, etc), "vaykirtti-yādīnagar" is often found (77, 78, 78 A of 1893) and "vaykirtti Ajīnagar" in 171 of 1894—all of years 16 and 17. One may doubt also whether the rather colourless 'pūrvar ār' applied to Kōsālai-nādu is susceptible of bearing the interpretation put on it by Dr. Aiyangar who sees in it some of the consequences of the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni (ibid).

† R.D. Banerji - Pālas of Bengal p. 71.

‡ Contra R. D. Banerji: "The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cōla I shows that the ancient Gauḍa and Vanga had become divided into a large number of small kingdoms" (ibid. p. 69.)
supremacy over the other chiefs named in this context and that the overthrow of Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra * and Gōviudacandra led to the final struggle in which Mahīpāla was captured together with another person called Śāngu, perhaps his commander. Lāḍa (Rāḍhā) was the ancient name of a part of Bengal, which was bounded on the north by the Ganges, the divisions of Bengal across the river being known as Mithilā and Varēndra. † The conquest of Vangāla apparently deflected the course of the Cōla army a little to the east, and for the rest of it, its march was due North from the land of Southern Kōsala. ‡

There is nothing incredible in this record of an audacious raid into the northern countries ordered by Rājēndra and carried out so thoroughly by his daṇḍanātha.

It is possible that small successes were magnified into great victories and that any reverses sustained were glozed over; it is certain that the statement of the Tiruvāḷangāḍu plates § that the water of the Ganges was carried to Rājēndra by the defeated kings of the north at the bidding of the Cōla general is a boast without foundation. But of the substantial correctness of the story in its essentials we can entertain no doubt whatever. Partly on account of his imperfect knowledge of the political geography of the period, and more on account of the embellishments introduced into the story by his own imagination, Venkayya greatly underrated the

* A Lakṣānā was somast-śeśvika-rāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇī in the reign of Rāmaṇāla. (ibid p. 72.)

† ibid. pp. 72-73; cf. Prabodha-candraodaya, Act ii, where we have: nīnan-ayam daṇḍapāḍhā-pradēś-dūgato-bhavasyati, and Gaṇḍaṁ rāṣṭraṁ-amudamam niruṇamā iatrāpi Kāḍhāpūri.

‡ See note A at the end of the chapter.

§ vv. 117, 119.
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veracity of the inscriptions of Rājendra, and held that the expedition was nothing more than a pilgrimage to the Ganges.* Though the fetching of the water of the Ganges was perhaps present from the beginning as the object of the expedition, † the motive behind it was undoubtedly an exhibition of the power of the Cōla empire and a demonstration of its strength to the rulers of Northern India. Such dīvijayas were undertaken by all powerful monarchs in India and were enjoined upon them by the political code of the country. The aim of the expedition was then not merely getting down the water of the Ganges to the Cōla capital, but doing so after establishing a right of way, so to say, across territories outside the empire by a strong show of force. This becomes clear from the statement that at the end of the expedition Rājendra erected a ‘liquid pillar of victory’ (jalamayam jayaśambham) in his capital with the waters of the Ganges in the form of the tank Cōlaganga. ‡ "The invasion of the great southern conqueror Rājendra Cōla I," says R.D. Bauerji, "seems to have left some permanent marks in Bengal. . . . Some obscure Karnāta chief seems to have followed Rājendra Cōla I and settled in western Bengal . . . From him was descended Samantasena, who is generally taken to be the founder of the Sēna dynasty." § The

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* ASI. 1911-12 pp. 173-4. Venkayya makes a gratuitous assumption that the water of the Ganges was taken at Allahabad, and identifies Lāda with Berar. He says: "As we cannot imagine that all Northern India was conquered by Rājendra Cōla’s general in about a year, the only reasonable alternative seems to be that a few previously chosen tracts of country were actually invaded and if the inhabitants offered any resistance, a regular war was gone through. The names of the remaining territorial divisions with their rulers were ascertained and included in the list of kings overcome. . . . The exact course which these roving pilgrims followed in Northern India cannot be easily traced at present" (p. 174).

† v. 109 of the Tiruvāḷangādu plates.

‡ ibid. v. 124.

§ Palas of Bengal pp. 73, 99.
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Karṇāṭas of Mithila probably had a similar origin. A commentary, of uncertain date, to the Siddhāntāsāravaḷi of Trilokana Śivacārya mentions the fact that Rājendra imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges into his own kingdom and established them in Kaṅcīpura and in the Cōla country.*

(Rājendra's overseas expedition against Kaḍāram is mentioned for the first time in his inscriptions of the fourteenth year. † While the Tiruvālangādu plates dismiss this achievement in a half verse which merely records that the king conquered Kaṭāha with his powerful troops that had crossed the ocean, ‡ the Tamil prāṣasti gives a detailed narrative of the expedition and its course in the following words: §

"(Who) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrāma-vijayottunga-varman, the king of Kaḍāram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, ¶ (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king)

* Verse 111, end of Anantaśambhu's gloss (Madras Ms Library). In two verses introduced by the glossator with the words 'atma pārva-kāthi-praṇam-gabh,' Rājendra is said to have himself gone to bathe in the Ganges. Krishna Sastri wrongly ascribes these statements to the Siddhāntaśāravaḷi itself and suggests that the work was composed in Rājendra's time and under his patronage. SII, iii introduction p. 22

† 213 of 1911. I am not sure of the correctness of the date in a record from Māḷur of the 13th year (E.C. ix ep. 84) which also gives the full introduction. There is a fragment dated in the 11th year from Kurubāṇī (Mysore) mentioning the conquest of Kaḍāram (E.C. x ct. 47). But the date is obviously too early; perhaps an instance of a gift of the 11th year recorded some years later.

‡ v. 123.

§ SII. ii p. 109. The notes that follow explain my differences with Holtzsch.

¶ The conjecture 'vākiyam' (p. 107 n. 5) does not help. The reading in other records 'vāgaiyam' is quite good, 'vāgai' victory, 'ām' is expletive. Porukādañ, 'fighting ocean' is a common expression for 'army'. 'Kumbakhari' means 'elephant with the kumba, the globular front.'
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had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādhara-tōraṇa at the "war-gate" of his extensive city *; Śri Vijaya † with the "jewelled wicket-gate" ‡ adorned with great splendour and the "gate of large jewels"; Panṇai with water in its bathing ghats §; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart ¶; Māyiruḍingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilangāsāka (i.e. Lankāsāka) undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māppappālam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Mēvilimbangam, having fine walls as defence; Vaḷaippanuliru having vīppandūru (?) ||; Talaitakkōlam praised by great men (versed in) in the sciences; Mādamālingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmurīdēsam, whose fierce strength rose in war **; Mānakkavāram, in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting ††; and Kaḷāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep ‡‡ sea.

* Hultsch has: 'extensive city of the enemy.' The Tanjore text 'Mrtavanahanagar' can hardly give his meaning. I take it to be 'Ārtu+ ayan+shanagar'. The tempting suggestion of Coedes, that this and the following phrases may be attributes of Śriśīlaya (BEFEO, xviii No. 6 p. 5 n. 1) has been partly accepted by me.

† See EJ. ix p. 231.

‡ 'Pudavam' is a 'small gate-way' in a larger door, a wicket.

§ 'Panṇai' means 'cultivated land' (maruda-nilam). There may after all be no proper name here, but only ' the well-watered fields' of Śri Vijaya.

¶ This translation seems more literal than '(with) a fort situated on a high hill' for "vam-malai-ūryil."

|| 'Possessing (both), cultivated land (?) and jungle' Hultsch. Though 'āru' means 'low jungle,' the meaning of the whole phrase is by no means clear.

** 'Was subdued by a vehement (attack),' Hultsch. The text is 'kaḷudmir - kaṇmundir' which means that the fierce strength (kaṇmundir) increased (mudir) in fighting or war (kaḷūm).

†† "Whose flower gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymph) of the southern region," Hultsch. Though I am not sure how this curious translation was reached by Hultsch, I suspect that he took the phrase 'ānakkavāppolil' to be composed of 'ten+nakkan+vār+polil', and even so the translation is forced. In truth it is ten+nakkan+vār+polil, the terms meaning respectively 'honey', 'laughing', 'long', and 'flower-garden."

‡‡ 'Teṇu-kaṇal' is rendered by Hultsch into 'the neighbouring sea.' But 'teṇu' in the sense of 'touch' is a late form; and 'teṇu-kaṇal' is a classic phrase containing an allusion to the story of the sea being dug out by the sons of Sagar. 'Teṇu' means 'to dig.'
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No clearer measure can be required of the progress made in our knowledge of South Indian history during the last generation than the difference between what was known of this expedition before and what we make of it now. (The text of Rājendra's inscription was recovered and published in 1891 * by Hultsch. The larger Leyden grant had been known already for some years, and Hultsch recognised at once in Sangrāma-vijayottunga-varman of Rājendra's inscription, a successor of Māra-vijayottunga-varman of Kaṭāha or Kiḍāram of the Leyden grant. But his search for this place extended no further than the southern districts of the Madras Presidency, and strangely enough, as it now appears, he overlooked the facts that Rājendra's expedition was a naval war and that the Pāṇḍya country had been conquered and subjected to the Cōla sway several years before the date of this expedition; and he identified Kiḍāram with the "headquarters of a talluqa of the Rāmnād zamindari in the Madura district. †" Even as late as 1903, though a great advance had been made by him from his original position, Hultsch was still far from the mark when he said: ‡ "Of the numerous places which are mentioned in connection with this expedition, Mr. Venkayya has identified two, viz., Nakka-vāram and Pappālam. The former is the Tamil name of the Nicobar islands, § and according to the Mahāvamsa (lxxvi, 63) Pappāla was a port in Ramañña, i.e., the Talaing country of Burma. Hence Kaḍāram will have to be looked for in farther India." For

* SII. ii. 20.
† ibid p. 106.
‡ SII. iii p. 195.
§ This had been noted in Hocqum-Jobson. DEFEO. xviii 6. p. 6, n. 5.
some years thereafter, Rājendra’s expedition was held to have been directed against the kingdom of Pegu, and the archaeologists of Burma even announced their discovery of two octagonal granite pillars near Pegu, which were identified by them “with the Jayastambha or pillars of victory set up by Rājendra Cōla who overran Pegu in 1025-27 A. D.” It was only in 1918 that Coedes brought together in his cogent and lucid paper *Le Royaume de Śrī Vijaya*† evidence accumulated along various lines by several years of study on the part of many scholars, discussed fully the identification of the places mentioned in connection with Rājendra’s campaign, and laid the basis for an intelligible account of it. The Archaeological Department of Burma, though at first inclined to be rather critical of Coedes’ scheme,‡ later acknowledged its substantial accuracy by removing the celebrated granite pillars from the list of the protected monuments of Burma.§

One fact to which Hultzsch himself drew pointed attention has sometimes escaped the notice of later authors who have discussed this campaign. It is that the inscription clearly implies that all the places named were taken from the king of Kaḍāram and in the course of a single campaign. In the words of Coedes:¶ “The text says in effect that Rājendra Cōla I, after having vanquished the king of Kaḍāram,

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Unity of the campaign.

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[* ARB. 1908, paragraph 25.*

† *REFEO.* xviii No. 6. The extensive *Researches* (1909) of Gerini (Asiatic Society Monographs vol. 1), also deserves grateful acknowledgement from all students of the historical geography of Eastern Asia.

‡ *ARB.* 1919, paragraphs. 46-47.

§ *ibid.* 1922, paragraph. 14.

¶ *op. cit.* p. 5.
seized his treasures, then a certain number of countries and lastly Kaḍāram. It is a question, then, of one and the same campaign, and it is a priori infinitely probable that the different countries enumerated must have been either vassal states of the king of Kaḍāram, or even simply the different towns or provinces of his kingdom." Once this is recognised, the identification of the different places mentioned would be rendered easier by that of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya, the two places ruled by the same king in the reign of Rājarāja, and conquered by Rājendra from Sangrāma-vijayottunga-varman.

"Now, the annals of the Song (dynasty of China) mention, in 1003 and 1008, two embassies from the country of San-fo-tsi, the first sent by the king Sseu-li-tchou-lo-wou-ni-fo-ma-tiao-houa and the second by the king Sseu-li-ma-lo-pi. It is not necessary to be a sinologue to recognise in the first name a magnificent transcription of Śrī-Cūḷāmaṇī-varmadēva, and in the second the transcription of the first syllables of Śrī-Mūra-vijayottunga-varman" * (Coedes). As these two monarchs are exactly those mentioned in the larger Leyden grant, we may conclude that the kings of the San-fo-tsi of the Chinese annals were the rulers of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya. San-fo-tsi was first used by the Chinese writers of the Song period for the place called Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che in the earlier literature of China; all Chinese writers have identified this name with Palembang, on the eastern coast of Sumatra. And Coedes has shown good reason for restoring the name

* The Chinese habit of abridging foreign names, especially when they are long, is well-known.

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San-fo-tsi, Che-li-fo-che, into Śrī Vijaya, rather than the usual but meaningless form Śrībhūja. *

Śrī Vijaya.

It thus becomes clear that Śrī Vijaya, which is the first among the places taken by Rājendrā from the king of Kāḍaram, is the name of the kingdom of Palembang in Sumatra. The great part played by this kingdom from about the eighth to the thirteenth century A.D. in the affairs of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago, and the relations of Southern India with this important kingdom still await full elucidation. The epigraphs of Rājendrā’s reign which narrate his invasion of Kāḍaram and Śrī Vijaya furnish much welcome information on the affairs of the kingdom at the beginning of the eleventh century. Writing towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. or the beginning of the thirteenth, † Chau Ju-kua gives a list of fifteen chou (provinces or towns) over which the rule of San-fo-tsi extended; ‡ and as Coedes has observed, there is a partial coincidence between this list and that of Rājendrā’s inscriptions. § The identification of Kāḍaram presents more difficulty; this may be discussed after we have dealt with the other places.

In the praśasti of Rājendrā the name mentioned after Śrī Vijaya is Paṇnai which has been identified with Pani or Panei on the East Coast of Sumatra. ¶ Ancient Malaiyūr was a principality “at the southern end of the Malay peninsula, and precisely on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait where, besides the Malāyū river, time-worn traditions of

* op. cit. pp. 23-4. See also Ferrand, L’Empire Sumatra nous de Śrī Vijaya JA. 1922, pp. 163 ff.
† Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua p. 35 ; Coedes, op. cit. p 13.
‡ pp. 60-2. § op. cit. p. 25.
¶ Gerini, Researches p. 513.

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a Malaya country and people confront the enquirer.” *

Mâyiruḍingam. As for Mâyiruḍingam which had the
deep sea for its moat, this place is
quite obviously the same as Ji-lo-ting mentioned by
Chau Ju-kua among the dependencies of Śrī Vijaya.
The same author also states that Ji-lo-ting and
Kia-lo-hi “are of the same kind” as Tan-ma-ling. †
Coedes has proved by decisive epigraphical evidence
that Kia-lo-hi is the same place as Grahi at Jaiya
and that consequently Ji-lo-ting (Yi-ru-ḍingam) which
formed one of the northern dependencies of Śrī Vijaya
must be sought somewhere in the region of Jaiya
towards the centre of the Malay peninsula. ‡ Ilangā-
țökam has been very properly identified with Ling-
ya-ssieu-kia of Chau Ju-kua’s list of
dependencies, and its locality was to the
south of the state of Kedah in the Malay peninsula. §
Māpappālām, as was shown by Venkayya, is
mentioned in the Mahāvamsa ¶ under the
name Papphālāma, ǁ as the place where
the Tamil general Ādicca landed when he was sent on
an expedition against Rāmaṇandēsa by Parākrama-
bāhu I of Ceylon about 1165 A.D. From this Ven-
kayya concluded that Māpappālām must be a place

* ibid. pp. 533-4. Coedes (p. 9.) leaves the question undecided whether
Malaiyūr was on the Eastern or Western Coast of Sumatra or in the South
of the Malay peninsula, and observes that, in any case, it must have been a
state near Palembang which, according to I-ṭsing, annexed Malaiyu between
672 and 705 A.D. (also Gerini pp. 530-1.)

† Chau Ju-kua p. 67.

‡ Coedes op. cit. pp. 10-11; 33-6. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: “Mâyiru-
ḍingam may be Besingu (Raśi Śrīnga, the modern Rangoon)” (op. cit. p. 576).
Cemtra. Gerini-pp. 76-7. We cannot, of course, go so far afield for finding
Mâyiruḍingam.


¶ Geiger, CV. ch. 76, v. 63.

ǁ AKE. 1898-9 paragraph 47; ARB. 1909-10, p. 14, paragraph 40.

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in the Talaing country of Lower Burma, and he has been followed by other writers who have proceeded to make other identifications on this basis. * In fact it seems at first sight that this mention of Pappāḷam in an expedition against Rāmaññadēśa violently contradicts the assumption that all the places captured by Rājendrā were dependent on Palembang and within easy reach of it. Coedes, however, draws attention to the fact that the long list of the grievances which Parākramabāhu had against the ruler of Rāmañña ends with his capture by force of a Singhalese princess whom the ruler of Lankā had sent to the Kāmbhōja country; † and suggests that "as it is infinitely probable that the messengers going from Ceylon to Kāmbhōja passed by the isthmus of Kra, it is in this region that the abduction (of the princess) must have been committed, and consequently, the authority of the king of Pagan might have extended so far." ‡ In the beginning of the eleventh century, however, the suzerainty of Palembang extended up to the Bay of Bandon, and there is no difficulty therefore in assuming that Mūpappāḷam was a locality in the region of the isthmus of Kra, though its exact identity cannot now be made out. In any event, the presence, among the conquests of Rājendrā Cōla I, of a locality which became part of Pegu in the 12th century, is not

* E.g. Kāṭim with (Śrī)-khettara, ancient Prome (Kanakasabhai); Māllumingam with Martaban (Smith); cf. Coedes op. cit. p. 6.

† Geiger, CV. (ii p. 67) ch. 76 v. 35.

‡ Coedes, pp. 14-5. The argument has been advanced (ARB. 1919 paragraph 47) that Pappāḷam and Kusumi, the two ports mentioned in the Mahāvamsa account of the Ceylonese expedition against Ramaññadēśa must both be identified together; and that as Kusumi is clearly Bassien, the former must be either Dagan or Rangoon, the neighbouring port. This argument clearly underrates the express statement in the Mahāvamsa that the fleet was scattered by a storm and that different parts of it drifted to different ports (Ch. 76 vv. 56, 59, 63), which need not have been adjacent.
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sufficient to invalidate the identification of these conquests with the vassal states of Palembang. Mēvilimbangam and Vaiṣippandūru * do not lend themselves to any identification at present. Talaitakkolam.

Talaitakkolam, most probably the same place as Takkala of the Milinda-Paśha and Takāla of Ptolemy, is localised by Gerini in the modern Takōpa district south of the isthmus of Kra and identified with its chief town, also called Takōpa. † Others are inclined to locate it somewhat higher up, in the isthmus itself; in any case, there is general agreement that it is a place on the West Coast of the Malay peninsula. Mā-Damālingam, firm in battle, can easily be recognised in the name Tan-ma-ling, which figures in Chau Ju-kua's list of the dependencies of San-fo-tsi. The same authority says: ‡ Ling-ya-ssen-kia (Ilangāṅkēkam) "can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights; there is also an overland route (between the two countries)"); Gerini identifies Tan-ma-ling with Temiling or Tembeling at the mouth of the Kwāntan river in Pahang, on the East coast of the Malay peninsula; § on this identification the learned translators of Chau Ju-kua observe: "As our author states that a land route existed between Tan-ma-ling and Ling-ya-ssi-kia, which we have good reason to believe was about Kedah on the West coast of the peninsula, it seems safe to conclude that Tan-ma-ling cannot have been very far from where Gerini has located it." Blagden points out,

* Mēvilimbangam is sought in Perak by Rouffaer, and in Karmaranga (Kalasapura) by Levi. The former also identifies Vaiṣippandūru with Pīṅgu-ranga in Campê. Krom observes: "All these conjectures depend on our opinions, not on sufficient grounds." See Krom Hindoer-Javansche-Geschiedenis pp. 251-2.

† Coedes. p. 15; Researches p. 93, Sylvain Levi Ptolemi, le Nidaṭha et le Brhadakathā in Etudes Asiatiqes ii.

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as against this view, that six days would be rather a short time for sailing between Kedah and Kwántan considering the weak monsoon of the straits of Malacca; Coedes overcomes the difficulty by supposing that the country of Támaraḷinga or Lankanaka or perhaps both occupied the peninsula in all its width and faced the gulf of Siam as well as the Straits. * Ilămuriśam is quite obviously the country in the northern part of the island of Sumatra, known to Arab geographers under the name Lamuri, called Lambri by Marco Polo, and figuring as Lan-won-li in Chau Ju-kua’s enumeration of the subject states of San-fo-tsi. Mānakkavāram, it is equally clear, applies to the Nicobars. This discussion of the place names mentioned in the campaign against the king of Čadāram distinctly points to the conclusion that the campaign of Rajendra was directed against the Sumatran Empire of Šrī Vijaya and its dependencies in the Malay peninsula and Archipelago.

We have, however, still to explain why the king ruling over the empire is called the king of Čadāram and to locate it. This is a place which is mentioned under the name of Kaśāha in Sanskrit Literature and epigraphy, † and of Kaḍāram or Kiṭāram in the Kalingalupparaṇi besides

* Op. cit. pp. 16-18. The name Támaraḷinga which Coedes obtains from a Sanskrit inscription from Jaiya (ibid p. 32) is near enough to Tan-ma-ling and Tamāḷingam, or Tamalingam, and there should be no difficulty in accepting the view that all the three forms are variants of the same name. Coedes’ suggestion that the Tamil name might be read ‘Tamaralingam’ (p. 17) is therefore unnecessary; it is inadmissible as ‘Mādamāḷingam, (or Mādamalingam) alliterates with the first half of the line ‘titamālūrimai’ in the Tamil inscriptions, and the sound ‘ra’ is, by the rules of Tamil prosody, quite impossible in the second half of the line.

† Tawney’s Kathasaritaśāgara, i 87, 92, 552; ii 44, 598 where Kaśāha is called an island; and the Leyden grant.
the Leyden grant (Tamil part) and Rājendra's inscriptions. The Kalingattupparani clearly states that Kaḍāram was laved by the waves of the ocean. * The word Kālagam in the Paṭṭinappālai, according to the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, designates the country known as Kaḍāram, † an interpretation which has the sanction of old lexicons like the Pingelam. From these references to Kaḍāram, especially the one in the Paṭṭinappālai, we may conclude that it was an important port on the ocean route along which the trade between India and the East passed. "Now there is a country," says Coedes, ‡ "known to the Chinese of which the name seems to correspond very well with Kaṭāha, that is, Kie-tch'a where I-tsing stayed on two occasions." The same place is called in later Chinese works Kie-t'o. These different names represent phonetically and geographically the modern Kedah, on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Ancient Kedah would appear to have been more to the south than modern Kedah which as has been shown above was occupied by Lankāsūka. At any rate, a study of I-tsing's itineraries proves to us that Kie-tch'a was the last stage in Malay before the pilgrim started to cross the Bay of Bengal on his outward voyage, and, inversely, the first place he touched after crossing the Bay on his return from India. In this fact is perhaps to be found the

* vv. 138, 189.

† Paṭṭinappālai p. 550 (3rd Edn.). Skt. Kaṭāha and Tamil Kaḍāram are, as pointed out by Coedes (op. cit. p. 20; also Ferrand, /A. 1922 pp 50-1), semantically related, and mean "a copper cauldron"; Tam. Kaḍāram has also the sense of "brown colour bordering on the black", and Kālagam the sense of "blackness". Apparently this synonymity has induced Naccinārkkiniyar and the lexicographers to gloss Kālagam by Kaḍāram. Kaḍāram and Kīlagam are evidently different readings of the same toponym; they have, however, no phonetic connection with Kaṭāha or with Kālagam.

‡ op. cit. pp. 20-2.
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explanation for the Cōlas calling the ruler of Śri Vijaya the king of Kaḷāram. For if, as seems most probable, Kaḷāram was at the time a dependency of Śri-Vijaya, and if it was also the first place which the Tamils touched in their passage into that kingdom, nothing could be more natural for them than to describe the ruler of the country as the king of Kaḷāram. And this port was then from a commercial point of view enjoying the same importance which the port of Penang is gaining in the same region to-day. *

Why was this expedition against the king of Kaḷāram undertaken and what were its effects? As we can get no direct answer to these questions from contemporary records, we have to depend on the probabilities suggested by the known and relevant facts. The view that the overseas invasion was a continuation of the war for the complete subjugation of Kalinga † obtains no support from the records of Rājendra’s reign. That the Cōla empire of South India was in constant communication with the islands of the Archipelago and

* Ferrand says that Kaḷāram, Kaḷīha and Kēlagam cannot represent Kedah on the W. coast of the Malay peninsula (J.A. 1922 p. 51). "Geographically," he says, "Kaḷāram and Kaḷāram are situated in Sumatra according to Tamil texts," and he cites the authority of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions 588 of 1916 and 356 of 1906 as summed up in the epigraphical reports. These texts by no means imply anything more than that the king of Śrīvākam was also the king of Kaḷāram in the thirteenth as in the eleventh century. The political position of Śrī Vijaya and Kaḷāram in relation to Jāya in the thirteenth century has been dealt with by Coedes in Bijdragen Tot de Taal Land etc. Deel 83 (1927) pp. 439 ff. in the paper "A propos de la chasse Dy Royanne de Śrī Vijaya," where he reiterates his view that Kaḷāram is Kedah. Though Ferrand was inclined in 1922 (J.A. p. 51) to locate Kaḷāram in the south of Sumatra or on its East coast, it must be mentioned that he left the question open as he himself felt the weakness of the texts he relied on. Gerini’s brief discussion (at p. 833 of his Researches) on which Dr. S. K. Aiyangar bases his identification of Kaḷāram with Kerti on the N. E. coast of Sumatra (Gangaiṇḍa Cōla pp. 568 ff.) has now been superseded.


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with China in this period is very clear. The construction of the Cūḍāmanī-vihāra in Negapatam by Māra-vijayōttunga-varman of the Śailendrā dynasty of Śrī-Vijaya could not have been an isolated undertaking all by itself, but one of the normal results of a growing intercourse between the Eastern islands and South India for purposes of trade. As in ancient times, this trade was part of a flourishing maritime commerce between the countries of the Western world and China, in which Arabs, Indians and the people of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago acted as intermediaries. At the end of the tenth century A. D. * the Chinese government awoke to the value of the foreign trade which was just then reviving after a long interruption owing to the troubles which broke out in China in the latter part of the 9th century, and with the object of increasing this trade “a mission was sent abroad by the Emperor with credentials under the imperial seal and provisions of gold and piece-goods to induce ‘the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea to trade’ to come to China.” It must have been in response to such friendly invitations that the kings of Śrī Vijaya sent the embassies of the years 1003 and 1008 A.D. to which we have already made reference. The annals of the Song dynasty record that the first mission to China from Chu-lien (Cūla) reached that country in A.D. 1015 and state that the king of their country was Lo-ts’a-lo-ts’a (Rājarāja), which is correct as Rājarāja lived up to 1016 A. D. or thereabout. † Another embassy

† Gerini-Researches p. 609 n. 2 unduly abridges the length of Rājarāja’s reign to 985-1002 and imagines difficulties which do not exist. Even if Rājarāja’s reign did not extend beyond the 29th year (1014), the embassy to China may have left in his life-time and reached China in the succeeding year after some delay en route in the Malay region. See also Chau Ju-kua p. 100.
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from Shi-lo-lo-chu-a Yin-to-lo-chu-lo (Śrī Rāja Indra Cōla) reached China in 1033 A. D., and a third in 1077 A. D. from Kulōttunga-Cōla-Dēva. The commercial inter-course between southern India and China was therefore continuous and extensive. Writing in the latter half of the twelfth century, Cou-ku-fei states of San-fo-ts’i (Śrī-Vijaya): * “It is the most important port-of-call on the sea-routes of the foreigners, from the countries of Sho-po (Java) on the east and from the countries of the Ta-shi (Arabs) and Ku-lin (Quilon) on the west; they all pass through it on their way to China.”

At the date of Rājendra’s expedition (c. 1025 A.D.) therefore, well over a quarter of a century must have elapsed from the renewal of active trade with the East consequent on the increased energy of the Cōla empire under Rājarāja and the improved conditions in China, and knowledge about the Malay country and Archipelago must have been common in the Cōla country. The larger Leyden grant, by stating † that after his father’s death Rājendra confirmed in perpetuity the original grant of Ānaimangalam to the Cūḍāmaṇi-vihāra in Negapatam, clearly implies that in the beginning of Rājendra’s reign the relations of the Cōla kingdom with Kāṭāram and Śrī Vijayam continued to be friendly. We have no means of deciding the exact cause of a quarrel, if there was one. We have to assume either some attempt on the part of Śrī Vijaya to throw obstacles in the way of the Cōla trade with the East, or more probably, a simple desire on the part of Rājendra to extend his dīvejaya to the countries across the sea so well-known to his subjects at home, and thereby add lustre to his crown. Whatever the actual cause of the expedition, it is difficult to


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believe that, even if all the facts narrated in the inscriptions of Rājendra are accepted as literally true, the campaign led to any more permanent result than a vague acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the invader on the part of Sangrāma-Vijayottunga-varman. We shall see later that one of the successors of Rājendra, Virarājendra I, claims to have conquered Kaḍāram and restored it to its ruler who supplicates for it before the conqueror. In any case, there is no evidence to show that the Cōlas made any attempt to rule these lands as provinces of their empire. At best, they might have received a periodical tribute. The fragmentary Tamil inscription in Sumatra dated 1088 A.D. † proves only the presence of Tamil merchants in the island, a fact even otherwise well-established.

By a tacit assumption, the rest of Rājendra's reign, which lasted for about twenty years after the campaign against Kaḍāram, has been treated by modern writers as an era of unbroken peace.‡ A careful study of the inscriptions of his sons, especially of Rājadhirāja I, shows, however, that the empire did not enjoy such unbroken peace and that there was much fighting in different parts of it carried on by his sons. It is conceivable that after the digvijaya of his early years was completed and his greatness in war proclaimed to the world beyond peradventure, the emperor refrained in his later years from taking the field in person, allowing his sons every chance of winning distinction and glory for themselves. ❧ There

† A.K.E. 1892 p. 12.
‡ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India p. 108; Gangadharma Cōla; SII. iii. Intr. p. 21.
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is in existence one record, which is unique, of Rājendra himself to which attention may be drawn, * and which, if it is genuine, may be taken to confirm some of the inferences drawn from the early records of Rājadhīrāja. (In any case, the records of Rājadhīrāja dated before his twenty-seventh year fall clearly within the reign of Rājendra I, and a study of Rājendra’s reign will not be complete without some account of the transactions recorded in these inscriptions.)

Rebellions in the Pāndya and Kērala kingdoms called for severe action, and the extensive campaign undertaken by Rājadhīrāja for the suppression of these risings is described in the following terms: †

"Among the three allied kings of the South (Pāndyas ‡) (he) cut off on a battle-field the beautiful head of Mānabharaṇan, (which was adorned with) large jewels (and) which was inseparable from the golden crown; seized in battle Vira-Kērala whose ankle-rings were wide, and was pleased to get him

* 118 of 1888 (SII. iv 223) dated in the 24th year and found in Cuddambaram. This record is curious in many ways and needs rather cautious handling. It starts in the usual manner, tiru mannii valata etc., and follows the regular form up to kabhama-lādamamm in the narrative of the Ganges campaign. At this point, the prājasti takes a new turn, and what follows in this record is found almost word for word in some of the later records (e.g. 87 of 1895) of Rājratha II, the second son of Rājratha I and successor to Rājadhīrāja.

We may be tempted to assume that Rājratha II’s record borrowed the expression from his father’s Cuddambaram prājasti which omitted the latter half of the usual form and substituted an account of the events of the second part of the king’s reign. The beginning tiru mannii valata and the high regnal year, 24, of this record favour this supposition. But there are difficulties. The king is called Rājakṣatari, a title which neither of the two Rājendras had; the new portion does not fit in well with the first part of the old prājasti reproduced here.

This record is doubtless a copy of an earlier original, made in the reign of Kulaṭuttunga III. (See beginning of 117 of 1888, SII. iv 222). After all, some mistake might have occurred in the re-engraving and the records of two reigns might have been jumbled up.

† SII. iii. p. 56. I have altered Hultzsch’s translation at some points.

‡ Though "tēnusum" may mean Pāṇḍya it seems possible that here it means only "kings of the South," an alliance between Ceylon (Mānabharaṇa) (SII. iii 29, l. 13), Kērala and Pāṇḍya being meant.

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trampled by his furious elephant Attivāraṇa; and drove to the ancient Mullaiyur, Sundara Pāṇḍya 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 dishevelled and (his) feet tired. (He) sent the undaunted king of Vennādu to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the Senior (chief) of Irāmakudam. * While the strong Villavan (Cora), in his terror † hid himself in the jungle, (the Cōla) put on a fresh (garland of) Vaiñji flower, ‡ and forthwith destroyed the ships at Kāndalūr-sālai on the never-decreasing ocean.

The exact date of this invasion of the Pāṇḍya and Kērala countries is unknown. As there are no Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of this period, we have only the story as given by the victors, and lack the means of checking it from independent sources. Strangely enough, none of the numerous Cōla-Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the period throws any light on these transactions. Sundara Pāṇḍya was perhaps the chief of the whole confederacy which organised the rebellion. §

In the course of this expedition, on his way from the Pāṇḍya country to Kāndalūr, and most probably as a result of his successful attack on the king of Vennād whom he 'sent to heaven,' Rajādhirāja is said to have liberated the king of the Kūpakas, a local chieftain of south Travancore, from his bondage apparently to the ruler of Vennād. ¶

At the time of this expedition, the country of Kērala was in the same political condition in which it was found centuries afterwards by the Portugese and

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* This event is omitted in some records e.g., 6 of 1890. Hultsch translates differently; but see ARE. 1930 II 46.
† Lit. "was attacked by pains in the bowels."
‡ The symbol of an aggressive invasion.
§ PK. p. 113.
¶ 75 of 1895. ARE. 1913 II. 26.
the Dutch. It was cut up into a number of petty
principalities which, with their endless feuds and
alliances, more or less formed a world
apart. Irāmaikuḍam, or more accurately
Rāmāghaṭa, was one of these principalities which
centred round Mt. D’Eli, the mūšaka hill or Eli-malai
(rat-hill), and ruled over by the Mūšaka kings whose
annals form the subject-matter of the Kānya called
Mūšakavamsam. * According to the legend recorded in
this work, a certain Kṣatriya prince, born and brought
up in secret after Paraśurāma’s great war on the
Kṣatriyas, was produced before Paraśurāma, when in
the course of a sacrifice performed by him in Mount
Eli, he was on the look out for a Kṣatriya for perform-
ing a rite which was an essential part of the sacrifice
and had to be performed only by a Kṣatriya. This
prince was afterwards made king of the Mūšaka
country by Paraśurāma who crowned him after an
abhiṣeka with pots (ghaṭa, kuḍam) of water; hence the
name of the family—Rāmāghaṭa, or Irāmaikuḍam in
Tamil. A Vaṭṭeluttu record † of the eleventh century
recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Eli-malai
is dated in the fifty-ninth regnal year of a Mūšaka
king, Kaṇḍan Kārivarman alias Rāmaikuḍa Mūvar
Tiruvadī; the inscription also mentions Rājendra-
sōla-samaiya-sēnapati. Most probably this Mūvar
Tiruvadī was the ruler against whom Rājūdhirāja’s
expedition was directed.

The presence of the traditional rulers of the
Pāṇḍya and Kūraḷa countries long
after the Cōla conquest of these areas,
and the capacity they retained for
making trouble for their suzerain in the face of
powerful viceroys, deserve attention as proof of the

* TAS. ii 87 ff.; JRAS. 1922 pp. 161 ff.
† 523 of 1930.

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comparatively mild character of Cōla imperialism which was in conformity with the precepts of the 
*arthaśāstras* on the policy that a conqueror should 
adopt towards conquered countries.

In some of the early inscriptions * of Rājadihirāja, 
Ceylon, he is said to have invaded Ceylon after 
the victory at Kāndaḷīr-śālai and to have 
beheaded “the king of Lankā, the Vallava 
(wearing) a garland, and the lord of Kannakući 
(Kanouj)”. The same fact is mentioned in the curious 
record of Rājendra I with the double *praśasti* from 
Cidambaram, in which Vīrasalāmēgha is said to have 
been caught and slain by Rājendra in the course of a 
campaign in Ceylon. It is quite possible that this 
campaign of Rājadihirāja was conducted in his father’s 
life-time, and was described with greater elaboration 
in his later records. † But as the dates of the two 
records of Rājadihirāja cited at the beginning of this 
paragraph, ‡ and the authenticity of the Cidambaram 
inscription of Rājendra are not beyond cavil, and as one 
other record of Rājadihirāja, § definitely of his twenty-
seventh year, does not mention the Ceylon war, it 
seems best to reserve discussion of this campaign till 
the reign of Rājadihirāja. We shall see, however, that 
according to the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, some of 
the incidents of Rājadihirāja’s Ceylon war, at least those 
connected with the Singhalese king Vikramabāhu I, 
must have taken place before the death of Rājendra 
Cōla I. The war itself dragged on into the reign of 
Rājadihirāja and even his brother Rājendra II apparently 
took some part in its closing stages.

* 172 of 1894; 92 of 1892. † 511. iii. 28.
‡ 92 of 1892-date lost; 172 of 1894 dated (2)6, the first figure being 
doubtful.
§ 54 of 1893.
Another war had to be waged against the Western Cālukyas by Rājādhirāja, and of this war we have several detailed accounts in his inscriptions which supplement one another and give a fair idea of the course of the campaign. This war, which was directed against Āhavamalla, must have occurred sometime after 1042 A.D., the last known date for Jayasimha II,* and consequently in the last years of Rājendrā's reign. We have seen that after the battle of Muśangi (c. 1021 A.D.), Jayasimha II made himself master of the Raichūr doab and reached the Tungabhadrā. In the remaining twenty years or so of his reign, he seems to have been left alone by Rājendrā who was engaged in other directions. Some inscriptions in the Bellary district † show that Jayasimha II even crossed the Tungabhadrā in the period and annexed parts of the Bellary district to his dominions after displacing the Cōla control over the tract. One of his vassals, Jagadēkamalla Udayāditya Nolamba Pallava Perumāṇadhi, claims in A. D. 1033 to have ruled the Nolamba-vādi 32000 among other districts; ‡ this seems to be an exaggeration, if it is not a mere repetition of a traditional title of the Nolambas. But after the long interval during which the Cālukyas were left free to pursue their plans, and after the accession of Trailōkymalla Āhavamalla Sōmeśvara I, the Cōla monarch might have felt the need for a fresh assertion of his supremacy; or possibly there were some specific causes for a fresh war of which we have no knowledge and which came to a head soon after Sōmeśvara's accession. Whatever that may be, Sōmeśvara had to face a fresh Cōla invasion into his territory led by Rājādhirāja; one set of Cōla inscriptions state that,

* Fleet DKD. p. 436.
† Rangachari-Bellary 185, 229, 285.
‡ 253 of 1918.
the war that followed, the Cōla forces* overwhelmed the Cālukya army and killed its leaders Gaṇḍappayya and Gangādhara together with a large number of elephants; that the celebrated warriors Vikki and Vijayāditya were forced to retreat like cowards along with Sangamayya; and that a vast amount of treasure, horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Cōlas, who set fire to the city of Koḷiḷppākkai. Vikki and Vijayāditya were no doubt the sons of Śomēśvara, who afterwards became Vikramāditya VI and Viśnupardhana-Vijayāditya. Other records of the same period† give more details of this campaign of Rājadhirāja. They mention 'a hot battle at Pūṇḍi with (the) swelling waters' in which Viccaya‡ fled in fear, abandoning his father and mother to the mercies of the Cōla army; when Āhavamalla, in his fear, sent messengers (for opening negotiations), they were rudely handled by the Cōla and were forced to carry on their persons inscriptions proclaiming the flight of Āhavamalla in fear; then, followed by his forces, the Cōla took his herd of elephants for bathing them in the three bathing ghats (tuṟai), Śirūṟūai, Perundurai and the Daivabhīmakasi, and engraved the emblem of the fierce tiger on hills marked by the boar sign of the enemy, and planted the pillar of victory;§ he played games¶ with the kings who prostrated themselves at his feet, and raised aloft the banner of charity with that of the tiger, distributing among the needy the ancient treasures captured from the enemy; he then defeated several

* Hultsch says that the Cōla forces were led by a commander named Keḻudan; but I am not sure of the text here. See e.g. 54 of 1893 and 6 of 1890.

† 172 of 1894 (Yr. 26); 92 of 1892 (n. d.) SIT, v 465; iv 539.

‡ This could not have been Vijayāditya.


¶ The expression used is 'tuṟai'-some game with a ball seems to be meant.
leaders of enemy forces such as the Nulumba, Kālidāsa, Cāmunda, Kommayya and the Villavarāja, beheaded the Gurjara king, sparing only those who sought his protection and restoring to them their diadems and their positions. At this point some records * introduce particulars not found in others. Though the gaps in the text are an obstacle to a full understanding of these particulars, their trend is quite clear. Two persons who accompanied a Perkaḍai, a high official in the service of the Cāluṅga monarch, apparently sent by him to deliver some hostile message to the Cōla, were chosen for being the media of a studied and barbarous insult to the Cāluṅgas; one of them was compelled to wear the dress of a woman, and the other had his head shaven so as to show five tufts, and they were named 'the miserable Āhavamalli and Āhavamalla' and sent adrift along with the Perkaḍai whom they had accompanied. Then, the ancient city of Kalyanapuram was sacked and its royal palace razed to the ground after its guards had been overpowered. And Rājadhirāja assumed in that city the title of Vijayarājendrā and performed a Virābhīṣēka; this is confirmed by another inscription of a later date in Rājadhirāja's reign, † with a unique praśasti beginning tirukkōṇiyōdu; this record lays great stress on the victory against Āhavamalla, and states that the title Vijayarājendrā was adopted by the king at the Virābhīṣēka that followed the victory. And at Dhārurasam in the Tanjore district can be seen even today a fine image of a dvārapālaka, very different in the style of its workmanship from similar Cōla images, bearing the inscription: ‡

* 172 of 1894. † 244 of 1925 (Yr. 36).

‡ The text, as copied by me direct from the pedestal of the image is “(1-1) Svastiḥ Śrī Vijayarājendrā-(1-2) Kalyanapuram-rittam kōṇu-vamdu dvārapālaḥak.” In 1-2 ‘yaḥ’ is engraved below the line; cf. yaḥ Kalyanapuram dadiha of v. 73 of the Kanyikkumāri inscription.
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"The dvārapālaka (door-keeper) brought by Uḍaiyār Śri Vijayarājendra-dēva after burning Kalyāṇapuram."

There is no mention in Śomēśvara's inscriptions either of this campaign of Rājadhirāja or of the later war which, as we shall see, led to his death on the battle-field of Koppam. In all the inscriptions of Śomēśvara, * there is nothing that would lead us to imagine that so great a disaster overtook him soon after his accession as is implied by the Cōla records cited above. Though it may be conceded that the Cōla accounts of the war are altogether too favourable to their own side, their substantial correctness seems to be beyond cavil. The chronology of the war is equally indisputable. All these incidents are narrated in records of the twenty-sixth or earlier years of Rājadhirāja, and must have occurred before 1044 A.D.; and Śomēśvara I did not become king before 1042 A.D. Moreover, the Dārāsuraṁ dvārapālaka and other images in the same place give clear proof that Rājadhirāja sacked Kalyāṇapuram, and that, like Napoleon, he carried off some fine works of art to his own country and the only occasion on which he claims, in his inscriptions, to have reached Kalyāṇapuram is in the course of the expedition we are now dealing with. Pūndi, where a pitched battle was fought in this war, and possibly once again when another Cōla invasion took place a few years later, was on the banks of

* The vague phrase "balavac-cōla-narindra-darpa-daṇanam" at the beginning of a stereotyped Kanarese verse in some of his records means little; it is repeated of his son Śomēśvara II, and as Barnett has observed of the conquests detailed in this verse, the list "seems to be more epic than historical." (EL, xv. p. 86 n. 6; pp. 87, 97). The inscriptions noticed by Fleet (DKD. p. 441) are of a later date and will be considered in the proper place. I find it impossible to attach any value to the poetry of Bilhaṇa who in his Vikramaṁśhakasitarita makes Śomēśvara enter Kāṭhipuram in victory. (I. 114-7) It was more or less the poet's job to do it as Śomēśvara was the father of Bilhaṇa's more fortunate hero Vikramāditya VI.
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the Kṛṣṇā, perhaps in the Raichūr doab. * By the three tūrais, Śirutūraī, Perundūraï, and Daiva-bhīmakasī are no doubt meant the rivers Tungabhadra, Kṛṣṇā † and, probably, the Bhīmā. Some of the minor incidents, for which the Cōla ruler takes credit, look extremely realistic, and show the relentless nature of the hostilities between the protagonists in this long contest.

It is a fact of some importance that the mention of Kalyāṇapura in this campaign appears to be about ten years earlier than "the very earliest epigraphic mention of the place" which has been traced by Fleet in a record of A.D. 1053, ‡ and here it is already called 'an old city', § and a royal palace of the Cāḷukyas in it is also mentioned. This would suggest that Kalyāṇapura must have been at least a subsidiary capital for some years before the time when, according to Fleet, it was "founded or developed into a capital" by Sōmēśvara I.

(The closing years of Rājendra’s reign formed the most splendid period of the history of the Cōlas of the Vijayālaya line. The extent of the empire was at its widest and its military and naval prestige stood at its highest.) There remained the necessity, ever present in military empires, of carrying out punitive expeditions to suppress outbreaks and keep the conquered territories under control. The emperor was ably assisted by his talented sons and other members of his family, and the tasks of imperial administration were

* 6 of 1890 and 221 of 1894 say "tāṇyamal Pāriyār-(Cōla)-Kovai-(Pandār)kaḷa-kada-maḷamangar."

† Fleet E.I. xii, pp. 293-4.  
‡ DKL. p. 440.  

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thus put in commission. Large undertakings, like the Pāṇḍya war against Sundara Pāṇḍya and his confreres, or the Cāḻukya war against Āhavamalla, were carried out in these years by the heir-apparent Rājādhirāja, while a host of feudatories looked after minor affairs like the war of Cōreya in the Nambihalī region of the Mysore country in which 'cows were carried off and women's girdles were unloosed.' Among such feudatories a few naturally stand out more prominently than the rest in the records of the reign and of these a brief account may be given here.

That even the Pāṇḍyas normally accepted such a position of subordination and reconciled themselves to it is shown by the queen of the Pāṇḍya King Śrīvallabha making gifts to the Tiruviṣalūr temple early in the reign, possibly when Rājarāja was still alive. † A part of the modern North Arcot district lying round about Brahmadēsam was under the jurisdiction of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, the chief of the Sāmantas as he is called and husband of Rājarāja's elder sister Kundavai. Two other wives of this person are mentioned, Indaladēvi ‡ and Mandaragauravanār Kundādēviyār § who, despite the second part of her name, appears to have been different from Parāntakan Kundavai Pīrāṭṭiyār, the Cōla princess said to have been residing in the palace at Palaiyāṟu in the fourth and fifth years of the reign. ¶ A nādu came to be called Vallavaraiyar-nādu after this chief of the Sāmantas and part of it lay in the modern Salem district. || A certain Yādava Bhīma, also called Uttama Cōla Milāḍuḍaïyār, was in charge of a part of the hilly tracts in the modern South Arcot district in the fourth

* EC. x Sp. 14.
† 46 of 1907.
‡ 191 of 1915.
§ 243 of 1915.
¶ 350 of 1907; 639 of 1909.
|| 157 of 1915.

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year. * Seven or eight years later, we find a Gangaikonda Cōla-milāḍuḍaiyar, possibly in charge of the same division, but only mentioned in the inscriptions as making an endowment for a lamp to be maintained in the temple at Kāḷalahasti. † A number of short but interesting Kanarese and Tamil inscriptions at Kotaśivaram, of which one ‡ is dated in the tenth year of Rājendra, and the others obviously belong to the same time, show that, in this reign and that of Rājarāja, a certain Araiyar Rājarājan alias Vikrama-Cōla Cōliya-varaiyan distinguished himself greatly in the Cōla service in the Cāḷukya and Vēngi wars § and earned such high titles as Nālmaḍi Bhīma, Cōla-cakra, Sāmanta-bharanaṇam, Vīra-bhūṣaṇam, and Edirattavar-kālān (Tām. 'death to foes') or Ahitarotṭalaiyan (Kan). Daṇḍanāyakan Nārakkan Kṛṣṇan Rāman who built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple under the orders of Rājarāja continued to serve Rājendra almost till the end of his reign as he is mentioned as late as 1044 A. D. ¶ His son, Mārāyan Arumoli, also called Uttamaśaṇa Brahma-mārayan, was also a senāpati who assisted Rājendra about A. D. 1033 in building a temple to the Piḍāri of Kōlar. || It may be observed that of the two names of this senāpati, the first was the personal name implying his social rank in the nobility (mārāyam), and the fact that his father called him after the ruling sovereign at the time of his birth; the second was the official title of the man in his public career in the king's service in the army. A Nimbaḷa-dēvi, the wife of certain Indaladēva of Tālaiyūma in Virātadēsa, the country round Hangal, made a

* 20 of 1905. † 291 of 1904. ‡ 23 of 1917. § 751 of 1917 (n.d.) records the flight of the Vēngi king when he heard of the advance of this general ordered by the Cōla king. ¶ 217 of 1911. || 480 of 1911, (EC. x Kl. 109-a).
grant to the temple of Tiruvorriyur about 1042 A. D. * We cannot be sure that Indaladēva was an official or a feudatory of the king, as he might have been a merchant, who, like several others of his profession in those days, might have travelled great distances. In any event, Rājendra's claim to have conquered the Mysore country and parts of Raṭṭapūḍi is largely substantiated by such instances. Lastly, there were the Cangāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas of Mysore and Coorg. We have traced the rise of Kongāḷvas into prominence under Rājarāja who, in appreciation of the heroism of Maṇija, conferred on him the title Kṣatriyasikhamani Kongāḷva and an estate at Mālambī (Coorg). The Cangāḷva territory, Canganāḍ, lay in the Arkalgūḍ taluq of Mysore and the Yelusāvira country in Northern Coorg. Both the Cangāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas had Cōla prenomens from this time, evidently because the Cōlas imposed their names on the provinces they conquered and on the rulers who accepted a vassal position in the empire. † In the course of a few years, however, the Kongāḷvas began to claim that they were themselves actually descended from the Cōlas and joined the ranks of the numerous Telugu and Kanarese local dynasties that traced their descent, in a mythical manner, from Karikāla and the Sun, through Jaṭācōla.

Like his father, Rājendra bore a number of fine birudas. Noteworthy among them are, Muḍigonda-Cōla ‡ and Paṇḍita-Cōla; § he is also once called Virarājendra; ¶ but above all

* 188 of 1912. † E.C. i, Intr. 12-13; v Intr. vii.
‡ A name which is applied to many places and buildings in the period, and to a branch of the Kēvṛī to our own day. The Tambraparṇi is called Muḍigonḍa-Sōḷap-pēṟṟu in Cōla records from Śrīmādevi.
§ ARE. 1901, i. 12; SIU. iii, 127. ¶ 61 of 1914.
these in the estimation of the king himself was the
title Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōla, a name
signalised by being attached to the
new capital founded by the king and sometimes called
Gangāpurī in Sanskrit. * In the ruins of this celebrated
city the earliest inscription that can now be traced
seems to be one of Rājakēsarivarman Virarājendrā
dēva. † The large irrigation tank to the north of the
city, the Cōla-gangam of the Tiruvālangādu plates,
has long gone out of use, its extensive bed overgrown
with thick jungle. ‡ Among the records of the reign of
Rājendra I himself, the new capital is mentioned
rarely, and apparently not earlier than the seventeenth
regnal year. § This city has often been confused with
Muḍigōṇḍa-sōlapuram, and the suggestion has been
made that this was the earlier name of what later came
to be called Gangai-koṇḍa-sōlapuram. ¶ There is no
support for the suggestion in the epigraphy of the reign.
On the other hand, Muḍigōṇḍa-sōlapuram is clearly
stated to be the alternative name of Pālaiyāṟū, || now a
small village on the banks of the Muḍigōṇḍān, within
easy reach of Kumbakoṇam; Pālaiyāṟū possesses an
ancient Śiva temple of remarkable construction in the
late Cōla style which contains, however, no inscription;
and there remain no traces of the palaces at Pālaiyāṟū
in which Kundavai ** and Rājendra †† are said to
have lived in the early years of the reign.

* E.I. xv. p. 49 n. 3 where Gopinatha Rao quotes an interesting reference
from the Īdu possibly reminiscent of this foundation.
† 83 of 1892.
‡ A nineteenth century description of the site is quoted in Note B at the
end of this Chapter.
§ 61 of 1914 : 203 of 1925 : 510 of 1926. The curious record 118 of 1888
dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsari Rājendra mentions Gangāpurī.
¶ S.II. iii. Index s. v. Muḍigōṇḍa-sōlapuram; also S. K. Aiyangar—South
India and her Muhammadan invaders, p. 44, n. 2.
|| 271 of 1927.
** 639 of 1909.
†† Tiruvālangādu plates ii. 6-7 (Tamil part), 463 of 1908 (Yr. 3).
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In several inscriptions of his reign and of the reigns of his successors, Rājendra is described briefly as the conqueror of Pūrvadēsam, Gangai and Kādāram; this must be taken to be a summary statement of his most distant conquests, and on this assumption Pūrvadēsam is best understood to be, not the Vēngi country as was suggested by Venkayya, * but Pūrvarāstra, the country to the east of the Maikal range, † roughly corresponding to the Southern Kōsala country.

The following are the queens of Rājendra who figure in the inscriptions: Tribhuvana or Vānavan-Mahādēviyīr, ‡ Mukkōk-kilān, § Paṅcavan-Mādēviyīr ¶ and Vīra-mādēvi who apparently performed sati at the king’s death. || Of his sons we shall see that three followed him on the Cōla throne in succession, Rājādhīraja, Rājendra and Vīra Rājendra, and we cannot decide if any of these was identical with the Cōla-Pāṇḍya Viceroy, Jatāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Other sons are known also. A daughter of Rājendra, Arumoli-nangaiyar or Pirūnār, made a present of a costly umbrella of pearls to the temple at Tirumalavāḍi early in the reign of her brother Rājādhīraja. ** Another daughter was the well-known Ammangādēvi, the queen of the Eastern Cāḷukya Rājarāja I and mother of Kulottunga, the first Cōla-Cāḷukya monarch. The latest regnal year mentioned in Rājendra’s inscriptions is 33 †† and this accords well with the fact that his death is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhīraja dated in his twenty-sixth ‡‡ year. Rājendra’s death occurred, therefore, some time in A. D. 1044.

* ASI, 1911-12 p. 172 n. 1.
† Fleet Gupta Inscriptions p. 193 n. 1; EI, ix. p. 283. ‡ 624 of 1920.
§ 73 of 1921. ¶ 464 of 1918. || 260 of 1918.


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NOTE A

ON MAHIPĀLA.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has discussed the Ganges campaign at some length in his essay on *Gangaikonda-Chōla* and I must explain why I am unable to accept some of his conclusions. Our differences are partly due to the different estimates we have of the value of the Tiruvālangadu plates (*op. cit.* p. 554). I agree with Mr. R. D. Banerji that "the order in which the names of the countries are mentioned (in Rājendra’s Tamil inscriptions) prevents us from supposing that Bihar is" Daṇḍabhūkti. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: "As the name itself indicates, Bihar must have been on the frontier of some important empire or kingdom, which on that side required protection against a powerful enemy"; I do not see how. Nor is any tangible evidence brought forward by him in support of his position (p. 558) that Magadha was ruled by the Rāṣṭrakūṭaśas at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth till it was wrested from them by the Pāla opponent of Rājendra, Mahipāla, who installed Dharmapāla viceroy over his new conquest. Banerji has satisfactorily explained the western expansion of the Pāla kingdom in the early years of Mahipāla by the condition of the Gurjara kingdom after the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. (*Pālas of Bengal* p. 70.)

Banerji seems to me to be clearly wrong in quoting the evidence of the *Cauḍakauśikam* of Kṣemisvara who probably lived in the tenth century A.D. at Kāṇyakubja under king Mahipāla, the Gurjara ruler, (Macdonnel, *Sanskrit Literature* p. 366 ; Keith, *Sanskrit Drama* p. 239 and n.) against the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendra, and in discovering a defeat of Rājendra in Mahipāla’s defeat of the Karṇāṭas mentioned in the drama. *Cf.* S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* pp. 559-62.

Taking his stand on the order in which the events are narrated in verses 116-24 of the Tiruvālangadu plates, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar distinguishes a Mahipāla of Oţta (N. Orissa) from the famous Pāla king of Bengal, and holds that "Rājendra’s general did not come into direct contact with Mahipāla of Bengal at all." (p. 565). He says that the Tamil records "properly understood" support the same position. To prove this, he relies on the edition of Rājendra’s Tamil inscriptions in *Epigraphia Carnatica* and


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finds that No. 84 of Channapaṭṭana (Bangalore Dt.) ‘gives apparently the correct reading’ : तुञ्जु-कालय - संघामोळा-महिपालनाई; this he translates into: “Oṭṭa-Mahipāla of Sāgama (Sangama ?) which touches the sea.” He adds: “the first three words in full in Tamil would be तुञ्जु-कालय-चंगामाम which means the river mouth which touches the sea.” (pp. 564-5).

Ignoring the tautology of such a phrase for a moment, one should like to know how संघामाम followed by Oṭṭa becomes संघामोळा instead of ‘संघामारोळा’ as it should be. I have already pointed out that the Tanjore inscription (SII ii No. 20 1, 7) reads distinctly: “तुञ्जु-कालय - संगु - वोळाल-मुगिपालूनाई” which Hultzsch somewhat arbitrarily changed into: तुञ्जु-कालय-संगुवॉट्टाल” (EI. ix p. 232 n, 6). The real reading doubtless is that of the Tanjore inscription; and its correct meaning is that the strong Mahipāla was captured together with another person named संगु. Though we know nothing of the latter, there is little room for doubt that, as Kielhorn suggested years ago, the ‘strong Mahipāla’ must be the same as the Pāla ruler of Bengal. It seems that Dr. S.K. Aiyangar has, unconsciously, gone too far in reacting against Mr. Banerji’s claim, based on a misquotation from the Cauḍākaṇuṣikam, that Mahipāla of Bengal defeated Rājendra, or at least successfully stopped his crossing the Ganges. But the alibi sought to be established on behalf of the Cōḷa general appears to rest on very flimsy grounds. I must, however, note that a single inscription from Tirukōyilur (128 of 1900) gives the reading ‘Sangod-Oṭṭa-Mahipālanaī.’ This solitary instance out of over a hundred inscriptions I have consulted cannot, I think, be regarded as anything but a mistake of the engraver.

Of verses 116-24 of the Tiruvāḷangālu plates, I think the first four complete the account of the campaign undertaken by the general in quest of the Ganges including the overthrow of Mahipāla (119). The rest are devoted to a narration of other achievements of Rājendra. Verses 120 and 121 state that the king personally undertook a campaign against the Oṭṭa—note particularly that there is no mention of Mahipāla here—and his younger brother, before his return to the capital (122). In this campaign the king killed or defeated (vinihatyu) the Oṭṭa and his brother and collected a tribute of elephants; the Mahēndragiri stone inscription (396 of 1896) states that Vimalāditya, the Kūḷāṭāvāra, was defeated by Rājendra and compelled to give up
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a number of his elephants to the conqueror. Both the references appear to be to the same campaign; but it is not easy to decide whether the campaign took place in Kājarāja’s life-time and has been mentioned here out of its proper place or whether it occurred sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth year of Rājendrā and is, for some reason, omitted in the Tamil prāṣasti. I am inclined on the whole to the former hypothesis as in these and the succeeding verses the composer of the Sanskrit prāṣasti seems to be winding up his account by putting in the things he omitted to mention before, or had no room to enlarge upon. It must be noticed also that verse 122 states that the king returned to his capital before he undertook the campaign against Kaṭāha (verse 123); Dr. S. K. Aiyangar reverses the order in his summary (p. 564) and holds that the expedition against Kaṭāhāram started from ‘the coast region of Kalingam’ (p. 566). He adds that all Rājendrā’s records uniformly state that, having reached the mouth of the Ganges and subjugated Orissa, the overseas expedition set sail from there; in saying this he overlooks the fact that we have to distinguish the different campaigns of Rājendrā’s reign by the stages through which we can trace the growth of the tiru mani vahara introduction; records of the 12th year stop with the conquest of the Ganges, and the overseas expedition does not find mention before the year 14; and it cannot be a mere accident that at each of these stages the Tiruvāḷaṅgāḻu plates state that the king returned to his capital. On Dr. S. K. Aiyangar’s method of interpretation, we shall have also to admit that Rājendrā started against Ceylon from Mālkhōd, an obviously impossible assumption.

In the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1928 Vol. XIV pp. 512-20) R. D. Banerji examines the opinions of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on Rājendrā’s Ganges campaign. On the location of Daṇḍabahuṭṭi and the difficulty of postulating the existence, as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar does, of a body of Kāṅṭās holding a military līf in Bihar, I find myself in agreement with Banerji. He seems to me to be justified also in his view that the composer of the Tiruvāḷaṅgāḻu plates ‘had very hazy notions of the position of these places in the map of India,’ and that “Prof. Aiyangar, who relies entirely on the Tiruvāḷaṅgāḻu plates in preference to the Tirumalai rock inscription, has been clearly non-plussed.” He clinches his arguments about the route of the Cōḷa army by saying: “An army approaching Bengal and Bihar
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from the South must follow the natural line of communication through Orissa, Midnapur, Hoogly and Howrah to reach Vanga and Uttara Rāḍha, and this is exactly the route described in the Tirumalai rock inscription.” Banerji’s statement, however, that the Cōla army followed the coast line from near the Chilka lake and debouched into the interior only once when it went into Kōsala, clearly overlooks the data on the earlier stages of the campaign furnished by the Tirumalai rock inscription. He also observes that Gōvincandra of the Candra dynasty of Eastern Bengal “had most probably become a vassal of Mahipāḷa I and therefore a flanking movement may have been expected of him,” and this was possibly the reason why he had to be dealt with before Mahipāḷa was attacked. This statement from one so well-versed in Pāla history is valuable as affording support to our position on the general relation between Kauśāra, Dharmapāḷa and Gōvincandra on the one side, and Mahipāḷa on the other. It also constitutes a virtual abandonment by Banerji of the interpretation he had put on the Tirumalai rock inscription in his monograph on the Pālas of Bengal that it depicts Bengal as cut up into a number of independent small states, a view that has been cited and commented on in the preceding chapter.

As against S. K. Aiyangar, whom he does not hesitate to accuse of betraying “the spirit of a partisan and not that of a critical historian,” Banerji seeks to buttress his position in regard to the Cauḍakauśikam by arguments which do not stand critical examination, and which make it easy, for anyone so minded, to bring with more reason against Banerji himself the charge of unscientific partisanship. Banerji surmises that Prof. Aiyangar has forgotten the existence of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. And the history furnished by these plates is summed up by Banerji with more rhetoric than fidelity in the following terms: “Very shortly afterwards (i.e. after the accession of Mahipāḷa I) the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death-blow to Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy in India. He invaded Māḻa, captured Ujjain, crossed the Jumna near Kālpi, devastated Kanaunj and compelled Mahipāḷa to flee before his general, the Cālukya chief, Narasimha, to Allahabad. Mahipāḷa I returned to Kanaunj after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast

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becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. No Mahipāla of the Gurjara-Prathāra dynasty ever defeated any Kārṇāṭaka army or chief and therefore it is cruel of Professor Aiyangar to postulate the production of the drama Candra-kauśīkam before this unfortunate king."

Now, the Cambay plates of Gōvinda have been edited by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who had no preconceived notions about either Rājendra or Mahipāla of Bengal to uphold, and it is interesting to see how he makes out the relations between Indra III and Mahipāla I, the Prathāra king, as revealed by these plates and other contemporary inscriptions. In a succinct and full discussion of the historical significance of verse 19 of these plates, * he points out: "But the complete devastation of Mahōdaya, which Indra III is spoken of as having brought about, is merely poetical. For the poet's object appears to be to introduce a play on the words Mahōdaya and Kuśasthala. * * * This is also seen from the consideration that, as a matter of fact, for long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes, ruling over northern India. What Indra III actually did beyond attacking Mahōdaya or Kanauj, cannot be inferred from the verse itself. But we can ascertain it with the help of other inscriptions." After a careful examination of other inscriptions, which is too long to be reproduced here, Prof. Bhandarkar reaches the conclusion that though Indra succeeded for a time in depriving Mahipāla of his kingdom, he was soon restored to the throne by the combined efforts of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and the Chandella king Harṣadeva. Here, then, it seems we have all the elements needed to satisfy the requirements of the verse in the prologue to the Candra-kauśīkam which ascribes to Mahipāla, by a natural exaggeration, the repulse of the Kārṇāṭaka from Kanauj brought about by his allies. In fact by recalling the story of Kauṭilya's expulsion of the Nandas for the sake of Candragupta, the verse in the Candra-kauśīkam implies what was an essential feature in the restoration of Mahipāla, viz., the large place taken by diplomacy and foreign invasion in bringing about the restoration.

The history furnished by the Cambay plates and other records of the time seems therefore to establish conclusively that

* * E.I. viii, pp. 30–33.
the Cauḍakauṣīkam was enacted before the Gürjara-Pratihāra Mahipāla I, nearly a century before the time of the Pāla Mahipāla to whose reign Mr. R. D. Banerji would assign the play. See also Sten Konow, Indische Drama p. 87, and JOR. vi pp. 191 ff.

NOTE B.

GANGAIKONṆḌA-CŪṆA-PURAM

The following interesting account of this place appeared in a local publication of 1855 which is not easily accessible now. It was reproduced once in the IA. iv p. 274, and may well find a place here.

"It may also be mentioned that in the Udaiyārpāḷaiyam tālūkā there is an embankment 16 miles long, running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. This large tank or lake was filled partly by a channel from the Kolerūn river, upwards of 60 miles in length, which enters it at its southern end, and partly by a smaller channel from the Vēḻār, which entered it on the north. Traces of both these channels still remain. The tank has been ruined and useless for very many years, and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wifful, and the act of an invading army. Near the southern extremity of the band there is a village, now surrounded by jungle, called Gangākunḍapuram. Immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of a very large size and costly workmanship; and close by, surrounded by jungle, are some remains of ancient buildings, now much resembling the mounds or heaps which indicate the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence, Gangākunḍapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a monarchy, and the great tank spread fertility over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. It has often been projected to restore that magnificent work, but the scheme has remained in abeyance for want of engineer officers. At some future time it may be successfully prosecuted, but till then this most fertile tract must remain a jungle, and the few inhabitants will still point
with pride to the ancient band as a monument of the grand and
gigantic enterprise of their ancient sovereigns, and compare it
contemptuously with the undertakings of their present rulers.
Speaking of the noble temple of Gangakundapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Kolerûn anikut was built, the
structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite
sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost
wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The
poor people did their utmost to prevent this destruction and
spoliation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government
that could show no title to it; but of course without success;
they were only punished for contempt. A promise was made
indeed, that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone
wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded
that this promise has never been redeemed."
CHAPTER XI

THE SUCCESSORS OF RĀJĒNDRA
(1044-70 A. D.)

Under Rājarāja I, the real founder of the Cūla empire, and his talented son Rājendra I, the usual line of conquest, which was from north to south, had been reversed, and the victorious tiger-banner carried far into the north. Rājendra's sons, three of whom succeeded their father, one after another, on the Cūla throne, inherited an extensive empire, and on the whole, ably maintained its extent and prestige during their reigns. There was much hard, and occasionally fierce fighting, particularly against the Cāḷukyas across the Tungabhadrā frontier, and the first of these three kings died on a battle-field in which the second was crowned immediately after his steadiness and valour converted an almost certain defeat into a brilliant victory. There was trouble also from the south, the Pāṇḍya and Kērala being always in league with the Ceylonese rulers, and waiting to take the fullest advantage of the difficulties that beset their suzerains elsewhere. Towards the end of this period, these troubles, together with others of a dynastic and possibly religious nature, brought about a political revolution which proved the salvation of the empire for well over a century thereafter. As will be shown later, the exact circumstances under which the Cāḷukya-Cūla, Rājendra, came to occupy the imperial Cūla throne are not easily determined; but there can be no two opinions on the consequences to the Cūla power of this turn of events. By introducing a fresh, and possibly more vigorous, yet closely related stock of kings to the rule of the empire, and by amalgamating, at a critical time, the
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resources of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom with the Cōla, it ensured a continuous and active life for the empire of Rājarāja at a time when his descendants in the main line were overwhelmed in desperate conflicts of which they saw no end.

The Kanyākumāri inscription* of Vīrarājendrā states expressly that Rājadhirāja was the eldest of the three sons of Rājendrā who succeeded him in order; this statement is confirmed by the inscriptions of the three reigns taken together; one record of the thirty-fifth year † of Rājadhirāja mentions the significant name tambit-tuṇacēḻa-valanāḍu which recalls distinctly the praśasti of Rājendrā II beginning tirumagal maruvviya. This praśasti gives a succinct account of how Rājendrā co-operated with his elder brother Rājadhirāja in the prolonged Cāḷukya war of the reign. Vīrarājendrā was doubtless identical with Vīra-Cōla, ‡ the younger brother of Rājendradēva on whom he conferred the title Karikūla Cōla; in fact the W. Cāḷukya inscriptions call him generally Vīra. An inscription of Vīrarājendrā from the Ramnad district § refers to his father (ayyar) who conquered Gangai, Pūrvadēśam and Kaḏāram. From a study of the dates of the inscriptions, it is seen that there is a large measure of overlapping among the reigns, a feature which should cause no surprise after the conjoint rule for over twenty-five years of Rājadhirāja with his father. The latest regnal year of Rājādhirāja mentioned in his records is the thirty-sixth, ¶ falling in A.D. 1053-4.

* Verse 73.
† 30 of 1919.
‡ SL. iii p. 195; EC. vii Sk. 136.
§ 110 of 1908.
¶ 129 of 1912 dated (9)8 is doubtful. It is a solitary record and the first figure in the date is not secure.
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The approximate date of the accession of Rājēndra II has been fixed from his inscriptions as May 28th, A.D. 1052. * Likewise, the highest regnal year of Rājēndra II is twelve, taking his rule up to A.D. 1064. Virarājēndra's accession, however, took place sometime in A.D. 1062-3 † which is counted in his records as his first year. ‡ Rājakāsari Rājamahēndra-dēva, whose inscriptions do not carry his reign beyond the third year, must be found a place before the accession of Virarājēndra-dēva. His brief prāṣṭātis tell us little beyond the fact that he upheld the code laid down by Manu for the administration of the land; but even this statement is not altogether valueless as it is closely corroborated by the Kalingattupparai § which says just the same thing even more forcibly, without mentioning any other fact, about a king whom it places between the sovereign who crowned himself on the field of Koppam (Rājēndra II) and the victor of Kūdal-sangamam (Virarājēndra). Further confirmation of the position assigned to Rājamahēndra is found in a single inscription of his stating that the king 'by a war-elephant caused Āhamalla to turn his back (on the bank of) the winding river.' ¶ It seems possible that Rājamahēndra was the son of Rājēndra II mentioned in an inscription of the ninth year of that king || under the name

‡ 87 of 1896 of year 9 of Rājēndra II is said to mention a gift of year 3 of Virarājēndra ARE. 1895 I 9. If this is correct, Virarājēndra's accession must be placed earlier. But the published text (SII. v. 647 II. 52-3) does not seem to mention any such gift in Virarājēndra's reign though the name Virarājēndra does occur.
§ viii 28; SII. iii, p. 113.
¶ 119 of 1902 cited at SII. iii p. 191.
|| 'tamu-tirumagan': 87 of 1896. (SII. v 647, I. 26). Another record of the same date mentions a Rājamahēndra-road. SII. iii p. 41 (I. 6.)
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Rājendra, and that when, soon after, he was chosen heir-apparent he assumed the title Rājamahēndra to distinguish himself from his father Rājendra-dēva and his grandfather Rājendra-Cōla-dēva. Here again, the succession of two Rājakēsaris, Rājamahēndra and Vīrarājēndra, must be explained as due to one of them having died as heir-apparent without ever ruling in his own right, and that the other was chosen to fill his place. * This period is brought to a close by the short and troubled reign of Parakēsari Adhirājēndra, one of whose records dated in his third year † mentions the eighth year of Vīrarājēndra. The succession and chronology of the period may, therefore, be summed up as follows:—

(1) Rājādhīrāja I Rājakēsari ... A. D. 1018-1054
(2) Rājendra II Parakēsari young-
er brother of (1)
   Rājamahēndra Rājakēsari
   son of (2) died as crown-
   prince
   A. D. 1060-1063
(3) Vīrarājēndra Rājakēsari
   (younger brother of 1 and 2)
   A. D. 1063-1069
(4) Adhirājēndra Parakēsari son of 3 (?)
   A. D. 1067/8-1070

Rājādhīrāja’s prābastis are usually found in two forms, one of them rather short, commencing tingalēr-pera-valar, which records only the earlier achievements of the king and seems to have been stereotyped about the twenty-sixth year of his rule and repeated in that form in some of his later records. The longer form

* Cp. EJ. xviii pp. 30-1.
† 15 of 1890: S.II, iii 57.
TINGAL-TARA has many variations and in fact it is seen to have gone through several editions, so to say, some giving more details of transactions only briefly mentioned in others. The interesting details of the battle of Pundur and other incidents of Rajadhiraja's first invasion of the Calukya country resulting in the destruction of Kollichkkai are given in the inscriptions of the 26th year* and are generally omitted in later records; whereas the detailed description of the Pundyan and the Ceylonese wars that occurs in the latter is only hinted at briefly in the earlier records. Again, the vulgar insult offered to the ambassadors of Ahavamalla, one of whom was forced to dress as a woman and another was made the subject of a comic tonsure, is mentioned only in some versions but not in others.† A few of the inscriptions of the later years mention fresh transactions not found in the earlier records;‡ others simply repeat the older forms without making them up-to-date. Further, there is a praśasti beginning tirukkoḍiyodu tyāgakkodi giving no new information and confirming some of the details of the Calukyan war found in other records.

That Rajadhiraja assumed the title Vijayarājendra after his triumphant entry into Kalyānapura has already been mentioned. There are, however, two records of Parakēsari Vijayarājendra which at first sight seem to present a baffling problem. § In one of them, a Kōḷār

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* 172 of 1894; 92 of 1892 which though its date is lost is apparently of the same time. 446 of 1918 (Yr. 34) is also similar.

† Mentioned in 172 of 1894 and 30 of 1919. Also in the introduction beginning: tirukkoḍiyodu (244 of 1925 Yr. 36).

‡ e.g. SIIT. iii 28 (Yr. 29); 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 81 of 1895; 221 of 1894 (Yr. 33).

§ See the discussion in ARE. 1907, II 38; 1908 II 56.
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record * of the thirty-fifth year, we must necessarily assume that Parakēsari is a mistake for Rājakēsari: for the high regnal year and the identity of the short prāsasti in this record with that of Rājadhirāja beginning Virapāṇḍiyaṇ talaiyum, the last variety of the prāsastis found in Rājadhirāja’s records, leave no room for any alternative. The other record from Pedda-Tippasamudram † falls into the reign of Rājēndra II, the younger brother and successor of Rājadhirāja, as it is dated in Śaka 981, or A. D. 1057-8, and as we have no clear proof of Rājadhirāja having reigned beyond his 36th year, which would be A. D. 1054-5. Rājēndra II was a Parakēsari, and though this record appears to be unique in giving him the Vijayarājēndra title, it may be his. It should, however, be noticed that a Rājadhirāja inscription, doubtfully dated in the 38th year, from Tiruvorriyur, ‡ just renders it possible that this record is also his. The battle of Koppam, in which Rājadhirāja lost his life, took place according to Fleet ‘shortly before the 20th January, A. D. 1060,’ as a record dated in Śaka 981 (expired) mentions that Śomēśvara had then returned from ‘a conquest of the southern countries and of the Cōla.’ § Therefore, the Pedda-Tippasamudram record of Śaka 981 may also be, after all, another instance of a Rājadhirāja record giving him the Parakēsari title by a mistake. In any case we have no reason to assume that there was an alteration in the official title of the king from Rājakēsari to Parakēsari, ¶ as there are many other records of the 35th and 36th years with the former title.

* 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; E.C. x Kl. 112 (b).
† 534 of 1906.
‡ 129 of 1912.
§ B.G. i, ii, 441. But this rather late date for the death of Rājadhirāja is contradicted by the inscriptions of his successor Rājēndra; see infra.
¶ Contra ARE, 1908 II 56.

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The Ceylon war of Rājadhirāja briefly mentioned in the last chapter may now be considered in more detail. Some of the earlier inscriptions * of Rājadhirāja briefly record that the king of Lankā, the garlanded Vallava, and the king of the Kannakucciyar (people of Kanauj), suffered decapitation at the hands of Rājendra. The more detailed account of the occurrences as found in some of the later records † is as follows:

"With a single unequalled army (he) took the crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of the people of Lankā on the tempestuous ocean; the crown of large jewels, (belonging to) the lord of Lankā, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, who, having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country out of fear of himself (Rājadhirāja) ‡ had entered Īlam (surrounded by) the seven oceans; the beautiful golden crown of the king of Simhāla, Vīra-Salāmēghan, who, believing that Īlam (surrounded by) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kannakucci (Kānyakubja) which belonged to him, had entered (the island) with his relatives and (those of) his countrymen who were willing (to go with him), § and had put on the brilliant crown; who, having been defeated on the battle-field and having lost his black elephant, had fled ignominiously; and who, when (the Cōla king) seized his elder sister along with (his) wife ¶ and cut off the nose of (his) mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused) thereby, and, having fought hard with the sword, had withered || in

* 92 of 1892; 172 of 1894.  † SII. iii 28, p. 56.
‡ Text: ‘mun-tanakkulaindu,’ apparently rendered by Hultsch into ‘which had previously belonged to him.’
§ "Iññiridemeyi ułangoi tanndju tanneqawodum pugundu’ is the text.
¶ Or daughter. The text has kādali.
|| Text ‘ułarnda.’ Hultsch has ‘perished’; but see later.

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a hot battle; and the extremely brilliant crown of large jewels, (belonging to) Śrī Vallavan (Śrī Vallabha) Madanarājan, who had come of the family of Kannaran (Krṣṇa) and had become the proud king of Ḳila." * 

The Mahāvamsa shows clearly that the years following the deportation of Mahinda V by Rājendra and the annexation of "the whole of Ḳilaṇḍalam" to the Cōla empire (1017 A.D.) were filled with risings on the part of the Singalese subjects against the new Cōla rulers followed by reprisals on their part. The independent testimony of the Ceylonese chronicle not only confirms the account of Rājadhirāja's records in its essential features, but furnishes much welcome assistance in fixing the chronology of events which, though spread over several years and apparently connected with more than one campaign, seem to have been grouped together to form a convenient section in the praśasti of Rājadhirāja. The Mahāvamsa affirms † that the first outbreak of the opposition to the Cōla rule in Ceylon occurred about twelve years after the capture of Mahinda V, when the Cōla wanted to gain control of Mahinda's son Kassapa, and that this revolt centred round Kassapa; Kassapa and his confederates succeeded in maintaining a contest for six months with the Cōla forces said to have been 95,000 strong; they "killed a great number of Damilas" and compelled the rest to retire and take up "their abode as before in Pulatthinagara." Thereupon, Kassapa

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* The text is "Kannaran-vali-vandurai-kōla-viḷat-taraḷam-āgiya," which Hultsch translates into "who had come to Kannaran (Krishna) and taken up (his) abode (with him)." Ugrai means in the context 'pride,' 'glory.' The point seems to be that Madanarāja, though a Rāṣṭrakūṭa or, more generally, a Kṣatriya by descent, became king of Ceylon.

† Ch. 55 vv. 24-29.
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began to rule the south-eastern portion of the island of Ceylon, the division known as Rohaṇa, under the title of Viṅkamabaḥu. * This war of six months preceding the accession of Viṅkamabaḥu took place about 1029 A.D., in the reign of Rājendrā I; but there is nothing to show that Rājādhiraṇa actually took part in it, though he might have done so.

The Cōla inscriptions affirm that Viṅkamabaḥu lost his life in the Cōla war, † and that his diadem fell into the hands of Rājādhiraṇa; the Mahāvamsa, however, says that he suddenly died of a disease in the twelfth year of his reign (1041 A. D.) in the midst of extensive preparations for a Cōla war. It is possible that the Cōla panegyric is more boastful than true, though his crown may have been among the booty of the Cōlas. ‡ Despite Rājendrā’s success against Mahinda V, therefore, the whole of Ceylon was held by the Cōlas only for a short while, a period of about a decade, after which the province of Rohaṇa asserted its independence, and kept up a perpetual war against the Cōla province. In Rājādhiraṇa’s reign this struggle became very acute as every ruler that came after Viṅkamabaḥu was actuated by the desire to expel the Damīḷas from Ceylon. Neglecting the eight days’ rule of Kitt (A.D. 1041), § the “mighty Mahālāṇakitti” who became king of Rohaṇa, “was vanquished in his third year (A.D. 1044) in battle against the Cōlas, and with his own hand he cut his throat and so died a sudden death. ¶ Thereupon the Damīḷas took the chief treasures, such as the diadem and the like and sent

* MV. Ch. 56, vv. 1-6.
† 92 of 1892 where he is only called ‘king of the Ceylonese.’
‡ Geiger CV. ii. p. xxii. § CV. Ch. 56, v. 7. ¶ ibid vv. 8-10.

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them to the Monarch of the Cōla land.” It is not easy to identify Mahālānakitti with any of the four Singalese rulers mentioned by name in the Cōla inscription quoted above. Vikkamapāṇḍu (A.D. 1044-47) was according to the Mahāvamsa* the only son of Mahālānakitti, who, having left his country through fear and lived for a time in the Dulu country, returned to Rohaṇa when he heard of the fate of his father, and was killed, after a short rule, in a fight with Jagatīpāla. The Cōla inscription, on the contrary, implies that he was a Pāṇḍya prince who had once ruled over the southern Tamil country, and was compelled by Rājādhirāja himself to abandon southern India and seek his fortune in Ceylon, where he became king. As the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese dynasties were at this time in close political and dynastic alliance with each other and with the Kēralas, and were united in their common opposition to Cōla ascendancy, † we have perhaps to assume that the two accounts supplement each other. Vikrama Pāṇḍya had apparently a Singalese father and a Pāṇḍya mother: his early career in the Pāṇḍya country is represented, not quite accurately, by the Mahāvamsa as a sojourn in the Dulu country, or possibly, this sojourn in the Dulu land was an interlude between the Pāṇḍyan and the Ceylonese phases of his career. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that the Cōla inscriptions and the Mahāvamsa speak of one and the same prince here, and that while the Ceylonese account of the manner of his death is not contradicted by the Cōla records, it is quite possible that his diadem also fell into the hands of the Cōlas as is claimed by them. Of Jagatīpāla (A.D. 1047-51), the Mahāvamsa says ‡ that he was ‘a sovereign’s son’ from Ayōdhyā,

* ibid vv. 11-14. † PK. p. 113. ‡ CV. vv. 13-15.
and that after coming to Ceylon he "slew Vikkamapāṇḍu in battle and ruled as a mighty man in Rohana for four years. Him also the Cōḷas slew in battle and sent the Mahēsi with her daughter and all the valuable property to the Cōḷa kingdom." If we overlook the discrepancy about the place of origin, Kānyakubja according to the Cōḷa records and Ayōdhya according to the Mahāvamsa, there is a striking similarity in the fortunes of Jagatīpāla of the chronicle and Vīra-Salāmēghan of the inscriptions, and it may be concluded that we have here only one prince mentioned under two different names in our sources. But this conclusion is not unassailable; the death of Vīra-Salāmēghan is mentioned in an inscription dated towards the end of A.D. 1046; † the most critical study of the Mahāvamsa has led to the conclusion that Jagatīpāla began to rule only in A.D. 1047 and went on till four years later. So that, after all, the differences in the names and the places of origin of these two princes may mean that they were two different persons who had little in common with each other besides having attained some celebrity in Ceylon as opponents of the Cōḷa regime and met very similar fates at the hands of their antagonists. How these adventurers from northern India came to Ceylon in search of a career is not easy to explain satisfactorily at present. Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the fourth and last of the princes mentioned in the Cōḷa inscriptions, has been identified with king Parakkama of the Mahāvamsa who was slain in fight with the Cōḷas. ‡ This identification is also to be accepted with caution. Madanarāja was a Vallabha (of the line of Kannara) by descent; Parakkama, on the contrary, was the son

* Cf. Hultzsch SII. iii, p. 58.
† ibid. 3rd Decr. A.D. 1046. ‡ ibid; also MV. 56, v. 16.
of the Paṇḍu king, i. e., Vikkampanḍu. Moreover, the death of Parakkama occurred about A. D. 1053, nearly seven years after the date of Rājādhīrāja's inscription (A. D. 1046) in which Madanarāja is mentioned. *

This comparison of the epigraphical account of the Ceylonese war in the records of Rājādhīrāja with the events as chronicled in the Mahāvamsa thus points to the need for caution in working the two accounts into a continuous story of the relations between the Cōla empire and that part of Ceylon which was maintaining a vigorous struggle for its independence against great odds. Only two of the kings in the inscriptions of Rājādhīrāja can be recognised in the Mahāvamsa viz., Vikramabāhu and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya. Vira-Salāmēgha and Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja are known only to the Cōla inscriptions, but apparently are not mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. On the contrary, Jagatīpāla and Parakkama of the Mahāvamsa, who figured in the later stages of the war of independence and laid down their lives in that war, do not find a place in the Cōla inscriptions. † The inscriptions of Rājādhīrāja's successor Rājendra II show that he too had a hand in the suppression of the Ceylonese risings. Records of his fourth year. ‡ A. D. 1055, state that “he despatched an army to Ceylon, where the king Vira-Salāmēgha was decapitated and the two sons of the Ceylon king Mānūbharaṇa were taken prisoners.” Later records

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* Cf. Hultsch—JRAS. 1913, pp. 519-21 where the opinions expressed by him in SII. ii. are withdrawn.

† Jagatīpāla’s queen and her daughter Dāvati escaped later on from their captivity in the Cōla country. MV. Ch. 59 vv. 23-4.

‡ SII. iii. 29. JRAS. 1913, p. 519.
of Rājēndradēva mention only Vīra-Salāmēgha. * Rājēndradēva's claim is proved by the presence of an inscription of his reign at Sangili-Kanadarāva in Ceylon. † Despite Vīra-Salāmēgha being called "King of the Kalingas of the strong army," ‡ there is no reason to distinguish him from the 'Kannakucchiyar-kāvalan' of the Rājādhirāja inscriptions. Surviving the disgrace inflicted on the members of his family, his sister and mother and wife, by the forces of Rājādhirāja, and the defeat in the 'hot battle' that followed thereafter when he sought to avenge the disgrace, this unfortunate prince apparently fell a victim to another Cōla inroad possibly led by Rājēndradēva some years later. § The identity of Mānūbharana, the king of the Ceylonese, whose two sons were captured by Rājēndra, is not easy to make out, though the suggestion may be offered that he was no other than the king who joined the confederacy of three southern kings whose opposition to Cōla rule in the Pāṇḍya country was suppressed by Rājādhirāja in the life-time of his father, in one of his early campaigns. ¶

* 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year.
† SIH. iii p. 59; 612 of 1912, (SIH. iv 1408).
‡ vīraraḍaś-kalingar-man, l. 12 of SIH. iii 29.
§ Supposing that a Vīra-Salāmēgha 'perished in a hot battle' (SIH. iii p. 56) with Rājādhirāja, Hultsch distinguishes from him the 'kalingar-man' of the same name of the Rājēndra inscriptions (JRAS. 1913 p. 520), and connects the latter with Trilūkasundari, a Kalinga queen of Vijayabāhu I, A.D. 1054-1109, and suggests that her nephew Kittiśrī-mēgha may have been named after Vīra-Salāmēgha. He also suggests that the Pāṇḍya Mānūbharana who was decapitated by Rājādhirāja was the ancestor of that Mānūbharana who was the nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I; and that Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the Ceylonese opponent of Rājādhirāja, was the ancestor of his namesake Śrī Vallabha, a third nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I. Arguments from the similarity of common names cannot be final; and Hultsch has not considered the relation between the Mānūbharana whose sons were captured by Rājēndra and his namesakes.

¶ Vide p. 269 ante.
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It may be observed that Indian coins found in Ceylon include issues of Rājādhirāja and Rajendra, * and that Cōla inscriptions found in Ceylon, though not numerous or well preserved, carry us right to the end of the period covered in this chapter. † We may, therefore, conclude that the bulk of the island of Ceylon constituted an administrative division of the Cōla empire, while the South-western part of the island, called Rohana in the Mahāvamsa, kept up an incessant warfare for the restoration of Singalese independence. Prince Kittī who assumed the title Vijayabāhu in 1058 A.D. was the leader of this effort. The Mahāvamsa and the inscriptions of Virarājendra give some account of it. ‡ Like all conquerors, the Cōlas were only exasperated by the most natural desire of the Singalese to be rid of them, and seem often to have adopted savage methods of repression such as transportation, decapitation and mutilation, even against the women of the royal family of Ceylon. After the accession of Kulottunga to the Cōla throne in A.D. 1070, Vijayabāhu I succeeded at last where so many of his predecessors had failed and restored the independence of Ceylon; a detailed account of the steps leading to the success of Vijayabāhu belongs to the reign of Kulottunga.

* Codrington, Ceylon Coins pp. 84-5.

† Cf. SII. iii 84 (266 of 1901) of the 7th year of Virarājendrāda, claiming the subjugation of Ceylon among the king’s achievements and 594 of 1912—SII. iv 1388 (Yr. 3 of Adhirājendrāda).

‡ MV. Ch. 57 vv. 65 ff. E.Z. ii p. 207; 182 of 1915.
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A second war against Sōmeśvara was undertaken by Rājādhirāja between A.D. 1044 and 1046. The Maṇimangalam inscription* of 3rd December, A.D. 1046 gives a short account of this campaign stating that the Cōla king defeated in battle several subordinate chieftains † of the Cālukya forces, and destroyed the palace of the Cālukyas in the town of Kampili. Other inscriptions, of which the earliest is dated in the thirtieth year of Rājādhirāja, furnish some additional information about what followed the destruction of the palace at Kampili. ‡ Another engagement, said to be the third of its kind, followed at Pūṇḍūr, described as a kaṭakamānagar or cantonment city, on the left bank of the Kṛṣṇā river, in which several Telugu chieftains, vassals of Sōmeśvara, were made prisoners of war together with numberless women; thereupon, the city of Pūṇḍūr was sacked by the Cōla army and razed to the ground, its site being ploughed with asses and sowed with varūṭikai, a kind of coarse millet; finally, the large palace at Maṇḍandippai was consigned to the flames, and a pillar of victory erected, bearing the emblem of the tiger. These occurrences, no doubt considerably exaggerated in the partial report of the Cōla records, must have taken place before A.D. 1048; it is even possible that they had happened before the date of the Maṇimangalam inscription, end of A.D. 1046, and were not mentioned in that record.

* SLI. iii 28.
† The text is: "Kanṭar Dinakaran Nāraṇan Gaṇavadi vaṇḍalar teriyal Madi refrain." Hultsch takes this to be four names; perhaps there are only three. In any case their identity cannot be made out fully though some of them seem to figure in the Western Cālukya inscriptions of the time.
‡ 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 221 of 1894; 81 of 1895 (Yr. 32).
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For all the vaunted successes of the Cōlas, the Cālukyas seem to have retained their power unbroken. The provenance of the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, of which several are dated records, shows that the extent of the Cālukyan empire on the side of the Tungabhadrā continued undiminished. From the Hadagali taluq of the Bellary district comes an inscription* of Trailōkyamalladēva (Sōmēśvara I) dated (Śaka 968) early in A. D. 1047 recording a gift by the chieftain Kālidāsa, whose name figures also among the Telugu princelings † repulsed by the Cōla troops in one of the numerous fights of the time. Two other records ‡ from the same region are dated in the next year, Śaka 969, of which one records a gift of land to a Viṣṇu temple by Mahāmaṇḍalēvara Gaṇḍarādityarasa, ‘lord of Māhiṣmatipura,’ ruling the Sindavāḍi 1000, Beṇṭevūr 12 and Nuruganaḍa as a vassal of Sōmēśvara. This chieftain may perhaps be identified with Kaṇḍar-dīmakaran of the Cōla inscriptions. § Even if we do not accept the rhapsodies of Bilhana over Sōmēśvara’s conquest of Kānai or Vikramāditya’s digvijaya, we must assume that the repeated incursions of the Cōlas into Cālukyan territory, however annoying to the king and detrimental to the happiness of his feudatories and subjects, resulted in no permanent loss of territory. On the other hand, the bulk of the fighting is on Cālukyan territory, and in the course of the wars many large cities seem to have suffered considerable damage from the destructive fury of the invader. The aim of the Cōlas was apparently to reduce the Cālukyas to political subjection such as that of the Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and

* 484 of 1914. † 92 of 1892 (S.II. iv 539) l. 31.
‡ 41 of 1904 ; 711 of 1919.
§ Contra Hultsch, S.II. iii p. 57, n. 1.
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Vengi kingdoms in this period. In this endeavour they failed totally. It would seem moreover that Somesvara succeeded in extending his influence, at least temporarily, over Vengi. His Mulgund inscription * dated A.D. 1053 speaks of one of his sons, Somesvara-deva, ruling over Belvola 300 and Puligere 300, as bearing the title Vengipura-varesvara. And there is found in Draksharäma a record of the same king † dated two years later (Saka 977) registering a gift by a daughter of one of his ministers, Narayana Bhatta by name. Though it is not impossible to find other explanations for these facts, ‡ and the evidence is thus of a very inconclusive nature, still, considering that Vikramaditya VI, the son of Somesvara I, is said to have conquered Vengi, a claim supported by the presence of a number of his inscriptions at Draksharäma and other places in the Telugu country, the suggestion may be made that the Western Calukyas began to cast longing eyes on Vengi even from the time of Somesvara I, or at least sought to divide the attention of their Cōla opponents by a hostile movement in the direction of their northern dependency. If such was the policy pursued by Somesvara I, he only succeeded in exasperating the Cōlas the more and goading them to a more relentless hostility.

Rajadhiraja undertook another expedition against the Calukya in which he was accompanied by his younger brother Rajendra, whom he had chosen as heir-apparent in preference to his sons who, though not mentioned by name, are said to have occupied fairly high positions in

* EI. xvi p. 53.
† 185 of 1893.
‡ Fleet BG. I, ii pp. 440, n. 3 and 452-3, Also IA. xx p. 281 n. 39; and S. K. Aiyangar, Ancient India p. 120 n. 1.
the administration of the empire. We get a vivid and obviously true description of the occurrences in this campaign from the records of Rājendra II. The earliest mention of these events is in a record of his second year A.D. 1054; more details are given in the Maṇimangalam record of his fourth year, A.D. 1055. This inscription records that the Cōla king sought an occasion for war, invaded the Raṭṭamanḍalam and began ravaging the country; the proud Cālukya Āhavamalla became furious when he heard of this, and marching out with his forces he met the Cōla in pitched battle at Koppam, § a celebrated tīrtha on the Kṛṣṇā, most probably identical with Khidrāpūr on the right bank of the river about thirty miles east by south from Kōllāpūr. The battle that followed was long and fiercely fought on either side. For determining its exact course we have to combine information furnished by some of Rājendradēva's later inscriptions with that of the Maṇimangalam record mentioned above. In the early stages of the battle, Rājādhirāja himself led the fight, Rājendradēva apparently holding himself in reserve. At this stage, the Cālukya forces concentrated

* SII. iii 28 l. 1, which also mentions an elder brother of the king, possibly passed over by Rājendra I.

† 214 of 1911. SII. iii, 55: n. p. 304 A (of Yr. 3).

† SII. iii 29.

§ Fleet E.I. xii pp. 296-8. Lat. 16°30', Long. 74°44'. For an earlier discussion of the identity of Koppam, E.C. ix Introduction p. 16 n. 3, where attention is drawn to the reading in 168 of 1911—tīrhakoppattahatrayil. Hultsch rendered 'Apparumdiratta' into: "The strength (of whose position is hard to describe" (SII. iii p. 63). We must now read the phrase as: "Apparumdiratta," meaning "a tīrtha (whose merits are) hard to describe." Rājendradēva's introductions beginning Tirumagal marumviya use the phrase: "Prārāngaraik-koppatt-tvandiritta Āhavamallam."

¶ 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year. A study of these records by the side of the Maṇimangalam inscription clearly shows that the latter has omitted the earlier stage of the battle in which Rājendra took no part and Rājādhirāja met his fate.
on the elephant on which the Cōla king was riding and wounded him mortally, so that he "went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the country of Indra, where he was welcomed by the women of the sky." Then the vast ocean-like army of the Kuntalas dashed themselves against the Cōla forces which, unable to withstand the onslaught, broke up and began to retreat in disorder. At this stage, Rājendradēva entered the fray shouting out to his retreating forces: "Fear not," and pressed forward on his elephant like very Death against the Karnataka forces, restored order in his army and won a brilliant success by further fighting. Once more, the enemy concentrated on the Cōla king's elephant, and "the shower of (Āhavamalla's) straight arrows pierced the forehead of his elephant, his royal thigh, and (his) shoulders which resembled hillocks," and many warriors who had mounted the elephant with him perished in the action. But Rājendra was more fortunate than his brother; he succeeded in putting to death several leaders of the Cālukyan army including Jayasimha, the brother of the Cālukya, † Pulakēsin, Daśapanman and Nanni-Nuḷumban. At last, "the Śālukki was defeated,—with Vanniya-Rēvan, ‡ Tuttan, (who had) a powerful army, Kuṇḍamayan, whose army spoke (i.e., threatened) death, and other princes,—fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking round, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean." The elephants and horses and camels, the victorious banner of the boar and other insignia of royalty, together with

* From this point the two accounts agree closely.

† This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years.


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the peerless Śāttiyavvai, Śāṅgappai and all the other queens, a crowd of women and many other things abandoned by Āhavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Cōla king. Rājendrā then did a thing not known before, * and crowned himself king on the battle-field, when the wounds he had received in the fight were still fresh on his body. According to some of the inscriptions, † Rājendrā pressed on to Kōḻhāpūr, where he planted a jayastambha, before he returned to his capital Gaṅgāpūrī. ‡ Such is the account of this celebrated fight at Koppam as narrated in the Cōla inscriptions. §

Rājendrā’s coronation.

* 87 of 1895.
† S.II. iii 55, ii p. 304 C.
‡ 87 of 1895.
§ In the Tirumagal maruvīya form of Rājendrā’s prāśatīs, the clause that occurs is: ‘Tān munnum Ṛānai pinnadurvāga munmodir senṣu * * * Ṛattrapāḍi-yelarai-yilakkamum-goṇfu’, often contracted into ‘pinnadu vāga Ṛattrapāḍi.’ This is rendered by Hultsch generally into “while the army of his elder brother was at his back.” In the light of other records (esp. 87 of 1895) which clearly state that Rājādhīrāja began the fight and Rājendrā entered it after he died, we must, it seems, amend Hultsch’s translation and say—“while the army of his elder brother began to retire” a translation which is also required by the phrase employed in the fuller of the two forms quoted above, viz. “munmodir-senṣu” “going to the front in an opposite direction”, as also by the reading “munmodi Ṛānai pinnaduvāga,” “when the advancing army began to retreat” found in some records (S.II. ii p. 305, F and G) and amended by Hultsch into “munnum Ṛānai.” It is perhaps hardly conceivable, according to Indian notions of precedence, that while the elder brother was present in person on the battle-field, the younger took the lead; but this consideration need not be pressed as the cumulative force of all the inscriptions taken together is, doubtless, very clear. I may also observe that some records omit the word ‘tan’ in ‘tan munnum’ e.g., S.II. iii 55: on this account, it should not be assumed, as Hultsch seems to do, that the phrase ‘Tirumaruviya lengil vēṇand’ refers to the elder brother, (S.II. iii p. 112—English translation).

It may also be observed, in passing, that the words: “tannūnaiyil munnumai sēlla munnumai tavirattu” S.II. iii 55 (ll. 1-2), which occurs between “Ṛattrapāḍi-yelarai-yilakkamum-goṇfu” and “Kōḻi-purattu jaya-stamba-nāṭṭṭa,” has been translated by Hultsch into: “when the first elephant (of the enemy) went at his elephant, (his) elder brother stopped (it).” But this seems hardly satisfactory, as the words ‘(of the enemy)’ introduce into the meaning a concept not warranted by the original, and the locative of the first “tannūnaiyil” seems to call for another explanation. I think that, in the context, ‘Ṛānai’ should be taken to be a mis-spelling of ‘Ṛṇai’ and the phrase translated into: “Displacing the old command (rule) by causing it to follow.
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The Cālukya inscriptions of the reign of Sōmēśvara tell us nothing of the battle of Koppam, and specific references to his warfare with the Cōlas are few. In Śaka 981 (expired) he had returned from a conquest of the southern countries and a victory over the Cōla, and was camping in the Sindavādi country, * a province ruled by a Mahāmanḍalesvara Ciddaṇa Cōla-Mahārāja. In Śaka 987 Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya was encamped at Aṛasiyakere on his way to the conquest of the south under orders from the king. † Bilhana’s account has, as has been pointed out already, apparently no relation to facts and seems to be pure fabrication. Shortly after the close of Sōmēśvara’s reign, however, we get two inscriptions, ‡ both dated about A.D. 1071, giving an account of the Cōla invasion and the death of Rājādhirāja. Though the date is late and the Cōla king is not named, it is easy to infer from the Cōla inscriptions that the transactions recorded here relate to the war that led to the battle of Koppam and the death of Rājādhirāja. § The vigorous language

his own commands.” The suggestion made at ARE. 1900 I 20 in reviewing the Tirukōyilūr inscription (123 of 1900, Yr. 6) of Rājendra that the battle of Koppam was a later event than the expedition to Kollāpuram must be abandoned in view of the new identification of Koppam. The wording of the Tirukōyilūr records (E.I. vii pp. 145-6), however, seems to lend some support to Hultsch’s view, and many of the shorter introductions mention Kollāpuram before Koppam.

* BG. I, ii, p. 441, 392 of 1920, ARE. 1921, II 5.
† ARE. 1919 II. 30.
‡ Appigere: BG. I, ii p. 441; and Gavarwad E.I. xv, 23. ed. Barnett. See also EC. viii Sorab 325.
§ Fleet and, following him, Barnett ascribe the expedition and apparently the loss of life that followed to Rājendrasēva. But we have no evidence that Rājendra lost his life in the Cālukya wars, though he was present at Koppam. cf. SII. iii p. 53.
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employed by these records against the Cōla shows that the silence of the epigraphs of Sōmēsvara's reign is really due to a reluctance to record publicly in his life-time unfortunate events that caused so much misery and suffering in his country at the hands of the foreign invader. The mahāpātaka (great sinner) Tamilian known as Pāṇḍya-Cōla, we are told, took to an evil course (nele gettu) and abandoning the ancestral observances of his family, entered the Belvōla country, burned several temples including Jinālayas erected by Ganga-perumāṇaḍi, and was promptly punished for his wicked deeds by losing his life in battle and yielding his head to Sōmēsvara I. The Cōla account of the war, we may therefore conclude, is not by any means a greatly overdrawn picture of their achievement on this occasion.

From the manner of his death Rājadhirāja came to be known as “the king who died on the back of an elephant,” and he is so styled in the inscriptions of his successors. * From the time he was chosen as heir-apparent by his father to the day when he laid down his life on the field of Koppam, Rājadhirāja led the life of a warrior king

* 193 of 1925 (Yr. 6 of Rājendra II); possibly also 5 of 1899 of Rājarāja II (Yr. 6). This latter inscription, which is nearly one century later in its date, seems to mix up the achievements of Rājadhirāja I and Rājendra II. It speaks of “Perumāl Vijayaṁjendra-dīvā ṣa was pleased to conquer Kalyāṇapuram and Kollēpuram and to fall asleep (i.e., to die) on an elephant” (SII, iii p. 191). Hultzsch remarks: “This statement must refer to Parakāsvarman alīna Rājendrādīva, who is known to have set up a pillar of victory at Kollēpuram” — a view expressed with more caution in ARE. 1899 I 53 by Venkayya. 472 of 1920 from Šālukki (NA.) of the fourth year of Rājakēsari Rājendra (Koliṭṭunga I) gives the same description much earlier than the record noticed by Hultzsch; the title Vijayaṁjendra is not, however, given here Rājendrādīva nowhere claims to have conquered Kalyāṇapuram, did not have the title Vijayaṁjendra, and as far as we know, did not die on an elephant in battle. These features distinctly recall Rājadhirāja I (ARE. 1925 II 16), whose third year would fall, however, about A.D. 1021, in the
and took part in many campaigns led by him in person. His record strikes one as that of a born fighter and his warlike energy found full scope in the task of maintaining intact an overgrown empire that had risen on the ruin of old ruling families which never reconciled themselves to submission to the Cōlas. Some of this fighting, like the fatal expedition that led to Koppam, was of his own seeking. Rājādhīrāja was first and foremost a soldier, and possibly his great military talent formed the reason for his being preferred for the succession against an elder brother of his. His performance of the aśvamēdha apparently in his father's life-time goes a long way to confirm this view.

Briefly and without much detail, Rājādhīrāja's prasastis tell us that he employed his father's brother, his brothers, elder and younger, and his sons, in important offices of state and constituted them into subordinate rulers of particular regions. The star of Rājādhīrāja's nativity was Pūrva-Phālguni. * Gangaikondanā-Śōlapuram was his capital. † His queens do not figure as prominently in his records as is usual in those of other reigns; Trailōkyam Uḍaiyār was the title, rather than the name, of one of them, ‡ who, if she was the same as the nambirāṭṭiyār mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra II, § may be taken to have survived her reign of Rājēndra I. (See also 472 of 1920—Yr. 4 of Kulaṭuttunga D. If this view is correct, I am not sure it is, the theory, that during the Amgaudi famine the state could not help the sufferers owing to the treasury being impoverished by the horse-sacrifice of Rājādhīrāja (A.R. 1899 I 53), cannot stand. But after all the famine might have occurred in the reign of Rājēndra II, about A.D. 1055; only the king might have been wrongly described in the record of Rājārāja II. The horse-sacrifice is, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājādhīrāja as early as the 26th year, A.D. 1044, if not earlier.

* 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35).
‡ 410 of 1925 (Yr. 35).
‡ 446 of 1918 (Yr. 24).
§ 213 of 1894.

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husband. Besides the title Vijayarājendra assumed by him at Kalyāṇapuram, Rājādhirāja had other surnames like Virarājendra-varman, * Āhavamalla-kulāntaka, † and Kalyāṇapuram-gouḍasōla. ‡ Mention is made of a spiritual preceptor (gurudevar) of the king by name Adhikārikā Pārāśaryan Vāsudēvanārāyan, also called Ulagalanda-sōla-Brahmamārāyan; § one wonders if Ulagalanda-sōla was also a title of Rājādhirāja, and whether a revenue survey was undertaken, in his reign, of a part of the country. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājādhirāja mentioned in his records may be noticed Dāṇḍanāyakan Śōla Kumaran Parantaka Mārāyan alias Rājādhirāja Nīla-gangaraiyar; || a certain Pillaiyār Śōla-vallabha-dēva whose wife was called Pañcavan-mahādēviyar **; Dāṇḍanāyaka Appimayya, †† governor of Mahārājāvādi 7000, who had Vālīru in the Cuddapah district as the seat of his government, and who may or may not be the same as Rājārāja Brahmidhirāja †‡ who is mentioned in the very next year as ruler of the same province; and Pillaiyār Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva, doubtless Rājārāja I of Vēṅgli, whose queen Ammangūdēvi was the daughter of Rājēndra I and the sister of Rājādhirāja, and who is said to have presented, in A.D. 1030, three hundred Rājārāja-māḍas, gold coins of the Vēṅgli kingdom, to the temple at Tiruvaiyāru in the Tanjore district. §§ There was also Sēnāpati Rājēndrāsōla Māvali-vēṅgaraiyar, an official who apparently took his title

* 78 of 1920 (Yr. 33).
† 188 of 1919 (Yr. 35).
‡ 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35).
§ 413 of 1902 (Yr. 33).
¶ Tirukkājukkunram is called Ulagalanda-sōlapuram in a record of the 26th year (172 of 1894).
 §§ 221 of 1894 (S.I. v 520). Viṣṇuvardhana has been identified with the future Kulśitunga I in ARE. 1895 I, 11.
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from Rājendra I under whom his public career might have begun, and who made a large endowment for higher education, of which more will be said in another place.

Turning now to an account of the reign of Rājendradēva, whose independent rule must have commenced some time in A.D. 1054-5, his inscriptions contain, like those of his predecessor, a variety of forms of his praśasti. The shortest form is a summary narration of his successes beginning Iraṭṭapādi and found in his records from his second year * onwards. Having much in common with this, but slightly more elaborate, is the form which begins tiru(maga!) maruviya also dating from his second year. † But the chief praśasti of the reign is the long account beginning tirumādu (or mādar) puvi-yenum, first appearing in the fourth year, ‡ and undergoing a revision in a subsequent edition, so to say, about the ninth year. § The main differences between the two forms in the treatment of the celebrated battle of Koppam have been dealt with in our account of that fight. The other points in which the later version differs from the earlier are: the omission of all other particulars of the Ceylon war except the mention of Vīra Salāmeghan; the definite statement that after proclaiming himself king on the battle-field in an unprecedented manner, Rājendra returned to

* 214 of 1911. In 421 of 1903 the king seems to be called Rējārēja by mistake. Sewell: (HIS. I. p. 72) adopts A.D. 1052, May 28, the date of the accession of Rājendradēva, for the battle of Koppam. But we have no evidence that Rājendra did not become heir-apparent some time before the battle.

† 81 of 1926. 173 of 1894 (Yr. 5) has 'nilaviya' for 'maruviya,' but is otherwise the same.

‡ 3 of 1892, (SII. iii 29); 396 of 1913. § 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915.
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Gangāpūrī; a slightly different account of the disposition of the administrative places held by the members of the royal family, given not at the beginning of the record as in the earlier version, but at a later stage; and an account, altogether new, of a fresh war with the Cāḷukyas.

Both the Kulingattupparai and the Vikrama-śōlan-ulā make pointed reference to Rājēndra's part in the battle of Koppam. The former records that the king fought fiercely in the battle and saved 'the world' by his success and celebrated his coronation on the field of battle.* The ulā, with intelligible hyperbole, says † that with the aid of a single elephant he captured a thousand of the enemy at Koppam.

Among the king's relatives installed in different posts in the empire, the Maṇimangalam inscription of the fourth year mentions no fewer than thirteen persons,—a paternal uncle (śirīya-lūlai) of the king, four younger brothers of his, six sons and two grandsons.‡ The later records of the reign give a shorter list of only six persons so employed comprising the paternal uncle of the earlier record, his son—a new figure, only three of the four younger brothers mentioned before, and one son of the king, Rājēndra-śōlan; why the rest are omitted it is not easy to explain. One wonders if they had all died in the interval, or were found unfit even for subordinate

* vili 27.
† I. 38-40.
‡ SIII. iii p. 58. 'Kādalar' definitely means 'sons' in this record; Rājēndraśōla one of the 'Kādalar' is clearly called 'raṁ-varumāgam' in 87 of 1893, (contra. Hultsch. op. cit. p. 62 n. 9)—unless indeed, we must assume the more general meaning for 'Kādalar,' take 'varumāgam' to be a loose expression for son-in-law, and identify Rājēndra with Kuśtunga I. But the phrase 'Kādalar Kādalar,' clearly means grandsons; and this clearly favours the first suggestion.
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employment. There seems to be no evidence whatever by which this can be settled. The fact deserves to be noted, however, in view of somewhat hasty statements which, on very slender evidence, fasten on Kulöttunga I a series of cold-blooded political murders calculated to clear his way to the Cōla throne.* The date of the shorter list would fall about A.D. 1061, or nine years before the accession of Kulöttunga. Among the titles conferred on these members of the royal family, some like Cōla-Paṇḍyan, Cōla-Gangān and Cōla-Kēralān perhaps connote the charge of the administration of the particular provinces named; others seem to have been merely titles of personal distinction giving no idea of the spheres of their duties, if any. Such titles are Irumaṇi-sōḷan,Karikāla-sōḷan, Uttama-sōḷan, Vijayālayan, and even names like Śōla-vAyōḍhdhirājan and Śōla-Kanna-kucciyan. Only the Cōla-Paṇḍya viceroys seem to have left behind a number of inscriptions of their own in the land over which they held sway; but even in their case, it is extremely difficult to identify the particular viceroy from his records, the first viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara alone excepted.†

Rājēndra’s son, also called Rājēndra-sōḷa in the records noticed above, was perhaps chosen heir-apparent some time about A.D. 1059, and assumed the title Rājakēsari Rājamaḥēndra. One inscription‡ of his third year

* ARE. 1899 I, 51.
† He quotes his father’s praśasti in some records. For the others many guesses have been put forward. See notes in the Appendix under ‘Cōla-Paṇḍya’ inscriptions.
‡ 119 of 1902. His other records begin in three ways: Manumidi-muṟai-valara; tirumangai-valara; tirumagal-vilanga: none of them is of any historical value.
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claims a victory for him against Āhavamalla at Muḍakkāru, and furnishes valuable confirmation of the events relating to another Cāḷukya war narrated in more detail in the inscriptions of the ninth year of his father. We learn from these latter * that the Cāḷukya, anxious to wipe out the disgrace that befell him on the field of Koppam, advanced with numerous forces led by Daṇḍanāyaka Vāḷādēva and other chieftains of the army, and a battle ensued on the banks of the Muḍakkāru (winding river) in which the Daṇḍanāyaka and his followers fell, Irugaiyan and others were forced to retreat together with their king and the proud Vikkalan, unable to resist the vigorous attack of the Cōla forces. The inscription of Rājamahēndra says, likewise, that by a war-elephant, he caused Āhavamalla to turn his back on the Muḍakkāru. As it often happened that in the Cāḷukya wars several Cōla princes fought together on the same field, the inscriptions of successive rulers also often supplement each other.

It is possible, therefore, that the future Virarājēndra was also present on this field; and if that was so, this battle must be treated as identical with that of Kūḍal-Śangamam of the records of Virarājēndra. A long description of this battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, with some details not found in Rājēndra’s records, is given in Virarājēndra’s inscriptions even of the second year † (A.D. 1063-4). It seems hardly likely that two first-class engagements took place on the same field in less than three or four years. In some of his later inscriptions ‡ occur expressions which imply that

* 87 of 1895; S.II. v. p. 271 ll. 32-39. † 113 of 1896; 718 of 1909.
‡ S.II. iii. 84, 1. 8. Hultsch thinks this a reference to the fourth encounter preceding that in which Kampili was burnt (ibid. p. 195.)
Virarājendra had taken part in the fight at Muḍakāru before he became king, and that, in consequence, he came to be called Iraṭṭarāja-kula-kālan. If this view is correct, at least three Cōlas were present at the battle of Kuḍal-Śangamam and took part in the fight: the king Rājendradēva, the heir-apparent Rājamahendra, and the king's brother Vīra-Cōla Karikāla (Virarājendra), whose achievements came to be recorded in his inscriptions in detail when, after the death of Rājamahendra, he became heir-apparent and later king.

The account of the battle of Kuḍal-Śangamam and its antecedents given in the early inscriptions of Virarājendra is as follows:

"(He) drove from the battle-field in Gangapūdi into the Tungabhadrā the Mahāsāmantas, whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows, along with Vikkalan who fought under (his) banner at the head of the battle.† (He) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (viz., Vikkalan) had again despatched into Vēngai-nāju; fought the Mādanānāyakan Cāmuṇḍarājan and cut off his head; ‡ and severed the nose from the face of his (viz., Cāmuṇḍarāja's) only daughter, called Nāgalai, (who was) the queen of Irugaiyan and who resembled a peacock in beauty.

"The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless sāmantas, together with these (two) sons of Āhavamalla, who were called Vikkalan and Śinganān, at Kuḍal-Śangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave van-guard in advance, and having himself remained

* ŚII. iii. p. 37 (ll. 3-8) identical with 113 of 1895.
† I have adopted the reading: "ikalmunai virudatru malaikkum" of 113 of 1896.
‡ Hultsch translates: "Iṣṭaṇāvata-Irattinaiyarputta" into "cut off the head of the corpse" apparently failing to notice that "Iṣṭaṇāvata" is made up of "Iṣṭrū" and "avan." cf. Iṣṭrū van-Irattinai (113 of 1896).
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close behind with the kings allied to him, he agitated by means of
a single mast elephant that army (of the enemy), which was
arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the northern ocean.
In front of the banner troop, * (he) cut to pieces Śingan, (the
king) of warlike Kōsalai; along with the furious elephants of his
van-guard. While Kēśava-daṇḍanāyaka, Kēttarāzān, Mārayān of
great strength, the strong Pōttarayān and (Irccayān) were
fighting, (he) shouted “(Follow) Mūvandi, (who wears) a garland
of gold!” and cut to pieces many sāmantas, who were deprived
of weapons of war. Then Maduvājan, who was in command,
fled; Vikkalan fled with dishevelled hair; Śinganān fled, (his)
pride (and) courage forsaking (him); Aṇṭalau and all others
descended from the male elephant on which they were fighting
in battle, and fled; Āhavamalla, too, to whom (they were) allied,
fled before them. (The king) stopped his fast furious elephant,
put on the garland of victory, (seized) his (viz., Āhavamalla’s)
wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums,
canopies, † white sānaras, the boar-banner, the ornamental arch
(makara-lōraya), the female elephant (called) Puṣpaka, ↑ and a
herd of war-elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and,
amidst (general) applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with)
jewels of red splendour.”

Irugaiyan is said in Rājendradēva’s records to
have fled with Āhavamalla, Vikramā-
ditya and others from the battle
of Muḍakkāru; his wife suffered
mutilation in the Vēṇgi fight of Vira-
rajendra with Cāmumḍarāyā just before the battle of
Kūḍal-Śangamam. And Vīrārajendra is said to have
‘seen the back of the hostile Śalukki’ at Muḍakkāru
before he became king, and there seems to be no other
campaign narrated in Vīrārajendra’s inscriptions that
will explain this last reference unless it be the battle
of Kūḍal-Śangamam, described in such detail and
said to have taken place before his second year. It is

* i.e. the van-guard (of the Cōla king)-Hultsch.
† Mīgha-ḍambār.
↑ The text is Puṣpapāṭ-pāṭiyam.

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difficult to resist the conclusion, already suggested, that the Muḍakkāru of the records of Rājendradēvā and Rājamahēndra and the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the early records * of Vīrarājēndra refer to one and the same engagement. The same event is apparently once at least mentioned under the name of Muḍakkāru in the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra himself.

Where Rājēndra’s records simply state that Āhavamallī desired to avenge himself for the defeat at Koppam and advanced in great force, those of Vīrarājēndra show us the extent of the progress made by the Cālukyas by recording the necessity for chasing them through Gangapāḍi to the banks of the Tungabhadrā and thereby indicate how little the Cālukyas had suffered in the actual extent of the territory ruled by them even after Koppam. They also imply, by what they say about Cāmuṇḍarāya’s movement against Vēngī, that an important, but unsuccessful, attempt was made by the Cālukyas to divide the attention of the Cūlas between two fronts. This is noteworthy as evidence of the interest of the Western Cālukyas in Vēngī apart from any complications arising with regard to the succession after the death of Rājarāja-narēndra. † We have already had some evidence, though slight, of the eagerness of the Western Cālukyas to court the friendship of their Eastern cousins. In fact the possession of Vēngī made the Cūlas formidable to the Western Cālukyas; the Cūlas well understood the importance of Vēngī to them and took care to marry their princesses to the rulers of Vēngī for generations together and otherwise to keep

* Another engagement fixed at this same place for a later day did not come off. See post. pp. 326 ff.
† Contra S. K. Aiyangar-Ancient India p. 121.
on friendly terms with them. For the same reason, the Western Cālukyas, who looked upon Vēngī as a lost dominion, made vain efforts to undo the results of their slackness when it was too late. *

Kūḍal-Śangamar must be located at the junction of the Tungabhadrā and Kṛṣṇā rivers. † The first battle at this place, the one with which we are now concerned, took place after the Cālukyas were driven across the Gangaṣṭi up to the banks of the Tungabhadrā, and after the failure of an expedition sent into Vēngī by the Cālukyas. On a later occasion, when the Cālukya failed to meet Virarājendrapat theam place as previously arranged, the Cōla planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadrā before he retired. ‡ The Śangamar meant by the inscriptions must, therefore, be some confluence of rivers on the course of the Tungabhadrā. The choice lies

* Another view of these events is possible. Muḍakkānu may not be Kūḍal-Śangamar; Irugaiyan may have fought at Muḍakkānu, and this need have no connection with the mutilation of his wife in the Vēngī campaign of Virarājendra, which preceded the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamar. As Virarājendra's record is dated in his second year (c. A.D. 1064) and the E. Cālukya Kṛjarājā-narāṇendra died in 1063, it is just possible that Vikramāditya's entry into Vēngī (Cāmunḍārāya's expedition) was connected with some succession dispute after Kṛjarāja's death. On this scheme, we have to assume that the battle of Muḍakkānu—whatever river may be meant—took place c. A.D. 1060, and three years or so later came the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamar recorded in the inscriptions of A.D. 1064. On the whole the view adopted in the text, based on the identification of Muḍakkānu with Kūḍal-Śangamar, seems simpler, and there appears to be nothing that can be urged against such a position. It should also be observed, in this connection, that Virarājendra's inscriptions of the second year say nothing about his helping Vijayāditya to gain or regain the Vēngī throne,—an event which is not mentioned as having taken place till after the second battle of Kūḍal-Śangamar and about the fifth-year of Virarājendra (c. A.D. 1067). So that if we drop the somewhat uncritical assumption that Vikramāditya and Virarājendra concerned themselves about Vēngī only after Kṛjarājā-narāṇendra's death, the course of events becomes clear and perhaps more easy to follow.

† SII. iii. p. 32. ‡ SII. iii. 30, l. 26.
between Kūḍali at the junction of the Tungā and Bhadrā in Mysore, or that of the Tungabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇā. While the name Kūḍali points to the former as the site of Kūḍal-Śangamam, the Vēṅgl interlude seems to make the latter more probable; a satisfactory identification of Kāndai or Karandai, where the Cōḷa awaited the Cāḻukya for about a month on the second occasion, may decide the choice more definitely.

The latest regnal year in Rājēndra's records is the twelfth, † corresponding to A. D. 1063. He was succeeded by Vīrarājēndra already heir-apparent for sometime after the death of Rājamahēndra. Gangāpuri continued to be the Cōḷa capital under Rājēndra II and is mentioned as such in an inscription from Kanyā-kumāri, ‡ while another from Kuttālam makes mention of a big bazaar within the fort of this capital city. § Of the queens of Rājēndra, only one is mentioned by name in his records, a Kīḷānāḍigal. His daughter Madhurāntaki was the wife of the Eastern Cāḻukya prince Rājēndra II, afterwards Kulottunga I. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājēndradēva II, prominent mention is made in his records of the Milāḍa chieftain Narasimhavaran who is said to have ruled Milāḍu

* Fleet suggested the confluence of the Paṅca-gaṅgā and the Kṛṣṇā in the neighbourhood of Khidrāpūr (Koppam) as the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the Cūḷa inscriptions; and identified Karandai with Īḷcāl Kāraṇjī in the same place (E. xii p. 298). But as he does not seem to have written the more detailed note promised by him on the subject, it is impossible to see how he would have met the objections to these identifications that arise from the narrative of the campaign as given in the Cōḷa records which do not once mention Raṭṭapāḍī as having been entered by the Cōḷa forces on this occasion. On the later occasion Raṭṭapāḍī is said to have been devastated; but the pillar is erected on the banks of the Tungabhadrā.

† 144 of 1898. ‡ T. A. S. i 164-8. § 102 of 1926 (Yr. 9). ¶ E. I. v. p. 77 v. 11; Cellīr v. 12.
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2000 after his abhiṣeka and coronation under this title. * Others were Sēnāpati Araiyan Kadakkan-gonḍa-gūlān, † and Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍālvaṇ who is mentioned in an inscription from Ceylon, ‡ and who may be identical with Araiyan Rājarājan alias Vīrārājendra Jayamurini-aḍālvaṇ of another inscription from Karuvūr. §

The Vikramaśūlā-ulā || records that Rājamahēndra made for Ranganātha, the god of Śrīrangam, a serpent-couch set with many precious stones; and the Kōgil-olugu, a late work on the antiquities and traditions of the Śrīrangam temple, though it knows nothing of the serpent-couch, mentions || many structural alterations in the temple as the work of Rājamahēndra, commemorated in the name Rājamahēndran-tiruvidi. An inscription ** of the twelfth year of Kulōttungaga I from the Salem district states that in Rājamahēndra’s reign there was a land revenue assessment in Kolimalai-nādu. The name of Rajamaheendra’s queen, Lōkamahādēvi, seems to be preserved in a fragmentary inscription from Cidambaram. ††

For a study of the reign of Rājakēsari Vīra-rājēndra I, (accession A. D. 1062-3), we possess a considerable number of inscriptions with praśastis in two main forms and in various redactions, which fit into one another with remarkable correctness. ‡‡ The longer praśasti beginning Tiruvalar-tirai-puyattu gives in its earlier form a list of the king’s relations on whom he conferred

‡ 612 of 1912. § SII. iii. 21. ‡ II. 40-42.
|| In the section on Rājamahēndran kainkaryam.
** 502 of 1930. †† 612 of 1930.
‡‡ An admirable discussion of Vīrārājendra’s records by Hultsch is found at SII. iii pp. 192-6.
various official positions, * but omits this list in its later editions. † The praśasti grows in length as the reign advances, and new events are incorporated in it. The shorter introduction beginningViramē-tuṇaiyāgavum passes through many changes and attains in the seventh year an altogether new cast, and records facts not otherwise known. These changes will be noticed subsequently when they are of any historical importance. The Kalingatupparaṇi and the Vikramaśōlan-ulā record no events of the reign of Vīrarājendra other than the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. The Takka-yāgapparaṇi, ‡ on the other hand, mentions his friendship with Vikramāditya VI.

Early in his reign, the king appointed § Madhurāntaka, described as his son tan-tirup-pudalvay, to rule over Tṇḍaimaṇḍalam with the title Cōḷendra; another Gangaiṅkoṇḍa-śōla, also called son, tiṇḍirāl maindan, was made the Cōḷa-Paṇḍya viceroy over the Paṇḍya country. It is difficult to decide, in the light of subsequent events, whether the terms pudalvan and maindan are to be understood literally or only as terms of endearment applied to more distant relatives. Nor, on the former assumption, can it be decided if either of them was the son who was the brother-in-law of the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and who had a short rule, on Vīrarājendra’s death, as Parakēsari Adhirājendra. The king’s elder brother Aḷavandān and a certain Muḍikōṇḍa-śōlan also received titles and recognition; but though they too seem to have been placed in administrative charge of

* SII. iii 20; 113 of 1896 (SII. v. 976).
† SII. iii, 30.
‡ V. 774. Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar’s identification of this king with Rējarāja II seems rather doubtful.
§ 113 of 1896; SII. iii. 20, p. 33.
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parts of the empire, the inscriptions do not tell us what exactly were the areas so entrusted to them.

The early wars of Virarājendra against the Western Cālukyas, which resulted in the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam so graphically described in the inscription of his second year from Tiruvenkādu, * were fought by him, as already observed, perhaps before he came to the throne or was even recognised as the successor to his elder brother Rājendradēva. The bitterness that characterised the Cālukya wars of this period becomes clear from the eagerness of Virarājendra to count up every little victory gained by him or his lieutenants as a personal affront to Śōmēśvara I Āhavamalla. "In perfect accordance with the longer redaction of the introduction, in which the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam is stated to have been the third encounter with the Cālukyas, the Tirumānamallūr inscription of the fourth year attributes to Virarājendra I the biruda 'who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times'." † The Kanyākumāri inscription also gives a general description of the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, not very different in character. ‡ In the Karuvūr inscription of the fourth year, § we hear for the first time that Virarājendra killed the king of Pottappi, the Kēraḷa, the younger brother of king Dhārūvarṣa, and Vīrakēsari, the son of the Pāṇḍya Śri Vallabha. The Manimangalam inscription ¶ of the next year adds to this list an expedition against Udagai and the Kēraḷas, from which Virarājendra returned after collecting a large tribute in the form of elephants. Whether these achievements, altogether obscure in their nature and origin, were part of the

* 113 of 1896.
† Hultzsch, SII. iii. p. 193.
‡ v. 76.
§ SII. iii 20.
¶ SII. iii 30.

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continuous war with the Cāḷukyas that forms the central feature of this reign, or were minor punitive expeditions which had nothing to do with this war, there is no doubt that the 'hot battle' which is next mentioned as having taken place by previous engagement on the banks of a river, of unknown name, did form part of the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya hostilities. For in this battle seven Cāḷukya generals who are named and the kings of the Gangas, the Nuḷumbas, the Kāḍavas and the Vaidumbas are said to have suffered decapitation; and before the Cōḷa king could get their heads nailed to the gates of his capital, Gangaikonda-śoḷa-puram, * the Cāḷukya king, stung by the intolerable disgrace that had befallen his troops on this field, was roused to a greater effort against his Cōḷa opponent. Sōmeśvara, we learn, reproached himself saying: 'It is much better to die than to live in disgrace,' and wrote and despatched a letter to the Cōḷa king in which he assigned as the field for the next battle the very spot at Kūḍal whence his sons and himself had fled before in utter rout, and declared that whoever did not come, through fear, to the appointed field, should thenceforth be no kings but outcastes † who had incurred disgrace in war. This message from the Cāḷukya, when it was delivered to Virarājendrā, greatly pleased him. Accordingly he set out for the fight, and awaited at Kāndai the arrival of the Cāḷukya king for one full month beyond the date fixed by him. The Cāḷukya ran away and hid himself in the Western ocean; and the Cōḷa king subdued all resistance in Iraṭṭapūdi by putting

* It must be noted that all the events up to this point are mentioned in a fourth year record found in Majūr, of which only the praṭastī is preserved (194 of 1911: E.C. ix Cp. 85.)

† The term "piraffa" seems to be the Sanskrit word "hūraṭa" rather than the Tamil "puraffam" a fraud or liar contra Hultsch SII, iii p. 69.
to flight Dēvanātha, Śitti and Kēsi, each in a separate direction, and by setting fire to towns; he also planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Then the Cōla monarch seems to have made an effigy of Sōmēśvara and subjected it to various indignities, * before turning his attention to Vēṅgī where, apparently

* This, I think, is the real meaning, as suggested by A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar (Life and Times of Cālikya Vikrāṃditya VI. Tamil Edn. pp. 22-3 and n. 3). Hultsch understands this rather obscure passage as referring to Virarājendrā's alliance with Vikramādiṭya. But that, I think, belongs to a later stage of the war when Sōmēśvara I was no more and to the first fight of Virarājendrā with Sōmēśvara II. On the present occasion, Virarājendrā is still fighting the entire family of Sōmēśvara I and on every front. The division between Vikramādiṭya VI and his brother which gave Virarājendrā the chance of an alliance with the former did not, it seems, arise until after the death of Sōmēśvara I, of which Virarājendrā had no knowledge on this occasion. The Maṇimangalam inscription of the fifth year, therefore, cannot be said to anticipate, as Hultsch says it does (SIY. iii. pp. 194-195), the events recorded in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh years of Virarājendrā. For one thing, the word pirattam in l. 27 of the Maṇimangalam record makes it impossible for us to identify him with Vikramādiṭya VI (cf. l. 22 of the same record; also Takkayagapparani v. 774, where pirattam, an unfriendly Cālikya, is contrasted with ivaṭṭam, a friendly one). Again the expressions of the records of the sixth and seventh years make it clear that they are referring to a single occasion, which is different from that of the Maṇimangalam record and in which Vikramādiṭya became friends with Virarājendrā. SIY. iii. 83. (Yr. 6), says that Virarājendrā burnt Kampili and occupied Karaṭigal before Sōmēśvara (II) could unite his necklace (ll. 7-8), and this is the first occasion of an encounter with the Cālikyas after the conquest of Vēṅgī on behalf of Vijayādiṭya VII; 84 (Yr. 7) records (ll. 5-6) that on the same occasion, Sōmēśvara (II) was forced to abandon the Karnaradeśa and that the submissive Vikramādiṭya was invested with the necklace by the Cōla king. The Vikramāukadēva Ārīta also places the alliance between its hero and the Cōla king some time after Sōmēśvara I's demise and on the banks of the Tungabhadra; and according to the same poem, at the time of his father's death, Vikramādiṭya was absent on a conquering tour which extended to Vēṅgī and Cakrāṭa, which, again, seems very probable, as Virarājendrā himself had to go off to Vēṅgī after Sōmēśvara I failed to keep his engagement with him at Kūjāl-Sangamam. Lastly, it does not seem necessary to assume that the karṇēka (necklace) was necessarily a symbol of heir-apparentship and not of kingship in general, and hold, as Hultsch does (SIY iii p. 194), that in the sixth year of Virarājendrā, Sōmēśvara was alive and Sōmēśvara II was still only crown-prince (IA. xx p. 267 under 17-Vijayādiṭya V and the references given there). Even if the karṇēka was a symbol of subordinate position, Sōmēśvara II's untying it may mean that his father was no more and that he had become ruler in his own right,— probably the best view of the situation.
owing to the exertions of the Western Cālukyas, things had gone against Vijayāditya, the ally of Virarājendrā.

The question why Śomēśvara I failed to keep an engagement fixed by himself and thus suffered once again the imputation of cowardice at the hands of his Cūla enemy cannot be answered with certainty. The date of the occurrence was some time in the fifth year of Virarājendrā, and from the details preserved in the record the exact day which is mentioned in the Maṇimangalam inscription is seen to have been Monday 10th September A.D. 1067. * Śomēśvara sought relief from an incurable disease by religious drowning in the Tungabhadrā and the date of this occurrence was March 29, A. D. 1068. † The assumption has generally been made that Śomēśvara’s absence from Kūḍal-Śangamam on this occasion was due to his illness and death. ‡ It should, however, be observed that as early as the 10th September A.D. 1067 we find recorded not only the absence of Śomēśvara from Kūḍal-Śangamam but the subsequent campaign of Virarājendrā in Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa which resulted in the restoration of the Vēngī kingdom to Vijayāditya VII. On the other hand, Bilhaṇa states distinctly that Vikramāditya VI was encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā § on his way back home after his conquests when the news of his father’s death reached him. And his language, though we cannot be sure about it, seems to rule out the protracted illness of Śomēśvara I, who was suddenly

* E.I. vii p. 9.
† Vikramāditya Carita iv 44-68; E.C. vii Sk. 136.
‡ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India p. 123; A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar op. cit. p. 28.
§ iv 36.
taken ill, in the midst of his rejoicing over his son's successes in the *digvijaya*. Unsatisfactory as it seems, we can, for the present, only assume that if Sōmēśvara's absence was due to illness, his ailment was of a rather longer duration than Bilhaṇa's account implies.

The conflicting nature of our sources and the fecundity of modern research, carried out sometimes under the subtle influence of the nascent patriotism of the Andhra country, have greatly obscured the course of events in the Vēṅgī kingdom during this period; one can hardly be too cautious in dealing with this phase of our subject. A more detailed consideration, however tentative, of the course of events in Vēṅgī will become necessary when we reach the problems connected with the accession of Kūlottunga I to the Cōla throne. Here we may note simply the facts as they are gathered from the inscriptions and the *Vikramāṅkadaṇḍa Carita* which seem to speak for themselves. The Maṇi-mangalam inscription records that from Kūḍal-Śangamam Virarājendrā proceeded to Vēṅgī, after issuing a challenge to the Cāluṅka, saying: "We do not intend to return (home) till after we reconquer the good Vēṅgī country, once ours; listen! if you are a Vallava,* come and defend." This challenge to the Cāluṅka is a clear indication that the Vēṅgī country had just at that time passed into the hands of the W. Cāluṅkas from Virarājendra or from his ally, Vijayāditya VII. The rhapsody of Bilhaṇa on Vikramāditya's *digvijaya* during the life-time of his father seems to furnish the clue to the real situation by including Vēṅgī and Cakrakūṭa † in an otherwise

* Means both 'a strong man' and 'Cāluṅka.' † iv. 20, 30.
impossible list of conquests attributed to him. Apparently Vikramāditya did succeed in transferring Vęngī and Cakrakūṭa from their rulers to himself and adding them to his father's dominions. Attention has been drawn already to the evidence from some Western Cālukya records of this period showing their eagerness to gain control of Vęngī. But if the Manimangalam record speaks truly, the success of Vikramāditya in the east was shortlived; for it states that in a decisive battle on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, in the neighbourhood of Bezwāda, Virarājendra inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Cālukya forces commanded by Jananītha,* Rājamayan and others compelling them to flee into the jungle for refuge. After this, the Cōla crossed the Gūḍāvari, marched across Kalingam and beyond Cakkarak-kōṭṭam. † Having thus regained Vęngī, he bestowed it on Vijayāditya who had sought his protection, before he returned to his capital Gangāpuri, adorned by the splendour of victory gained in many a fight. †

The second engagement at Kūḍal-Sangamam, which Āhavamalla failed to keep, and the resumption of the Vęngī country, which followed, are briefly alluded

* We have a number of undated inscriptions at Drākṣārāma recording vows taken by chieftains promising exclusive allegiance to Śri Parāśakta, Končinmai-kōṇḍēr Sarvalokārāya Śri Visuśvardhana Mahārāja. Perhaps Virarājendra is meant by these titles and the records are of this period (SI iv. 1269-1275).

† 182 of 1915 distinctly says that the Cālukya forces were met at Sakkarak-kōṭṭam and defeated by Virarājendra - paḍāik-kaḍalēi vaḍa-tīśaic-Cakkarak-kōṭṭattu puk-kuḍangējumda Śalukkiyai - tānaiyaik-hanai-paḍa niṅi: cf. also the early inscriptions of Kulōttunga.

† Hultsch has clearly misunderstood the phrase-"īgaliḍaippūyā jaṭayiruru-vaqam" which he translates into: "with the goddess of victory, who had shown hostility in the interval," and in which he sees "an admission of the fact that the Cōlas had experienced reverses." SI. iii. p. 70 and n. 4. The 'idat' after 'igal' is clearly a locative suffix to the preceding word meaning 'battle; not 'hostility', in the context.
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to in the shorter probastiś of the fifth year of Virarājendra I. * These imply that, by the reconquest of Vengī, Virarājendra fulfilled some vow made by his elder brother; † though we cannot be sure of it, this perhaps means that the Cōla control over Vengī had been lost some time during the reign of Rājendradēva II and that he had died without being able to recover it; if this view is correct, the Western Cāḷukya occupation of Vengī must have been more complete and lasted longer than has so far been believed, and Sōmeśvara I must have recompensed himself for the defeat at Koppan by substantial success in another direction. The Kanyakumāri inscription ‡ also states that Vengī and Kalinga, though part of the hereditary dominion of the Cōlas, had been neglected by his brother and allowed to fall under the occupation of hostile kings, and that Virarājendra regained them for the empire.

Virarājendra had his attention drawn to Ceylon by the efforts made by Vijayabāhu to extend his power from Rōhana and to expel the Cōlas from the island. The Mahāvamsa and the only inscription of Virarājendra which gives an account of this war are agreed that Vijayabāhu did not succeed in attaining his object. In the details, the two accounts differ. The Mahāvamsa says § that when the Cōla king heard of Vijayabāhu’s

* Hultsch SII. iii. p. 193.
† Hultsch identifies this elder brother of the king with Rjayanāṇ, SII. iii. p. 194.
‡ v. 77.
§ CV. Ch. 58 vv. 1-77. Codrington (Short History p. 56) says: "A first attempt to secure Polonnāruwa was made in or about A.D. 1066 but ended in failure, and Vijayabāhu was compelled to fortify himself at Viṭagiri (Wēkiri-gala in Kāgala district)." I think that the fortification at Viṭagiri belongs to the later campaign of 1070 of which the narrative in the CV. begins with v. 18.
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designs, he sent off his Sēnāpati who was then in Pūlatthinagārā against the Singalese ruler. The Cōla general entered Rōhana, plundered Kajaragūma and returned to his province. Vijayabāhu saw the strength of the Cōla forces and was distracted by rebellions and treachery in his own camp. Nothing came of his effort. The inscription of Virarājendrā dated in his fifth year, A.D. 1067, states that the king sent a large army which crossed the sea in a number of ships without erecting a causeway, defeated the Singalese forces, compelled Vijayabāhu to seek refuge in flight, made his queen captive and restored the whole of Ceylon to Virarājendrā’s sway. * We cannot accept the last statement literally; Vijayabāhu renewed the struggle with better results three or four years later, and he could not have done this if he had lost his hold on Rōhana.

For the transactions of the rest of Virarājendrā’s reign we have to depend exclusively on the shorter praśusti in its later editions. Records of the seventh year † mention that Virarājendrā conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of a king who had come in search of his aid and protection, and handed it over to him. If the place of this event in these records indicates its chronological position in the reign, it must have occurred before the sixth year, c. A.D. 1068. We know as yet little of the relations between the Cōlas and the empire of Śrī Vijaya, which no doubt is signified by the term Kaḍāram, in the interval that elapsed between Rājendrā’s campaign against Sangrāma-Vijayottunga-varman and the reign of Virarājendrā. Consequently we have no means of

† 178 of 1894; 366 of 1901, Sul. ill. 84.
elucidating this brief reference to a second expedition against Kaḍāram in this reign.

On the death of Sōmeśvara I, Sōmeśvara II came to the Cālukyan throne in A. D. 1068 (11th April), and Vīrarājēndra took the occasion to renew the ancient feud.) The inscriptions of Sōmeśvara II state this fact clearly and imply that the Cōla began by attacking the fortress of Gutti and ended by retreating in haste before Sōmeśvara. The Cōla inscriptions and Bilhana tell another story. The former state that before Sōmeśvara could untie his kaṇṭhikā, that is, on the occasion of his coronation as king, Vīrarājēndra burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍīgal, a village in the Lingsagar Taluk of the Raicūr district, and that he forced Sōmeśvara to abandon the Kannara country, and invested the Śalukki Vikramāditya with the kaṇṭhikā and Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country conquered on his account, because he had come and sought the aid of the Cōla monarch. This occasion is no doubt the one mentioned in the Takkuyūgapparai which says that the Cōla king, here called Rājagambhūra, took away the fillet of royalty from the Piraṭṭan and conferred it on the Iraṭṭan for the protection of the celebrated seven and a half lakh country. And the Vikramāṅkadēva Carita tells the same story, embellished from the standpoint of the hero of the poem. Soon after his father’s death and brother’s accession, Vikramāditya VI quarrelled with his brother who had fallen into evil courses, and left Kalyāṇa with his younger brother Jayasimha and destroyed the troops sent by his elder brother.

* E. C. vii Sk. 136.
† S.II. iii. 83.
‡ EI. xii. pp. 295, 309.
§ S.II. iii. 84.
I v. 774.
Sōmēśvara in pursuit of him. He reached the Tunga-bhadrā and rested his army for a time. * Then he became desirous of war with the Cōḷas and started on the expedition after spending some time in Banavīṣi. Jayakēśi and the Āḷupa king did him obeisance, † and the Cōḷa himself, unable to resist the advance, sent an ambassador and offered his daughter in marriage to the Cāḷukya prince, and Vikrama agreed to retire to the banks of the Tunga-bhadrā, where the Cōḷa king subsequently met him, the marriage was celebrated and the alliance between the two kings concluded. ‡ It may be noted that Jayakēśi I, the Kaḍamba king of Goa who was ruling in this period, is said in Kaḍamba inscriptions to have placed the Western Cāḷukya firmly on his own throne, and to have brought about peace between the Cōḷa and the Cāḷukya at Kānci. §

All these lines of evidence point to the conclusion that soon after the death of Āhavamalla, trouble arose between Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya, on some matters of importance, if not about the succession itself, that Vikramāditya's younger brother Jayasimha, and the Kaḍamba Jayakēśi of Goa took his side in the dispute, that Jayakēśi officiated as Vikrama's ambassador to the Cōḷa, seeking Vīra-rājendrā's aid for his ally, and that as a consequence of the powerful intercession of the Cōḷa monarch, Sōmēśvara II was compelled to part with portions of his hereditary dominions to Vikrama almost immediately after his accession to the throne. Though we have no other evidence for it than that of Bilhaṇa, the marriage of Vikramāditya with a Cōḷa princess may be accepted as a fact.

* Vikramānkhadīva Carita iv 69 —v. 10.
† v. 25-6.
‡ v. 28 —vi. 3.
§ JBBKAS. ix. p. 278, 242; BG. 1, ii p. 567.
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Vikramāditya's inscriptions with the title Trailokya-malla and bearing dates earlier than A. D. 1076, which marked the commencement of the Cālukya-Vikrama era, are found in the southern parts of the Cālukyan empire; * and this goes far to confirm the hypothesis of a division of territory between the Cālukya brothers. It was not many years before the younger brother completely displaced the elder, as we shall see.

In summing up the earlier achievements of Vīrarājendrā, his later inscriptions which record the transactions just noticed, mention at the outset the beheading of the Pāṇḍya, the collection of tribute from the Kēraḷa and the subjugation of Ceylon, †—events which recall the inscriptions of Rājadhīrāja and Rājendrā. It is quite possible that as in the fight at Muḍākkaṟu, (which we have identified with the first battle of Īḻial-Śangamam and which is mentioned at the end of this praśasti and the beginning of the grant portion), Vīrarājendrā took part in the campaigns conducted by his brothers in the southern countries, long before any idea of his accession to the throne dawned on his mind. The wars against Sōmēśvara in which Vīrarājendrā took part are briefly summed up in this form of the praśasti in the statement that the Cola king saw the back of Āhavamalla, that is to say, put him to flight, on five different occasions. ‡

From the Tirumānmanallūr inscription of the fourth year, and the Yōgi-mallavaram and Kanyākumāri records of the seventh, § Vīrarājendrā is seen occasionally to have appropriated

* e.g. 127 of 1913; 455 of 1920; EC xi Cd. 82; SII. iii p. 65.
† SII. iii. 84 II. 1-2.  ‡ SII. iii. p. 194.
§ 371 of 1902, SII. iii. 81; 273 of 1904.
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the full regal titles of the Western Cāḷukyas such as Sakala-bhuvanāśraya, Mēdīnī-vallabha and Mahā-raja-dhirāja, besides specially Cōla titles which, like Āhavamallakulakāla, recall the victories won against the Cāḷukyas. He also styled himself Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Rājāśraya, and Rājarājendra, titles which, together with Vallabhavallabha, Vīra Cōla, and Karikāla, are found in the Kanyākumāri inscription as well. * The same inscription tells us that Virarājendra presented a fine ruby called Trailōkyasāra for being mounted on the crown of the Dancer of the Golden Hall, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram † and that he endowed many brahmadeyas in the countries of Cōla, Tuṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gangavīti, and gratified forty thousand Brahmans, learned in the Vedas, by gifts of land. ‡ We have already noticed that Gangāpurī was the capital of the Cōla empire in this reign as well, and that at the end of his wars he returned to it in state. A palace in Gangai-kōnḍa-sōla-puram called Śōlakēraḷa-māligai and a throne in it called Rājendrāsōla Māvali-vānaṇarājan are mentioned in a record of the fifth year. § The latest regnal year of Virarājendra that is found in inscriptions is the eighth, which is mentioned in a record ¶ of the third year of Parakeśari Adhirājendradēva, the son and successor of Virarājendra, and the brother-in-law of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. Virarājendra's death must have occurred, therefore, early in A.D. 1070. Śrāvaṇa Āśleṣā was the asterism of his birth. || One of his queens, Arumolinangai, survived till the fifteenth year of Kulōt-tunga I; her name is mentioned in an incomplete inscription of that year from Tanjore. ** The presence of Buddhism in the Cōla kingdom in the reign of

* vv. 75; 77-8.
† v. 79 (fragment).
‡ vv. 80-81.
§ 182 of 1915.
¶ SII. iii. 57 ii. 11-12.
|| 182 of 1915. l. 25.
** SII. ii. 58. p. 234.

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Virarājēndra, and the influence of Buddhist scholarship on Tamil literature, are attested by the Vīraśāliyam, a curious work on Tamil grammar conceived on ultra-Sanskritic lines by Buddhāmitra, who calls himself chieftain of Ponpegri. This place is identified by Venkayya with Ponpetti in the Paṭṭukkōṭṭai tranquil of the Tanjore district. *

* ARE. 1899, paragraph 50; SII. iii. p. 197; Vīraśāliyam-Pēyiram.
CHAPTER XII.

THE ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I
A. D. 1070

Virarājendrā died early in A. D. 1070, the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded on the throne by Parakēsari Adhirājendrā who had a very short reign of some weeks' duration and was followed by Rājakēsari Kulottunga Cōla I on the 9th June A. D. 1070. * As we find inscriptions of Adhirājendrā dated in his third year, and as the exact date of Kulottunga's accession is quite clearly attested by his dated stone inscriptions from the Telugu country, it is evident that Adhirājendrā must have been chosen heir-apparent by Virarājendrā some time in 1067-8. Adhirājendrā's relation to Virarājendrā may be inferred from the explicit statement in the Vikramāñkadeva Carita that on the death of his father-in-law, Vikramāditya started for Kānci and Gangākunḍapura in order to place his wife's brother on the Cōla throne. † Why his reign was so short and how the Eastern Cālukya prince Rājendrā II came to occupy the Cōla throne in 1070 are questions that do not admit of decisive answers. The evidence bearing on them proceeds from several quarters. These various sources of evidence differ so much from one another, and suggest so many explanations of the occurrences that the conviction is borne in upon us that almost every one of our authorities had strong motives to put forward a separate version of the course of events.

* R.I. vii p. 7 n. 5.  
† vi. vv. 6-25.
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As a result of several inter-marriages, for some time the members of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty had become plainly Cōla at heart, far more than Cālukyas. * The following genealogical table illustrates the interrelation between the two dynasties:—

Rājarāja I (Cōla).

Rājendra I

Kundavā m. Vimalādītya m. Mālava

Mahādevi
(also of Cōla descent.)

Rājendra II Ammangādevi m. Rājarāja Narendra

Madhrurāntaki m. Rājendra II (Cālukya) Vijayāditya VII.
(Kulottunga I).

Saktivarman II.

The Eastern Cālukya copper-plates of the period fall into two sets, one of them mentioning the transactions of Vijayāditya VII and his son Saktivarman II, omitted by others,—a feature not unknown in other passages of E. Cālukya history, as for instance the grants of Bādapa and Tula II which seem to form a class apart, mentioning facts about the interregnum before the accession of Saktivarman I, omitted elsewhere. The facts as set forth in the first set of plates are the following.

Vijayāditya VII.

After twelve years had elapsed from the accession of Rājarāja-narēndra, his step-brother Vijayāditya ousted him from the throne and crowned himself king in Śaka 952, A. D. 1030; † the grant which mentions this fact is dated in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya. ‡ Then the Telugu Academy plates of Saktivarman II, which do not mention any regnal year, state that Saktivarman was crowned as king in the year Śaka 983, on a

* IA. xx p. 277.
† Pamulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII. ii. 62-3; JAHR. ii. 287.
‡ (ibid) 1. 81.

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day corresponding to 18th October A.D. 1061, after Rājarāja had enjoyed a reign of forty-one years; they omit the coronation of Vijayāditya in A.D. 1030. * Lastly, the Ryāli plates (two sets) of Vijayāditya VII omit all reference to the occurrences of A.D. 1030-2, give forty-one years to Rājarāja, state that Vijayāditya took by force the kingdom of his step-brother without his knowledge (in his absence?), † that he handed it over to his son Śaktivarman out of the love he bore him, and that, when Śaktivarman died at the end of one year by a bad stroke of fate, Vijayāditya was only persuaded with difficulty, like Arjuna at the death of Abhimanyu, to resume the duties of state. These grants are dated in the twelfth year of Vijayāditya's rule. There is nothing in the palaeography or the dating of these records that raises any doubt as to their genuineness.

Alike in their chronology and in their narration of events, these plates differ from those of Kulōttunga which will be noticed presently. These imply that Rājarāja-narēndra came to the E. Cālukya throne in 1018 after Vimalāditya had occupied it for seven years from A.D. 1011, thus completely vindicating the date of Vimalāditya's accession calculated by Kielhorn, 10th May 1011. ‡ But the facts that the Raṇastapūṇḍī grant of Vimalāditya is dated in his eighth regnal year, and that Rājarāja-narēndra's coronation is stated elsewhere to have occurred in A.D. 1022 should not be lost sight of. Though the grants of Vijayāditya VII

* JAHRS. v. pp. 33 ff.
† parokṣam Rājarājasya bhrūtṛur-dvāimaṭurasaya yah | paryagrhaṁ-mahē-raṣṭiṣaṁ viśva-śriyam yute ṣe [j].

My thanks are due to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Madras Museum for assisting me in consulting the unpublished Ryēli plates in his custody. See also ARE. 1925. ill 5; JAHRS. v. p. 44, v. 16.

‡ EI. vi pp 349-50.
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and Śaktivarman II thus agree with those of the time of Kulōttunga I in ascribing a rule of forty-one years to Rājarāja-narēndra, they seem to reckon the years from a different starting point, A.D. 1018, which is four years earlier than the date usually given, in the later grants, for Rājarāja’s coronation, A.D. 1022. The language of the Ryāli plates and the date of Śaktivarman II’s coronation even raise a doubt if Vijayāditya waited till the natural end of Rājarāja’s life or deposed him earlier. In any event, seeing that Virarājēndra’s inscriptions before his seventh year (A.D. 1068-9) do not mention his having had anything to do with Vijayāditya, there is no room for assuming, as has been sometimes done, that he interfered in any dispute relating to the succession, on Rājarāja’s death, between Kulōttunga I and Vijayāditya VII or that he helped to keep out the former. †

The hostility of Vijayāditya VII to Rājarāja, and possibly to his son Rājēndra-Kulōttunga, that becomes apparent from these plates has led to the identification of Vijayāditya VII with Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya (of some Western Cālukya inscriptions) who bears Eastern Cālukya titles like Sarvalōkārāya and Vēṅgi-maṇḍalēśvara. Fleet who first proposed this identification, basing himself mainly on the similarity of names and titles, ‡ subsequently gave it up and made the Western Cālukya prince a fourth son of Sōmeśvara I, not mentioned by Bilhana, apparently because he played a very insignificant part. § In recent years, Fleet’s original identification has again found support from scholars under the influence of the newly discovered copper-plates of

* This date is given as S. 986 in ARE. 1914 II 10 and 983 in App. A. (ibid). The text is: guṇa-vara-midhi. The astronomical details fit 983 better.
† ARE. 1901, paragraph 12; SII. iii p. 128.
‡ IA. ūx 277-8.
§ BG. I, ii 454 and n. 5.

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Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, and attempts have been made to prove that after the failure of his first usurpation (A.D. 1030-32), Vijayāditya left the Vengi country and sought service under and support from Śomēśvara I. * But there are several considerations militating against this view, and the arguments urged in its favour are by no means conclusive. It is true that a marriage relation between the two branches of Cālukyas such as was postulated by Fleet is impossible, and Vijayāditya-Viṣṇuvardhana, if he was a son of Śomēśvara, could not have had an Eastern Cālukya princess for his mother. † It may also be conceded that the omission of this name by Bilhana, and the phrase tatpādapanmārdhaka in the inscriptions, describing the relation of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya to Śomēśvara I, raise a doubt as to whether he was the son of Śomēśvara though he is elsewhere called muga and nandana. ‡ But whether he was a son of Śomēśvara or not, it seems unlikely that this Western Cālukya feudatory was identical with the step-brother of Rājarṣi-narāṇā. The dates of the known inscriptions of the feudatory are: A.D. 1064 and 1066, and his inscriptions bearing these years are found in the Mysore and Bellary districts, and he acknowledges the overlordship of Śomēśvara in these years. But what we gather from the Eastern Cālukya plates is: (1) that, if Vijayāditya VII was exiled at all, it must have been some time after A.D. 1032, at a time when the Western Cālukya feudatory with whom he is sought to be identified is not known to have recorded any inscriptions; § and (2) that in the years A.D. 1063-70 he

* JAHRS. i p. 215; v 206-8; ARE. 1925 II 3.
† ARE. 1925 II 3.
‡ Fleet, BG. i iiid.
§ The Māśimangalam inscription (A.D. 1046) of Rājarṣi has been thought, quite wrongly, to contain a reference to Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. JAHRS. i 219 n. 33. We have only the name Vijayāditya in I. 3 among the leaders of the army, and this proves nothing.
must have been ruling in Vēngī after the death of his son Śaktivarman II. Again, there is no getting over the fact that about A.D. 1067-8 Virarājendrā did reconquer Vēngī from his enemies and hand it over to Vijayāditya VII, which clearly means that Vijayāditya could not have been the feudatory of Sōmēśvara I about the same time. Lastly, the title Vēngīpuravarēśvara is borne as early as A.D. 1053 by Sōmēśvara-dēva, the son of Sōmēśvara I, * which is proof that this title is for some unknown reason borne in this period by the governors of W. Cáɭukya provinces. It seems impossible therefore to uphold the identification of the two Vijayādityas of the Western and Eastern Cáɭukya records of the period.

To return to the evidence from the Eastern Cáɭukya copper-plates. Three grants of the sons of Kulōttunga, known as the Tēki, Cellūr and Pittāpuram grants, dated respectively in the seventeenth, twenty-first and twenty-third years of his reign, narrate in almost identical terms the course of events in Vēngī as it was described by Kulōttunga himself to his son Rājarājamummaṭicōḍā, while sending him to Vēngī as viceroy of the northern province of the Cōḍa empire. † From these plates we learn that, at the death of Rājarāja after a rule of forty-one years, Rājēndra was first crowned as lord of Vēngī and attained great celebrity. He was then crowned in the Cōḍa-rājya, not less exalted in status than the position of Dēvēndra. He married Madhurāntakī, the very Lakṣmī risen from the ocean, namely Rājēndra-dēva, the tilaka of the Solar race. He had many children by her, and to one of them, Rājarāja, he said: "Child, the great kingdom of Vēngī was, in

* Mulguṇḍ inscription EI. xvi. p. 53.
† EI. vi. 35. SII. i. 39, IA. xix. p. 427; EI. v. 10.
days gone by, entrusted by me to my paternal uncle, king Vijayāditya, as I was desirous of undertaking a conquering tour (or according to the Cellār plates, 'as I was desirous of securing the Cōla kingdom'). He too, who was like a god and resembled a lion in his strength, went to heaven after ruling the kingdom for fifteen years." And the Tēki plates make it clear that Vijayāditya’s death occurred some time in A.D. 1077;* this would mean that Kulōttunga appointed him as his deputy in A.D. 1062 or thereabout.

In order to reconcile these statements of Kulōttunga on his relations with Vijayāditya VII with what we know of them from other sources, we must recall the time and circumstance of the utterance attributed to Kulōttunga. By 1077 Kulōttunga was firmly seated on the Cōla throne; and securely established at the head of a prosperous and extensive empire, he was addressing his own son, after the death of his uncle and on the eve of sending him out as viceroy to the northern kingdom. Paternal solicitude as well as good taste and policy required that, rather than expatriate on ancient family feuds that deserved to be forgotten, he should give the best possible account of the past history of the viceroyalty that the young prince was about to take upon himself.

That Vijayāditya’s relations with Kulōttunga and his father, however, had been nothing so pleasant as Kulōttunga afterwards represented them to his son, becomes clear not only from his Pāmulavāka, and Ryāli plates, and the Telugu Academy plates of

* Rējarēja Cōḍa-ganga was crowned in Vēngi in Śaka 1006 (v. 34); before him Vīra Cōḍa was viceroy for six years and Mummaḍi-Cōḍa for one year (vv. 19 and 17), so that the beginning of Mummaḍi’s viceroyalty fell in Śaka 999 or A.D. 1077.
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Śaktivarman II discussed above, but from other evidence as well. We learn from Eastern Ganga inscriptions that even after Kulottunga became Cōla emperor, the hostile relations between Vijayāditya and his nephew continued more or less unabated. The Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Cōlaganga state that his father Rājarāja having, in the first instance, become the lord of the goddess of victory in a ‘Tamil battle’, then married Rājasundari, the daughter of the Cōla king. The same lady is described elsewhere in unmistakable terms as the daughter of Rājendra Cōla and the chief queen of Rājarāja.

The Ganga king is also said to have offered help to Vijayāditya at the end of his life. The grant that mentions the ‘Tamil battle’ also states that “when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left the country of Vēngi, as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōdas,” Rājarāja of Kalinganagara “caused him to enjoy prosperity for a time in the Western region,” that is, Vēngi to the west of Kalinganagara. The approximate date for these occurrences is furnished by the Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati dated Śaka 997. A. D. 1075, which makes a pointed reference to Vanapati’s successes gained on behalf of his Ganga overlord against the Cōla forces. A war between Kulottunga and the E. Ganga Rājarāja followed by a peace sealed by a dynastic alliance, a mediation by Rājarāja Ganga

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* IA. xviii pp. 166-9; Korni plates, JA/I/S, i pp. 166 ff.
† IA. xviii. pp. 163-4.
‡ IA. xx. p. 270.

§ 271 of 1896; A.I. iv. 45. E. Ganga Rājarāja came to power on May 20, A. D. 1070 (ARZ. 1919, App. A, No. 4.) 248 of 1896, dated Śaka 990, records a gift by a queen of his predecessor Vairāhasta. It is surprising that, in utter disregard of all chronology, these inscriptions should have been dragged into a discussion of Vāmēndra’s movements in JA/I/S. i. p. 215.

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between Vijayāditya VII and his nephew Kulottunga on a subsequent occasion, and the demise of Vijayāditya some time after the successful intercession of Rājarāja are thus clearly attested by the Ganga records of the time.

If Rājendra-Kulottunga was first crowned as lord of Vēngī, as the later E. Cālukya plates assert (in contradiction to those of Vijayāditya), it is remarkable that these plates fail to give us the exact date of this coronation as they do of most other coronations. The Telugu inscriptions of Kulottunga containing both regnal years and Śaka dates support the date A.D. 1070 for the commencement of his rule, and this was the date of his accession to the Cōla throne.* The crux of the Kulottunga problem is, in fact, the question: what did he do with himself in the interval between his father’s death and A.D. 1070? Fleet added up the two statements in the Tēki and Cellur grants that Kulottunga appointed his uncle as deputy in Vēngī because he wanted to have (i) a conquering tour and (ii) the Cōlarājya, and stated that ‘Kulottunga acquired the Cōla crown by hostile invasion and conquest,’ and placed this event in A.D. 1063, in spite of the indication of a much later date for it furnished by the Vikramānkhadeva Carita.† He also pointed out that Kulottunga’s conquest and annexation of the Cōla empire were not entirely the result of a failure of the Cōla succession, and that it must have been powerfully aided by a rebellion in the Cōla country and a state of anarchy of which we get some idea from the Kalingattupparati. Later writers, while they have recognised the mistake in Fleet’s date for

* *SII. iii. p. 127.
† *IA. xx. 277, 282.

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these occurrences, have not been so ready to give up his suggestions of hostile invasion, and in fact have added to it the charge of political murder against Kulōttunga. * Reserving the literary sources for more detailed consideration at a later stage, it may be observed here that the course adopted by Fleet in putting together two alternative statements made in peculiar circumstances about past events and evolving the theory of hostile invasion seems to be of doubtful validity, and that even the Vikramāṇkadeva Carita does not contain the remotest suggestion that Kulōttunga put his rivals out of the way by secret murder, or even by open fighting. And now we must remember what Fleet was not aware of, viz., that the supposed appointment of Vijayađitya by Kulōttunga to deputise for him at Vēngi and his occupation of the Cōḷa throne are separated by the whole interval of the reign of Virarājendra.

At the time of his father's death and the forcible seizure of the Vēngi throne by Vijayađitya mentioned in the Ryāli plates, Kulōttunga, or Rājendra as he was then known, must have been a youth in his teens. For considering that he lived on to have a long rule of fifty years from A. D. 1070, it is hardly likely that about A. D. 1062 he was more than twenty years of age. His earliest Tamil inscriptions record certain facts which seem to indicate how Rājendra engaged himself when he was thus kept out of his inheritance. The records of his second year † state that, with the aid only of the strength of his arms and

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* ARE. 1899 paragraph 51.

† SII, iii 64-7, as corrected by Hira Lal, EI, ix p. 179 n. 1 and 2. Also 125 of 1900 with the pū mēl arival introduction recording the same transactions in other words.
his sword, he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured many herds of elephants, levied tribute from the Nāgavamśi king, Dhārāvarśa of Cakrakūṭa, and gently raised the country in the eastern region, like Viṣṇu raising the Earth from the ocean in his boar incarnation, and seated her, to her great pleasure, under the shade of his parasol. 'The lotus-like nila-māgni (earth-maiden) in the direction of the rising sun' is clearly by itself and in the context a periphrasis for Pūrvadēsām, * and the elaborately ceremonial character of the language of these records seems to imply that Rājendra at least succeeded in making himself acceptable as a great benefactor of that country, if not also as its ruler. His records soon came to describe these achievements as belonging to the period of his ilangōp-paruvam, when he was still heir-apparent. † If this view is correct, we must conclude that Rājendra spent the best part of the period A.D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar state, and possibly even carved out for himself a small dominion beyond it in the Pūrvadēsa, even if he did not gain complete control over the Cakrakūṭa state and annex parts of the Pūrvadēsa to it, as his inscriptions imply. Possibly this northern extension of the influence of Vēṅgī, so closely allied to the Cōlas, was the cause of Vikramāditya's expedition against Vēṅgī and Cakrakūṭa, counteracted by the campaign of Virarājendra culminating in the battle of Bezwāḍa. It will be remembered that in the course of this campaign, Virarājendra is said also to have marched up to Ṣakkarakkottam. After the death of Virarājendra, Kuloṭtunga marched into the Cōla country in good time to get himself accepted as

* Hultsch's equation of this phrase with Vēṅgī (S.II. iii p. 132) is hardly satisfactory, while Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is wide of the mark in suggesting that there is a reference to Kaṅṣaram here (Ancient India, pp. 130-1).

† SII. iii. 68.
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king; but more of this later. And as he did some fighting during these years and subsequently came to look upon the whole period as a sort of probation for the Cōla throne, he might have felt justified in saying that he left Vēngī to his uncle Vijayāditya at the death of his father for a double reason.*

We may now turn to the literary evidence on the subject of Kulottunga’s accession. On one matter the evidence of two works is in complete accord with that of the inscriptions. Both the Vikramānkaśāya Carita and the Vikramaśākyan-ulā † are explicit in stating that Viśarājendra was succeeded by another king before Kulottunga came to the throne; the ulā by its very brief reference giving no particulars whatever of his reign, and the

* It is obviously impossible to discuss fully all the theories that have been suggested about Kulottunga’s position in 1063-70. I am fully alive to the responsibility of adding one more to these, not to my knowledge suggested before by others. My only warrant is that this seems to be the normal interpretation of the language of the inscriptions of Kulottunga himself. The other views centre round the hypothesis that Rājarāja was yuvataja to his father Rājarāja-marāndra when he fought the campaign against Dīrāvīvara or that he was yuvataja to Viśarājendra. The latter seems impossible, in view of Adhūrājendra’s position and inscriptions. The former hypothesis is quite feasible, provided the date is not placed too early. (JAHRs. v. pp. 217-8). But what, on this basis, can be the force of the claim that Kulottunga gently raised the land in the eastern quarter and seated her under his umbrella? Another view makes Kulottunga a dupe of circumstances who, having, after a fight in which Śaktivarman II was killed like Abhimanyu (an inference not supported by the language of the Rājīya plates), made his peace with his bereaved uncle, found himself baulked in his design upon the Cōla throne by the prompt usurpation of Viśarājendra (JAHRs. v. pp. 208-11). This writer has apparently overlooked the probability that Viśarājendra might have been recognised as heir to Rājarājendra on the death of Kījamaśēdra. He is also clearly wrong in mixing up Yāśāy-karprāśa’s inroad into Trīkalinga with these transactions, for he did not come to power till A.D. 1073 (EJ. xii p. 207). Hultsch’s view that before A.D. 1072 Rājarājendra-Kulottunga took Vēngī from his uncle Vijayāditya VII who appears to have received it from the Cōla king Viśarājendra (SII. iii. p 132) goes against the express statement in the Āgīkī and other grants that Vijayāditya ruled Vēngī continuously for fifteen years, and is now contradicted by the Rājīya plates of the twelfth year of Vijayāditya c. A.D. 1074; but the E. Ganga records (p. 345 ante) must be taken into account here. See also ARE. 1914, II 10 where SII. iii. p. 128 is followed.

† II.44-5—Avāpaḥpan śapūrśāntā cinātipum.
Carita by directly stating that he lost his life in a rebellion that occurred within a few days of his installation*, imply that he had a very short reign; this king was no doubt Parakēsari Adhīrājēndra of the inscriptions. And Kulōttunga himself recognised the legitimacy of Adhīrājēndra's position when he styled himself Rājakēsari. In some of his records, however, is found a double praśasti which, by combining the two forms viramē tuṣāi-yāyavum and pugālmādu viṅga, seems to set up a claim that Kulōttunga should be considered the direct successor of Viṟarājēndra. † And the Kalimaṭuttapparaṇi of Jayangonḍār, makes it a point to ignore the reign of Adhīrājēndra. ‡ This poem is often cited in support of the notions that at his birth Kulōttunga was adopted by Rājēndra Cōḷadēva 1 into the Cōḷa family and that he was brought up in his maternal grandfather's court. § But there is nothing in the actual words employed by the poet to suggest either a formal ceremony of adoption or to enable us to know where the prince spent his early years. In fact the date of this prince's birth must be placed at the end of Rājēndra 1's reign, some time after A. D. 1040. By that time Rājādhirāja I had long been associated with his father as yaṭṭarāja, and there were several brothers of his perhaps occupying responsible posts in the administration of the empire. There was no need for any adoption; and considering his marriage

Was Kulōttunga adopted into the Cōḷa family?

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* vi. 26

† 156 of 1923 (Yr. 2); 197 1919 (Yr. 5), the former having only viramē tuṣāi; 197 and 199 of 1929 and 434 of 1912 (Yrs. 37, 38 and 43). ARE. 1913, II. 33.

‡ Verse viii. 29 asserts that directly after the victory of Kūḍal-Śāngamam the earth, to her great good fortune, passed into the hands of Abbaya, the hero of the poem. The 'manna-mannan' or 'manna-viram' of x. 25 cannot be Adhīrājēndra as Hultzsch thinks (SII. iii p. 129), but Viṟarājēndra.

ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I

with Madhurāntaki, it is impossible to postulate it. In fact all that Jayangonḍār says is that on the birth of the child, the queen of Gangaikonda-śūla raised him in her hands and expressed her admiration of the marks on his limbs by observing that he was fit to be a son of the solar line born for its protection; in the very next verse the poet takes good care to add that the kings of both the lunar and the solar dynasties, that is Rājarāja-narēndra and Rājendra Gangaikonda, experienced joy on the occasion of the birth of the prince. After a conventional account of the early years of the prince, the poet states that Abhaya (Virarājendra) made him crown prince, and then proceeds to describe his digriyāya of which particulars are furnished only with reference to the northern direction. He is said to have made his mark in Vayirākara and Śakkara-kōṭṭam. He was still in the north engaged in these campaigns when the Cūla king died in the south, and there ensued anarchy and confusion until Abhaya Kulottunga returned and restored order. This account of Jayangonḍār is remarkable in some ways. It studiously refrains from mentioning Adhirājendra and asserts that Virarājendra made Abhaya crown prince for the rule of the Earth, meaning no doubt, the Cūla kingdom; and it recounts details of campaigns in Wairagarh and Cakrakūṭa exactly like the early inscriptions of Kulottunga to which attention has been drawn above. Though the poet aims, as Fleet has remarked, at treating Abhaya on the whole as a Cūla prince rather than as Cāḷukya, he has still not altogether suppressed the Cāḷukya connections, and in his account of the

* x, vv. 5-7.

† 'Abhaya' in this verse x, 18 does refer to Virarājendra cf. vii, 29; and from this account of Virarājendra's recognition of Kulottunga, the conclusion has been drawn that Adhirājendra was a bastard with no title to the throne.

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youthful achievements of Abhaya he follows the early records of the reign rather closely. Above all, his account leaves no room for doubt as to the whereabouts of Abhaya at the time when his chance arrived to seize the Cōla throne. It is also of some interest to note that in the account of Abhaya’s diguṣṭa, and in the attempt made, in the inscriptions, to combine the praśasti of Vīrājendra with that of Kulottunga, and thus cast a doubt on the legitimacy of Adhirājendra’s rule, the poem and the inscriptions are in perfect agreement.

The Vikramāṅkadaṇḍa Carita of Bilhana gives the story from yet another point of view, which is as hostile to Kulottunga as the Kalingattupparāṇi is favourable to him. Soon after Vikramāditya’s marriage, his father-in-law the Cōla king, died and the kingdom fell into a state of anarchy. When he heard of these things, he set out for Kāñcē with the definite object of helping the late king’s son to the throne. At Kāñcē, Vikramāditya spent some days in bringing the wicked (duṣṭavarga) to their knees, and then marched to Gangaṅkūḍa where he destroyed the forces of the enemy and finally secured the throne to the Cōla prince. After spending about a month in that city, Vikramāditya, apparently satisfied that peace had been restored, retired to the Tungabhadra. Within a few days after his return, the news reached him that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion and that Rājiga, the lord of Vēṅgi, had captured the throne vacated by the Cōla prince. Vikramāditya VI marched at once against Rājiga. The latter induced Sūnēśvara II to combine with him; and a battle was fought. But the victory rested with

* vi. 7-26.
ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I

Vikramāditya VI; Rājiga fled and Sōmeśvara II was taken prisoner. This lost Sōmeśvara the throne; and shortly afterwards, according to the poem, Vikramāditya VI allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekkan. *

Certain questions naturally arise from this account: who was responsible for the troubles that followed Virarājendrā's death and rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya to come over to Kāñci and Gangākunda to secure the succession for his brother-in-law? Who were the wicked people of Kāñci and the hostile forces of Gangākunda whom Vikramāditya had to suppress before Adhirājendrā could feel secure on the throne and Vikramāditya himself retire to the Tungabhadra? And what was the nature of the rebellion in which Adhirājendrā lost his life within a few days after Vikramāditya's retirement? There is no direct statement in the Vikramānkhadēva Carita of Kulottunga's complicity in these conspiracies and rebellions; but the facts that they paved the way for Kulottunga's accession to the Cōla throne, that Vikramāditya VI marched against him and made an attempt to oust him after he occupied it, and the silence of the Kalingattupparāṇi on Adhirājendrā's reign seem to furnish some ground for the inference that Kulottunga's ambition and intrigue brought about these occurrences. But a strict regard to the actual statements of Bilhana may not support any conclusion more precise than that of Fleet, † 'that Kulottunga Cōḷadēva I was enabled to seize the Cōla crown through internal disturbances in the Cōla kingdom, which culminated in the death of the last Cōla king.'

† IA. xx. p. 282.
THE COLAS

An attempt has been made * to connect these internal disturbances in the Cōla kingdom that led to the extinction of the direct line of the Cōlas with the story of the persecution suffered by Rāmānuja and his disciples as it is narrated in Vaiśṇava hagiology. Without minimising the difficulty of reconciling all the data proceeding from a mass of contradictory legends, but confining our attention to the professedly earliest biographies of Rāmānuja like the final chapters of the Divyasūricarita † and the Yatirāja-vaiḥavam, ‡ it is just possible to identify the Cōla who died as Krimikaṇṭha in consequence of the persecution to which he subjected Rāmānuja and his followers with either Adhirājēndra, or possibly with Vinārajēndra with whom the direct Cōla line practically comes to a close. The categorical statement in the Divyasūricarita that God Śiva of Tiruvārūr proclaimed the end of the rule of the kings of the Cōla family, § and the chaos at the end of Vīrājēndra’s rule which is attested by, but not accounted for, by the Kalingattupparaṇī and the Vikramānkalēvā Carita, and which might have been the concomitant of a religious upheaval, lend plausibility to the suggestion thus made. But it must be recognised that the details of the chronology of the life of Rāmānuja furnished by other works are not easy to explain on this assumption, and that it is perhaps impossible to reconcile all the data furnished by legend on any single hypothesis. ¶

* IA. xli pp. 217 ff.
‡ IA. xxxviii pp. 129 ff. See, however, IA. xl p. 152, for a critique.
§ xviii 84.
¶ To refrain from dogmatism in dealing with such shifty material is as necessary as it is difficult. Krimikaṇṭha-Cōla has generally been identified with
ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I

Before concluding this discussion of the circumstances of Kulottunga’s accession, it must be pointed out that the provenance of the inscriptions of the early years of Kulottunga now known does not confirm the views to which Hultzsch gave expression in his masterly introduction to Kulottunga’s inscriptions of these years. It shows, on the contrary, that from A.D. 1070 onwards Kulottunga was practically master of the entire Cōla country, except, of course, for the hostile movement of Vikramāditya VI which remained to be dealt with, and the risings in the south, always ready to break out on every possible occasion and now favoured by the confusion following Vīrāṇāja’s death. Inscriptions of Rājendra’s second year* with the characteristic introduction or with a verifiable date are found in Kaṇḍamangalam (South Arcot) and Vaṭuvār (Tanjore); of the third year † at Alangudi, Nallur (Tanjore), Idaivyār and Tribhuvani, (South Arcot). And

Kulottunga I, on the strength of the name Kulottunga given to the Cōla persecutor of Rāmānuja in late works like the Kāyillogu. A. Govindacārya-svāmin-Life of Rāmānuja (Madras 1906) p. 170. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India pp. 150 and 207. Dr. Aiyangar is inclined to date the decline of Cōla power from the end of Kulottunga I’s reign. op. cit. pp. 152 and 318. It has been pointed out that the traditional date for the foundation of the temple at Mēlukōṭe is against this identification of Krimiṅgaṇha. (J.A. vol. xii. p. 224). It is possible that ‘Kulottunga’ is used in late works as a generic name for Cōla. The name is not found even in the Curusparamaprapthakā (Āgīyirappadi; ed. Madras 1927). Krimiṅgaṇha-Cōla is said to have uprooted and thrown into the sea the image of Gōvindarāja from the front of the Naṭarāja shrine at Cidambaram, and this act of sacrilege is placed by the Divyānasiricarita at the very beginning of the Cōla persecution of Vaishnavism, (xvii 72). The same fact is recalled by the much later Prapannāṅgaṇam (quoted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar op. cit. p. 320). The poet Oṭṭakkuṭtan seems to attribute this deed to Kulottunga II—Kulottungasāhaṇ-ulī lll 76-8; Naṭarājaṭhāṇ-ulī lll, 64-6 which is most explicit, and Takkhāyapaparana v. 777. But no one, on this account, seems to be prepared to identify the persecutor of Rāmānuja with Kulottunga II. This king is, however, known to have extended the temple of Naṭarāja by putting up new structures and ‘gilding’ it and it may be that the Tamil poet in describing this act of his attributes to him a deed of one of his predecessors. Otherwise the genuineness of even the Divyānasiricarita would be suspect.

* 358 of 1917; 425 of 1912.
† 497 of 1920: 55 of 1911; 279 of 1929; 185 of 1919.

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there are records of the second and fourth years already giving him the name Kulōṭṭunga. * It seems necessary therefore to give up the ideas that some years elapsed after Rājīga entered the Cūla kingdom and before he actually occupied the territory on the banks of the Kāvēri; and that his formal assumption of Cūla sovereignty in the fifth year was marked by the adoption of the name Kulōṭṭunga. † The fact seems to have been that, as is implied by the Vikramāṇkadi eva Carita, Rājīga came to the south soon after Adhirājendra's demise ‡ and appropriated to himself the whole kingdom of the Cūlas, in so far as it was possible to do this by a single formal act. In fact, he became the Cūla king. It remained of course for him to hold the new position against Vikramāditya's attack and to suppress other disorders. And if it is true, as seems likely, that some other records bearing early regnal years like the second and third of Kulōṭṭunga § are also really his, then it becomes quite certain that the title Kulōṭṭunga was also assumed by him from the very commencement.

To sum up the results of the discussion. Despite the statement in the Kalingattapparaya that Virarājendra made Kulōṭṭunga his crown prince, the evidence of Adhirājendra's inscriptions, the Vikramāṇkadi eva Carita and the Vikramaśālanulū makes it clear that this could not have happened, and that, consequently, we have to assume that the court-poet of Kulōṭṭunga introduced this story to give validity to Kulōṭṭunga's title to the Cūla throne.

* 156 of 1923, (2); 101 of 1928, 468 of 1913 (4). † SII. iii pp. 132, 140.
‡ The civil war between Adhirājendra and the 'usurper' postulated in ARE. 1904 paragraph 21 is pure myth. (See n. on 386 of 1903 Yr. 4, post Vol. ii. Appendix).
§ 145, 147, 151 of 1906; 142 of 1929; 55 of 1911; 586 of 1907; 267 of 1917; 126 of 1912.
ACCESSION OF KULOTTTUNCA I

There is no direct statement even by Jayangondär that Kulottunga was either adopted into the Cöla family or that he was brought up in the Cöla court. The copper-plate grants of the Eastern Cālukyas, those of Vijayāditya VII, of Śaktivarman II and of the sons of Kulottunga himself, together with the early Tamil records of Kulottunga's reign, lead us to reconstruct the period of Kulottunga's youth and his career until he came to the Cöla throne somewhat as follows. At the time of his father's death, his uncle Vijayāditya made himself master of the Vēngī kingdom and kept the prince Rājendra, as he was then called, out of his inheritance. Alone and unaided, he sought a life of adventure across the Vēngī frontier in the land of Cakrakūta and Pūrvadēsa. Possibly he carved a small principality for himself and after making his peace with his uncle Vijayāditya, especially as, after the death of Śaktivarman II, this must have been easy, he bided his time hoping that in some manner he might gain the Cöla throne for himself. The confusion that followed the death of Virarājendra in the internal affairs of the Cöla kingdom helped him to achieve his object in spite of the attempts of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI to prevent the union of the Vēngī and Cöla kingdoms in the same hands. The evidence is not clear on the question of Kulottunga's complicity in the rebellions that at first obstructed the accession and then shortened the rule of Adhirājendra. There is just a possibility that these disturbances were religious in origin and connected with the Cöla persecution of Vaiśnavism in the days of Rāmānuja, a fact well attested in legends, though the details of the story are very obscure. In any event, Kulottunga began to rule in the Cöla kingdom from about the 9th June A.D. 1070. * In his later

* EL. vii. p. 7 n. 5.

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THE COLAS

inscriptions Kulottunga claims to have obtained the Cōla crown by right and thereby become an acceptable companion to the land of the Kāvēri in her loneliness.

* SII. iii 68. ‘Podumai’ does not mean ‘prostitution’ as Hultsch understands it. The idea is that Lakṣmi, the wealth of the southern country, had become common, ownerless, and the land of the Kāvēri lonely, unaccompanied, when the Cōla succession failed; both found a remedy for their situation in the coming of Kulottunga.
APPENDIX
SELECT LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
CŪLAS AND RELATED DYNASTIES
(CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.)

This list is intended to furnish a handy reference to the most important epigraphs on which the history of the Cūlas is based. As far as possible, all the inscriptions of definite historical or social importance have been included, and references given to the known editions of published inscriptions. Most of the unpublished inscriptions have been consulted by me, thanks to the courtesy of the Archaeological Department, and the data gathered from their study have been incorporated in the summaries of the records. These will be found arranged in the order of regnal years of the rulers in whose reigns they were recorded, the inscriptions of each regnal year being arranged in the alphabetical order of the villages where they are found. Records dated on a numbered day in a regnal year are placed at the end of that year, e. g., 185th day of year 10 will be found at the end of year 10 and before year 11. Only a few of the Rājakēsari and Parakēsari inscriptions have been included under the particular reigns to which they may be assigned. In the case of most of them, however, the identity of the ruler is either obscure or disputed; hence they have been put together in separate groups, and placed at the beginning of the list. Inscriptions of other contemporary rulers have also been listed wherever, as in the case of Kṛṣṇa III, such a list is calculated to elucidate the course of Cūla History.
THE COLAS

The following abbreviations are used for the names of districts:

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>Travancore</td>
<td>Tv.</td>
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Also, caturvedi-mangalam is abbreviated into catm., and n-d. signifies 'no date.'
RĀJAKĪṢARĪVARMAN

Year 2—Lālgudi (Tri.)—Five kāḻaṇju for some lamps in the temple by Arangan Paṭṭiḷagin of the Madhurāntaka-teriṇja-kāilkōḻa-paḍai, a Kāilkōḻa of Sōḷamāḍēviyār Vēḷam (in Tanjore). 89 of 1892 ; SII. iv 536.

Sendalai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp deposited with the sabhā. 61 of 1897 ; SII. iv 10.

Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Thirty sheep and thirty goats for a lamp in the temple of Tiru-kurakkut-turai-perumāṇaṇaḷ at Mahēndra-mangalam. 586 of 1904.

Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Registers the tax-free lands of the temple and allots the revenues therefrom for its various requirements. A special vāriyam and the kaṇakku did the work. 596 of 1904.

Tirumāṇaṇjēri (Tj.)—An arrangement by Udaiya-pirāṭ-ṭiyār Śembiyaṇ Māḍēviyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa, regarding expenses for the temple from the proceeds of 14 vēḷ of land in Mūlangudi. 21 of 1914.

Tirumēyēnānam (Tj.)—The assembly of Nāḻur, a trahma-dēya transferred the right of collecting angādik-kūli in the bazaar of their town (engalār) to the temple of Mūlasthāṇattu Mahādeva of Tirumayēnānam—the rate being kūsinvāy nāḷi of each measurable stuff like paddy and rice brought up for sale from outside Nāḻur; kīḷandu vēppana kurālāl (heap) nāḷi; one palam of articles sold by weight; one parru on each basket of betel-leaves; two nuts for each basket of areca-nuts. This transfer was apparently in consideration of 25 kāśu received by the assembly from the temple. 321 of 1910 ; SII. iii 90*

Tirunāgēvaram (Tj.)—Gift with the consent of the guild (Nagara-anuṣcaityāl) of vārāvaigal collected annually till then by the Nagarum (i.e., the Perunagarattār of Kūmāra-mārāṇḍa-puram) on account of two flower gardens of the Mīlāḻuṇaiyār-pāḷḷi of that

* Palaeographically of the time of Āditya I. H. K. Sastri.
village; the gift was made for the renovation (puduk-kuppugram) of the gopura and the tiruccurralai (called Mouna-kumara-mattandhan) in the paḷḷi.

222 of 1911; SII, iii. 91 *

Year 2—Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalainju of gold by Šôlap-perumânaļilai Perunarkkiḷḷi-sôḷan for lamp.

143 of 1928.

" Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Silver vessels to god Pugalur-dêva. Another damaged record in year 3 of...varman records gift of a silver vessel by Pattan Dûnatongiyâr queen of Uttama Cêla-dêva.

70 of 1928.

" Tiruvëṅkâlu (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings to the temple of Tiruvëṅkâlu-dêva by one of the Pârthivâ-śekar-ar-teriṅja-kaikkôḷjar. 491 of 1918.

" Tiruvîḷįmarudur (Tj.)—Eight Ikkâśu to the shrine of Purâṇa-gaṇapati on the south side of the Mûlaṭhâna at Tiruvîḷįmarudil by a native of Émanallur, a brahmadêya in Vaṭlagarai-manį-nâḍu. 239 of 1907.

" Uḍaiyârugu (SA.)—Land and house-sites by purchase for feeding 15 Brahmans and 5 Śivayâgis and for paddy for a Brahman who supplied water for the sacred bath of god.

577 of 1920. †

Year 3—Allur (Tri.)—Gift of waste land with the permission of Viraśôla-Îlangâvel alias Parântakan Kuṅjaramallan.

380 of 1903.

" Kâṅçipuram (Ch.)—Loan raised from the temple by the Urâr of Tirukkaralipurattu-Menâlîr. The interest on the loan of 18 kalainju, 3 maṅjaţi and 1 kunri was one uḷakku of oil every day. SII, i. 84.

* cf. 199 of 1907; AРЕ. 1912 II. 12. Kumâra-mattandha was a surname of Nandivarman II.

† Wrongly explained as 'a body of weavers' so named after Rājarṣia I in AРЕ. 1919 II 10.

† This seems to refer to Aditya II falling a victim to some treachery on the part of local chiefs; their lands were confiscated by Rājarṣia, and these lands, after purchase by another, came to be used for feeding Brahmans in the Śiva temple at Köṭṭumâṅgar-kâyil of which Uḍaiyârugu was a hamlet. AРЕ. 1921 II. 31.
RAJAKESARI

Year 3—Kūrappaluvūr (Tri.)—Two silver vessels to the temple by queen of Vikramaśāla Ilāngovājār and daughter of Paṇḍavēṭṭaraiyar. 110 of 1895; SII. v. 671.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Sale of land by the assembly (mūlaparuvai) of Tirukkuḷamukkil to a Veḷḷāḷa, Araiyan Kalangāmalai, for feeding (uttamāgram) a Śiva-yōgin in a temple. 227 of 1911.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Mentions one of the Vīra-sūla-teriñja-kaikkōlar of Tanjore. 228 of 1911.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple for 500 kalaiṇju of gold by the assembly of Tirukkuḷamukkil, in order to pay a part of 3,000 kalaiṇju, a danāyam levied upon them by Madiraikopuḷa-uḷaiyār in his 38th year. Mentions Paṇḍippadai as those to whom the amount was to be paid and the temple of Jalāśayana. 255 of 1911.†

"Olagapuram (SA.)—Sheep for lamp by Ambalavan Gaṇḍarūdittanār, a perundarām of the king, who built the temple of Śri-Kailāyattu-Paramasvāmigaḷ; Ulōgamādevi-puram a taniyār in Ōymā-nādu. 129 of 1919.

"Punjāraravūḷai (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, by a Veḷḷāḷa of Ilāmangalam a suburb (piṭāgat) of Rājakēsari-catm., to a resident of Manōramac-cēri for bringing water from the river for the sacred bath of the deity. Coin kurungūsu mentioned. The purchase was bināmi, (anyanāma-kaṇānum) 238 of 1923.

"Punjāraravūḍai (Tj.)—Land by a native of Pulilamangalam residing at Naratongac-cēri, as a jīvita to a person for bringing water daily from the river for sacred bath. 276 of 1923.

"Salem (Sm.)—Five kalaiṇju of gold for feeding Brahmans in the temple by a merchant belonging to the manigrāmam of Koḷumbāḷūr. 47 of 1888; SII. iv. 147.

* Title of Parāntaka I. cf. Samarakēsari and Vikramaśinga in other names of similar groups of Kaikkōlar. 278, 279 of 1911, ARE. 1912 II. 16.

† Perhaps Gaṇḍarūdithya, Rājādithya having died. ARE. 1912 II. 15.

‡ Parakēsari-cēri in the same village mentioned in 268 of 1923. See also next entry.
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Year 3—Sendalai (Tj.)—Gold (for lamp) deposited with the sabhā. 62 of 1897; SII. vi. 11.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Mentions two persons among the Samarakēsari-teriṇja-kaikkōḷar. 24 of 1895; SII. v. 580.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Mentions Samarakēsari—* and Vikramaśinga-teriṇja-kaikkōḷar. 278 of 1911.

Tirukkoḻambiyūr (Tj.)—Assembly of Dūvēdimangalam makes tax-free some temple land in return for 14 kāsu. 53 of 1925.

Tirumalaiyāli (Tri.)—Gold by a native of Topulai-nāṭu for aval (crushed rice) offering on the Ārdṛī day in the month of Mārgalī to Gaṇapati. The temple, which is picturesquely situated on the bend of the Kolliḻam river, is called Punal-vāyil-Sri-kōyil. 98 of 1920.

Tiruneḻungaḷam (Tri.)—Year six in words. Image Lōkasundari set up by a private individual in the temple of Tirunεḻungaḷattu Ālvūr. Also land for offerings. 682 of 1909.

Tiruvāṉattur (SA.)—96 sheep by Rāman Siddhavāḷa-van alias Vikkarama-sōla-Milāḍulaṉyan of the Bhārgava gōtra, for lamp in the temple at Tiruvāṉattur, a dēvadāna in Vēvalur-nāṭu, a division of Aruvā-nāṭu. 29 of 1922.

Tiruvelḷarai (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Vedas. 519 of 1905.

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Sale of land by residents of Erumbiyūr and the assembly of Šrikanṭha-catm., to Šembaliyan Vēdivēḷāṇ. 123 of 1914.

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land by assembly for singing Tiruppadiyam in temple with uṇṇkai and tājam. The donor was Šembaliyan Vēdivēḷāṇ. Refers to a simāvivāda between sabhā and ūr. 129 of 1914.

* Also in 279 of 1911 same year and place.
RAJAKESARI

Year 3—Tiruvithaimarudur (Tj.)—Paddy by Tiraimur sabha and Tiruvithaimarudil nagarat, Tirukkoil-udaiyar and Srikaryam-aray-girin. Irumudi-sola-pallava-Araiyar.

152 of 1895; SH, v. 716.

" Tiruvithaimarudur (Tj.)—Provision for supply of two tender coconuts daily to the deity. Six kurunlogu with Tiruvithaimarudil Senaiyar.

242 of 1907.

" Tiruvithakkudivi (Tj.)—Land by assembly of Murugavil-mangalam for maintaining three musicians (kalam and gong) during srithali to Mangala Nakkar in the temple of Mahadeva.

116 of 1926.

" Tiruvithalur (Tj.)—Land by queen of Uttama Ciola-deva, who seems to have been the daughter of Miladulaiyar.

325 of 1907.

" Tiruvithalur (Tj.)—Mentions mother of Sri Uttama Ciola-deva.

327 of 1907.

" Udaiyargudi * (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Pandyatitudealsalac-ceri.

543 of 1920.

" Udaiyargudi (SA.)—Gold by a Brahman lady of Vadavur in Pandy-naadu for lamp.

599 of 1920.

" Udaiyargudi (SA.)—19 vedi of land by three persons for feeding 56 Brahmans; king Uttama Ciola mentioned.

614 of 1920.

" Uraiyyur (Tri.)—Mentions Kirtti-martanda-Brahmadhirajan.

182 of 1907.

" Vedhulcalam (SA.)—Assignment by residents (urom) of Nerkkupai of some devadana lands got from the king to an individual for supply of sandal paste etc.

57 of 1918.†

* A number of Rajak. records ranging from year 3 to year 16 come from this place. The temple here came into existence only in Parantaka I's time. Hence this Rajak. must be either Ganga-ditya or Sundara Ciola. But the name of G. is omitted in the Kanykumari inscription, and he perhaps had a short reign, or was only co-regent with his father. ARE, 1921 II. 27.

† Mentions a grant by Uttama Ciola and hence may be of Rajaraja I, ARE, 1918 II. 23.
Year 3+1 Nangavaram (Tri.)—Land for maintaining the boat plying in the tank at Ariyijigai-catm. 342 of 1903.

Year 4.—Guđimallam (NA.)—Land, two paṭṭis of 1000 kuṭi each, for offerings etc., to an image of Kuttapperumāl set up in the Parasurāmēśvara temple by Madhurāntakan Gaṅdarādittar. † 222 of 1903.

Innamūr (Tj.)—Temple called Ariyijigai Vīṇagar was built in the name of Šatti-Ariyijigai alias Tennavan Viluppamaraiyan of Innamlar, and provision made for five Brāhmans in the temple. 321 of 1927.

Tirukkurugāvēr (Tj.)—Remission by the assembly (sabhā) of Poygaikkkuḍi of the taxes due on the lands granted to temple. 430 of 1918.

Tirumūḷam (Tj.)—Crown set with gems to the temple of Mahākāḷattu Mahādēva by Kūripuliyān † alias Sōlamārayan of Paḻuvēr in Kunrak-kūṟram. 114 of 1910.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Land for two gardeners in a garden endowed by the father of the donor, a merchant. 149 of 1928.

Tiruttanī (NA.)—Lamp. Endowment to be supervised by the ‘annual committee’ of Tiruttanīyal. (Śrīvaṭ-sara-vāriyam of the sabhā). 432 of 1905.

Tiruvaiṭandai (Ch.)—Twenty kaḻuṇju of gold by a merchant of Puruṣottama-mangalam in Vaḻuva-nāḷu, a district of Malai-nāḷu, for a perpetual lamp in the Varāhūḍēva temple of this village for ghee (neyyenṭai) supplied as interest by the residents of Paḻuvēr. 263 of 1910.

* 341 n-d. grantha verse gives names of tank and donor; 343 n-d. (Tamil) gives details of daily removal of silt, and of repairs to boat.

† Perhaps son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cēja, son of Gaṅdarādittan. cf. S.II. ii. 49 (ARE. 1904 I 20). This Gaṅdarāditya II must have been the religious devotee, author of Tiruvaiṭippā, rather than the son of Parāntaka. (Venkayya) ASI. 1906-8 p. 178, n. 5.

‡ cf. 117 of 1910 of Year 2 of Parak, who took the head of Pāṇḍya. The Rējaka, of this record must be the immediate predecessor of Parak. Ariṇjaṭṭa of Āditya II. ARE. 1910 II. 17.
Year 4.—Tiruverumbür (Tri.)—15 kaḷaṇju of gold by Tiruv- 
varanga-dēvarādiyāḷ Śūndan-ayyavay-maṇi for a lamp 
and a pot of water every day to the temple of Ten-
kallāyattu Mahādēva at Śrīkanṭha-catm. 

114 of 1914. *

Uḍaīyāṛguḍī (SA.)—Land by purchase for the mid-day 
meal of three persons every day. 560 of 1920.

Uḍaīyāṛguḍī (SA.)—Land (iḍaiyili) by the great as-
sembly of Viranārayaṇa-catm., assembled at Viranāra-
ṇaṭavainaggar, for food offerings thrice a day to the 
deity. 562 of 1920.

Venpākkam (Ch.)—Construction of a tínce (tumbu) by 
a certain Kērālān Rājādittan aliaś Nāṇi-viccīḍara-
māraṇaŋ who had the jīvita in Vēlkōṅ-ṃangalam in 
Kunḍa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Ūrrukkaṭṭu-kōṭam. 
419 of 1923.

Year 4,—, day 89—Śrīrangaṃ (Tri.)—A settlement re: the 
temple dēvadānas and other matters by the Perunűri-
sabhā of Śrīrangaṃ. 69 of 1892; SH. iv. 516.

, day 204—Mēḷappaluvār (Tri.)—Grant of certain rights 
in the temple of Tīruttōṭṭam-uḍaiyāṛ built by Pālūvōṭṭ-
araṇyaṅ Kāṇḍān Maṇavāṅ who seems to have been 
staying at Śenāpuram in Malāḷu. † 394 of 1924.

Year 4 + 1—Tiruvāṇāṭṭār (SA.)—Lamp by Śirīya-māraṇaṅ of 
Īkkūṛ and his brothers, on behalf of Candrīcēcān, son 
of Kāḷi aliaś Mēnavāṅ Māraṇaṅ of Tēnnavāṅ-mādēvi 
in Ven-nāḍu. 27 of 1922.

Year 5.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Land (made tax-free by sabhā) 
for sidāri by a Brahman of Ādānār. 74 of 1914. ‡

Kīḷū (SA.)—Sheep for lamp. Mentions queen of 
Vikrama Cōḷa Malāḷuḷaiyāṛ, who was the daughter of Pāṇḍiyāṅ. 7 of 1905. §

* Later than Parāntaka I. ARE. 1915 II. 20.
† Malippaa-Cnāpurattē irukka (Text).
‡ 4th Jan. 964 A. D. (Sundara) or 2nd Jan. 991 A. D. (Rājarāja)—K. V. S. 
Aiyar, E.I. xix. p. 86.
§ cf. 10 of 1905.
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Year 5.—Kumbakonam (Tj.)—70 Ījavāku for offerings. 236 of 1911.

Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvāyappālī Śrīkaṇṭha Perumāl. Name Lōkamahādevi-cattam, and the Gaṇapperumakkaḷ doing śrikāryam to this god (inda dēvarākku) mentioned. 292 of 1897; SII. vi. 270.

Pulōr (Tri.)—One vēli of land for offerings to Paramēvara at Tiruppulavūr in Vilattur-nāḍu by the chieftain Mahimūlaya Irukkuvēḷ alias Pirāntakan Vīra-gōḷan. * 346 of 1918.

Pullellūr (Ch.)—Land for offerings at mid-day service to Tirumēṛrali-mahādeva of the village, and for a flower garden, at the instance of the assembly of Paramēvara-cattam in Eyiṟkōṭṭam, the members of the annual supervision committee and two other persons. 47 of 1923.

Tirīṭivanam (SA.)—Lamps to Tiruttinēśvaram at Kōḻiṅgal. 143 of 1900; SII. vii. 157.

Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—25 kalaṇṇu of gold for half a lamp deposited with the Nagarattūr of Śivapuri. 135 of 1918.

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land for feeding 15 Brahmans by Šembiyan Vēṭi-vēḷār. 103 of 1914.

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Decision of the assembly of Śrīkaṇṭha-cattam that no taxes shall be levied on the temple belongings; the persons who violate this decision will be shunned and treated as grāṇakaṇṭakas, and fined by the Māheśvaras. The settlement was engraved on the Śrīvimāna by the committee supervising the affairs of the temple for the year. 133 of 1914. ♠

Year 6.—Allūr (Tri.)—Gold for supply of bathing water to temple. 383 of 1903.

* Indicates original employment under Parāntaka I. Hence, this record is one of Gaṇārāṇḍīṭya or Parāntaka II. A.R.E. 1919 II 10.

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Year 6.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—900 sheep by the king for ten lamps in his name in the temple of Aiñjanālī Durgaiyār; an adhikārīn distributed these among certain persons who in turn had to supply ghī. These sheep were got when Śippuli-nāḷu and Pākki-nāḷu were conquered* by Paraman Malapāḷiyār alias Mummuḷi-Cōḷan, chief of Kārūkūḷi in Tāṇjāvūr-kūṟṟam. 79 of 1921.

“Kāvērippākkam (N.A.)—90 sheep for lamp to the Kirtti-mārttānḷan-kālapriya temple.† 382 of 1905.

“Maṇi-mangalam (Ch.)—Land, 4,000 kuḷi, tax-free, to Viṣṇu temple at Ratna-grāhāra, also called Maṇi-mangalam alias Ulōkamahādevi † - caṭm. in the Tamil part. The deity is called Dvārapuridēva. The Mahā-sahāḥ agree not to collect ṭrāi, eṣṭauṇu, veṭṭi, veyadi-kāṭam or anything else, and to condemn every one who does so to pay a fine of 25 kāḷaṇju.

7 of 1892 ; S.I.L. iii. 27.

“Pulangūṇīl (N.A.)—Lamp by Pāpayān, son of Nūḷambar-Vīṟa-Cōḷan. § 362 of 1925.

“Pulūr (Trī.)—Land by a native of Kāraikkūḷi for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple. 349 of 1918.

“Paṇḍāravaṇī (Ṭj.)—Village Kundamangalam, given tax-free (tāḷā-vigaiyīḷi) to the temple of Bhūmi-sundara-vinēgar Paramasvāmi at Simhaviṣṇu-caṭm. in Muḻicēṉ-nāḷu, built by the donor Kāṉṉandai Avīṉan Bhūmi-sundaran alias Sundaraśāḷa-Māvēṇa-veḷḷan. For securing the exemption from taxes, the donor deposited 200 kāḷaṇju of pon with the assembly of Simhaviṣṇu-

* Pākki-nāḷu is the northera part of the Nellore District. Śippuli-nāḷu must also have been there cf. A.R.E. 1913 II 18; also 160 of 1912 of year 34 of Parāntaka I for the earliest conquest. A.R.E. 1921, II 31.

† Built possibly by Kṣapa III who, in his Karhād inscription, says that he was encamped at Meḻḷāḷi for establishing his followers in the southern provinces', and for 'constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamēṟṟaḷḷa, Kṛṣṇēḻaḷa and others' (E.I. iv p. 281). If this view is correct, this inscription may be one of Ariḷāya, probably a Rājakēsari. A.R.E. 1906 II 21.

† After queen of Rājarāja I?

§ These names imply a time soon after Parāntaka I. Nūḷamba and Vīṟa may be the same as Nūḷamba Tribhuvana-dhīra or his son Nūḷamba and the Ganga Pṛthivipati I (E.I. iv pp. 88, 223). A.R.E. 1925 II 10.
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catm. Paddy was being sold at 15 kalam per kaḷaṇjū. Interest rate was 75 per cent per annum. 232 of 1923.

Year 6.—Pulallīr (Ch.)—Lamp to Taṇḍaladēva by the great assembly of Paramēsvara-catm. 49 of 1923.

" Salem (Sm.)—40 pon by Śelvan-adigal to feed Brahmans every year on stated occasions, at the rate of 25 Brahmans per kaḷaṇjū, with three curries, half pidi of ghī, curd and betel. The occasions for feeding were the festival in the temple of Kīḷivanamulaiyar in Salem and Mūśi Makhm. 49 of 1888; SII. iv 149.

" Tiruccīṟṟambalam (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by assembly of Kuḻakkuni for lump amount received by them from a person, the amount being utilised for offerings to the deity at Tiruccīṟṟēmam, a dēvadāna-brahmadesya in Rējarāja-valanāju. 187 of 1926.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—A gift by Madurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan. 268 of 1906.

" Tiruvēṟṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land sold tax-free by the Perungurī-sabha of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. met in the Tiruccitracāṭham of the village; the land was to serve as provision for feeding one Brahman daily in the manner detailed. 101 of 1892; SII. iv 549.

" Tiruvēṟṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land by a resident of the village for feeding in the choultry on the sacred hill a Brahman versed in the Veda. The Perungurī-sabha of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. met in the Tiruccitracāṭham of the village for making the land īḻaiyili. 127 of 1914.

" Tiruvēṟṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land set apart for feeding Brahmans versed in the Veda. Made tax-free by sabha of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. Wide discretion to Panmāhēsvarar in enforcing sabha's decision. 130 of 1914.

" Tiruvēṟṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land as īḻaiyili by assembly of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. for the Madavilāgam of the temple. 131 of 1914.


† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.); 27th December 964 (Sundara-son, preceding entry) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rējarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar, EJ. xix p. 86.
Year 6.—*Tiruvidaimarudur* (Tj.)—The Cöla queen (Vāna ?)*— van Mahādevi came to worship the god. Meeting of sabhā and nagaram of the place. 215 of 1907.

„ *Tiruviramiśvaram* † (Tj.)—Gift of land by purchase. 117 of 1911.


Year 6,—day 55—*Śambanārākōyil* (Tj.)—Fragment of an introduction (Rājādhirāja II ?). Land, for welfare of the king, for worship and repairs in temple by the assembly of Talaiccangāḷu. Mentions Rājasundaravadi. 174 of 1925.

Year 7.—*Kilappaluvur* (Tri.)—Land by wife of Āḷigaḷ Paluvēṭṭārayar Kāṇṭian Māṇyan for daily offerings. 226 of 1926. §

„ *Kuttāḷam* (Tj.) Temple constructed by Śembiyan Mahādevīyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa. Gift of lands by her as provision for offerings, worship, music and other expenses, and for twenty-five Brahmins reciting the Śāma, Taittiriya and Chandogā Śāma in the temple. 103 of 1926. ¶

„ *Olagapuram* (SA.)—Sale of land by the Nagarattār of Uḷakamādevipuram to Gangan-Ambalavan Gaṇḍarādittāśoḷa Viḷūpparaiyan of Kuvalāḷam in Gangarasīyira for being presented to the temple for laying out a flower-garden. Mentions Kalikanṭakā-peruvarambu. 127 of 1919.

* Text has (Paṅca).
† Perhaps Rāmanadīccaram of the Devaram-ARE. 1911 II 17.
‡ Kṛṭṭumāṅṅkōyil (Cdm).
§ Palaeographically Rājarāja I-ARE. 1926 II 17.
¶ Ascribed to Parakēṣari Uttama Cōḷa in ARE. 1926 II. 18, apparently because Uttama is named at the beginning of the record. But year 7 of Rājarāja-keśari is mentioned later; perhaps a record of Rājarāja’s time.
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Year 7.—Tukkalam (NA.)—Eighty kalañju of gold by Dharmakappañai-kal borrowed from the temple by the assembly of Aparājita-catm., a hamlet of Tiruvirāl-puram, on interest at 10 kalañju per annum, the rate being 1/8 kalañju per kalañju per annum, and a fine of 1/8 pon for each day of default. 255 of 1921.

" Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Land for feeding three Śivayogins and two Brahmans in the choultry on the sacred hill of the Āḻvār at Tiruvērumbiyyūr. 101 of 1914. †

" Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Land for a channel by the sabhā of Śrīkañṭha-catm. 102 of 1914.

" Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Sale of land by assembly of Perumegur to Vēḷān Vīraṇāriyaṇaṇa alias Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān, who is said to have constructed the Śrīvimāna of Tiruvērumbiyyūr Āḻvār. Land also made iḻaiyili by sabhā after taking iḻai-kāval-dravyam. 104 of 1914. †

" Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Sale for 45 kalañju of the right to levy some paddy on lands by the assembly of Śrīkañṭha-catm. to Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān for digging the village tank. 105 of 1914. †

" Tiruvērumbār (Tri.)—Land as jīvita for maintaining a watchman, bought from the ār for money provided by Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān, who built the central shrine. 112 of 1914.

Year 8.—Śendalai (Tj.)—Assembly of Candralekai-catm. sold one vēli of land, tax-free, to a person for upkeep of an ambalam which he had erected in the village. 202 of 1926.

* 27th December 964 A.D. (Sundara) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rājarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar E.I., xix p. 86.

† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.), But the names Vīraṇāriyaṇaṇa and Uttamaśili-catm. make this impossible. Either 14th January, 964 A.D. (Sundara), or 11th January 994 A.D. (Rājarāja)-K. V. S. Aiyar E.I., xix p. 86.

‡ See note under preceding entry. Either 15th August 963 A.D. (Sundara) or 12 August 993 A.D. (Rājarāja)-K. V. S. Aiyar E.I., xix p. 86.

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Year 8.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Twenty kaḻaṉu gold for lamp by Ādittan Kannaradēvan, * son of the Cōḷa king. Sabhā and ūr in charge of the endowment.

38 of 1895, SII. v. 595.

" Tirunēdungaḻam (Tri.)—Land to a native of Śūralūr by the Māhēśvaras, temple servants and residents of the village.

683 of 1909.

" Tiruppalātturai (Tri.)—Land to Paramēśvara temple at Tiruppaṇambūdūr in Uttamaśili-catt., a brahmadēva in Ten-karai, by an officer of Pillaiyār Arikulakēsari-dēvar. † Sabhā makes the land tax-free. 176 of 1907.

" Tiruppalātturai (Tri.)—Land to Tiruppaṇambūdūr Paramēśvara by one of the perundaram of Pillaiyār Arikulakēsari-dēva. † The land was made īçaiyili by the Perungūri-sabhā. 570 of 1908; SII. iii. 111.

" Tiruppalātturai (Tri.)—Land, tax-free, by the Perungūri-sabhā of Uttamaśili-catt. Mentions the servant of Āḻvār Arikulakēsari-dēva who figures as donor in the preceding record (570 of 1908).

574 of 1908 §; SII. iii. 112.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land sold tax-free by the Mahēsabhā for feeding daily twenty Brahmans in the Kuruṅkētra temple of the village. The charity was to be administered by the authorities of the temple (ikkōyil śriṅkāryam āyurvedē) 40 of 1898, SII. vi. 323.

* i.e., Kṛṣṇa, son of Āditya. Archaiac palheography. Āditya I perhaps had a son, an unknown brother of Parāṇtaka. Thus, archaiac Rājakēsari inscriptions may be those of Āditya I, and likewise, Parakēsari records, those of Vijayēlaya. (Hultsch in ARE. 1895 paragraph 12). cf. 251 of 1894 of Rājak 20; 356 of 1903 of Parak 15; 218 of 1904 of Rajōk. 37. Also T. A. G. Rao in MCC. Magazine Vol. 24. pp. 128-9, agrees with Hultsch.

† Son of Parāṇtaka I (EL. vii pp. 141-2) ARE. 1908 II 51.

‡ If Arikulakēsari is identical with Ariṉjaya, the Rājakēsari of this record may be Gāṇḍārāditya AŚI. 1908-9, p. 122 (H. K. Sastri).

§ King identified with Gāṇḍārāditya by H. K. Sastri. Tiruppaṇmbūdūr and Tiruppaṇambūdūr were apparently hamlets of Uttamaśili, quite close. For Arikulakēsari, see 316 of 1903 of Parak 3 (Parāṇtaka I), and EL. vii p. 141. He is said to be a military officer of Parāṇtaka in ARE. 1909 II. 38, where also the Parak, of 316 of 1903 is taken to be Gāṇḍārāditya.

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THE COLAS

Year 8.—Uttaramārur (Ch.)—A resolution of a full meeting (ābūla-vṛddhar-amaṇa) of the Mahāsabhā, met in the big manḍapa, by which paṭṭi-kāḍi was not to be collected after a certain day and the Śraddhāmantar were authorised to punish breaches of the resolution.

62 of 1898; SII. vi. 345.

Year 9.—Alanguḍi (Tj.)—Land, on a solar eclipse day, by the headman of Taṇjāvūr for mid-day offerings every day to Rāghava Perumāḷ at Irumbūḷai in Simhaviṣṇu-catm. a brahmādeya on the S. bank.

498 of 1920.

Baddur (NA.)—Land as iṟaiyili to temple by the residents (ūr) of Vādavūr.

410 of 1922.

Sendalai (Tj.)—The Perunguri-sabha of Candiralēkai-catm. purchase land in the 53rd kuṟumbu of the village, and assign it as iṟaiyili bhāratappangu to Śinginandili-Svarūpa-bhāṭṭa of the Āṭrēya gōtra and Vaikhānasa sūtra, a native of Perumbuliyūr, who has to read the Bhāratam every day in the ambalam built in the brahmasthāna of the village by one Vairamēgha-bhāṭṭa. Whoever enjoys the pangu after the first incumbent has to do the same.

63 of 1897; SII. vi. 12.

Sendalai (Tj.)—Two bits of land by purchase by two members of the assembly for expenses during the festival to Tirupperundurai-perumāṉ-aiḻigal.

209 of 1926.

Tirunāṅgēswaram (Tj.)—Mentions Aripāṇigaip-pirāṭṭiyar, a Bāṇa queen and daughter of prince Arikulakēsari; and the Simhaḷas.

215 of 1911.†

Tiruviṭṭaimalurū (Tj.)—The laying out of a sīṟu-ṣeṇbaga flower-garden by Tiruvenkaṭṭu-piccan.

260 of 1907.

Year 10—Mēḷappalūvūr (Tri.)—The residents (Nagarattār) of Avani-Kandarpapura had the inscription engraved to

* Kāṭiya I, ARE. 1926 II. 17.

† The date is doubtful in the original; the regnal year may be 2 or 3. ARE. 1912, II 16.
the effect that the mangupāḍu prevailing at Nandi-puram from olden times should also be in force in this village. Order issued by Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Maravān Kāṇḍanār. 365 of 1924.

Year 10—Tiruccuţi (Rd.)—(Vaṭṭelutta)—Frag. Lamp. 417 of 1914.

" Tiruvidīmarudur (Tj.)—Twenty ḫakkāsu equal to 10 kāḷaṇju pon for a lamp by Poduvan Sirraṭ, a woman (penṭṭittī) of the retinue of Udaiya-pirāṭṭiyār, the ācciyār of Ānaimērruṇjina Udaiyār. Twenty-four kāḷaṇju more for taṇṇir-amudu-valṭṭil. 156 of 1895; SII. v 720.

Year 11.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Two paṭṭams of gold made by the auditor of temple accounts (? śrikāryam ārāyappēṟṟa) out of 13½ kāḷaṇju and 2 maṇjāṭṭi collected as kuḷaḍaṇḍam from three persons including the Nagarakaṅṭattān of the place (tivvūṭ).
35 of 1895; SII. v 592, same as 283 of 1911.

Year 11, day 300—Tiruppūndurutti (Tj.)—30 pon for lamp by Nangai Śattaperumānār, the mistress (bogiyār) of the Cōla king. 105 of 1931. *

Year 12—Kıḷanapāḻuvūr (Tri.)—Ninety sheep for lamp by Aḍiga Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maravān Kāṇḍan. 229 of 1926. †

" Tulaiccangāḷu (Tj.)—Lamp by a merchant of Kollam in Malai-nāḍu. 202 of 1925.

" Tiruvaiyāṟṟu (Tj.)—Lamp by a queen, Śembiya .... dēviyār alias Kalamāṇikkā Nambiraiṭṭiyār. 250 of 1894; SII. v 549.

" Tiruvīsāḷur (Tj.)—Ninety-six sheep for a lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍya country. 37 of 1907.

Year 12 + 1.—Melapāḻuvūr (Tri.)—Assignment of a temple land to an individual by the temple authorities at the instance of Aḍiga Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maravān Kāṇḍanār. 370 of 1924.

* Aditya L ARE. 1931, II. 4.
† Sundara Cōja—ARE. 1926 II. 7.
THE COLAS


Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Eight mā of land reclaimed for one lamp in each of the two shrines in Avanikandarpasūvara temple in Kunrak-kūṟram, under orders of Nakkan Pūḍi Pāḷuvēṭṭaraiyan Kumāran Kaṇḍan. 357 of 1924.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—50 kalaṅju gold to Tiruneyttānattu-Mahādeva by Tennaivan Pirudi Mārisan alias Kaṭṭi Orriyūran, and Varaguna-perumānār queen of Parāntaka Ijāṅgōvēḷ. * With this gold some land was converted from dry to wet cultivation. Among the boundaries is Karikalakkarai. 287 of 1911; SII. iii. 113.

Year 14.—Pūḍārauḍai (Tj.)—Twenty karungāśu by Śenda Nakkapirān Bhaṭṭa Sarvakratu-yājīyar (cf. 234 of year 7.) The interest on the amount, 3 kāśu was to be given to the best reciter of certain prescribed portions of the Jaiminīya Sāma Veda on the night of the Ādrā festival in Mārgalī after the sacred bath of the deity. It was stipulated that no prize-winner should compete a second time. 266 of 1923.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṅju of gold for lamp by Nangai Śēṭtapperumānār, the concubine (bōgiyār) of the Cōla king. The sabhā and ār undertake to maintain the lamp, by assigning some temple land for the charity, and use the money for making a Nānana-manṭapā to the deity. 36 of 1895; SII. v. 593; 284 of 1911 is copy of the same.

* Another name of Vikramakēsari, contemporary of Āditya II. But this Ijāṅgōvēḷ is mentioned in 27th and 21st year of Rējāk, and Parak. inscriptions, and it is difficult to fit such high figures into the 35 years before the accession of Rējarēja. (ARE. 1912 II. 18). Venkayya suggested Āditya’s time for Vikramakēsari; but palaeographically it seems to be earlier,—H. K. Sastrī, who makes this a Gaṇḍarādītya record. SII. iii ii ibid.
RAJAKESARI

Year 14.—Vējāl (NA.)—Vējāl is called also Mādevi-ārdimangalam. * Mentions Kanakairakkuratti, a female disciple of Gānakritibhāṭār, and her disciples (vālimāṇāk-kiyār.). The vāliyilār, lay disciples, undertake the protection and feeding of these 400 āpastis, as there was no agreement (kollādamaiyil) between them and the 500 male members of the monastery (ikkōiyik-pillaigal.) 84 of 1908; SII. iii. 92. †

Year 15.—Tillaištānam (Tj.)—Lamp by an inhabitant of Tānjāvūr. Ends: Īppatiṟṟa mūlaṭṭomum piranadēyak-kiḻavarum urum. 39 of 1895; SII. v. 596.

Year 16.—Kāvanār (NA.)—400 kulī of land by a member of the assembly (āḷunganam) for lamp to Puli-pagava-dāva. 158 of 1921.

" Mēppalāvūr (Tri.)—An order communicated to Vēḷān Cintāmanī, the headman of Tattanār, permitting the adoption of the old scale of taxes prevailing at Nandippuram ‡ for the village Pājavūr by the chief Aḍīgal Pāḻuvēṭtaraiyar Maṟavaṇa Kaṇḍanār § to whom Karambiyār Pirāntakan alias Karuviḻai-pēraraṇaiyān had petitioned. 367 of 1924.

" Tiruccengōḷu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 625 of 1905.

" Tiruvaṟṟaiču (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Mūvaṟṟaiyan Pāḷi Nakkan bought from Andanur-theers for thirty kalainju. 249 of 1894; SII. v. 548.

Year 17.—Brahmaidēśam (NA.)—Land by one of the members of the temple of Tiruvēgamam at Kaccippēṭu for sandal paste to god at Rājamallai-catm. The charity was under protection of Śri-koiyik-kaṇavaṟṟiyap-perumukkal. 206 of 1915.

* On the kūḷvēṭ, eastern road, like Neṟkuṇam. ARE. 1909 II 36.
† Palaeographically Kadiya I.
‡ cf. year 10—365 of 1924.
§ This person is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Parāntaka. Must be later, perhaps of the time of Sundara Cōḷa. cf. 381 of 1924, Parakēṣari (Yr. 13). ARE, 1924 II 10. Text has date, 1(0).

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Year 17.—Pandāravādai (Tj.)—Undertaking by two persons to supply ghi and paddy to temple in return for cows and money received by them at various times in the reign of ‘Madiraikonḍa Mārāyar.’

230 of 1923.

"Pandāravādai (Tj.)—Agreement by certain persons to burn lamps in the temple for the money they had received from the temple in the years 1(2), 14 and 19 of ‘Madiraikonḍa Mahārāyar.’

237 of 1923.

"Sendalai (Tj.)—Ten kalaṇju gold by a lady for offerings (tiruvamidhu). Deposited with the Vajavāccālap-perumakkal, the interest being “niṣadi kuruṇi nel.”

58 of 1897 *; SII. vi. 7.

"Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—100 sheep with the sabbhā for lamp by the Cōla queen Kilāraṅgal.

41 of 1895 ; SII. v. 598.

"Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Twenty pon for lamp by another Cōla queen Tennavan Mahādēviyār.

42 of 1895 ; SII. v. 599.

"Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇju gold for a nandāviṭakkū by ‘Niyamattu Irāsa-mattāṇḍapurattu Nakkan Aiyāraṅgal,’ the concubine (bōgiyār) of the Cōla king.

244 of 1894 ; SII. v. 543.

"Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇju for lamp by Dēviyār . . . kolāliyār for which the sabbhā of Ādambuli(v)-guḍi gave tax-free land.

245 of 1894 ; SII. v. 544.

"Tiruvirāmiśvaram (Tj.)—Land for jasmine garden by sabbhā and ēr of Tiraimūr and nagaram of Tiruvirāmiśvarudī.

216 of 1907.

"Tiruvirāmiśvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the gaṇattār of Madanamaṇjari-catm.

138 of 1911.

Year 17, day 122.—Ukkal (NA.)—Mentions a meeting, in the local Viṣṇu temple, of the Mahāsabbhā of Śrī-Vikramabharana - catm. including the samvatsara-vāriyapp-perumakkal and the ērī-vāriyapp-perumbhaṭṭar for the year, and others.

31 of 1893 ; SII. lli. 13.

* 6-A of 1899 i.e., SII. vi 442 is another similar record of same date.
RAJAKESARI

Year 18.—Kiliyanur (SA.)—75 kaḻaṉu of gold to the sābha by an individual for feeding five Brahmans every day. 155 of 1919.

Sendalai (Tj.)—Twelve kaḻaṉu of gold by Mārampāvai, for lamp to the Piḻāri temple of Māgāḷam at Niyamam. 13 of 1899 *; SII. vi. 449.

Tiruvērumbūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp to Ten-Kailavattān-Mahādēva at Śrikaṇṭha-catm. 119 of 1914. †

Year 19.—Tiruvaccattugai (Tj.)—Saṅgu iraṅgu ivai ūduvārkku bhūgam (incomplete). 5 8 of 1895; SII. v. 615.


Tiruvaiyāḷu (Tj.)—Sheep (18.) for lamp by Śoḷaperumānaṅgaḷ Dēv... Ṭṭu Aḻundūr Tirunāraṇa Mahādēvi. 239 of 1894; SII. v. 538.

Tiruvēdikkuḍi (Tj.)—Ten kaḻaṉu gold for lamp; undertaking to burn a lamp with 1/4 measure of oil every day, as interest on the sum, by 'Tiruvēdikkuḍi Tiru (kko). . . . munbu ninru dēvar pani kēydom' and others. 67 of 1895; SII. v. 624.

Tiruvērumbūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp and offerings by a Brahman lady who built the shrine of Ādittabhaṭṭa-raka on the hill. 118 of 1914.

Year 20.—Brahmadēsan (NA.)—Land for feeding a Brahman in the temple of Pondai Perumānaṅgaḷ by one of the āḻunganattar of Rājamalla-catm. in Tiruvēgamba puram. 237 of 1915.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by one of the female relatives of Perumbiṭṭu Mutṭaraiyan. 314 of 1904.

* cf. 16 of 1898—Year 24.
† Later than Parāntaka I. ARE. 1915 II. 20.
THE COLAS

Year 20.—Tiruccenduqai (Tri.)—A certain merchant of Tañjâvûr named Karpâtaka Pulalâya' Şetty built the temple called Pulâlâya Vinçagar and set up the deity. He purchased and gave to the temple the land adjoining it. 325 of 1903.

" Tiruppâlânam (Tj.)—One hundred sheep left with the pâdamukattâr for one lamp and occasional service. 124 of 1895; SII. v. 686.

Year 20, day 333—Tiruvnavyqaru (Tj.)—Land for lamp by the nurse (tâti) of Kannaradêva. 251 of 1894; SII. v 550; MCC. Mag. xxiv. p. 128.

Year 22.—Mêlappâluvar * (Tri.)—Land, 8 mä, to temple by Vañgan Mädavan Pañvîtàraiyian Kumara Mañavan, after reclaiming some waste land in the dëvadâna villages, to provide for one perpetual lamp in each of the shrines in the Amanikandarpa-Isvara-grîha. 360 of 1924.

" Tirakköl (N.A.)—Gift to Gangasûrap - perumâlîtî at Râjendrapuram. 277 of 1916.

" Tiruppâlânam (Tj.)—397½ palam of (?) to temple by Mäppiêluq Kalvan Amarakâalan † of Tirukkoṭîiyûr. 169 of 1928.

Year 23.—Puduppâkkam (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, to temple of Bhatâri by assembly of Nalladîmangalam, in Mëpâlu-gûr-mâlû, a sub-division of Mañayîr-kottam. Mentions Içnâkkaî Kârtigaik-kañattâr. 61 of 1923.

" Tiruccenduqai (Tri.)—Sale of land to Pûdî Ædicca Pîlâriyûr by Parudai of Isânâmangalam for 5 kañânu by Viçêlivêqûrum. 320 of 1903. ‡

" Tirumalâvâli (Tri.)—Land by Æiravan Ænûû, headman (kîlân) of Äûkkaû. 18 of 1920.

* cf. 357 of Year 13.
† Perhaps a Muttaraya chief of the locality. ARE. 1928 II 2.
‡ cf. 316 of 3 Parak.
RAJAKESARI

Year 23.—Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Twenty kalaṇju by Kadhupattigai-Tamarmettiyar, * mother of Vayiri Aka .... alias Tribhuvana-mādeviyār, queen of Śūlap-perumānadigal. 161 of 1928.

"Ukkal (NA.)—A record by the sākhā of Aparājita-catuṃ, of the receipt of 200 ṁṇon from Śeṭirur-Trivikkarama-bhatṭa alias Brahmadhirājar of the miyaṭumgaṇam of Uttarameru-catuṃ, for feeding 12 Brahmas. Interesting details.

19 of 1893; SII. iii. 1. †

Year 24.—Neṭkūṇam (NA.)—Gift of three fields as ērīppatī by Nambiyamallanār, son of ṇratunga-mangalap-pōraraiyar, for the benefit of the tank at Neṭkūṇam (Singapuranaṭṭuk-kīḷvali-Neṭkūṇam). Āṇavāy dāṇḍamulīṭṭu ēppērōppatī mangupāḍum ērikkuk-kuṭṭuttēn Nambiyamallanēn. 86 of 1908; SII. iii. 93. †

"Niyamam (Tj.)—Five kalaṇju gold by Adigāl Kanḍān Māṟamāvai, queen of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, for offerings to god and feeding twenty Brahmas and the ‘taḷippaṇi-śeyyum māṇigaṇ.’ The interest is stated to be 1/8 kalaṇju per kalaṇju per pū (harvest). The money was on deposit with the temple priest, Ittaḷippaṭṭulaiyān Isvarakkāraṇi Vāmadēvan Tiruvēṇkkāḷan. 16 of 1899; SII. iii. 94. ¶

"Sendalai (Tj.)—Five kalaṇju for lamp by the wife of a learned Brahman. 208 of 1926 II

"Takkōḷam (NA.)—Pirītipatiyār son of Māramaraiyar gave a silver vessel (kēṭṭil) weighing 317 kalaṇju to

* Perhaps Āditya I, who ruled for at least 28 years, espoused the daughter of a Pallava chieftain. Rājak, records from Tiruppaḷanam with years 21 to 26 may, hence, be his. Palaeography supports this—ARE. 1928 II. 2.

† Perhaps Āditya I.—Hultsch.

‡ Palaeographically, Āditya I. ARE. 1909 II. 36. Āṇavāy-dāṇḍam is taken to be the name of a tax by H. K. Sastri; but Āṇavāy may have the meaning ‘as occasion arises.’

§ 13 of 1899 (Yr., 18); 301-A of 1901 from Tiruccennambūṇi.

¶ Palaeographically Āditya I.

‖ Āditya I; 210 of 1926. ARE. 1926 II. 17.

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Tiruvūral-Mahādēva on the occasion of a solar eclipse. 5 of 1897; SII. v. 1368; EII. xix. 12 *.

Year 25.—Ālambākam (Tri.)—Land to temple of Saptamārākas by the assembly of Dantivar-maṅgalam. 705 of 1909.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷāṇju gold for lamp, deposited with the Śivapuri-nagarattār. 243 of 1894; SII. v. 542

" Tiruvellāraī (Tri.)—Thirty cows for a lamp by Śembiyan Maḷanāṭṭu Vēḻan alias Korāṅ Mūran. 522 of 1905.

Year 26.—Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Gift of a rudrākṣa necklace, set with gems to the deity by Gāngamattāṇḍar alias Śembiyan Pṛṭhivīl-gaṅgaraiyar, son of Mahādēvar of Pangalā-nāḍū. 177 of 1928.

Year 26, day 181—Śrīrangam (Tri.)—90 kaḷāṇju of putṭaṅka-qanda śemmai-pont. Interest rate was one kalam and one tinī of old paddy, yielding 120 kalam per annum, for feeding four Brahmins (daily)? 70 of 1892; SII. iv. 517.

" day 280-Uttarāmērūr (Ch.)—Twenty kaḷāṇju gold for maintaining a place for supply of drinking water during part of the year, before the pramāṇi-maṅḍapa of the village. The total interest yield per annum was 3 kaḷāṇju, at 3 maṉjaḷi per kaḷāṇju per annum (15 per cent). The supervision of the charity was with the tank-committee. 75 of 1898; SII. vi. 360.

* Palaeographically earlier than Parāṇtaka I. The donor here is the same as Pṛṭhivīpati II, son of Mīrasimha, and later, friend of Parāṇtaka I. Date must be either 7th June 894 A.D. or 28th May 895 A.D. giving acc. 870 or 871. The Kanyākumari record says that, Āditya killed Aparajīta, whose friend at Śrī-Puṇābimyam (870 A.D.), was Gangā Pṛṭhivīpati I, grandfather of the present donor. 'The Cōjas apparently did not count for much' at the time of the battle of Śrī-Puṇābimyam, K.V.S. Aiyar, EI. ibid.

† cf. 139 of 1928, Parkan. Yr. 11. Alīvin-kalārīyār an alias of Pṛṭhivī-gaṅgaraiyar. 428 of 1902 (S. 871 or A.D. 949) mentions a Kaḷānangai, daughter of Pṛṭhivīl-gaṅgaraiyar who died at Arungunām. Pangalā-nāḍū, part of Paṅkunāṅkōṭṭam, was in the N. Arcot dt. A 'Pṛṭhivīgaṅgaraiyar was a feudatory of Parāṇtaka I, and later of Kīṟṟa III, ARE. 1928 II 3.
RAJAKESARI

Year 27.—_Brahmadaksam_ (NA.)—Gold for lamp and for feeding a Brahman by Nallulan ῾Uraḍimagan Aṭṭamatti. 230 of 1915. *

_"Tirukkalukkunram_ (Ch.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu) On being petitioned by Puttan, son of Kuṇavan, the king renewed a gift of land to Tirukkalukkunramattu Śri Mūlasṭhānattupurumāṇadigal, originally made by Skandaśiṣya and continued by Pādāvikōṇja Narasīnga-pōṭtaraiyar. 167 of 1894; _EI_. iii. 279. †

_"Tirumalavāḍi_ (Tri.)—Land for lamp by purchase from the assembly of Mārpiḍugu-catm. 15 of 1920.

Year 30.—_Tiruvellāraiy_ (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the _Veda_. 518 of 1905.

Year (3)7. ‡—_Melēvūr_ (SA.)—Mentions Kannara-dēvar. 218 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

_Ālumkākam._—Gift of Land, purchased from the sabhā of Dantivarma-mangalam, which had a tank called Mārpiḍugēri. 712 of 1909.

_Kōnilaṭi_ (Tj.)—Temple of Tiruppuratturai Emberumāṉ built of stone by Śambīyan Vēdī Veḷān, who also bought some land from the sabhā of Tiruppirūr, for _uvaccak-kāṇi_. 279 of 1901; _SII_. vii. 499.

_Perungalāṭi_ (Pḍ.)—Fragment in early characters recording a gift of gold. Mentions a temple of Mahācīva at Śōkacūḷāmanī-catm., and the village of Perungolūr. 203 of 1914.

* Āditya I. The high regnal year will not suit any other Rājak. before Rājarāja I. Same donor in 224 of 1915-Parāntaka I, _Yr_. 17. _ARE_. 1916 II 9.

† Āditya I. Palaeographically pre-Parāntaka. Kuṇavan Putta is also mentioned in 103 of 1931. Rājak. n.d.

‡ Text has 2(7).
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_Tiruccattuṟai_ (Tj.)—Gold for lamp by Tribhuvana-mādēviyar Vayiri-akkanār, queen of the Cōla king and mother-in-law of Kāḻupaṭṭiga. 180 of 1931. *

_Tiruneḍungaḷam_ (Tri.)—Money for lamp. Refers to Pāṇḍya Varagunā Mahā(rāja.) Near this is another fragment of Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. 696 of 1909.

_Tiruvilakkudi_ (Tj.)—Money by a merchant for sounding gong † in the temple. 133 of 1926.

* cf. 100 of 1931.

† This purpose is not clear from the very damaged text though we have: _itta ḫyapaḥ . . . . . . alīva ṭeḻa._
Year 2.—Karuttaṭāṅguḍi (Tj.)—Mentions Virāśilapperunderu in Tanjore. Agreement registering the sale of days (of worship) in three temples by two persons to a third.

49 of 1897; SII. v. 1412.

" Kīḻur (SA.)—Gift of 192 sheep for two lamps by Śembiyan Milāḍudaiyār. 271 of 1902; SII. vii. 900.

" Kīḻur (SA.)—(4) 80 sheep for five lamps.

281 of 1902; SII. vii. 910.

" Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by one of Uḍayiṭā Viraśil-teriṅja-kaikkōḷār.

251 of 1911.

" Paṇḍāravāḍai (Tj.)—Gift of thirty kāśu for a lamp by the wife of a merchant of Tribhuvana-mādevi-pēranganāḷi at Tanjavūr.

274 of 1923.

" Śrīrangam (Tri.)—Gift of 410 pon for feeding a Brahman (vēdam-vallān) at mid-day (uccippōdu) service to god Ranganātha. The number of dishes and other details prescribed.

73 of 1892; SII. iv. 520.

" Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—Twenty kal therapy gold for lamp with parṇādai of Iśāna-mangalam. Weight vidēl-vidēgu. The donor was Koḻumbāḷār Nakkan Vikramakēśariyār, the dēviyār of Tennavan Ilangōvēl alias Maṟavăn Pūdiyār.

306 of 1903.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Gift of land, after its purchase from the temple for feeding four Brahmans, by Kāṟṟali-pāṭṭāḷakan of the Arumōḷi-dēva-teriṅja-kaikkōḷār.

144 of 1928.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Land given for five drummers for the temple by Arāḷiyān Ādittan Viṁan.

162 of 1928.

* Perhaps father of Viṁan Kundavai, mother of Pāṟantaka II. If so, the king was Aṟiṇjaya who had a short reign of not less than three years, ARE. 1928 II 3, contra ARE. 1921 II 26 where Viṁan Kundavai is connected with Cēḷukya Bhīma.
THE COLAS

Year 2.—Tiruppāḷanam (Tj.)—Land given by Araiyān Ādittan Vīman for offerings during the ardhayāma and for lamp. 172 of 1928.

Tiruvāṉtuṟai (Tj.)—Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly (sabha) of Śattanūr * to a member of the Ādittapanmat-terinda-kaikkōlar for the maintenance of a cocomat and flower garden to the temple. 135 of 1925.

Tiruvidaiamudūr (Tj.)—Mentions the Śingalāntaka-terinda-kaikkōlar. † 244 of 1907.

Tiruvidaiamudūr (Tj.)—Records the erection, by the Kaikkōla-Perumbalai, of window, door, door-post and steps in front of the big maṇḍapa called Tigai-Āyirattaṉūṟruvar. 253 of 1907.

Uḷaiyaṟṟuji ‡ (SA.)—Gift of 96 sheep and a ram for lamp to Tiruvanantēśvarattāḷyar of Vīranārayaṇacatm., by Paranātakan Mādevaḷīgal alias Śembiyan Mādeviyār, the daughter of Māḻavaraṉyar and queen of Gaṇḍarādittan called here also Merkēḻumdarulina-ēvār. 540 of 1920.

Uḷaiyaṟṟuji (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a member of the Kōdanṭarāmat-teriniya-kaikkōlar. 545 of 1920.

Uḷaiyaṟṟuji (SA.)—Aryan Goyavitānkan, one of the Tāyatongat-teriniya-kaikkōlar, gave ten kaśu for cloths to Kūṭtar, to the south of the stone temple of Tiruvanantēṉvarattāḷyar. He also built in the temple shrines to Kūṭtār, Gaṇapati and Piccar. 555 of 1920.

Uḷaiyaṟṟuji (SA.)—Gold for lamp by the Paranakatt-teriniya-kaikkōlar on behalf of one of themselves. 574 of 1920.

Uḷaiyaṟṟuji (SA.)—Gold for lamp by one of the Mūṭtavāḷ-pperṟa-kaikkōlar. § 581 of 1920.

* 136 of 1925 is similar. † Also in 590 of 1920. (Uḷaiyaṟṟuji.) ‡ Near Kάṭṭumannārṟkoyil (Cidambaram Tj).
§ 584 of 1920 is similar.
PARAKESARI

Year 2.—Uṭṭaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Gold by Kōyil-perṟāl alias Vānavan-mādeviyār, daughter of Pūpulā-sēkariyār, for a lamp and mid-day offerings in the temple and for the sumptuous feeding, once a day, of one Brahman learned in the Vēda. 594 of 1920.

" Uṭṭaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Gold, 12½ kālaṇju, by Paluvoṭṭaraṇyān Kōdāṇḍan Tappili-dharmman for a lamp in the central shrine of the temple. 609 of 1920.

Year 2 + 1.—Pullamangai * (Tj.)—The village assembly (sabba) met in the maṇḍapa opposite to the Tiruvūlandurai temple and sold 1½ mā of land to the temple of Kāḷāpīḷāri of Naḻuvirçēri for 25 kāṣu and allowed it to be tax-free as before. 549 of 1921.

" Tiruvūlinimalalai (Tj.)—Silver dish for śrībalī to temple by a certain Tānṟōṇi-taniccēvagan, (tānṟōṇi being the god's name.) 439 of 1908 †

Year 3.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Land to Amarēvara-Perumāl at Dantivarma-mangalam by the sabba of that village. 720 of 1909.

" Allūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp by ġangā-mādeviyār, wife of Viraśūla-Ilangōvēḷār, on the occasion of her sati. ‡ 376 of 1903.

" Kīṭaiyūr (Tj.)—Gold for supply of ghī on new moon days by a certain Tūppili Śattikumārabaṭṭan residing at Viranārāṇyaṇac-cēri of Viranārāṇyaṇa-catam., § on the northern bank. 92 of 1925.

" Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—25 kālaṇju of gold for lamp by a native of Neḷum-pūraiyyūr in Malai-nāḍū. 248 of 1911.

" Paṇḍāravāḷai (Tj.)—Four mā of land to a learned Brahman who was doing pūja to Tirucceyalūr-perumāl at Rājakēśari-catam. 252 of 1923.

* Text gives Paṇupatti-kōyil.
† The king is said to be Vijayālava in ARE, 1909 II 35.
‡ The text is: "Igangādeviyyār Gangamādeviyyār-Appăyikiniyār-kuṭṭanadu."
§ After Parantaka I? ARE, 1925 II 10.
THE COLAS

Year 3.—Śiyamangalam (NA.)—Land, Mentions Ganga-cūḷāmapi * and Mummaḍi-sōlaj-eombiyan-śrīganga-raiayar, who was governing Palkuṇa-ra-kōṭṭam, Venkuṇa -kōṭṭam and Singapura -nāḍū, (portions of modern N. and S. Areot.) 69 of 1900 ; SII. vii. 73.

" Tithiśāhānam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇju of gold for a lamp by Mullūr-nangai, † mother-in-law of the king. The gold was left with the sabbā and the Pādamūlattūr. 45 of 1895 ; SII. v. 602.

" Tirakkōl (NA.)—Sheep for ghi to the Jaina temple (paḷḷi) at Tandaṇapuram by Eranandi alias Naratonga Pallavaraiyan, a native of Nelvēli in Nelvēli-nāḍū of Tenkarai-Panaiyūr-nāḍū in the Sōla-maṇḍālam. 276 of 1916.

" Tiruccattugai (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇju of gold for a lamp by Mullūr-nangai, mother of queen Sōla-māḍāvīyūr. ‡ 169 of 1931.

" Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Land by purchase for lamp by Ariṇjigaikēni daughter of Mūṭṭa Udaiyūr. 8 of 1920.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Land reclaimed for temple of Tiruthonḍēsvaram by Vikramābharaṇa Pallavaraiyan under orders of Munaiyadasaiyār Aparayiptan Kulamāṇikkerumānūr. 369 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 999.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇju of gold for lamp by Mullūr-nangai. 125 of 1895 ; SII. v. 689.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇju of gold by Nakkan Ariṇjigai alias Parāntaka Pallavaraiyan for a lamp to be maintained in the temple by the Nagarattūr of the village. 165 of 1928.

* Ganga-cūḷāmapi was a surname of Miraśimba II (EL. v. p. 177). But, as it is not likely that he ruled in Pallava country as a Cōḷa feudatory, this chief was perhaps related to the local Ganga chiefs Śankaradēva and Sōmanāthadēva of the Tiruvallam records of Kējarāja I and Kējēndra I-ARE. 1900, paragraph 18.

† See also under Tiruccattugai and Tiruppalanam.

‡ 107 of 1931 (Tiruppūndurutti) is similar.

[ 390 ]
Year 3.—Tiruvāsulurai (Tj.)—The boundary (of the land?) purchased from the assembly of Śirupuliyr by the ūr of Karai-nalūr in Pērāvūr-nāḷu.

107 of 1925.

" Tiruvaiyāryu (Tj.)—Land for three lamps. Nandā-viṭakku iravum pagārum erivadaṛku.  
234 of 1894 ; SII. v. 533.

" Tiruvamāṭṭuṛ (SA.)—Twenty kalāṇju gold for two lamps by Śebiyan Kaṭṭimāṇaiḷaiḷ who built the Tiruccourru-manḍapam, the gold being left in charge of the sabbhā, and ūr of the place.  
403 of 1903.

" Tiruvamāṭṭuṛ (SA.)—Ten pon for lamp by Muṭṭanāṭṭuk-karpūṇḍi-nāḷuḷaiya Parabhūmikan Mallan alias Gaṇḍarādītta Pallavaraiyan. * Sabhaiyum ārum dēva-kuṇnimalum to protect the gift.  
425 of 1903 † ; SII. iii. 95.

" Tiruvannāmalai (NA.)—Gold for lamp by the Cēra queen Kijāṇaiḷaiḷ.  
470 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 58.

" Tiruvēḍikkuḍi (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṇju gold for lamp in the temple of Parakēsari-purattu-mahādēva, left with the Parakēsari-purattu-nagarattū.  
66 of 1895 ; SII. v. 623.

" Tiruvṣāimaginurudūr (Tj.)—A silver kalaśam by a native of Paṇḍi-nāḷu.  
247 of 1907.

" Udaiyāṛgūḍi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a Brahman of Paṇḍitavatasaḷe-cēri. ‡  
556 of 1920.

" Udaiyāṛgūḍi (SA.)—Land for akkāra-aḍiyal to god.  
582 of 1920.

" Udaiyāṛgūḍi (SA.)—Gold by Paṇcavan-mahādēvi, wife of Aralyan Mahimālaya alias Parāntaka Muttaraiyan,  
* If this man was an officer of Gaṇḍarādītya, the inscription must be one of Parāntaka I. H. K. Sastri.

† 426 of 1903 is a similar gift by the same donor, which mentions no king but is dated Ś. 8(79). A few years after Takkōlām, this falls in Gaṇḍarādītya’s reign, who must have been a Parakēśari according to the large Leyden grant. ARE. 1904 paragraph, 20.

‡ Evidently so called after Parāntaka I. Same ūr in 559 of 1920.
THE COLAS

for a lamp to Candraśekhara-perumāḷ in the Anantēvara temple. 602 of 1920.

Year 3.—Uḍaiyāruguḍi (SA.)—The supervisor of temple affairs for the year distributed the temple lands among the temple servants in proportion to the services rendered by them. 605 of 1920.

Year 4.—Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—The sabhā of Kallāṇappūr raised a loan from the temple of 20 kaḷaṇju by Kacippaṭṭuṇiṅkkal; the interest on the loan was 90 kāḍi of paddy per annum which was to be taken and measured out in the premises of the temple by the ūramai-ṣeyyum vāriyap-perumakkal. SII. i. 85. *

" Kīḷappalaluvūr (Tri.)—Lamp to temple by the dēviyār of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, who was the daughter of ...... varaiyar. 222 of 1926.

" Mēḷappalaluvūr (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The sixteenth year of Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa is quoted and Aḍīgal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar mentioned. 373 of 1924.

" Nangavaram (Tri.)—Land to two trumpet-blowers of the Sundarēvara temple in the village called here Aṛiṇjiṅgai-catm. † 303 of 1903.

" Tirthamalai (Sm.)—Gold for lamp. Mentions queen of Mummudi-śōḷa-perumāḷ. The temple is called Kūṭa-lālvār. 673 of 1905.

" Tiruccendugai (Tri.)—Gold by Pūḍī Ādittappiḷīrī. 312 of 1903.

" Tirumalai (NA.)—Four kaḷaṇju gold for feeding one aḍīgal in the pāḷi on the Tirumalai. 66 of 1907 ‡; SII. iii. 97.

" Tirumanaṇaṇjerī (Tj.)—Gift of 96 sheep for a lamp, of a lamp-stand, and of the stone on which the inscription is

* Perhaps of Vijayēlaya- SII. iii p. 17 n. 4.
† Called also Nangai-Brahmadēya in Rājaṅambhāra Vaḷa-nāḍu (334 of 1903 of year 34 of Kūṅārinmaikoḍān.)
‡ The earliest Cōḷa inscription in this locality; it shows that the Jaina settlement on the hill is older than the time of Rājaṅēja I, AKE. 1908 II, 51.
engraved by a penāṭṭi attached to the (royal?) kitchen at Taṅjavūr. 11 of 1914.

Year 4.—Tiruvāmallū (SA.)—Lamp by Kaṇṭāradittan alias... Mahārājan of Vāṅgappādī. 404 of 1903.

" Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Gold ornaments by a Kaikkōlan. Below this is another record of resumption and reassignment at a higher rate of rent of some temple lands. 495 of 1918.

" Tiruvidaimarudūr (Tj.)—A gold hand (hastaka) set with precious stones. Gift by a merchant. 198 of 1907.

" Tiruviṭakkudī (Tj.)—36 sheep for a lamp by the head-man (kiṭān) of Ārkāḍū. 124 of 1926.

" Tiruviṭāḷūr (Tj.)—100 sheep for lamp by Nakkan AriṈīgai alias Pirāntaka Pallavaraian. 18 of 1907.

" Vēlaccēri (Ch.)—Land for lamp and offerings to Kāḷa-bhaṭārī given by the sabhā of the village. 317 of 1911.

Year 5.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Land to Amarēvara-perumāl. Māṟpiṭugōri and sale by sabhā of Dantivarmaman-galam mentioned. 715 of 1909. *

" Kiḷūr (SA.)—Gold, 15 kaḻaiṇu, for lamp by queen of Vāṅkōvaraiyar, called Ilaṇaigal magajār Nangai Kula-miṇṇikatār. Interest rate was kaḻaiṇin-vāṭl-tingal urip-ṇaḍī. 299 of 1902; EI. vii. 141.

" PāṈāḷakkudī (Pd.)—Construction of the maṇḍapa. 147 of 1907. Pd. 42.

" Salem. (Sm.)—Year described as ‘Tiruveluttittu-cellāningrayṇāḍu aṇiṇjavādu.’ The sabhā of Rājàrājērayucatm. accepted an endowment of five kaḻaiṇu gold for a lamp. 43 of 1888; SII. iv. 141.

" Śiyamangalam (NA.)—Land by purchase from ūr by an inhabitant of the Pāṇḍya country to Tirukkaṭṭaḷi-

* ARE. 1910 II 14.
THE COLAS

mahādēvar at Śīyamangalam in Tennaṟur-nādu, a sub-division of Palkūra-kōṭam in Jayangondasōḷa-
manḍalam. 60 of 1900; SII. vii. 64.

Year 5.—Takkōḷam (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp. "Iccirikōyil-
ārayyōmum padi(yum) (p)ādamulattōmum Takkōlattil
nagarattōmum" take charge of them.
60 of 1897; SII. v. 1369.

" Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp (by the queen of)
the Pāṇḍya king Pirāntakan. 133 of 1931.

" Tiruccengāṭṭangudi (Tj.)—Land for two lamps by the
assembly of Marugal in lieu of money (pon) taken
from a certain Viraśōḷan alias Uttamaśōḷa-nennali-
nāṭṭu-mūvenda-vēḷān. 60 of 1913.

" Tirukkaḷāvūr (Tj.)—Land. Ījakkāśu mentioned. The
donor was Śīngan Kaliyan alias Uttamaśōḷa-mūvenda-
vēḷān of Kommaipākkam. 46 of 1910.

" Tiruvēngavāsal (Pd.)—(Verse). Lamp by a native of
Mālanādu. 239 of 1914.

Year 6.—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Gold, 1½ kalaṇju and paddy,
three kalam, as koppu to Ayāduro-cākkai for enacting
three scenes of the Śākkaik-kūttu on the Aśvati day of
the festival in Arpaśi at Tiruvālandurāi-nallūr.
250 of 1926.

" Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—The cows donated to the temple
for lamps could not be protected from robbers by the
temple authorities and were sold for gold.
315 of 1904; Pd. 44.

" Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by Varaguṇanāṭṭi,
daughter of Muttaraiyar * and queen of Śembiyan
Irākkuvēḷār. 337 of 1904; Pd. 45.

" Pullamangai (Tj.)—Land to temple for morning service
by Śembiyan Mahāvali Vānarāyār. 559 of 1921.

* Viṣṇūvēdugumuttaraiyar. Irākkuvēḷ was the same as Viṃakēśari
(AKE. 1908 p. 88) the contemporary of Āditya II-K. V. S. Aiyar EL. xiii. p. 138.
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Year 6.—Sōmūr (Tri.)—Gold, 2½ kalāṇju, for lamp by Pirāntakan Puruṣottaman of the Dānatongat *—teriṇja kaliṇkiḷar.

208 of 1917.

“Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gold, 83 pon (kalāṇju), for two lamps by an uvacan of the temple (ittali).

27 of 1895; SII. v. 584.

“Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gold, 25 kalāṇju, for lamp deposited with the sabbā and ārū.

47 of 1895; SII. v. 604.

“Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Sheep for lamp by Kāman Tāyan, a teacher (vātti) of Iḍaiyāru. 17 of 1920.

“Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Gold, 30 kalāṇju, for lamp by Tippāṇja-āḷagiyān Māraṇav. The sabbā of Aniyan-mangalam invested it in buying 6 mā of land.

148 of 1928.

“Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Lamp, and 25 kalāṇju for its maintenance, by a servant of the headman of Karuṅṉvūr.

153 of 1928.

“Tiruppāṟkkadal (NA.)—Gold for lamp. The supervision of the charity was vested in the annual tank supervision committee.

685 of 1904.

“Tiruvāmāṭur (SA.)—Refers to the mason Arugūrttacan Nārāyaṇan Vaikundan who built the temple (Abhirāmēvara).

413 of 1903.

“Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Record of an ḍiyaiyili-ḷai given by sabbā of Tiraimūr, nagaram of Tiruviḍai-marudil and others.

219 of 1907.

“Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Land, after being purchased tax-free from the assembly of Viḍelviḍugu-catm., given for lamp to Kūttapperumāḷ in Tiruvilakkudi in the same place.

121 of 1926.

* Was this a surname of Parāntaka I? Sōmūr has Parāntaka's records. The Konguṭṭaraiyakkal attributes the conquest of Kongu to Ādiṭya I and Parāntaka does not claim to have conquered it. ARE. 1918 II 22.
THE COLAS

Year 6.—Tiruvilimifalai (Tj.)—Gold for feeding four Brahmans given by Amarabhujangan Muppuji alias Gaḍḍara-gaḍḍa-Pallavaraiyan. 436 of 1908. *

Year 7.—Pullamangai (Tj.)—Great assembly of Pullamangalam sold 1½ mā of land for an endowment in the temple by Āridan Māranārayan. 551 of 1921.

Siddhalingamahaqam (SA.)—Money for two lamps by a female servant of Varagūr-kōṭṭamulaiyān. 422 of 1909.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp left with the sābhā and ār of Tiruneyttānam. 28 of 1895; SI. v. 585.

Tiruppārkaṭal (NA.)—Sābhā accepts an endowment for offerings and places it under control of the annual tank-committee. The corpus was apparently used for repairing a breach in the tank-bund. 688 of 1904.

Tiruvāḷuturai (Tj.)—Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Śāttanūr for 15 kāsu endowed to the temple for the sacred bath of the deity at Uttarāyana Sankrānti by Ōmāśi Oṛṛiyūran Kūttan of Tiruvānaikkū, a dēvadāna-brahmadēya in Kiliyūr-nāṭu. 127 of 1925.

Tiruvigaimarudur (Tj.)—Building of the temple mentioned. Land for a person singing dēśi. 233, 234 of 1907.

Tiruviḷakkudi (Tj.)—Sale of land to revenue officers (puravu-vari tiṇaik-kāḷattār) by the assembly of Vidēḷviḍugu-catm. 135 of 1926.

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—30 kaḷāṇju of ārkkar-cemmāi pon for lamp deposited with the sābhā of Maṇāli near Tiruvorriyūr (Tiruvorriyūrp-purattu Maṇāli-sabhai-gōm). 402 of 1896; SI. v. 1357, same as 165 of 1912.

* This, like some other records, is on a pillar in a minor shrine in a temple which bears only later CēJa records. The pillars were evidently secured from an older structure. Vijayēlaya? ARE. 1909 II 35.
PARAKESARI

Year 8.—Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Twelve sheep by Kaman Koviyar, wife of Paluvettaraiyar Vikramadityar, for one pidi of ghi daily to the temple. 237 of 1926.*

Pancharavada (Tj.) Tax-free land by madhyastha for music by five persons during śrijali every day. 272 of 1923.

Sendai (Tj.)—Details of the expenditure of paddy got annually from the devadāna village Pungagai. 204 of 1926.

Tillaithānam (Tj.)—Thirty kalani of gold for lamp by Pandiyanār Mānābharaṇa-dēvi . . . . kilavan. 26 of 1895; SII. v. 583.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a native of Nandipuram alias Ayirattali. 145 of 1928.

Tiruppalatturai (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The village is called Tiruppāṟṟurai in Uttamaśili-catm. a brahmadēya in Tenkarai. 173 of 1907.

Tiruppalatturai (Tri.)—A copy of an inscription of the 18th year of Madiraikōṇḍa Parakēsari and of another of the same king, twentieth year. Among the boundaries occur names: Virasrikkamukavadi; Adicca Vaykkāl; Kūlaṇḍarāma-vadi; Uttamaśili-Vaykkāl. The Perungūri sabbā of Uttamaśili-catm., ordered the reengraving of the records found on the older śrijīvīmaṇā. 174 of 1907; SII. iii, 133. †

Tiruvellāra (Tri.)—Twenty kalani of gold by the queen of Udaiyar-Ānaimēṟruṅjinār (Rajāditya) called Irāyirandēvi-ammanār, to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇi ‡ of the big temple at Tiruvelḷāra. 534 of 1905; SII. iii, 132.

* Was the king Uttama Cōḷa? ARE, 1926 II 20.
† The king may be Ariṇjaya, or Aditya II or Uttama Cōḷa; probably the last, H. K. Sastri.
THE COLAS

Year 9.—Erumūr (S.A.)—Ten kalaijū of tulai pongu paid to the village assembly for remission of dues on seven mā of land presented to the temple. 393 of 1913.

" Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Land for śrībalī and tirupallī-ēligi. Mentions Kōdanjarāma-Vāyykkāl. 78 of 1914.

" Kiḷappalūvūr (Tri.)—Maḷavar Konkaṇi Śenni Nambiyār, uncle (māni) of Aḻigal Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavaṇ-Kaṇḍanār, made a gift of land by purchase for a lamp in the temple of Maṟavaṇiśvara-grhattu Mahādeva. * 219 of 1926.

" Kiḷappalūvūr (Tri.)—Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavaṇ-Kaṇḍanār purchased land and assigned portions to several persons for service and for lamp before Maṟavaṇiśvara-mahādeva. 249 of 1926. †

" Kūhūr (Tj.)—25 kāsu for lamp to Aḍittēvaram-uḷaiya Bhaṭṭārakar by a certain Aṭraśīva with the tiruvun-nāḷigai-perumakkal of the temple. 292 of 1917 ‡

" Paṇḍāravāṭai (Tj.)—Land for expenses on Sankṛanti days and 108 copper water pots for bath by the queen-mother (Uḷaiya-pirāṭṭiyār) on behalf of prince Gaṇjarādittan Mahurāntakan Uttama Cōḷa. § 250 of 1923.

" Tiruccengūḍu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmanś by a native of Irīṭālu. 636 of 1905.

" Tiruppallaṭṭurai (Tri.)—An exchange of land, by the sabbā of Uttamaśili-catm. Mentions an image of Sūryadēva in the temple at Tiruppāṛṛurai. 177 of 1907.


† Parak. identified with Uttama Cōḷa ARE. 1926 II 19.

‡ Record of Paṇṭataka I whose father was Aḍitya. ARE 1918 II 22.

§ This makes it a record of Uttama Cōḷa ARE. 1924 II 13 (where Śembiyan Mahādeva's charities for Uttama in the reign of Rājarāja are referred to in support of the identity.)
Year 9.—*Tiruvadi* (SA.)—Gold for ghi to seven temples: Tiruvirattanam, Tiruvuravavasi, Tirunaglissaram, Tiruvagattisvaram, Tiruvagiilvaram, Tirusiddanilal, Tiruppalangiud. 368 of 1921.

" *Tiruvelayarai* (Tri.)—Gold, 25 kalainju, for lamp by a native of Idaikkai who was a royal officer called Kumaran-kon. 524 of 1905.

Year 10.—*Aandalallur* (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by Puliyuru-nattu-adigal, queen of Sembiyan Irukkuvel alias Pudi Parantakan. 348 of 1903.

" *Karuttaalanguudi* (Tj.)—Images of two door-keepers set up by Sembarkkoottatu Patitina-nattup-palum-pattinatu irukkum veliiati Arunilimalaip-piratti. 51 of 1897; *SII.* v. 1414.

" *Kiloppaluvur* (Tri.)—90 sheep by nattor of Kunar-kurram for lamp to Maravaniisvaram-udaiyar. 217 of 1926.

" *Kiliyanur* (SA.)—Provision for offerings on new moon days by one of the alungaam of the village. 148 of 1919.

" *Kulumiyamalai* (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by the queen of Sembiyan Irukkuvel. 321 of 1904.

" *Tillaisthanam* (Tj.)—When a person described as Vilattur-nattuk-kon enquired into the affairs of the temple (iivur srikaryam-arayaniyka), those who were doing nagurarviyam in this place (iivur) agreed to maintain a perpetual lamp from the proceeds of angailikkili collected by the ur-alvarga. 40 of 1895; *SII.* v. 597.

" *Tiruccatturai* (Tj.)—Gold by Sembiyan Buvanigangaraiyan alias Alivin Kallarasai for a lamp Kumaramarttanlan. 177 of 1931 *

" *Tiruccendurai* (Tri.)—Sale of land to Nangai Pudi Aditta-palari by parndai for 7 kalainju by vil'id-vil'ugu-kal. 309 of 1903.

*ARe.* 1931 II. 8.
Year 10.—Tiruccendurait (Tri.)—Gold by Pudi Ādiocca Piṭāri. 311, 314 of 1903. *

" Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Silver salver (pingālam) for betel offerings to Tirumalavādi Udaiyār by Nakkan Tillaiyalagiyār alias Śōja-mādēviyār. Weight called vayagatār-kal mentioned. 1 of 1920.

" Tiruppaṇāmam (Tj.)—Lamp by Tennavan Mādēviyār, queen of Kājakēsari. 166 of 1928.

" Tiruppupurambiyam (Tj.)—45 sheep for half a lamp. 76 of 1897; SII. vi. 25.

" Tiruvėnkādu (Tj.)—25 kaḷaṇiṉu of gold for lamp by Śadirayan Uttamaśiliyār wife of Vannāṭuḷaiyār. 482 of 1918.

" Tiruvēṇpainallūr (SA.)—Lands to temple by purchase from the sābhā of Tiruvēṇpainallūr by Aparāyitan Uttamaśōla Mārāyan. 429 of 1921.

" Uḍaiyārūruji (SA.)—Twenty Ṭakkāsu by Śebimyan Mūvēndavēḻan for lamp. 554 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyārūruji (SA.)—Gold for land for feeding five Brahmans in the temple at mid-day; the donor was Nandi-pūṭān alias Śebimyan Mūvēndavēḻan. Mentions tālam and vattil, five of each. 593 of 1920.

" Uyyakkoṇđān Tirumalai (Tri.)—140 sheep for two lamps (90 and 50) by Viranārāyanan alias Śebimyan-mārāyan, a perundanam of Virā-Śōla-Įlangōvēḷūr of Koṭumbāḷūr, to the temple of Karkuṭi † in Nandivanma-mangalam. ‡ 470 of 1908; SII. iii. 98.

Year 11.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Land for lamp by a member of the āḷungaṇam of Dantivarma-mangalam. Mentions Mārpiṭugērī in Dantivarma-mangalam. 711 of 1909.

* 815 of 1903 n-d. records lamps by Śebimyan Īḷangōvēḷ alias Pudi Āditta Piṭāra.

† Ancient Dēvāram name for Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai—H. K. Satrī.

‡ In the 10th year of Rējrāja I this name was changed into Rējrāraya-catm. For Virā-Śōla Īḷangōvēḷ, see 323 of 1903-ARE. 1909 II 37.

[ 400 ]
PARAKESARI

Year 11.—_An̄janallīr_ (Tri.)—Śembiyan Irukkuvala_ alias_ Pūdi
Parantaka built the stone temple (Vaṭāṭirthinātha) and
granted land to it with the permission of Parakēsari.
This land was made the _kāṇī_ of Araiyan Viraśōjan by
order of king in year 18.

_Papulāravāḷai_ (Tj.)—Lamp by one of the Madhurāntakat-
terinji-kaikkōlar.

_Tiruccatṭurai_ (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Cedi-mahā-
dēvīyār, queen of the Mallaḷḷu chief† Siddhavāḷatt-
adaligāl.

_Tirucemāḷāṭangui_ (Tj.)—Land sold by the assembly of
Marugal for the endowment of a lamp.

_Tiruppallanam_ (Tj.)—Thirty _kaḷaiṇṭu_ gold for a lamp
by Prithivi-gangaraiyar, _śis_ son of Mahādēva of Pangaḷa-
nāḷu.

_Tiruvialimarudur_ (Tj.)—Gift of 18 eating vessels
(_tāḷom_) weighing altogether 262½ _palam_ and a large
spoon (_sāḷḷum_) weighing 5 _palam_ for feeding
Brahmans in the local _sāḷai_—_Tiruvialimarudur-
_Udayīyār-sāḷai-_ _uṇṇum-pirāmaṇarkku._

_150_ of 1895, _SH_. v. 714.

_Udayīyāryṇḍu_ (SA.)—Land for lamp by a lady, Nakkan
Pirataniāḷīvala_ _alias_ Mummaḷḷi-śōḷat-talaik-kōli, daughter of
Xrūḍigāvanār. ≤

Year 12.—_Kilaiyāḍ_ (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by the big assembly
of Tiruvāḷundūr on land given for a flower-garden by
Kampan Mallan _alias_ Udayamāṭṭuṇḍa Mūvēndavēḷar,
headman of Nāgan-kuḍi in Ambar-nāḷu.

94 of 1925.

* cf. 360 of year 25.
† Must be a record of Uttama Čēḷa _ARE_. 1924 II 13.
‡ _KL_. vii, p. 135, for a Narasinghabarma (of the time of Kamaradēva) who
had the title Siddhavāḷattadaligāl.
§ cf. 177 of Rējak. 2(0).
¶ 485 of 1918 (m-d) from Tiruveṅkāḷu mentions a lady Āṭṭran Ambalatt-
dīgāl.

[ 401 ]

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THE COLAS

Year 12.—Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—180 sheep for two lamps by Adigal Paluvettaraiyar Kanpan Sundara Solaanur.

120 of 1895; SII. v. 681.

Nangavaram (Tri.)—Lokavidyadhara Brahmadhirajan reclaimed some land and presented it to the goddess Umabhatjaraki with the previous permission of the sabha.

332 of 1903.

Pallikonda (NA.)—Agreement by the assembly of Nandikampa-camt. to remove silt from the tank every year to the extent of 20 kuji with the interest on an endowment by a resident of Irailunseri in Kaceippeta.

474 of 1925.

Sendalai (TJ.)—Mentions Palliyuliyaiya Kanakasena-bhatara, probably a Jaina. 7 of 1899; SII. vi. 443.

Tirakkol (NA.)—Paddy to Kanavira-sittafiga. Mentions Sembiyan Sembhottiladanar, son of Vidirlvidilugu Sembhottiladanar, alias Ganaiperummanar.

279 of 1916.

Tiruccengulu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans.

628 of 1905.

Tiruppalanam (TJ.)—Gift to temple by Padi Kuttan of Maramangalam.

147 of 1928.

Udaiyargudi (SA.)—500 kalanju gold. Image of Suryadova set up by Kundavaiyur who made a gift of gold, 25 kalanjus, for a lamp in front of it. 606 of 1920.

Veddicalam (SA.)—Srikoyil, snapana-mandapa, gopura, sygulai and minor shrines constructed by Sembiyan Madewiyar, mother of Sri Uttama Cola, daughter of Malaperumanafigal, and queen of Gandarauditadavar, son of Parantaka-deva alias Periyaosalanur; gift of gold ornaments and silver vessels to the temple by Udaiya Piratiyur.

47 of 1918.†

Viyyalcalam (SA.)—45 sheep for half a lamp to Suryadova of Tirumudukunram.

56 of 1918.

* This name makes the inscription a record of the reign of Rajaraja I.

† A record of Uttama Cola.
PARAKESARI

Year 13—Anḍanallūr (Tri.)—Gold 30 pon for lamp by Tingal-ṇimmaḍiligal, queen of Śembiyan Irukkūvelār, invested with the āur. 357 of 1903.

Melappaluvūr (Tri.)—Gift of an image of Gaṇapati, a pedestal, and a golden flower by the temple manager Nāvalūrulaiyān Kaṇṭalan Tevāḷi to the temple with the permission of Adigal Paḷuvēṭṭarayar Kaṇṭalan Sundara Śōjan. 381 of 1924.

Nāngupatī (Pd.)—Refers to Vīraśōjan Uṭtamaśilān. 341 of 1914.

Tirukkurugāvūr (Tj.)—Land by Śemban Arulān Uṭtamanīlī alias Uṭtamaśōla Mūvāndavēḷān* to nine persons for beating drums in the temple of Tiruvel-laḷalai-Mahādēva at Tirukkurugāvūr. 434 of 1918.

Tirupplaimam (Tj.)—Land to temple by Pūḍi Kūttan of Mangalam in Nallūr-nāḷu. The king† was staying at Paḷaiyāru. 141 of 1928.

Uyakkondān Tirumalai (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp by a Brahman woman. 471 of 1908. ‡

Vyḍḍhācaḷam (SA.)—Dry land to Sūryādēva by residents of Neṛkuppaś; converted into wet land later. 59 of 1918.

Year 14—Āṭṭūr (Sm.)—Paddy to Tirumēṭṭāḷi Nakkar at Malaiya-māṇāru, a brahmānōya in Āṭṭūr-kūṟram in Mīḷāḷu, by three servants of that temple. 407 of 1913.

Kuṭṭumiyūmalai (Pd.)—Gold for feeding 15 Śaivas for seven days during the Māśi Makham festival of Tirumēṭṭalip-perumāṇaḷigal at Tirunilakkunāram, a dēvadānā in Kunriyūr-nāḷu. 334 of 1904.

Purandūr (Ch.)—A transaction of the sabhā of Aparājīta-caṭm. in Puriśai-naṭṭup-perundapappuram. Mentions sabhāi-vāriyaṃ and ēri-vāriyaṃ. 74 of 1923.

* cf. 433 of 1918 (Year 15)
† Identified with Uṭtama Cōḷa-ARE. 1928 II 3.
‡ Earlier than 472 of 1908 of year 2 of Parakēsari who took Vīra Pūṇḍya’s head which is below this. cf. 470 of 1908 of Parak. 10-ARE. 1909 II 37.
THE COLAS

Year 14.—Tirumāḻgurum (NA.)—Provision by Madhurantakan Gaṇḍarādittar for bathing the image of the deity every month with 108 pots of honey, ghi, curd etc.

280 of 1906.

" Tiruneṇṭungaḷam (Tri.)—Ghi for agnikārya* thrice a day. Gift made by one Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa who was enquiring into temple affairs on behalf of Uttama Cōḷa Brahmādhirāja-kanmi Śembiyan Vaḻappuraiyūr-nāṭṭu-Mūvendavelaṇ. 684 of 1909; SII. iii. 140.

" Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—30 sheep for lamp by Paluvēṭṭaṇaiyān Kanṭāḷ Amudan. 252 of 1894; SII. v. 551.

" Tiruvottūr (NA.)—A defaulter tracked by the tiruvunnaṭṭigai of the temple and made to pay for a lamp to be maintained by him.

102 of 1900; SII. vii. 112.

" Tiruvottūr (NA.)—Sheep lost in a raid (śōṇrai) and 200 fresh ones given by Uḷaiyūr Śembiyan Mahādevi for two lamps.

104 of 1900; SII. vii. 114.

" Uḷaiyāṟṟuguḍi (SA.)—Gift of some tank-irrigated land, by purchase, by Kāḷi-karṛaṇi, one of the Uḷaiyār-Karikāḷa t-sōḷatteriṇja-kaiṅkoḷar to seven musicians (uvaccar) for conducting the śribali to Tirumuḷḷūṟ-uḷaiya Paramēvar of Tirumuḷḷūṟ alias Simhaviśṇu-catm., a brahmadēya of the Kāṇāḷu.

617 of 1920.

Year 15—Anṭhanallūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Pāḍi-Māḍēvaḷīgaḷ, queen of Kannaradēva.

356 of 1903.

" Kāṇḍiṇpuram (Ch.)—Sale of land by Māṇagarattūr; temple called Terkirunda-nakkar. Mentions Karikāḷa-bōḷap-piḷḷaiyūr in the above temple at Kaḻumbi-ḍugu-mērkāppu in the city.

1 of 1906.

* Agnikārya—not auptasana; hence there was no goddess in the temple ARE. 1910 II. 18.

† This must be Aḍitya II; hence the king of this record may be Uttama Čēḷa. ARE. 1921 II 29.
Year 15.—Kāñcipuram (Ch.)—Land by purchase from the merchants of Kāñcipuram by Ācāra Śenācāra of the Mūttavāḷpēru-ra-kaiṅkōḷa for offerings to Karikalappillaiyar in the temple of Teerkirunda-nakkar in the western block of Kaṭumbiḷugu in Kānci; and gift of three kāśu for lamp in that temple. 84 of 1921.

Kilappaḷuvūr (Tri.)—Sheep for ghi. Mentions Paluvēṭtaraiyar Maravān Kaṇṭalan as having built the temple (Vaṭamulēśvara). 245 of 1926.

Kuṭumīyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nāḷu. 328 of 1904.

Māmandūr (Ch.)—45½ sāvā-mūvāp-pēruḷu (sheep) for ½ lamp by two persons contributing equal shares. The half lamp was to burn by day before Vāḷisvaram-Uḷaiyar of Narasimha-mangalam. 40 of 1888; SII. iv. 138.

Mēḷappaluvūr (Tri.)—Land in Uṟattūr as ānāmabhūmi to Vēṅgāḷavan Aragan aliās Śembiyān Virainēṭukōṇar by the assembly of Kunrak-kūṟram, under orders of Paluvēṭtaraiyan Kaṇṭalan Maravān, with the condition that the donee should pay 25 tāḷacceṃnai-poun annually as fixed assessment (nīlaiyīgai) on the land. 356 of 1924.

Vīṛḍhācalam (S.A.)—Money for ghi for lamp, deposited with the assembly of Arikulakēśari-catm. 46 of 1918. ↑

Year 15, day 143.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land to Tiruvayōḍhyai Perumāṇadigal. The Mahāśahā took pūrvāraṃ and assigned to the god as iṟaiyili all the iṟai land in Pūṅgūdai-pūṇḍi saying: "kuḷigalai vēṭṭiyyum amaṇiyyum iṟaiyum eppēṟpaṭṭidum kollappēṟdōṇgamavum." 14 of 1898; SII. vi. 297.

* cf. 219, 249 of year 9. King identified as Uttama Cōḷa in ARE. 1926 II, 19.

† Either Pāṇṭakāra I or Uttama Cōḷa ARE. 1918 II 22.
THE COLAS

Year 16.—*Kilappaluvūr* (Tri.)—Land as *dēvadāna* (for offerings) by a private person. 

**Kiliyanūr** (SA.)—Mahāsabha of Kiliinalūr agree to make farmers contribute to annual repairs of a tank named after a person who gave money for the same purpose. 244 of 1926.

**Kuḫuniyāmalai** (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nādu. 160 of 1919.

**Lālgudi** (Tri.)—Gold by Kōkkilānaḍīgal, daughter of Sēramānūr, * for lamps. 350 of 1904.

**Tirukkalāvūr** (Tj.)—Land as *igaiyil* to Mahādeva by the Mūlaparuvai-pērumakkal of Tirukkarāvūr. 111 of 1929.

**Tiruttanī** (NA.)—Sale of land by assembly of Tiruttanīyai. 35 of 1910; *SHI*. iii. 123 †

**Tiruvelumbūr** (Tri.)—Land for *ardhayāma* offerings by the īr of the village. 438 of 1905.

**Ukkul** (NA.)—Land to temple. *Nilam* figures as unit of land-measurement. The gift was made to Bhuvanamāṇikka-viṣṇugrha by the Mahāsabha, including the *sannvatsara-vāriya* and the *ivrāyi-pērumakkal* at the request (*viṇṇappam*) of Cakrapāṇi-nāmbi who was doing *śrīkāryam* for Perumān-ādīgal. 438 of 1914.

**Uraiyūr** (Tri.)—Provision for daily requirements of Tiruvai-ālalai-perumūl at Uraiyūr. 28 of 1893; *SHI*. iii. 11. †

**Udaiyāruguḍī** (SA.)—Land by two *vāniyar*, and gold for its reclamation; two batches of 80 and 20 Brahmas were to be fed for merit of the donors' uncle in the choultry erected by them. 28 of 1893; *SHI*. iii. 11. †

* Queen of Parāntaka I *ARE*: 1929 li 27.
† Uttama Cōla or Parāntaka I—H.K. Sastri.
† Hultsch identifies the king with Vijayālaya on account of the absence of distinguishing surnames. *SHI*. i. 85, 148; and iii 12 (Introd).

[ 406 ]
Year 16.—Valappuranadu (Sm.)—Pirantakan Mudavaigal alias Sembiyian Madhivyar, mother of Gaungal Madurantakan alias Uttama Cola, deposited 100 kaalajo of gold with the urar of some villages in Kollimalai-naadu, the urar agreeing to pay monthly interest to the sahah who were to dispose of it in the manner laid down. 503 of 1930.

Veddhaicalam (SA.)—Land and cooking utensils to Tirumudukunram-uJaiyur for offerings in the evening by Iruungonir Naranjan Piriptiapitayur. 51 of 1918.

Year 16, day 33—Uttaramerur (Ch.)—Land as igaiyili to Srikuruksetrattup-perumanaigal for tiruvennadai after taking purvaara. 34 of 1898; SII. vi. 317.

day 257—Uttaramerur (Ch.)—Land to the temple of Mahadeva in the neighbouring village of Tituttur for tiruvennadai by the Mahasabha of Uttaramerur: 'Purvaara-gouji igaiyiliyatu vaitta bhuminiyadaru'. 4 of 1898; SII. vi. 286.

Year 20—Kuttalum (Tin.)—(Vaitelcuttu)—Cows and sheep for lamps. 444 of 1917.

Tiruttangal (Rd.)—(Vaitelcuttu)—31 cows for lamp to Tiruvangaajanilai-perumanaigal at Tiruttangal by a resident of Kaelanir in Mallinadu. 557 of 1922.*

Year 21.—Kulmuniyamalai (Pd.)—Mentions Madurantaka Irukkanuvil alias Aecan Vikramakesariyari.

335 of 1904; Pd. 65.

Kulmuniyamalai (Pd.)—Gift of a village by Madurantaka-Irukkanuvil alias Adittan Vikramakesari.

336 of 1904; Pd. 63.

Kuthalam (Tin.)—(Vaitelcuttu) 26 sheep for lamp to Kuttalattup-perumanaigal by Dharmaseetti alias Sahlavangavaiyan of the Manikkiriam of Tenvuranaadu. 439 of 1917.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—90 sheep and lamp-stand by a native of Adhiraja-mangalyapuram. 363 of 1921.

* Parantaka I. ARE, 1923 II 25.
THE COLAS

Year 22.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vattēḻuttu)—Land for lamp by Kandan Iravi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Kuttālam is said to be in Tenvāra-nāḍu. 441 of 1917.

" Tiruccendugai (Tri.)—Land as dēvadāna by Madurāntaka Irakkuvēḻ alias Ādittan-pūdī to Tiruccendugai-kāṟṟalip-paraṅgavara. 318 of 1903.

" Tirukkalittāḻai (Tj.)—Land for offerings by a member of the āḻunganattar of Amanināṟiyana-catu in Vaḷigarai. 295 of 1908. *

Year 23.—Tiruccendugai (Tri.)—Land by Viraśōla-Iḻangōvēḻ alias Ādittan † Tiruvorriyūr-āḻīḻagāl on the occasion of his marriage, (virāḥadakṣīṇai). 323 of 1903.

" Tilloṭihāṇam (Tj.)—Gift of 25 kulaṇḍa of gold for which the sabbā sells land for a lamp in the temple of Tirumettāṇum. Among the boundaries occurs the phrase: "Vāravurpaṇāmāṇaṇā vāṭalākkakku-vaiṭṭa kāṭ-vē." 277 of 1911; SII. iii. 127.

Year 24.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vattēḻuttu)—Cows for lamp by Ariyaṃ-poduviyār, wife of a ...raṇa Pallavaṟaiyaṉ. 442 of 1917.

" Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Gold for lamp by Śembiyak Mūṃdavēḻan alias Sattan Ulaṇa, chief of Vadalānu-jēri in Tirumaraṅyūr-nāḍu (of the Sōḷa-nāḍu). The money was deposited on interest with Kūḷumāṇīp-pākkam near Māṅgaḷa. Rate of interest 15 per cent. 176 of 1912.

Year 25.—Aṭṭunallār (Tri.) - Land by a certain Ariyaṃ Viraśōla. 360 of 1903. §

† Regnal year (23)—first figure being doubtful.
‡ Wife of Parantaka Iḻangōvēḻ who gave some land in year 13 of Rējōkēṟari (Ganjarāḍīṭiyai). After Ganjarāḍīṭiyai who ruled 18 years, there must have been at least four kings before A.D. 985—Ariḻiyaya, Sundara-Cōḷa—Parantaka II, Āditya II and Uttama, of whom the first probably and the third and fourth were Parakēḷasiris. This record may be one of Ariḻiyaya whose records are otherwise unknown, or better Uttama Cōḷa—II.K, Sastri.
§ cf. 359 of year 11.

[ 408 ]
Year 25.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vattēluttu) - Nine Itakāsu for lamp by the ūr of Tirukkāmāṁjūr in Kaḻakkudi-nāḻu. 443 of 1917.

Year 26.—Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 639 of 1905.

Year 27.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vattēluttu) Lamp to Tirukkurālattu Mahādēva. 438 of 1917.

** Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 631 of 1905.

Year 28.—Kumbakōṟam (Tj.)—Gold for lamp. 246 of 1911.

** Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding. 638 of 1905.

Year 31.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—(Vattēluttu) Fragment, TAS. i. p. 237. *

Year 32.—Kutumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by Mayilai Tippāḷan alias Avandiyakōpa-Pallavaraiyar of Puḷukkuḷi. 322 of 1904.

** Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Gold, 25 kalāṇju, for lamp by a native of the Pāndya country. 57 of 1895; SII. v. 614.

Year 33. †—Tiruppallatturai (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp. 252 of 1903.

Year 34.—Śōmūr (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Śirṛūr in Miḷa-maḷa-nāḻu. 205 of 1917.

** Subindram (Tv.)—(Vattēluttu)—50 sheep with Paraḷai-sabhaiyar for lamp, to Nānjināṭṭu Tiruc-civindiarattumādēva. 81 of 1896; ‡ EI. v. p. 42; TAS. i. p. 237.

Year 35.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vattēluttu)—Six buffaloes for lamp by a native of Vallapuram in Maḷa-nāḻu. 447 of 1917.

Year 36.—Śinnamanūr (Md.)—(Vattēluttu) Lamp. The village is called Aḷanāṭṭup-piramadēyam Arukūsarimaliūr. 443 of 1907; § SII. iii. 109.

* May be Parāntaka I, T. A. G. Rao. † Text has 23.
‡ Vijayēlaya (Hultsch) - Parāntaka I (T. A. G. Rao).
§ Parāntaka I AKE. 1908 ii 51.
THE COLAS

Year 37.—Tirugōkarnam (P.d.)—Gold. 308 of 1904.

Year 40.—Tiruvanḍarkōyil (Pondicherry.)—30 sheep for lamp; mentions Tribhuvanamūḍēvi-catm., a brahmādēya on the northern bank of the Peṇṇūr. 376 of 1917. *

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Marandai (Tin.)—(Valṭeḥultu)-Land for offerings to the Viṣṇu temple at Māyandāyanallūr, a brahmādēya in Kāḷakkuḍi-nāḷu. 313 of 1918.

Śembīyannāḥādēvi (Tj.)—158 pon (kaṇāṟju) for feeding, with the interest thereon, some persons on the day of Kṛṭṭai in the month of Cittirai, the natal star of Śembīyann-Mahādēviyār, the mother of Uttama Cōḷa. 489 of 1925.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—120 sheep for a lamp by the Cōḷa queen Paṅcavan-mahādēvi. 338 of 1906.

Tiruvirūmāḷvaram (Tj.)—Money for lamp by a merchant of Viraṅculap-perunderu of Taṇjavūr. 128 of 1911.

Uttaranaṁrūr (Ch.) — Gold for lamp to Jēḍṭaikōyilin kīḷaitṭalai-mahādēva on the bank of the tank at Kumaṇa-pāḍi in the town (iṉvūṟ). The samvatsara-vāriyaṉ-perumakkal were made responsible for maintaining the lamp. 10 of 1898; SII. vi. 293.

* Paṟṟintaka I AKE. 1918 II 22.
PARAKESARI VIJAYALAYA.

_Tiruneśungalam_ (Tri)—Tribhuvana-cakravartin Könerin-
maikopdän. A gift of land according to an earlier
charter of Parakēsari alias Śri Vijayalaya Cōla-dēva.
675 of 1909.

See under Parakēsari:

Year 2. +1._-_Tiruvīṭimīṭalai_ 439 of 1908.

Year 4.—_Kāncipuram._  _SII._ i. 85.

Year 6.—_Tiruvīṭimīṭalai_.  436 of 1908.

Year 16.—_Ukkal._  28 of 1893.

Year 34.—_Suceindram._  81 of 1896.

under Vikrama Cōḷa:

Year 5.—_Kilputṭur_  164 of 1915,

mentioning a gift in year 4 of Vijayalaya.
RAJAKESARI ADITYA I.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Topḍaināḍu-pāvina (paravina?) Sōgān-patyānaikkōk-kandanāyina Rājakēsarivarman. Gift of 100 sheep by Kāḍamba-mādēvi, wife of Viṅkīl-Anḍan on whom was bestowed the hereditary title Śembiyān Tamilavēl with other marks of dignity by the Cōla king and by the Śēramān Sthānu Ravi.

286 of 1911; SII. iii. 89.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 2.—Tirumēyānam. 321 of 1910.
   " Tirunāgēsvaram. 222 of 1911.
Year 8.—Tillaisthānam. 38 of 1895.
Year 9.—Śendalai. 209 of 1926.
Year 14.—Vēṭal. 84 of 1908.
Year 18.—Śendalai. 13 of 1899.
Year 23.—Tiruppaḷānam. 161 of 1928.
   " Ukkal. 19 of 1893.
Year 24.—Neṟkuṇam. 86 of 1908.
   " Niṟyamam. 16 of 1899.
   " Śendalai. 208 of 1926.
   " Takkōḷam. 5 of 1897.
Year 27.—Brahmadēśam. 230 of 1915.
   " Tirukkaḷukkunram. 167 of 1894.

under Parāntaka I:

Year 34.—Topḍamāṇāḍ. 230 of 1903.

under Uttama Cōla:

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumāḷpuram 286 of 1906.

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PARAKÉSARI PARÂNTAKA I.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 3—Kumbakōnam.—A daṇḍam of 3000 on the city in Parântaka's 38th year.

Year 8—Tillaiathānam—Kaṇnarādēvan a brother of Parântaka.

Year 2—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Land by Pūdi Āditta Piḷāri * on the day of a solar eclipse.

Year 2—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Two gardens by Pūdi Ādicea Piḷāri, queen of Arikula-kēsari, as viḻāppugram to the deity of the stone temple built by her.

Ś. 832 † —Cendattūr (NA.)—Death of Māvali-Vānarāyar alias Kudi-pari-tañḍik-kāmanār, residing in Igalmaṟai-mangalām, in a cattle raid at Cendattūr.

Year 3—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Gold, 60 kaḷaiṇju, by Pūdi Ādicea Piḷāriyār, daughter of Tennavan Īlangōvēḷār ‡ and queen of Arikulakēsariyār, son of Śūla-Perumānadigal, to the god of the stone temple of Candrasekharā, which she had built at Tiruccendurai, near Īsānamangalām (Brahmadōyam Īsānamangalattu Tiruccendurai). The gold was weighed by viḻīvīḻiugu kul and left in charge of Īsānamangalattu Paruḍai; interest at the rate of tiṇi and padakk per piḷ yielding a total of 60 kalām per annum.

* May have been the daughter of Pūdi or Māgavān Pudiyār. Hence, Parakēsari of this record must be Utama or Āditya II. The eclipse points to A. D. 972 in Utama Cūḷā's reign. H. K. Sastri.

† This shows that in A. D. 910 Parântaka had not yet conquered the Bēḷas.

‡ Another name of Māgavān Pudiyār. H. K. Sastri.

§ The king of this record was Gaṇḍāraḍitya. A. D. 956-7 ARE. 1909 II 38, But see p. 150 n. ante.

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THE COLAS:

Year 3.—Tirukkoṇṭikāval (Tj.)—Maduraikona Parakesari. Copy of an old Pāṇḍya inscription. 11 of 1931.


" Tiruvāḍur (Tj.)—(Parakesari). Purchase of land in Śīrānacīr by Karraḷi-piecan of Tiruvāḍur, who allotted it among one Tiruppadiyam-hymner, those bringing water for the sacred bath, and the pipers of the temple. 139 of 1925.

Year 4, day 325.—Tiruvīḍaiyamarudur (Tj.)—Mentions the using up in building the central shrine of stones with inscriptions registering endowments for lamps in the temple. Copies of these records were accordingly made; and one of them was in the reign of the Kādu-pattiga Nandipottaśaiyar who had endowed a lamp called Kumāramārtanīḍa. The order to copy and re-engrave the records was issued by a meeting in the Nāṭakaśālā of the temple in which were present: īllēvar śrīkāryam tiruttakāvala Tiraimūr-sabhaiyārum Tiruvīḍaiyamarudil Nagaruttārum Tirukkoṭīl-ṇaiyāryaḷum and two others, the accountant and manager of the temple. 199 of 1907; SII. iii. 124.

Year 7.—Madhurāntaka (Ch.)—Parāntakadōva. Land by the Perunguri-Mahāsabhai of Śrī-Madhurāntaka-catm., as tiruvīḍaiyāḷam to Ayōdhyā Perumāḷ. 126 of 1896; † SII. v. 991.

" Takkōlam (NA.)—Gold, 10 kalāṇju, by a lady for a boat to be launched in the big tank. The sabhā of Parundūr undertake to supply as interest 150 kāñji of paddy for its maintenance, to be collected with the paṇcavāra. 252 of 1921.

* cf. 126 of 1925 of year 25.

† Probably the earliest record of the new temple. Either Parāntakal or Vijayālaya. The earliest ascertainable inscriptions here are those of Parāntaka.

‡ Characters of a later time—SII. v. p. 377 n.
PARANTAKA I

Year 9.—Sholingur (NA.).—The king granted the revenue from a field called Vamśavāri (Vamśavārījanitan-mpadēyam) for the maintenance of a tank called Cōla-vārīdhī on the bank of which the inscription is engraved on a rock. The execution of the grant was entrusted to the Ganga Pṛthivipati II Hastimalla who was made Bāṇālhirīja. Mentions battle of Vallīla in which Pṛthivipati distinguished himself.

9 of 1896; EL. iv. p. 221.

Year 10.—Karulattāṅguṭṭi (Tj.)—(Parakēsari). 90 sheep by Maduraiyakan-Gaṇḍarāḍittan to Karundittai-guṭṭi Mahādēva.

42 of 1897; SII. v. 1405.

" * Tiruvōnattōr (SLA.).—Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. Land. Mentions the king’s other name, Śrī Parantaka-dēva, and an officer of his named Sōlāśikha-māṇi Pallavaraiyan. A case of diversion of charitable endowment from one purpose to another closely allied: land set apart for the maintenance of a mahāmātra who took care of the elephant which carried the śribalī was now employed to sound a gong (sēnāi koṭṭuradāgara) as the old service had stopped.

423 of 1903.

" Tiruvīḷāneroṭtān (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. An endowment for the uvačaśa. Mentions the agent of the Cōla king in Kongu.

† 258 of 1907.

Year 11.—Pullamangai (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land to temple by assembly.

558 of 1921.


63 of 1895; SII. v. 620.

" Tiruccāṭtugai (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. 30 pun by Cōla queen Tribhuvana-mahādēviyar on behalf of her mother Nangūṭṭiyar.

130 of 1931.

* Text reads: padi(mālam)varu.

† ARE. gives the date (30); but the text gives 10.
THE COLAS

Year 12—Kilappatuvur (Tri.)—Madiraikoonda. Commander Nakkkan Sattan of Paradur gave 90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvallandurai Mahadesa, to commemorate the victory of Palavettaraiyar Kanjan Amadandanar when the Pandyya king helped by the Ceylonese army attacked the Coja king at the battle of Veilur and died.

231 of 1926. *

Takkalam (NA.)—Maduraikoonda. Agreement of the assembly of Tiruvurial to measure out 1125 marakkal of paonovara paddy due from the devadana village Parundur by the marakkal which would hold 7 nali and 1 uri by the Rajakasari-nali.

261 of 1921.

Tirupparkkaadal (NA.)—The Mahasabha including the members of the year of the kufumhu, tulla, kalan, and vaala-kalan-variyams, the Bhattar and others order the acceptance by the bri-variyam of an endowment of 120 kalanju of 9 1/2 mugi gold as the corpus from the interest on which were to be fed every day four Brahmanapurvins versed in the Veda in the Sali-manjapaya built by the donor. This was instituted for the merit of four warriors (devakar) who died in a frontal attack (neppi sena) led by the donor, Sennippuraraiyar, at Veilur on the occasion when the Pandyyan and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle (asti-kalai semya naru) with the Coja king (perumanaigal).

693 of 1904; SII. iii. 99.

Tiruvitaimarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikoonda. Lamp. Mentions Taipusam.

248 of 1907.

Uttaramerur (Ch.)—Madiraikoonda. Rules for elections to the variyam. Title Parantaka at end.

2 of 1898; Studies vi.

Year 13.—Tirukkalakkunram (Ch.)—(Valleputtu) Madiraikoonda. A private gift of a lamp by Amurkkottattu Kairikkattur Neelumarchattan Sennippuraraiyan and his

* This was the second war. Rajasimha was the name of the Pandyya king and Veilur was apparently in the Pandyya country. cf. Udayendarim plates of Puthivipati II, vv. 10-11 ARE. 1926 II 16.
mother Kōyinangai. The sabhaiyār to protect the charity. 168 of 1894; EL iii. p. 281.


" Tiruvaiyār (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Gold for lamp by queen Tribhuvana-mahādīvīyār. 242 of 1894; SII. v. 541.

" Uttaramērū (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. Revision of rules regarding elections to the vāriyam. Titles of the king: Vīranārāyaṇa, Dēvēndra, Cakravartin, Paṇḍīta-vatsalan, Kuṇjara-mallan and Śūraśūlāmāṇi. 1 of 1898; Studies vi.

" Uttaramērū (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. Gold, 12½ kalaṇjū, for lamp to Tirupplulivattu Mahādēva given to the sabhā by a member of the yālūngamam of the village (ivvūr). 87 of 1898; SII. vi. 372.

Year 15.—Erode (Coi.)—Madiraikondā. Agreement of the people of Elukarait-tiruvāyppāl-nāṭu to pay certain taxes for the worship of Venūlkkutta-nāyanār in the temple of Paṇṭikondāḷvār at Irōlu: —½ paṇam on each kudi ; ½ each from bridegroom and bride in marriages ; 1 kunḍi and 1 maṇiṇḍi of gold as Śuṅkṣṭupāṭṭam. 167 of 1910. †

" Kāṇeipuram (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. 270 sheep for three lamps for which three vṛjakku of ghee had to be supplied every day by Cauḷaparākrama Maṇḍūṇi and his descendants, on pain of a daily fine for default of 4½ (?) at the dhanaṃsana. There is also an undertaking to pay one maṇiṇḍi of gold every day to the ruling king (anṛāḷu kōvukku) if the charity fails (nuṭṭiṭ). SII. i. 82. ‡

* This must have extended partly into Mysore country. cf. 281 of 1911, (Year 18) ; 457 of 1911 (Year 29) - A&E. 1912 II 13.

† Characters of a later time. Perhaps copy of a genuine record. cf. 258 of 1907 (Yr. 10) and Parantaka records from Tiruccengū. A&E. 1911 II 20.

‡ SII. i 83 is similar-180 sheep.

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Year 15.—Kuṇumiyaṇāmalai (Pā.)—Madiraikonḍa. Gold for lamp at each of two temples. Mentions a person with the surname Arikulānta-vāraṇa-Pēraraṇyai. 345 of 1904.

" Kuṇumiyaṇāmalai (Pā.)—Madiraikonḍa. Gifts of gold for lamps, one each, in the temples of Tirumulattā-nattu-perumāṇaḷi and Tirumēṟṟai-perumāṇaḷi by two persons, viz., one of the Pīḷḷaiyār Kōḍāṉḷar * maḷaiḷḷaiḷḷip-peṇṭir (7½ kaḷaiṇju for nandāvaḷḷakkuk), and one woman engaged for making sandal (sāndu) to the same prince (3 kaḷaiṇju for pagalviḷḷakkuk).

347 of 1904; SII. iii. 101.

" Uttaramēṟ (Ch.)—Madiraikonḍa. Land to temples of Tiruppuḷivanam and Tulāvāraṭṭaḷi. The īr who sold the land and got its price, undertook themselves to perform the duties connected with the charity, though ordinarily the samvatsara-viriyam did so. 8 of 1898; SII. vi. 291.

Year 15, day 55.—Uttaramēṟ (Ch.)—Madiraikonḍa. Rules for testing gold (pon samaṇjasaṇ-gāṇḍudarkku) by a committee specially constituted by election for the purpose by order of the sabhā. 12 of 1898; SII. vi. 295.

Year 16.—Brahmadyāsam (NA.)—Madiraikonḍa. The assembly Anjaṭṭaṇam fixes the remuneration to the tank accountant. The korru was four nāḷi of paddy every day, and seven kaḷaiṇju of pure gold every year, and a pair of cloths (ṭraṇāik-kāyai). Each accountant had, while presenting the accounts every year, to undergo the ordeal of red-hot iron (maḷju); if he passed the ordeal successfully, he got pūduṇḍa (¾ quarter of the surplus) as bonus; else he was fined 10 kaḷaiṇju; no corporal punishment was to be inflicted. 226 of 1915.

" Kuṇumiyaṇāmalai (Pā.)—Madiraikonḍa. Gold for lamp by a native of Kōḍungōḷūr in Malai-nāḷu. 351 of 1904.

" Tirunāmānalūr (SA.)—400 sheep for 4 lamps by the king’s son Kōḍaṇḍarāma. 379 of 1902; SII. vii. 1009.

* Same as Kōḍaṇḍarāma of 318 of 1904, n-d. ARE. 1905. II. 9. Kōḍaṇḍarāma Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka. H. K. Sastri.
Year 16.—Tiruppoyambiyam (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Ilamumkonja. Seven cows for ghā by two persons. 

Year 16, day 222—Uttararamār (Ch.)—Madiraikonja. Land bought from ryots by order of assembly for renewing and widening a road which, owing to a flood, had become unfit for use even by cattle. The garden committee executed the order of the assembly.

9 of 1898; SII. vi. 292.

Year 17.—Brahmadiṣam (N.A.)—Madiraikonja. 325 lūjī of land for offerings by Nallulān-Ūrālimagan Atṭamūti.

224 of 1915.


Śrīrājam (Tri.)—Madiraikonja. Thirty pun by śem- 

mūripāyātikal for lamp, forty for camphor, and one for cotton wick (purāju-tirī); and a silver lamp-stand (nīrtimālakku). Tiruvananga-sabhā took charge of the endowments.

72 of 1892; SII. iv. 519.

Tiruccheinmāṁḍi (Tj.)—Madiraikonja. 16 kaḷaṅju gold for lamp by Gūnayavān Sūratongi, one of the retinue (nariyāram) of Nambiāṭṭiyār Arumōṇi-mangai, the daughter of Paḷuvaṭṭaiyar.

299 of 1901; SII vii. 520.

Tiruppaṭanam (Tj.)—Madiraikonja. Gold by Kūllān Ācchipārī of Koḷumāḷūr. 140 of 1928.

Tiruvirāiamarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikonja. Paddy by inhabitants of Tiruvirai-nāju.

215 of 1907.

Year 18.—Pallamangai (Tj.)—Madiraikonja. Royal gift as kuḷi-nikkiya-devadānam of five and odd vīli of unalienated land yielding 500 kalam of paddy and 5 kaḷaṅju of gold to Tiruvālandurai-Mahādēva.

555 of 1921.

* Earliest mention of conquest of Ceylon so far known occurs only in year 37. Perhaps this title was assumed after Vēṭṭūr and fully justified only later. ARE. 1927 II 10.
THE COLAS


Tiruvīđaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for a lamp by a merchant of Kumāra-māttāṇḍapuram in Tenkari-Tiraimūr-nāḍu. 262 of 1907.

Year 19.—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep with sabhā of Śirupaḷuvūr. Lamp by Daṇḍi Aḍigalār of Umbalappādi. 236 of 1926.

Pallikōṇda (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Ardhamaṇḍapa of Nāganāthēśvara temple built by Karuvili Muttaraiyar. 476 of 1925.

Pillaiappākkam (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Regulations for election of members to the assembly by the wards of Nīruvūr in Palkunṟa-kōṭṭam. 176 of 1930.

Takkōṭam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 800 kāḍī of paddy left with Maṇiyal-kōṭṭattu Tiruvīṟgal-purattup-poondaippākkatu sabhā. Interest rate of 4 nāḷi per kāḍī per annum yielding in all 100 kāḍī; the man who came to collect this interest was to be given two meals a day (nīsadam ivanṭu sōṅu). 8 of 1837; SII. v. 1371.


Vēḷal (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Mentions Vinṇaggar Vayirumēgān and a Kāḷāmukha Daśapurīyan † of the Hārita gōtra and Āpastamba sūtra. 85 of 1908.

Year 20.—Tiruppalāṭṭurai (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 20 kāḷāṇju gold for lamp by valavau tamakkai-yurmaiyaḷāna Arīṇjigai Āḍittan. 255 of 1903; SII. viii. 648.

Tiruvīḏaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for green-gram offering. Forty kāḷāṇju deposited in parts with the sabhā and ār of Tiraimūr. 201 of 1907.

* cf. 290 of 1911 (Year 14)
† cf. 129 of 1907 from Koḻumūḷūr (Vikramakēśari). Meḻppādi had a matha of Lakulīśa Pāṭupātas, perhaps a branch of the Kāḷāmukhas, at the beginning of the 11th century A. D. AKE. 1909 II 37.
PARANTAKA I

Year 20.—Tiruvoğiyûr (Ch.)—Madiraikônda. Mentions wife of Kërala Ku(ру)mban alias Parakësari Mûvëndavëllûr of Vâłûdi-vâl-mangalâm. 173 of 1912.

Year 21.—Ka Vũgîûr (Tj.)—Madiraikônda. Thirty ka'lûñju gold by an inhabitant of Tañjûvûr, and fifteen ka'lûñju by another for mid-day offerings, converted into land. The Tirukàndîûr sabbhai was in charge of the endowment. 14 of 1895; SII. v. 569.

Takkûlam (NA.)—Madiraikônda. Paddy and gold with Kayattûr Õûrû of Tiruvûgalpuram in Paumû-nûlû of Mañayîl-kôttâm. 12 of 1897; SII. v. 1375.

Year 22.—Kîlûppâlûvûr (Tri.)—Madiraikônda. 90 sheep with sabbhû for lamp by Nandûn-ka'ûlû, a peñûlûtî of the vûlûm of Gañdûrûdîtûr of Tañjûvûr. 241 of 1926.

Siddhalingaûmadûm (SA.)—Madiraikônda. Sale by the villagers (Cr) of Marûdûr, to Içïyûnkuûlî-kîlûvan, of the right of taking water for irrigation to halûpãtû through the sluice of the tank in their village, for a specified sum of money. 376 of 1909.

Tiruvaiyûgû (Tj.)—Madiraikônda. 90 sheep for lamp by a queen’s mother (Cûlû-nûdûviyûr-tangal-ûcû) Perumûl Tiruvûraûngû. 225 of 1894; SII. v. 524.

Year 23.—Grûnuûm % (SA.)—Madiraikônda. 90 sheep for lamp by (people of) Tirumuûnûppûû. 744 of 1905.

Oûdûntanûgal (NA.)—Madiraikônda. Land as èriûtûlû for repairing breaches in the tank in Tûñûlû. 206 of 1921.

* The records of this king at Tiruvoğiyûr range from years 20 to 38 and are perhaps the earliest Cûlû records in the Northern corner of the Tonûsûmanûlûm, apparently not conquered by Ëdîtûya 1 (Kûjûkû) as no records of his are found there, AKE. 1913 II 18.

† Second son of Parûntûka I and author of a Tiruviûsûppû; already a grown up prince. AKE. 1926 II 16.

‡ Text does not give the name of the person and the sale; says simply “wirûdûkûs-Èdukûpûdûm”.

§ Called Parûntûka-catûm, in 193 of 1906.
THE COLAS

Year 23+1.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikondā. 455 kaṇāṇu of gold for a kalgai to the Tiruvāyil-Mahādeva temple. 251 of 1921.

Year 24.—Jambai (SA.)—Madiraikondā. Mentions the building of a maṇḍapa at the town of Vaiṣṇīyār by Viraṇāraṇīyār, queen of prince Gāndharādittār and daughter of Śoḷamādevīyār; also endowment by Nāgarattār in whose name the maṇḍapa was built. 108 of 1906.

" Kuttālam (Tīn.)—Madiraikondā. Gold for lamp by Pirāntakan Uttamaśili. 446 of 1917. *

" Mēlaqqaḻavēr (Tri.)—Madiraikondā. Three forehead plates made of gold collected from several sources (patīśaippuṇ and taṇḍappuṇ) by Kāmakkōḷanār. An undertaking by the temple servants to burn two perpetual lamps in the temple with 180 sheep purchased out of 20 kaṇāṇu realised from various sources in the 26th year of the king. 378 of 1924.

" Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Forty Ceylon kaṇāṇu † of gold equal to twenty poun for a lamp given by Pirāntakan Arikukalēsari, the king’s son. 25 of 1815; SII. v. 582.

" Tirakkūḻavēr (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Land for lamp by Nākkān Śandirādevi of the Jayabhāmataji ‡ at Taṇjāvūr. 38 of 1910; SII. iii. 102.

" Tiruvīḷaiunarudāvēr (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. 30 sheep for lamp by a native of Ānaimangalām in Paṭṭinak-kūrram. 259 of 1907.

* This and 448 of year (36) are the only two records of this king so far found in the Paṇḍya country. 63 of 1905 from Ānaimalai of year 33 still left it doubtful if his conquest extended beyond the capital and its outskirts. The conquest of the whole Paṇḍya country is mentioned in the Udayaṇidiram and Tiruvalangāṇu plates. Eight Vatṭilūna records from Kuttālam (Tīn.) are also naturally to be assigned to this king. AKE. 1918 II 22.

† Text has: Hākalakaṇāṇu. Ceylonese kaṇāṇu was 10 maṇāṇi; while the Tanjore one was 20. See also 156 of 1805, AKE. 1895, paragraph 12.

‡ cf. SII. ii. 66 p. 292; AKE. 1910 II 16.
PARANTAKA I

Year 24.—Uttaramērū (Ch.)—Madiraikondā. 12½ kaḻaṇī of gold for lamp by the son of one of the yātungavattār. The ṇīrī-vaṟiyam of each year was to supervise the charity. 58 of 1898; SII. vi. 341.

Vēppuṅganēri (NA.)—Madiraikondā. A grant of 1,000 kulī of land by the assembly of Kāvanūr as ṇīrī-vaṟiṣṭī. 166 of 1921.


Mēḻappuḻuvār (Tri.)—Madiraikondā. Undertaking by the assembly of Uṭtamadāṇi-catm. for the daily supply of ghū for one lamp as interest on gold (9 kaḻaṇī-ṭip-ṭükku șembom) received by them from the temple. 359 of 1924.

Siddhalingamamaṇam (SA.)—Madiraikondā. Land for music thrice a day during worship. 387 of 1909.

Tiluisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. An enquiry into temple affairs by royal writ; the Nagara-vaṟiyakkuṭṭam has part in the enquiry; fine of 12 kaḻaṇī is levied on some defaulters, and is used for making a puṭṭam and for festival. 31 of 1895; SII. v. 588.

Tiruppugambiyam (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. 90 sheep by the Nāṭţīn-mangāḷīgāl for lamp. 345 of 1927.

Tiruvaḍḍutunca (Tj.)—Maduraikondā. 11 mā of land for maintenance of pipers in the temple by Tirukkarāḷipiccan * who is stated to have built the Göṁuktiśvara

* 182 of 1925 (n-d.) is the name label of this person figured as worshipping a linga on the S. wall of the temple.

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temple at Tiruvadiyurai. On receiving 16\frac{1}{2} ka\text{\text{"{a}}}nu of gold, the assembly of Šīrānaic{c}ūr made the land tax-free. 126 of 1925.

Year 26.—Erunūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a lady. The sabhā agree to see that the lamp is regularly maintained. 381 of 1913.

" Kauṇīyur (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land given in exchange for 10\frac{1}{2} ka\text{\text{"{a}}}nu of gold endowed by Piḷaiyur Parāntaka Utama ślī for a lamp (paṇaṇvīlakku). The sabhā of Tirukkaṇiṇīyur made the exchange. 19 of 1895; SII. v. 575.

" Mēlappalavūr (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of reclaimed land for lamp by Kāḷau Pāli, a native of Nelvāyil (Nelvāyil-ṇāḷaiyān) in Migōlai Viḷā-nāḍū. 380 of 1924.

" Tirucaṇτuturai (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Nangūrīnangai of Mayilāppil on behalf of her daughter Šōḷa-sikhamanīyūr, the queen of the Koḷa king. 158 of 1931.

" Tiruvugglingur (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp and one Ceylonese (Īya) lamp-stand by a native of Šōḷa-nāḍū. 184 of 1912.

" Tiruvugglingur (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. A part (of Tiruvugglingur ?) called Šūra-śūḷamaniyūr *-perunderu. 187 of 1912.

" Udaiṇendiram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Resolution of sabhās of Kauṇiṇīyil alias Igal-maṟai-mangalam and Udaiacandra-mangalam to live together as one village thereafter. SII. ii. p. 370; EIII. iii. p. 147.

Year 27.—Ādīguḍī (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp by a native of Anbil, a brahmadeya in Kīl-kūṛru, a subdivision of Kilār-kūṛru, to the temple of Tiruvadīguḍī. 106 of 1920.

* Surname of Paṇṉataka I ARE. 1913 II 18.

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Year 27.—Tillaisthanam (Tj.)—Madiraikonder. Lamp by a merchant of the Manigråmam of Adittapura in Tiruneyttanam. The gold given for the purpose was taken charge of by Paradya-nakkan Śrīkandana. * 33 of 1895; SII. v. 500.

Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Madiraikonder. Money for a lamp entrusted to the sābhā of Tiruccengōdu, while the people of the eighteen districts (nāṭṭār) were to protect the grant. 640 of 1905.

Tiruviṭaimarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikonder. Land to maintain a drummer (udukkai-vāsiṉ) who had to play on the udukkai thrice a day (mānuṉ sandiyum). The land was given by an officer auditing temple affairs (ārikāryam arāykinga), the sābhā of Tiraimūr, the nagaratṭar of Tiruviṭaimarudil, the tirukkōyil-udāiyar and the pāṭiṇ dhāmālattar, assembled in the theatre (nāṭaka-kāñai). 157 of 1895; SII. v. 721.

Tiruvisalūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonder. Provision for the supply of bathing water from the Kāvēri to the deity. The village is called Avani-nărāyaṉa-catm. alias Vēmbarrūr, a dēvaḍāna and bṛahmadēya on the northern bank. 35 of 1907.

Tiruvuvayiyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonder. 90 sheep for lamp by Dēvan Kesari alias Kuṇjaramalla Ṭallavaraiyan. 167 of 1912.

Year 28.—Brumūr (S.A.)—Madiraikonder. The śrīvimāna was built of stone and the gōpura with asājparivāna erected by Irungūlan Kuṇvān Aparājitan; 3½ cēli of land given by the same person with the permission of the king, Sōḷappurmāḷ Pāṇantaka-dēva, to the temple of Śrīṭirukkōyil-bhaṭṭāra at Urumūr, for tiruccennud, arcanāḥkoṉu and the maintenance of the drummers for śrībalu. 384 of 1913. †

* cf. 31 of 1895 of year 25.
† A surname of the king, AKE. 1913 II 18.
‡ 379, 381 and 382 with earlier regnal years in the same temple. Either the construction was finished earlier than year 28 or the earlier grants got engraved in that year after the completion of the work. AKE. 1914 II 15.
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Year 28.—Kīṭūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp to Tirukkōvalur Tiruviraṭṭanattup-perumāḷ by the queen Rājadēviyar Tēsālakki-perumāṇār, daughter of Milātėduḷaiyar Kayirūr Perumāṇār.

279 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 141.

"Periya Varikkan (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 500 kūṭi of land by assembly to the wife and children of Sāmīnāyakkan, a hero who fell in a cattle raid in Varikkiyam alias Candiruditya-mangalam.

180 of 1921.

"Tirunāmanallīr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep and an Īṭavilākku by Citrakōmalam, a female servant (parivē-rattī) of the queen Kōkkīlaḷaḷīgāl, mother of Rāja-dittadeva, who * ordered the construction of the stone temple of Tiruttoṇḍīvara (Bhaktajanjēvara) at Tirunāvalur in Tirumunaippūḷi.

335 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 133.

"Tiruppaṇānanam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp, Mentions the queen of Śōljapperumāṇāḷīgāl, Śeyabhu-vana Cintāmaniyār of Kāvīripīmpatīnam. †

137 of 1928.

"Vēḏāraṇyum (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp by Arṇḍidī-Kaliyan of Marudār, an officer of Śrī-Para-kēsari.

445 of 1904.

Year 29.—Bairakēr (Mys.)—(Kamarāca) Madiregoṇḍa. A memorial stone for a person who recovered the cows, slew and died.

457 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 203. ‡

"Brahmādēśam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold diadem to god in charge of the gaṇappārumakkaḷ doing śīkār-yam of Śrī Pon-laibhȁṭṭāракar.

202 of 1915.

* It is not clear if the mother or the son built the temple. See Venkayya ASI. 1905-6 p. 180 nn. 7 and 8.

† cf. 46 of 1923 (Vr. 34.)

‡ Rice (p. xxiv) says that this is an isolated instance of such an early Kan. Cēḷa inscription and suspects a later date. But 290 and 281 of 1911 (years 14 and 18) furnish evidence of Paṅktaka's sway in Kongu-ARE. 1912 II 13. And there is nothing against the genuineness of this record. II. K. Sastri. EI. x. Additions etc.
Year 29.—Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gift of sheep for a lamp by Veḷḷangumaran, a native of Nandikaraiputtūr in Maḷai-nāḷu and general of prince Rājāditya, to Śri-mūlaṣṭhāṇatru-mahādeva of the Śri-Aṟṟuttalai at Tirumūḍiyur. 739 of 1905; ASI. 1905-6, p. 180.

Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp by some servants (kōṟṟipillaiṟṟai) of prince Rājāditya to the temple of Śri-Aṟṟuttalai Mahādeva. 745 of 1905.

Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 182 of 1906.


Tiruccañuṟ (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp apparently by a native of Koḷḷungōḷu in Maḷai-nāḷu (Cranganore in Cochin ?). Tiruccañuṟ is called Tiruccōkiṇuṟ twice, and its sabhā mentioned. 200 of 1904.

Tirunāmanallůr (SA.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to the shrine of Agastyaēvara by a physician of Piḷḷaiyūr Rājāditya. 325 of 1902; SII. vii. 954.

Tirunāmanallůr (SA.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. Two lamps to Rājāditya Iśvara and Agastyaēvara by a servant of Rājādityadeva. Also twenty sheep for offerings at ardhayāṁa. 347 of 1902; SII. vii. 977.

Tiruvolluṟṟiyuṟ (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Thirty kaṭaṇḍu of ṛṟkaḷceceunuṟṟai-pon for lamp to Mahādeva by Irvi Nili, daughter of Vijayarāgaga-ēvara; the Kāralarāja. The amount was apparently invested on a field in Tiru—

* cf. 735 of year 36.

† Portrait of warrior. Palæogr. same as Tirukkaḷuṟṟukkunram inscription (168 of 1894) of year 13. The raid was by the W. Ganga king. (ARE. 1896 paragraph 6.)

‡ Perhaps the son or brother and successor of Sīthaṉu Ravi, if at all he was an actual ruler of the Cēra country. H. K. Sastri.
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which yielded an annual interest of \(\frac{41}{2} \text{ kalāṇju} \) at the rate of 3 mañjāḷi per kalāṇju.

169 of 1912; SII. iii. 103.

Year 29—Tiruvōḷliyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold, ārka-gocommāi 40 kalāṇju, for feeding a learned Brahman by a native of Eṭṭiyākuriccī in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu who had accepted service in the temple (karmiyāy-vandu).

182 of 1912.

Year 30—Kumaramangalam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Death of Manukulan Śingaperumān in a cattle raid (erumait-tory) after recovery of the cattle.

186 of 1921.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold by Kāri-Āccan of Āyirattalī in Kilār-kāyram and the merchants of the village for burning lamps in the temple.

164 of 1928.

Tiruvōḷliyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sixty kalāṇju gold for two lamps by Kōlaṇḍarāman, eldest son * of the Cōla king Parakēsari. Part of it, thirty kalāṇju, was perhaps borrowed on interest in the 35th year of the king by the ēr of Veḷḷīvāyil at the rate of 3 mañjāḷi per kalāṇju per annum (15%) with the undertaking to provide two meals a day for the person who went to collect the interest.

164 of 1912; SII. iii. 105.

Tiruvōḷliyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by Arindigai Perumānār, son of Cōla-perumāṇaṅgal, to god Śiva at Ādhigrāma. Thirty kalāṇju, † called nīśka in the Sanskrit part, formed the amount of the endowment.

170 of 1912; SII. iii. 104.

Year 31—Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of vessels by men who belonged to the (army) of prince Rājāditya-dūva.

187 of 1906.


61 of 1907.

* i. e. Rājāditya of the Leyden grant. cf. 230 of 1903 (Vr. 34) and 318 of 1904 (n-d.) AKE. 1913 II 18.

† Invariably about 80 grains—H. K. Sastrī.
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Year 31.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold by queen of Gövinda Vallavaraiyar and the daughter of the Cōla king Parāntaka-dēvar for lamp in the Tiruvūral-Mahādēva temple at Takkōlam, which the residents of Śembuḷalai undertook to maintain.

245 of 1921.

" Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Similar gift by queen Viramādēvi, * the residents of Úrāḍagam agreeing to maintain the lamp. 246 of 1921.

" Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Tenūr on the banks of the Vaigai in the Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 248 of 1921.

" Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Dūvēdimangalam, a brahmāmēya in the same nāḍu as the temple, viz., Pēṟavūr. The standard for the gold was ārkārcoem-mai. † 50 of 1925.

" Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp by the Cōla queen Amudan Perghal alias Pallavan Mādēviyār of Kānattūr in Umbula-nāḍu. 303 of 1906.

" Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp by the queen Amani-mādēviyār who came from Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 314 of 1906.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant (ānai-āl) of Rājāditya-dēva.

330 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 959.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land by the nurse (tādī) of the Cōla king Parāntaka. Mentions Karikālakarai among the boundaries.

129 of 1895 ; SII. v. 693.

" Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp by Poriyaluman, brother-in-law of Irumukkaraiyar.

134 of 1928.

* Same as the queen mentioned in 245 of 1921.

† We have also : palangāriṃqum oppadau. cf. SII. iii p. 229, ARE. 1925 II 10.
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Year 31.—Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Five vělī of land for feeding Śivayūgins, given to Niyāmadhanaśvāmigaḷ śīṣya-prāśīṣya-vargattār by Irumādiśōlap-pallavaraṇaḻai alias Namban Aiyāraṇigaḷ. 241 of 1894; SII. v. 540.

Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Silver lamp and land by the queen of the Cōla king, Valavan-Mādēviyār, the daughter of Nīranāy-pāṇiṉyār.

248 of 1894; SII. v. 547.

Year 32.—Kil-muttugār (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Marks the spot where a tiger was killed by Kumāranandi Pulālappan of Vajjagarai-Mukkutṭūr.

2 of 1896; EI. iv. p. 179. *

Tirumāmanallīr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tiruttōṇiyisvāra alias Rājadītya Īsvara by a servant of prince Rājadītya-dēva.

326 of 1902; † SII. vii. 955.

Tiruttuṇi (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land to Subrahmanya temple apparently by one Parakēsari Muttaraṇaiyan.

439 of 1905. ‡

Tiruvilimīḻalai (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sheep for lamp.

440 of 1908. §

Üttukkāku (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Construction of a tank.

347 of 1906.

Year 33—Ānaimalai (Ml.)—(Vallēḻumtu). Madiraikoṇḍa. Records the digging of a tank called Kaliyanēri after the donor Marudūraṇḍaiyin Arupūdi-Kaliyan, an ūdigūri of the Cōla king. Mentions the temple of Nar Śīngaperumāṉaḷīgal on the Tiruvānaimalai.

63 of 1905; SII. iii. 106.

* Palaeographically same as No. 1 of year 29. There is a bas-relief of a man fighting a tiger with his sword.

† 328, 336, 348 are similar gifts of servants of R. in the same place.

‡ Said to be 'apparently later than Rājarājē I,' but not explained how.

ARE. 1906 II 21.


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Year 33.—*Brahmadēṣam* (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Twelve *kalāṇju* of gold for a lamp by Alagaśarma-kramavittan, son of Kūṭal Kīḷār Manṭāvaḥhaṭṭa Sarvakratukkaḷ, one of the *āḻunganam* of Rājamalla-caṭum. 218 of 1915.

"Kāvanāṭ (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 400 *Kulī* of land for lamp to Śri Karapurattu Perumāḷ by a member of the *āḻunganam.* 161 of 1921.

"Kīḷār (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkōvalūr Tiruvirāṭṭanattu Mahāḍēva, by a Malai-yāṇa-organicēvagān of the army of Pillaīyar Arikula-kēsāri. 280 of 1902 ; *EL* vii. p. 141.

"Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of Rājāditya's Malaiyāṇaparivāra. 343 of 1902 ; *SII* vii. 973.

"Usaiyarugūli (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Three *vēli* of land by Nandisīruppirān *alias* Ananta-Vikramappēramīyan, a mahāmātrī, for feeding twenty-five Brahmanas; also gold for two perpetual lamps in the temple at Tirunāmanāṭsvāram. 539 of 1920.

Year 34.—*Kōrivūli*—(Tj.) Gold, 10 *kalāṇju* for lamp to Tiruccaṇaṭumīḷi Mahāḍēva, by wife of Vimalāṅkuśan Eḻarmikkī, an inhabitant of Sāḷakkarāmam in the Pōṇḍy country. 287 of 1301. *SII* vii. 507.

"Pulallūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Ten *kalāṇju* of gold by the queen Śeyyabhumā-cintāmaṇiyār for lamp at the shrine of Śri Rāglāva in the temple of Tiruvayyōḍalī at Pulvēḻūr in Eṉiykōṭṭam 16 of 1923.

"Śūmūr (Trl.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Kēṟaḷa pālli (*num)*ma(di)-kkirani(vē)mi iṣuṟitta pāfai. 68 of 1890 ; *SII* iv. 392.

"Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by queen Mullśivarattu Nambirāṭṭiyār Tennavanmahāḍēviyār *alias* Nārāyaṇa Nangūri Nangaiyār.

* Pillar bearing the inscription apparently brought from the neighbouring Perumāḷ temple.

† Engraved in continuation of 279 of Year 28.
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called here Śōla-perumānādaḷ Mahādeviyan.

44 of 1895; SII. v. 601.

Year 34.—Tiruttanī (NA.) — Madiraikonaḷ. Land by the assembly.

449 of 1905.

Tiruvaiyāṛu (Tj.)—Madiraikonaḷ. Lamp by queen Cōļaśikhamani, who was Mayilāppi. ......... Nanguri Nangayār magalār. * 226 of 1894; SII. v. 525.

Tiruvorriyāṛ (Ch.)—Madiraikonaḷ. 96 sheep (navati in Sans. part) for lamp by Mārān Paramēsvaṅu alias Śembiyān Śōliya-varaiyan of Sirukulattūr, ‘who captured Śīputtlī, † destroyed Nellūr, and on returning from there, made a grant to the temple of Mahādeva at Tiruvorriyāṛ.’ (Śīputtīyai-yeñdu Nellūrāṭṭti mīdu pādaṉiyūn). The donor is called Virakirti in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning.

160 of 1912; SII. iii. 108.

Tondamāṇāḍ (C.)—Madiraikonaḷ. Gold for feeding 1,000 Brahmanas on certain festival days. Mentions temple of Kōṇḍalrāmēsvaṅu alias Ādityēsvaṅu † and a certain Paḷṇippalaiyai-laiya Vāḷēsvaṅ-ṇalitābhaṭṭaṅa. 230 of 1903.

Uyvakkmāḷ Timulai (Tri.)—Madiraikonaḷ. 90 sheep for lamp to Tirukkaṅkutṭi-Paramēsvaṅu of Nandippammanamalai, a brāhmaṅgaṇa on the southern bank, by Pirāntakan Māṇi-vadigalai, the wife of Pirāntakan Gaṇḍalrādittadēvar § and the daughter of Malaperumāḷ. 96 of 1892; SII. ii. 75; iv. 543.

* cf. 44 of 1895 above (same year).

† He must have been the E. Cōļukya Bhima II or one of his subordinates. ARE. 1913, II 18. Perhaps a later member of the Nāḍa dynasty to which Pțṭhiyāī Vēygar, the enemy of Udayacandra, belonged. H. K. Sastri. cf. 236 of 1912 n-d.

‡ Venkayya thought that this name was connected with Rājāditya (or Gaṇḍāditya). 164 of 1912 (Yr. 30) makes it clear that Rājāditya had the title Kōṇḍalrāma. But Āditya died at Tondamāṅṭhir and the temple may have taken its name from him. He might have had the surname Kōṇḍalrāma. H. K. Sastri SII. iii. 105 i.e. 164 of 1912.

§ The author of the Tiruviṭṭaipp-Ilaltzsch, SII. ii. p. 374, contra Venkayya on 222 of 1903 of Rājak. Yr. 4.
Year 35.—Emappērūr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Land by a Brahman for a flower-garden to supply daily a garland six spans long to the deity. 527 of 1921.

Takkitālam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Sale of land, house sites and certain privileges by the headman of Pāsāli in Pāsāli-nādu to residents of Āpāikaraipudūr in consideration of their maintaining a sacred lamp in the temple of Tiruvūral Mahādeva. 254 of 1921.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 329 of 1902; SII. vii. 958.

Tiruvāḍuturai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Remission of taxes on land purchased for the temple by Kandan Śāttan of Ārappālai in Taṉjavūr-kūram, by the assembly of Siyānaiccūr for money received from the donor at the rate of 1½ kalaṅju per mā. This and another piece of land got from the same assembly by Tirukkaraiyāppucan (122 of Year 38) were for the maintenance of servants who blew the conch and horn, held the parasol (vīṭānam) and looked after the flower-garden. 125 of 1925.

Tiruvāḍuturai (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Fourteen vēli of land bought from the Tiraimūr sabhā and the Tiruviḷḷāmarudil nagarattār. Mentions Paḷangāviri among boundaries. 149 of 1895; SII. v. 713.

Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Fifty kalaṅju of gold for feeding two Mahāvratas every day, by Pāpāppūrāvaiyān atiś Śōjaśikhāmanī †-Pallavaraiyan. 168 of 1912.

Year 35 +1.—Tillaiṣṭhānam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 25 kalaṅju gold for lamp deposited with the Pati-pādamalattār. Another gift of 15 poun for tiruvāridu to Kalangāc-cudār-nitta-bhujjaga. 43 of 1895; SII. v. 600.

* Text gives date 34.
† Surname of Parāntaka. ARE. 1913 II 18.

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Year 36—Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Records that Vaiṣṇavangumarān, the Kērāla general of prince Rājādītya, son of Madhumāntaka, built of stone a Śiva temple (Āṅguttaṭi-Mahādēva) at Maulīgrāma, i.e., Muṇḍiyūr on the Penpāi river. The record is dated Kāli 4044 and Kali day 1,47(70)37 corresponding to 14th January, Saturday, 943 A.D.

735 of 1905; ASI. 1905-6 pp. 182-3; ET. viii. p. 261.

"Kilappāḷuvār (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Agreement by three servants of the temple to put up two picotahs (ēttam) for water for bathing the god and for the flower-garden for money received. 218 of 1926.

"Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vattēḷutta). Madiraikōṇḍa. Two lamps by the headman of Kilinallūr. 448 of 1917.

"Tiruvūḷḷutuṟai (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land, after purchase (tax-free) from the assemblies of Śiyu-puliyūr and Śirrānaicecuṟ, for the maintenance of two hymners, two gardeners, and two maid-servants for gathering flowers for garlands, for offerings in the temple, and for feeding, under the supervision of the donor’s descendants, the Śivayōgins and the Māhēvāras on the seven festival days beginning with the asterism Mūla. Mentions Maḻapati often. 111 of 1925.

"Tiruvenumbūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land by the Perunjury-mahāsabhā of the brahmādēya Śrikanṭha-catm., for “tippōkkur-cemhon kāḷaṇjīḷī pērttu uraiyum tulaiyum valuvādagu innrā-ṇu kallār-koṇḍa pon padinaingaḷaṇjī” and another 15 kaḷaṇjīḷu for īqaiṅkāval-dravyam on the same land. 100 of 1892; SII. iv. 547.

Year 37.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 14½ kaḷaṇjīḷu gold for lamp by one of the āhūngānttar of Rājumallacaṭm. in Tiruvēṟgambapuram. 217 of 1915.

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Year 37.—Lāguṭi (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Land for two Brahmans * chanting the Tiruppadiyam thrice every day in the temple of Tiruttavatturai Mahādeva. 99 of 1929.

Kaṇeipuram (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Sale of lands in Kaṇnamangalam to the temple of Ananta-maṛyaṇa-Paramasvāmin of Kaccippūḷu who was pleased to lie on his serpent couch in the Tiruveṭkap (the Vēgavati river) (Tiruveṭkap-aṇai-kīṭandaruvina) by some private persons of the same village for 367 kāḷaṇju gold. 21 of 1921. †

Kilappāṭur (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by Maṇarkuṇḍi, a gaṇattān of Munpāḷai in the Miḻalai-kūṟṟam in Pāḷi-nilūḷu. 230 of 1926.

Śrīvīvāsanallār (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for a lamp, a copper water pot, a lamp stand and a silver tray. 589 of 1904.

Tiruccengūḍu (Sm.)—Madiraikonda. Lamp. 632 of 1905. ‡

Tiruvellaiyai (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for feeding a Brahman versed in the Vēda. 86 of 1910.

Tiruvīḻaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Land for lamp by a merchant of Mayilappūl in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. 147 of 1895; SII. v. 711.

Tiruvīḻaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Mentions a certain Kavarāmoli-Mādevan alias Tondaradippodi. 207 of 1907.

Uḻaiyāṟuvūṭi (SA.)—Maduniyam Īḷamman-koṇḍa. Money (90 kāḷu) by a woman-servant of the temple kitchen for feeding three persons every day. 553 of 1920.

* contra Sudra Sudvārs doing this now. ARE. 1929 II 25. 104 of 1929 (Rājak. Yr. 3.) is a gift supplementing this endowment.

† Palaeography two centuries later. Perhaps copy of an old record. Recalls story of Viṣṇu saving a sacrifice by stopping Sarasvati who took the shape of a stream. ARE. 1921 II 25. Tiruccandaravina 63, 64.

‡ Proof of Kongu conquest ARE. 1906 II 21.

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Year 37.—Udaiyārgudi (S.A.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp. Mentions Kapagāṣādirac-cēri and vāriganuḷḷiṭṭa māṅaḍikkaḷamaniyūṃ. 597 of 1920.

"Ukkal (N.A.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. Gift of village of Śodiyambākkam, to the north of Ukkal, as a dēvaḥbhoja by the assembly of Ukkal for various items of expenses detailed, with the remission of vēṭṭi, vediḷai and vālakkaṇam, the right to punish the crimes and sins of the villagers being also vested in the temple: 'īnvāṅk-kuligaḷaik-kurrandōṣa-muṇguḍīṇu dēvareṇy dāṇḍit-tukkolvar-āgavum.'

30 of 1893; SII. iii. 12.

Year 38.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. † Land. Dantivarṣa-mangalam a brahmadēya on the north bank (of the Kāvēri).

714 of 1909.

"Ānandamangalam (Ch.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. Five kāḷaiṇju of gold for feeding one devotee (aṭṭiyūr) in the Jina-girippalliī by Vardhamānap-periyajjīgal, a disciple of Vinaiyābha-sūrā-Kuravaḻīgal.

430 of 1922. †

Year 38. §—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa.

250 of 1911.

"Pāṇḍitāvāḷai (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa.

270 of 1923.

"Pillaiypākkam (Ch.)—Maduraiyum Īḷamum-kōṇḍa.

170 of 1930.

"Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īḷamum-kōṇḍa. ¶ Sale of land for lamp by Mūḷaparāḷai.

605 of 1904.

* In add. and corr. to SII. iii. kurrandaṇam is explained as 'fine imposed on persons for defaults', and māṅguḍīṇu as 'a similar fine imposed by the village assembly'. The translation of Huittesch is as given above.

† No reference to taking of Ceylon in year 37. ARE. 1910 II 116.

‡ Engraved on a boulder with three groups of Jaina figures carved in a line—ARE. 1923 II. 113.

§ From here all dated inscriptions are noted with the titles of the king.

¶ Not in the text, which only gives the title Parakēṣari.
PARANTAKA I

Year 38.—Śrīrangam (Tri.)—Madiraikondā. One hundred kalāṇju gold for Sahasradhārā to Runganātha.

71 of 1892 ; SII. iv. 518.

" Tirukkōṭikāval (Tj.)—Maduraikondā. Land and gold for offerings in the temple. 15 of 1931.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikondā. 90 sheep for lamp by a merchant. 342 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 972.

" Tiruvadi (SA.)—Madiraikondā. Lamp. 362 of 1921.

" Tiruvāṭutugai (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Sale of land to temple by assembly of Śirṛānaicçu for money paid on account of the temple by Tirukkāṟṟaḷi-piccān. 122 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṭutugai (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Remission of taxes on the lands of the temple by the assembly of Śirṛānaicçu for money received by them from Tirukkāṟṟaḷi-piccān. 142 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṭutugai (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Five hundred kalāṇju of gold by Parāntaka-ādvar for constructing the temple with stone from kuṭāppadai upwards. 143 of 1925.

" Tiruvilāmaurudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Mentions Immaḍi Śōla Pallavaraiyan and the Palangāvirinirōṭukāl. 195 of 1907.

" Tiruvilāmaurudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. Lamp for merit of Arūjiyaippiraṭṭiyār. 252 of 1907.

" Tiruvilimīṭalai (Tj.)—Madiraikondā. 441 of 1908.


THE COLAS

Year 38.—Uḍaiyāṅgaṇḍa (S.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. Three vēḷi of land for feeding 25 Brahmans in temple. The king remitted the taxes on this land. Tennavan Viluppērārayan, called ‘nammagamār’ by the king, had built a hall in which the assembly met. 604 of 1920.

Vilāppōkkam (N.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. The sinking of a well, by a female disciple of Ariṣṭauṇēmi-piṭāram of Tiruppāṇmala. * The ‘twenty-four’ of the ūr to protect the charity, a peyāḷḷī.

53 of 1900; SII. vii. 56.

Year 39.—Grāmam (S.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. 192 of 1906.

Tirukkkaḷāṉṉūr (Tj.)—Maduraikonḍa Parakēsari who also took Īḷam. Land by a servant (peyāḷḷī) of queen Villavan Mādēviyār. The paraḷḷī of Karugāvīr near Tirukkuḷamūkkil, a dēvatāna in Vaḷlagarai Pāmbūr-māḷu, get the money, take charge of the land and make it tax-free; also agree to pay a fine of 100 kaḷṇu for default as a body and 50 as individuals. Cultivation rights mentioned.

37 of 1910; SII. iii. 110.

Tirunāḷpuram (N.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp. 302 of 1906.


Tirunāmānallūr (S.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 351 of 1902; SII. vii. 981.

Tirunāmānallūr (S.A.)—Maduraikum Īḷamum-konḍa. One hundred sheep for lamp by Mahādēvaḷigai, a queen of prince Rājāditya-dēva and daughter of Iḻ Kārāyār, for the merit of her elder brother Arāiyār Rājādīttan Pugalippar-gaṇḍan. 363 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 134. †

* Another name for Paḻcappōṇḍavamaḷai, a Jain centre from the Pallava period to that of Rājarāja I. AKE. 1900, paragraph 16.

† Hultsch says that Iḻ Kārāyār was a title borne by a line of local chieftains which included Viṭa Cōḍa, son of Pugalippavarganda, perhaps the same as the elder brother Rājādīttan of this record. See also EI. iv. p. 139.
year 39.—Tirunāmanallūr (SA.) — Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Lamp. 367 of 1902; SII. vii 997.

"Tiruvāḷatūram (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Provision by Karrāḷi Piccan and the dēvakamnīm of the temple for expenses on sankrānti days and special bath on the two ayanasankrāntis, by purchase of 3 mā of land for 8 kālānjì received from Kaṇṭipuliyūr Nakkkan of Taḷikkaḷambūr in Kār-nāḍu, on the north bank. 140 of 1925.

"Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Lamp. 233 of 1894; SII. v. 532.

"Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. 143 of 1918.

"Tiruvelḷagai (Tri.)—Madiraiyikōṇḍa. Gold for feeding two Brahmans versed in the Vēda. 513 of 1905.

Year 40.—Allūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Land. 384 of 1903.

"Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. 225 of 1915.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj) — Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Sheep for lamp. 235 of 1911.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Two lamps to Sūryadēvar and other gifts. 253 of 1911.

"Kūram (Ch.)—Madiraiyikōṇḍa-Iḷam-pugundā. Astronomical data corresponding to Saturday, 25th July 946 A.D. (Kielhorn). Subbā of Kūram met at night and made a rvarsthā. 34 of 1900; SII. vii. 35; EI. vii. p. 1.

"Mēḷippaḷuvār (Tri)—Madiraiyikōṇḍa. Reclaimed land, by purchase, for lamps. 386 of 1924.

"Poḻuvār (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Gold, 30 kālānjì, for lamp to Paramēśvara by queen Āditāna Karrāḷi Pirāṭṭi *. Mentions viṣēviṣējugukal. 353 of 1918.

* Till now unknown. ARE. 1919 II 9.
Year 40.—Srîrangam (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa.
345 of 1918.

Śrīndram (Tv.)—(Valletuttu)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa. 100 sheep to Paraṇaieccavaiyār for two lamps in two shrines in the Tiruccivindiram temple by a merchant of Karavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nāḍu.
82 of 1896; EI. iv. p. 43.

Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa. Land, for lamp. 310 of 1906.

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa.
232 of 1894; SII. v. 531.

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. Land for feeding a Brahman sumptuously every day in the Tiruvaiyāṟu-ṉaiyār temple by queen Ariṇījigai, daughter of Iḷādarāyār. 144 of 1918.

Tiruvellai (Tri.)—Maduraikōṇḍa.
520 of 1905.

Year 41.—Allur (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa. Provision for singing Tiruppadiyam hymns every day.
373 of 1903.

Grānam (S.A.)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa. Lamp.
184 of 1906.

Kilvidi (NA.)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa. Land by purchase for upkeep of tank at Kilai-vaḷi in Valla-nāḍu, a sub-division of Dāmar-kōṭṭum.
149 of 1916.

Lāḻgulī (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa. Land for offerings.
88 of 1892; SII. iv. 535.

Lāḻgulī (Tri.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. Land for lamp.
108 of 1929.


Tiruvāṉallūr (S.A.)—Maduraiyum Iñamum-kōṇḍa. Gold for lamp.
419 of 1903.
PARANTAKA I

Year 41.—Tiruvišalur (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-konḍa. Gold for lamp. 23 of 1907.

" Tiruvišalur (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-konḍa. 328 of 1907.

Year 8 + 37—Tiruvṛṇkkāḷu (Tj.)—Madiraikonḍa. Land for offerings to Tiruvṛṇkkāṭu-perumāl by a native of Koḻun-gōḻur in Malai-nāḻu. Mentions gōsālai. 465 of 1918.

Year 4(6) *—Kanṭiliyār (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-konḍa. Land. 15 of 1895; SII. v. 570.

" Tiruśoṇṭagai (Tj.)—Lamp. Mentions Trailōkya Mahādēviyār. 135 of 1931.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following :-

Allūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-konḍa. Waste land, never known to have been under the plough, reclaimed and given to āṟūdhiṅkum yōğiyār. 385 of 1903.

Brahmadēśam (N.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. Twenty kalaṅju of gold for lamp by Śōḷaśikhāmaṇi Pallavaraiyan of Nellōlī in Īnga-nāḻu. The ēri-vāriyāp-perumakkal were in charge of this gift. 213 of 1915.

Grāmam (S.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. Gold, 10 kalaṅju, for lamp, by a native of Koṭṭāṟu. Sabhā of Tirumudiyār in charge. 740 of 1905.

Kalaṅjār (N.A.)—Year 4. Maduraiyum Iḷamum-konḍa. Land for daily offerings by the assembly of Kalaṅjār. 189 of 1921.

Kāṅciṉuram (Ch.)—(Floor of the Kājasimhāśvara temple). Madiraikonḍa. Mentions Tirukkarral-uṇṉāḷigai. SII. i. 145.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pdl.)—Madiraikonḍa. The king is also called Śōḷa-perumāṇaligai and Śrī Pirantakar. Gold for a lamp by his son Śrī (Kō)-valuṉalarāman. † 318 of 1904.

* The figure is clear on the stone SII. v. p. 226 n.
† 230 of 1903 of year 34. AÑE. 1905, II. 9.
THE COLAS

Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Madiráikaṇḍa. Sale of land by assembly, Mūlparuṇḍai-perumakkal, for feeding two persons in a temple. Mentions Āyirattali in Kilār-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Ten(karai)-nādu and abhiṣekadakṣiṇai. 249 of 1911.

Nangavaram (Tri.)—Madirái-kaṇḍa. Mentions Ariñjigai-catm. and a Pidāri temple called Kāḷabhaṭṭāri alias Śattānūr-nangai. 345 of 1903.

Sēndalai (Tj.)—Maduraïyum Iḷamum-kaṇḍa. Land for offerings under protection of the sabhā and the pan-māheśvarar. 14 of 1899; SII. vi. 450.

Takkōlām (NA.)—Madiráikaṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp by a servant of Madhurāntaka Pallavaraiyar. 253 of 1921.


Tiruviḍai-amaruḍīr (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Purchase of land with gold granted for a lamp by Pillaiyār Uttamaśiliyār. Mentions Mahēndra-mangalam and nāṭṭu-vāykkāl. 196 of 1907.

Tiruviṣalār (Tj.)—Madiráikaṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by . . . nāṭṭuk-kāman-Iyakkanār ṇ-parivārattu Iṣakkanayya Nangai. 29 of 1907 †; SII. iii. 107.

* Was Uttamaśili-catm. in Pāṇḍyakulēśani-vala-nāḍu (SII. ii p. 229) the same as Uttamaśili in the Trichi Tuluq and called after this prince? ARE. 1907 ii 31.

† Apparently a member of the royal family, not mentioned elsewhere. H. K. Sātri.

‡ Treated as of year 3 and as the earliest reference to the conquest of Madura in ARE. 1907 ii 32. But the date of this record is doubtful. The year may have been two figures of which the first is built in, and might be 1, 2, or 3. SII. iii p. 242, n. 2.

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KANNA RADÉVA.

S. 868—Bāgali (Bel.)—Katyāra of the Cālukya family was governing the Kogali 500 and the Mā-sīyavādi 140.

75 of 1904.

S. 871—Śīlapuram (NA.)—Year two, perhaps of Rājadītya, acc. A. D. 948 (Hultsch), in which Cakravarti-
Kannaradēva overthrew Rājadītya and entered the Tonojai-manḍalam.* Construction of a pond called 
Kāllinangai-kuḷam, so called after a woman who died 
at Arunagunram. She was the daughter of Attimallan 
alias Kannaradēva-pirittiyi-gangaraiyar.

428 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 194.

The following inscriptions contain the description Kacciyum-
Taṁjajiyum-kouḍa Kannaradēva :=

Year 5.—Sīdhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Land for offerings by sabbhā 
of brahmadēyaṃ Šīringūr. 375 of 1909. †

Year 15.—Kūram (Ch.)—Gift by a Kūrattu Āširiyan. 
36 of 1900; SII. vii. 37.

Year 16.—Ukkal (NA.)—The sabbhā met in the mukha-manḍapa 
Bhuvanamāṇikka-Visṇugṛha, apparently to effect the 
sale, on conditions, of a part of the common lands of 
the village to some persons. A curious clause forbids 
any one to set up a prior claim to this land by the 
production of title-deeds or other evidence. 
SII. iii. 7.

Year 17.—Tirukkaḷukkunγam (Ch.)—Lamp by Kāraiyaiyaṉ 
Baladēvan alias Parāntakap-pēraiyaiyan.

169 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 284.

Year 18.—Tiruvvavṛgyūr (Ch.)—Opens with a Sanskrit verse men-
tioning Caturānana’s place in the maṭha getting the 

* The Āttakūr inscription dates this event in S. 872 current, A. D. 949-
50. EI. vi. p. 51.

† Spurious - p. 158, ante.
THE COLAS

gift. Thirty καλανίου of ῥύκαρο-cemmait-pou for lamp by the son of a merchant of Mānyakheta, in the camp (κατάκα) of the Vallabha king, deposited with the residents of Σεργουπέδα (Chetput). 177 of 1912. *

Year 18.—Uttaramērū (Ch.)—12½ καλανίου gold for lamp with the ῥ, the samvatsara-vāriyam being responsible for its proper maintenance. 89 of 1898; SHI. vi. 374.

Year 19.—Tirukkalukkunyum (Ch.)—A person constructs an ambalam, buys some land from one Iśāna Śiva alias Nakkadi-bhatṭan which he endowed as ambalappiyam for supply of water and fire (tanjir-atṭuvadakum akkini-yaṭuvadakum). The sabbha made this land tax-free after collecting a lump sum (iṣṭi-drayam) from him. 170 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 285.

∴ Tirunālai (N.A.)—Lamp to the yakṣa on the Tirunmalai at Vaigāvūr by a servant of Gangaśādevī, queen of Kannara-dēva-pṛtigangarāiyar. 65 of 1907.

∴ Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—90 Sheep for lamp. 354 of 1902; SHII. vii. 981.

∴ Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp. 366 of 1902; SHII. vii. 996.

Year 20.—Tiruvorugriyūr (Ch.)—One hundred νīkās of pure gold by Caturānana Pāṇḍita, pupil of Nārāyana-guru, for hali in temple. An account of the career of the Pāṇḍita given in the grantha part. Favourite of the Vallabha king. 181 of 1912.

Year 22.—Tiruvorugriyūr (Ch.)—Gold, ῥύκαρο-remmai 30 καλανίου, for lamp by the mother of the Vallabha king Kannara-dēva. Perpetual interest 15%. 179 of 1912.

Year 23, day 296.—Uttaramērū (Ch.)—Mahāsabha records that all the revenues which were due from Uḷḷiyūr to the ῥ were made over to Iśvara-bhaṭṭāra of Tiruvuḷiyūr for providing music thrice a day for śrīkali. The Uḷḷiyūr people were granted sole right of managing

* cf. EI. iv. p. 281.

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the temple without interference from any external authority (eppēppatā-kōvum pugopperādāgavum).

41 of 1898; SII. vi. 324.

Year 25.—Uttaravērur (Ch.)—A resolution of the village assembly relating to the levy and proper collection of fines.

77 of 1898; SII. vi. 362.

Year 27.—Takkōlam (N.A.)—Sheep for lamp.

2 of 1897; SII. v. 1365.

" Tiruvāltur (N.A.)—50 Sheep by Kōlānda-mañjāli for a pagal-nilakkku.

101 of 1900; SII. vii. 111.

Year 28.—Kāvanur (N.A.)—A vyavasthai by assembly of Kāvanur that seller and purchaser, and mortgagor and mortgagee of lands must be of the same community in case of lands being gifts to gods, physicians and ājīvakas.

159 of 1921.

(u-d.)—Doḍḍaśivara (Mys.) (Kan.). King's encampment at Melpādi after defeating and killing the Cōlā king.

112 of 1899.

" Kīḻur (S.A.)—Gift of Vaidumba Mahārāja Śrī Vikramaditya ruling Malāḍu, Vāṇakōppāli, Śingapura-nāḍu and Venkunja-kōṭṭam.

16 of 1905.

The following inscriptions mention only Kannaradeva without any title:—

Year 16.—Tiruvadi (N.A.)—96 sheep for lamp to Gōvindaviṇṇagar in Adhirāja-mangalyapura, by Kaliyan Man̄jādi Aiyan alias Rājāditā Pallavaraiyar who had the kāpi of Śembūrgk-kōṭṭam.

28 of 1903; SII. viii. 300.

Year 17.—Tirunāmanāllur (S.A.)—10 kal̄ōju of gold for a lamp by Narasimhavarm of the Malayakula. The sabbā and ār of Śevalai in Veṇmapānāllur-nāḍu undertake to supply every year 100 nāṭi of ghi by mahādevi measure. The expression Śevalai-sabbā-ārūm is also used.

THE COLAS

Year 18—Siddalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Land in Kōdiyūr by assembly of Śīṅṅgūr to a dancing woman (Tiruppulippagavar niruttavaṭikani) and her descendants for dancing before god during procession. 370 of 1909.

Year 19—Kiṭūr (SA.)—Fragment. Mentions sabhā of Nittavinōda-catm. on the north bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakōppūḍi. 269 of 1902; SII. vii. 898.

Year 20—Kiṭūr (SA.)—Gold, 15 kalaṇju, with nagaram of Tirukkōvalūr for a lamp. 232 of 1902; SII. vii. 859.

Year 21—Kiṭūr (SA.)—Land purchased from sabhā of Tirukkōvalūr and given to Tiruviraṭṭānamuḍaiya Perumāṉ-adigai by Vaidumba Mahārājan Śandayam Tiruvaiyan. * 268 of 1902; EI. vii. pp. 142-3.

Year 22—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sale of land by sabhā for bhāṭṭavṛtti. 175 of 1902; SII. vii. 802.

" Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Lamp. 176 of 1902; SII. vii. 803.

" Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sheep by manṣūṭis of Vākūr-nāṭa at the rate of one sheep while 'ascending the kaṭṭil.' 177 of 1902; SII. vii. 804.

Year 23—Kiṭūr (SA.)—30 sheep. 266 of 1902; SII. vii. 894.

Year 24—Kiṭūr (SA.)—2,304 sheep for 24 lamps by Vaidumba Mahārājar Tiruvayanūr to Tiruviraṭṭāṇattāḻvār. 267 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 144.

" Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Gold for a gong and three trumpets to temple. 385 of 1909.

Year 25—Grīman (SA.)—Gift by Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyan Śrī Kanṭha. 743 of 1905.

Year 26—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Placing of four stones in the wall. 172 of 1902; SII. vii. 799.

" Jambai (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp and gold for offerings to Śīryādeva in temple of Tiruttāntōṇṟi-āḻvār at Vāḷaiyūr. 112 of 1906.

* cf. 236-A of 1902 (SII. vii. 864) of Rējaraṉa 27, which quotes this gift.
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Year 26.—Kilūr (SA.) — 100 sheep for lamp by Kūmalam, daughter of Vānavan Mūvendavēlān.

270 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 899.

"Vēlūr (NA.)—Land to Pannappēśvara built by Pannappai on the Sūḍāḍu-pārṇi-malai (‘the hill of the gambling rock,’ now called Bāvāji hill) by Nuḷumba Tribhuvanadhīra.

10 of 1897 * SII. i. 51 ; EL. iv. pp. 81 ff.

Year 27—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Land for feeding two persons (183); and maintaining in the temple a Brahman versed in Vēda for worship and a man to supply water for the sacred bath (184).

183, 184 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 810, 811.

Year 28—Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Half-lamp.

364 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 994.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :

Kilūr (SA.) — Gold, twenty kaḷaṇju, for snāpana (bathing) to the god on every sankrānti, by Vīrāṭan Vīranāraṇiyār, the senior queen (mūṭṭa-dēviyār) of Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyanār. One kālam of cleaned paddy was the interest which the sabhā of Neumali alias Milāja-māṇikkam agreed to measure out in the temple (tīyavūkki kīḷippavamalattu tirumurugattuk-koṇu seṇgalandu kuḷipuppināmām); they were also to feed each of the persons who came to collect this paddy (innel taṇḍuvaṅku meykaṇju). Mentions that 60 kalam by pēriṭanai was equal to 75 kalam by eṇiṭikk-kāl. 235 of 1902 ; EL. vii. p. 143.

Tiruvanāṇāmalai (NA.)—20 cows.

475 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 63.

* Palaeographically same as that of Kasāiyum Tūṭāiyum-kōṇḍa Kannaradeva. Hultsch EL. iv. p. 82.

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RĀJAKĒSARI GAṆḌARĀDITYA.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 8—Tiruppalātthurai. 570 of 1908.

"  Tiruppalātthurai. 574 of 1908.

Year 9—Tirunāgēśvaram. 215 of 1911.

PARAKĒSARI ARIṆJAYA.

See under Parakēsari:

Year 2—Tiruppājanam. 162, 172 of 1928.

under Sundara Cōla:

Year 12—Uḍaiyārguṭi. 572, 587 of 1920.

under Rājakēsari:

Year 9—Tirunāgēśvaram. 215 of 1911.

under Rājarāja I:

Year 29—Mēlpāṭi—Tiruvārūnjēśvaram built by Rājarāja as Āṟṟūr-tuṇjina-dōvarkkū-pāḷippaṭai. 86 of 1889; SII. iii. 17.

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MADIRAIKONDA RĀJAKĪṢARI.

Year 5.—Karikkal (NA.)—A piḻārī-kōyil erected by the wife of a Viravaḷaṇḍiyari of Maṟiyāḷi in Pulivala-nāḍu.  
12 of 1896; EL. iv. p. 331. *

" Tiruvoriyūr (Ch.)—Gift of sheep by one of the Kaleśi-Perundaram who had accompanied Uḻaiyār Uttamaṉūḷa-dēva † to the temple of Tiruvoriyūr-mahā-dēva.  
246 of 1912; SII. iii. 115.

" Velaccēri (Ch.)—Sheep by one of the yāḻungayanṭar of the village.  
315 of 1911; SII. iii. 114. †

Year 7.—Velaccēri (Ch.)—Sale of land for the maintenance of a lamp in a Gaṇapati temple, newly built. " Veliccēri Mahāsākhuḷaiyūm emnūr brahmaṭhānattē kūṭtak-kuyaiyak-kāḍi-yirundu virṇinga nilam."  
306 of 1911; SII. iii. 116.

Year 12, day 130.—Madhuvantiyam (Ch.)—Gift of land, purchased from the unappropriated common land of the village and made tax-free, to the temple of Tiruven-kāṭil-Paramēśvara for the long life and victory of the king.  
396 of 1922.

Year 14.—Tiruppungambiyam (Tj.)—Lamp.  
75 of 1897; SII. vi. 24.

Year 17.—Allūr (Tri.)—Gold.  
377 of 1903.

" Tirumalavadi (Tri.)—Lamp.  
2 of 1920.

" Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Lamp.  
307 of 1906; SII. iii. 118.

" Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Lamp.  
308 of 1906; SII. iii. 117.

* Palæographically resembles the Tamil inscriptions of Kṣaṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Hultzsch.

† Son of Gaṇḍarāditya Madirai. Rājāk. Royal titles due to an early choice for succession. ARE. 1913 II 19.

‡ King identified with Gaṇḍarāditya. Got title from Parāntaka I, father; succeeded him immediately as Rājāditya had died.—H. K. Sastri.
RÄJAKESARI SUNDARA CÖLA.

See under Räjakèsari :

Year 6.—Käverippakkam. 382 of 1905.

under Uttama Cöla :

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumälpuram. 286 of 1906.

for Ponmäligai.

under Räjaräja I :

Year 16.—Tirumalai. A Cöla queen of Paräntaka II. 61 of 1899.

" Tiruviḍaimarudür " 159 of 1895.

Year 21.—Diddäpuram.—(daughter Kundavai). 8 of 1919.

Year 2.—Tiruviśalür (Tj.)—Räjakèsari. Land for feeding a Vëdābrūhmaṇa by Piräntakan Irungōlar alias Śrīyavēḷar of Koḍumbāḷur. * Gift in charge of Mahāsabhā of Avaṇi-nārāyaṇa-catm. 317 of 1907 ; SII. iii. 119.

Year 4.—Tiruviśalür (Tj.)—Räjak. Land purchased for (1)30 ḫakkāśu from the Perungurip-perumakkaḷ of Amaninārāyaṇa-catm. by Piräntakan Irungōlar alias Śrīyavēḷar. 320 of 1907 ; SII. iii. 120.

Year 5.—Tiruviśalür (Tj.)—Sundara Cöla. Gift of some taxes (gatänaka?) for whitewashing (?) the temple, and of a lamp by Śrīyavēḷa described as Irungājakula-pradīpī and Piräntakasūṭīnaja-vargavārya. 40 of 1907 ; SII. iii. 121.

Year 7.—Tirukkalittattai (Tj.)—Pândiyanaic-cūram-ḷakkakina Perumāl Śrī Sundara Cöla-dēva. Land purchased and made ḫgāyīi for 150 kalīṇju of red gold (sōmbon) given to God Śrīkudittitai-ulāyūr of Vadjagarai-Vēm-bāṟṟur by Piräntakan-Śrīyavēḷān alias Tirukkalittatlīpīccan, who was serving as general of the king’s forces. 291 of 1908 ; El. xii. pp. 121–6.

* See Rājarāja I. Year 27—116 of 1896; M.V. Ch. 54 vv. 12 ff.

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RAJAKESARI SUNDARA COLA

Year 12.—Udaiyārugu (S.A.)—Rajakesari. Land by purchase by Udaiyāpirāṭṭiyyār Vīman Kundavaiyār, the āciyyār (mother?) of Ariṇjiya-Pirāntaka-dēvar, * for bathing god with 1,000 pots of water on the sankrānti day of every month. 572 of 1920.

Udaiyārugu (S.A.)—Rajakesari. Land by purchase by Ādittan Kōdaipirāṭṭiyyār, queen of Ariṇjiyaivarman who died at Āṭṭūr, for bathing god during Citrai-Visu with 108 potfuls of water; another gift by Udaiyāpirāṭṭiyyār Vīman Kundavaiyār for 1000 potfuls of water for same purpose. 587 of 1920. †

Year 14.—Tirukkalittatātī (Tj.)—Rajakesari. Two lamps, twenty-five Itukkāśis for each, by Rājādicci and Kuṇjaramalli the wife and daughter of Siriyavēṭār. 299 of 1908 ‡; SIR, iii. 122.


The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Kottambālv (Pd.)—Madhurāntaka Sundara Cōḷa. Mentions PūdiPaṭṭālagan. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

Tirukkalittatātī (Tj.)—(Peramāl) Sundara Cōḷa who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest †. Mentions Pirāntakan Siriyavēṭār, a general, and Ponmāḷigai. 302 of 1908.

* i.e., Parāntaka, son of Ariṇjiya. cf. 589 of year 14. Vīman Kundava, perhaps an E. Cēḻukuyā princess, daughter of Cēḻukuyā-Bhima II (A. D. 934-45). This marriage is much earlier than Cōḷa Kundavā’s with Vimalāditya. ARE. 1921 II 26.

† cf. SIR, iii. 17 (86 of 1889) of year 29 of Rājarāja I. PūdiĀdittan Piḍāṛi was another queen of Ariṇjiya. Sundara does not seem to have been the son of this dowager queen as he refers to her by name. Identity of Āṭṭūr doubtful. ARE. 1921 II 26.

‡ Wrongly assigned to Āditya II Karikēla, son and successor of Parāntaka II Sundara, in ARE. 1909 II 40.
Year 2.—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Sale of land by assembly for a private endowment of a lamp in the temple. 224 of 1911.*

*Tirumāḷam* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. Mentions Kāri Puliyana alias Śōlamārajan, a certain Niraṅjana Pāṇḍita and servants of the temple of Ambar Śrī-Mahākāḷam. 117 of 1910.†


*Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. 90 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkaṅkudī Para-mēśvara by Irungōḷakkōn alias Pugalvīp-piranganḍān Avanivallān. The ādevakānmin had to supply every day 4 measure of ghī by the sīlavukku. 472 of 1908; *SII*. iii. 199.

Year 3.—*Kāvanur* (N.A.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. Four hundred kūli of waste land by the assembly of Kāvanur for daily night offerings to Puli-pagava-dēva. Measuring rod called kuṭigai-kuṭalluk-kōl. A further gift of 800 kūli, also to be reclaimed, for lamps at the three services of the deity and for keeping watch of the temple by residing near it with a guard. 160 of 1921.

*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. Sale of land by the assembly of Śrī Kuḷandai to Kōyil-mayilai alias Parāntaka Muvēnda-vēlān § of Sīrringan in Īṅgū-nāḍu, for feeding twenty apūrvis versed in the Vēda and

* This is indirectly mentioned in 225 of 1911 of year 5. *ARE*. 1913 II 20.

† Text gives year 3.

‡ The name of the place in the *Dharmam*.

§ Adhikārī in charge of īri-kāryam in the temple of Tūrūvādamardur (154 of 1895, 214, 255-6 of 1907). Continued in same capacity under Utama Cōja, and was called Madhurāntaka Muvēnda-vēlān. *His was evidently one of the offices which were solely in charge of public charities and financed by the state.* *ARE*. 1912 II 19.
PARAKESARI ADITYA II

five śīvayōginīs in the Śrī-kōyil of Tirukklīk-kōṭṭattur-perumāl. Land called sālābhṛga. 230 of 1911.

Year 3.—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.) — Pāṇḍiyant-talai-kōṇḍa. Sale of land to Sīrīnganganudaiyān Kōyil-mayilai a];ias Parāntaka Mūvenda-vēlān by the mūla-paruṭṭip-perumakkal of Tirukkuṭamukkil, which he presented as a bhaṭṭavittī to those who expounded the Prabhākaram.

233 of 1911; SII. iii. 200.

" Tāyanār (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyant-talai-kōṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp.

359 of 1909.*

" Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyant-talai-kōṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp.

471 of 1902; SII. viii. 59.

" Uṭalaiyārgudi (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyant-talai-kōṇḍa. Gold for two lamps by headman (kīḻan) of Valanārvu.

588 of 1920.

" Uṭalaiyārgudi (SA.)—Pāṇḍiyant-talai-kōṇḍa. Sale of land to temple.

616 of 1920.

Year 3+1.—Tiruvūḷaimurudūr (Tj.)—'Virapāṇḍiyantain erindu talai-kōṇḍa'.

256 of 1907.

Year 4.—Kumjīyār (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyant-talai-kōṇḍa. Mentions brahmānuṭṭam Periya-vāṇavān-mahādevi - caturvedi-mangalatta yāṭuṅgaṇallū. 18 of 1895; SII. v. 574.

" Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyant-talai-kōṇḍa. Gift of 90 sheep, distributed equally between two maṇṇālis, for a lamp by pēndāṭṭi Dēvayan Pulalakkan a];ias Avani-sīkhāmanī of Kīḷai-Vēḷūn at Tānjāvūr, called after Udaiyapirattiyār Kīḷanadigal, the mother (ārei) of Ānaimēṟruṉijūnār.

226 of 1911; SII. iii. 201.

" Pāṇḍaravāllī (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyant-talai-kōṇḍa. Land for lamp by Āśīrī Ādittu-pidāran Kramavittan, a member of the ahungamam of the village Rājakēsarī-catuṃ.

236 of 1923.

* Three records of Pṛthivēndravarman also come from this place. There is no clue as to the contemporaneity of the two kings or their relation to each other. ARE. 1910 ii 17.
THE COLAS

Year 4.—Pañḍāravaḍai (Tj.)—Pañḍiyanai-talai-konḍa. Twenty kāsu, equal to ten kalañju, for a lamp in the temple of Tiruccelur-mahādēva by Nilan Tyagi, wife of a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mādēvi Pērangūḍi at Tañjāvūr. 241 of 1923. *

Śiyamangalam (NA.)—Vīra Pañḍiyan - talai - konḍa. Mentions Śri Gangaraiyan ... Ganga-cūḷāmaṇī etc. † 70 of 1900 ; SII. vii. 74.

Tāyanūr (SA.)—Vīra Pañḍiyan-talai-konḍa. 80 sheep for lamp by a native of Maṇḍalaikulattūr. 360 of 1909.


Tiruppugambiyan (Tj.)—Pañḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Land as Nandavanappuram to Ivvūr-tiru-nandavanan-maṇḍalan-gūppān. 63 of 1897 ; SII. vi. 18.

Tiruvidaimarudūr (Tj.)—Pañḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Śiyin-gan-uḍaiyān Koyil-mayilai, the adiyārigal in charge of (ārāykinga) śrikāryam, the sabhā of Tiraimūr, the Nagarattūr of Tiruvidaimarudūl and the devakannis met in the theatre (nālakaśālai) and arranged for āriyakkūttu ‡ before the god of Tiruvidaimarudūl by setting apart one vōli of land for Kittingarikkaḷai alias Tiruvel-araiyakkai, who had to dance on 7 occasions (specified) in a year and receive as kōṟṟu fourteen kalam of paddy from the treasury of the temple. 154 of 1895 ; SII. iii. 202.

Uḍaiyārūḍi (SA.)—Pañḍiyan - talai - konḍa. Dining utensils and money (gold) for feeding one person sumptuously every day. Śrikāryam-āṟṟuyum-gunpppermakkal in charge. 610 of 1920.


* 246 of 1923 quite similar gift by wife of another merchant.
† cf. 69 of Parak. Yr. 3.
‡ Śilappadikāram iii. 12-25 and notes thereon.
Year 4.—Ukkal (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. An endowment by a Veḷalā Śenai for the supply of water for six months and aṁuśṭāi (fire pans) for six months in the Brahmasthāna of the village. The charity was to be supervised by the members in charge of village affairs for each year (avva-vasatsarangalīṁ grāmākāryam tiruttum perumakkal).

32 of 1893; SII. iii. 14.

Year 4, day 170.—Tiruvōḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. Mentions Tiruvōḷaimarudūrul Āḻvār srikāryam-āṟṟāy-kinkā adigāril Śiryingan-udaiyān Kōyl-mayilai Parantaka Mūvānda-vāḷān. Tiraimūr was by the sādanam a kudinikkidevādāna which had to give as paṅcavāram 256 kalam of paddy. But the paṭṭimāṟṟu (scale of expenses in the temple) showed only 160 kalam. It was denied that the āḷvāṟṟu was kudiniikkī. Then the adigāril called for the original document making Tiraimūr a āḷvāṟṟu and found that it was kudiniikkī and accordingly raised the scale of expenses.

214 of 1907; SII. iii. 203.

Year 5.—Bāhūr (Pondicherry)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. Lamp.

173 of 1902; SII. vii. 800.

"Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. Sale of land by the Mūḷaparulai-purunakkāḷ of Tirukkuḷamukkīḷ, a āḷvāṟṟu in Veḷalār-Pāmbūr-nāḻtu, to the perṟulī Perayān Tribhuvanasundari of the Pāḷaiyā-vēḷam at Tangāvūr for 85 kaḻaṇju of gold which she had deposited as an endowment for feeding a Śivayōgu. The land mentioned in 224 of 1911 was one of the boundaries of this land.

225 of 1911; SII. iii. 204.

"Pāṇḍāranāṉail (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. Money by a resident of Mōḷurumac-cēri for offerings to the image of Gāṇapati Bhaṭṭāraka in the temple on the day of Āḷrū in Mārgaḷi. Mentions the coin akkam.

275 of 1923.

"Tōṇdrū (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-kondā. Ten sheep for lamp to Kiḻanda Perumāḷ by Šūramittirappu-
THE COLAS

manrādi, son of Irugaṇṭan residing at Kīlvaḷi-Toṇḍūr in Śingapura-nāḍu. 282 of 1916.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

_Tiruvaiyāru_ (Tj) — Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp by a man of the Tribhuvana-mādōvi-yār-vēḷam; also a lamp-stand, _tarā-nilai-viḷakku._
240 of 1894; _SII._ v. 539.

_Tiruvaṇṇāmalai_ (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. 96 sheep for lamp.
469 of 1902*; _SII._ viii. 57.

_Tiruviḍaiyarudūr_ (Tj)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Land for maintaining the _campaka_ flower-garden laid out by Tiruvēṇgaḷattu-piccan.
249 of 1907.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 2—_Uḍaiyarguḍi._ 577 of 1920.

* Text gives year 4.
PARTHIVENDRAVARMAN

Ś. 892—Kalambūr (NA.)—No name of king. Lamps to Kalikēsari ♠ Vippagar-dēvar by the assembly of Kalamūr. 246 of 1909.

Year 2.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Pāndiyantalai-kōṇḍa. All temple lands owned to date made tax-free by the assembly of Aiṇjaḷṭaḷam in lieu of the amount of gold, 864 kalaiṇju, which it owed to the temple. Also sābhā to manage temple affairs by its vāriyam, a gaṇam being forbidden. 195 of 1915.

" Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Vira Pāndiyantalai-kōṇḍa-Kō-Mahārāja. † Fifteen kalaiṇju gold with gaṇappperumakkal for a lamp by a merchant of Tiruvukambac-cēri. 223 of 1915.

" Uttaramēṟur (Ch.)—Vira Pāndiyantalai-kōṇḍa-partma-mahārājar. Land made tax-free by the sābhā; the ūr were not to collect any dues. 88 of 1898; SII. iii. 152.

Year 3.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Mentions a couch (tiruppaḷḷik-kattil) given to the Tiruvūral-āḻyār by Arumolī-nangai, the queen of the king (Uḻaiyār). 7 of 1897; SII. iii. 166.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Records the building of the temple and the enclosing verandah by the Vīrāṭa king Anayaman alias Paramanḍalāditya. 267 of 1906.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Gold for lamp by Nārāyana Kramavittan alias Vaidumbar-aditta-brāhmaṇḍhi-rājan. 304 of 1906; SII. iii. 165.

* Was Kalikēsari a title of P? cf. 676 of 1904-Yr. 5. ARE. 1910 II 59.

† This supports the identification of this king with Rājamaṇīyar. ARE. 1916, II. 78.
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Year 3.—Tiruppārkkadai (NA.)—Mentions a meeting in the abhiṣekamaṇḍapa of the big temple of the locality (iṭṭṭr-periya-talī) at which were present the Mahāsabhā of Kāvirippākkam alias Amaninārayaṇa-catm., including the members for the year of the samvatsara, tōṭṭa, ērī, kāḻani, paṅcavārā, kāḻakkū, kalingu, and taḍi-vāḻi-vāṟiyams, the Śrī-vāḻi-vāḻi-nāṟanap-perumakkal, Pallavan Pirammādarāyian who was ruling the town (ūr-āḻkīṅga), and the superintendent (kaṇhāṇi) Arumbakkilāṇ. The trustees of the temple made a submission to the meeting that a garden and field of the arcanaḥāṅga of Tirukkarapattu Perumāṇ were silted owing to breaches in the river and lying waste; the kāḻani-vāṟiyam were then directed by the assembly to give 1400 kuḷi of land from the village maṇįkkum.* 692 of 1904; SII. iii. 156.

Uttarumēṟur (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyant-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndra-drādhipati-varman. The Perungur-sabhā gave land to Śrī-bhundavanattu-perumāṅañāḷ for tiruccennuṇḍai, nandanāvilakku and arcanaḥāṅga. 73 of 1898; SII. iii. 153.

Uttarumēṟur (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyant-talai-koṇḍa-Pārthivēndra Āditaparumarkku.† Land by sabhā after taking pūrvācārum to Tiruvāyppālīp-perumāṅañāḷ for tiruccennuṇḍai, lamp, śribali and arcanaḥāṅga. 38 of 1898; SII. iii. 158.

Uttarumēṟur (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. Ģāiųi land by Perungur-sabhā after taking pūrvācārum to Aiyān-mahāsāsta, in the south of the city. 15 of 1898; SII. iii. 167.

Uttarumēṟur (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. Ģāiųi land by Perungur-sabhā after taking pūrvācārum to Kurukṣēṭra-lēva. 16 of 1898; SII. iii. 160.

* This corresponds to modern ‘poromboke’ and the assemblies had the disposal of it—H. K. Sastri.
† This ‘undoubtedly refers to Pārthivēndravarman’ and ‘may establish the king’s possible connection with the Coḷa Ādityavarman’ (Āditya II). H. K. Sastri.
Year 3.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai - talai - kōṇḍa. Land by Perunguri-sabhā to temple after taking pūrvācāram. This land was part of the land escheated to the village owing to default in payment of dues, (iṟaiyirādu ūrnokki vīḷunda pāṇi). 17 of 1898; SII. iii. 162.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Land by Perunguri-sabhā as vyākhyaṇṭi to a person teaching the Vyākaraṇa-śāstra in the town. 18 of 1898; SII. iii. 161.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Land by sabhā to Tiruppulivanam-ulaiyār. 19 of 1898; SII. iii. 154.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. The Perunguri-sabhā make a list of lands belonging to Tirumālirunjōlaip-perumānāṭigal of the town, (nam-mūr). 21 of 1898; SII. iii. 163.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. The sabhā declare tax-free some lands of Durgā-bhaṭṭaraki, after accepting as pūrvācāram the gold due as interest (poli-ponnīy) on account of the documents (kaiyellettu) of this Bhaṭṭaraki and of the sabhā of Dāmōlarac-cērī. 22 of 1898; SII. iii. 159.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. The Perunguri-sabhā gave land as iṟaiyilī after taking pūrvācāram to Jyēṣthā at Kumanpāṭi. 23 of 1898; SII. iii. 169.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Land by sabhā likewise to Kumanpāṭi Kīlai-srī-kōyil. 25 of 1898; SII. iii. 168.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. The Perunguri-sabhā gave iṟaiyilī land for amudu, lamp and arcanā to Mahāviṣṇukkal. 26 of 1898; SII. iii. 164.

Year 3, day 119.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan - talai - kōṇḍa Pārthivendrādhipati-varman. The Perunguri-sabhā
made *igaiyili* some land of Śri-Gōvardhanattupurumāṇaḍigaḷ. 13 of 1898; *SII*. iii. 157.

Year 3, day 173— Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyana-talai-koṇḍa. Land made *igaiyili* by the Perunguri-sabhā which got *pūrvācāram* from some person. 60 of 1898; *SII*. iii. 155.

Year 4.—Takkōlam (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to image of Durgā in the temple of Tiruvūral-āḻvār by a native of Mahā-rajapāḍi (E. of Kōlār, including parts of Cuddapah and Chittoor). 14 of 1897; *SII*. iii. 173.

" Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanaï-talai-koṇḍa Pārthi-vēndrādhipati-varman. Tax-free land purchased from the Perunguri-sabhā and given as *sri-balī-bhōga* to Subrahmanya-bhaṭṭa of the town. 55 of 1898; *SII*. iii. 171.

" Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanaï-talai-koṇḍa Pārthi-vēndrādhipati-varman. Land given by Perunguri-sabhā as *igaiyili arcanaḥbhōga* to a certain bhaṭṭa after taking *pūrvācāram* from a merchant of Kāṇcipuram 24 of 1898; *SII*. iii. 170.

" Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanaï-talai-koṇḍa. 180 *kuḷi* of land given to Gaṇapati in the temple of Kōneri-nangai at Kumaṇpāḍi and recorded by Mahāsabhā. 27 of 1898; *SII*. iii. 172.

Year 5.—Tāyanūr (SA.)—Land at solar eclipse for five persons providing music for *śrībalī* in the temple of Taṇak-kamalai Mahādēva at the request of the residents of Tāyanūr made to Nilagangaraiyan Anṉuvāna Nāṭṭaḍigaḷ. 362 of 1909; *SII*. iii. 178.

" Tāyanūr (SA.)—A declaration that a certain document (*ōḷai*) was lost, that two persons had received their full dues on a loan of 30 *kaḷṭhōṆu* which, apparently, with interest, had become 45 *pon* and that if they recovered the lost document at some future date, they should treat it as invalid (dead). 364 of 1909; *SII*. iii. 175.

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Year 5.—Tirumullaivāyil (Ch.)—Mentions sabbhā of Kalikēsari-catm. (name of Tirumullaivāyil?) a *tan-kēppu-dēvadānām* in Pūjar-kōṭṭam.

676 of 1904; *SII*, iii, 174. *

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanaít-talai-kōṇḍa. Record by Perunguṟi-sabbhā. *Iṟaiyili* land set apart as *viṣaharabhūga* to be enjoyed by persons appointed to the place by the sabbhā. 36 of 1898; *SII*, iii, 177.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanaí—talai—kōṇḍa. *Iṟaiyili* land to temple by sabbhā after taking *pārvācāram.* 28 of 1898; *SII*, iii, 179.

Year 6.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Land for feeding one Brahman versed in the Vēda. The great men of the assembly of Aiṅjaṣṭaśam of Tiruvēkkambapuram in Rājamallacatm. made the land tax-free and placed the charity in the charge of the members of the *gaṇavāriyam.*

208 of 1915.

"Pāṭi (Ch.)—Sale of land from the sabbhā-*maṇḍikām* to temple by sabbhā of Kuṟaṭṭūr *alias* Parāntaka-catm. in Ambattūr-ērik-kil-nil-nil of the Pūjāl-kōṭṭam.

225 of 1910; *SII*, iii, 181.

"Podavūr (Ch.)—Land for lamp by Tennavan Mūḍēviyūr.

69 of 1923.

"Tiruvaṇḍandai (Ch.)—Parakēsari Vēndrādivarman. Twelve *kaḷaṇjū* for lamp by a native of Tāiyūr or Talaśāyanapuram. 263 of 1910; *SII*, iii, 180.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanaí-talai-kōṇḍa Pārthivēndrēhipati-varman. Land set apart, after purchase as *ēṭ-bali-bhūga* to Tiruvunnaṟurp-perumāṇaḍīgal.

20 of 1898; *SII*, iii, 182.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land as *Iṟaiyili* for tiruczennadai to Kurukṣētra-dēva of the town, by the Perunguṟi-sabbhā.

37 of 1898; *SII*, vi, 320.

* Perhaps the king of this record is different and earlier in time, as the record is very archaic—H. K. Sastrī.
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Year 7.—Takkōlam (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to Tiru-vāral-ālvār. The phrase ‘neyyenrai’ occurs in this record (as in some others). 4 of 1897; SII. iii. 184.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyana-talai-kōṇḍa. The Perunguri-sahhā declare some land of the Kurukṣṭrattu-perumānañcigāl to be tax-free, after getting pūrvācāram from a person. 79 of 1898; SII. iii. 183.

Year 8.—Tiruvaṭṭandalai (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiya-talai-kōṇḍa Kō-vi-Rājamārāyar. A record of the sahā and ūr of Tiruvaṭṭandalai. Gift of an image of Manavāḷappurumāl to temple of Varāhasvāmin by two Brahman residents of Talaśāyanapuram alias Tāiyūr; and also of gold for offerings. 264 of 1910; SII. iii. 186.

Year 9.—Anaikkalṭāṭṭūr (NA.)—The ūr of Aṇai Akkaraippūdūr give to Āditta-dēva, belonging to emmūr vaikhnāsan Kalinikkl-bhaṭṭan, some land and a house to the south of the temple as arcanābhūga. The land given is described thus: “emmūr vilaiyin-pattiyil dēva kuttaiyum unangaprūṭiyum.” 288 of 1895; SII. iii. 187.

Kuttūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādi-Adhipati-varman. Sale of land as taṇṇirppaṭṭi by ūr to Paṭṭaiyanār, the mēndāyakam (superintendent) of the Perundaram, who built the ambalam of this village. 252 of 1912; SII. iii. 188.

Mudurmanagalam (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by Olōka-Mahārāyar to temple of Olōkamahārāyar-Tiruccirram-balattālvār at Maḷalai-mangalam in Maṇayir-kōṭṭam. 320 of 1909; SII. iii. 189.

Podavūr (Ch.)—Sale of land, free of taxes, by ūravar to Patti, brother of Tennavan-mādōvīyār, who had the proprietary right over the village (iṇνār jīvītām) of Mērpiṭavūr in Purisai-nāḍu. 68 of 1923.

Year 10.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Kō-Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. The sahā of Rājamāṭṭāṇa-caṭam. Maṇayir-kōṭṭattu
PARTHIVENDRAVARMAN

Tiruvūṟalpurattu taṇ-kūṟṟu) accepted from Kumaraṇangai, the daughter of Nandinangai, herself the daughter of Tiruvūṟal-dēvanār, gold weighing 92 kaḷaṇju (by dharmakāṭṭai-pēḷai ?) to be used for offerings to Kaḻigai-viṭānka, set up by Kumaraṇangai in the Irāna-singa-virar-paḻḷik-kaṭṭil-manṭalām in the temple of Tiruvūṟal-dēvar. Mentions 92 kāṭṭi of paddy by marakkāl Kavāramoṭi.

13 of 1897; SII. iii. 190.

Year 10.—Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyam-talai-kopja Pārthivēndrādhi-varman. 96 sheep for a lamp to Gōvinda-paṇḍi-dēva by Vāparaḷa Ajaǵamaiyaiyam.

327 of 1906; SII. iii. 192.

" Vēḷacceri (Ch.)—Land for offerings to the temple of the Seven Mothers by a native of Malla-nāḻu, a sub-division of Sōḷa-nāḻu.

316 of 1911; SII. iii. 191.

Year 11.—Kāṭṭalūr (SA.)—Lamp by Nagaratṭar.

281 of 1915.

" Kāṟam (Ch.)—Sale of land tax-free by the ḍum-sabhai to a person for building a rest-house (ambalam) and for the supply of water in it during summer.

105 of 1923.

Year 11, day 324.—Uttaramēṟur (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhhipati-varman. Land given by the queen (Uḍaiyār-dēviyār) Villavan-mahādēviyār to the image set up by her and to the temple for śrībali and arcanaḥhōga, 2920 kuḷi; the mahāsabhai take pūṟvāṟam and make the land tax-free; the śraddhāmantas were to enforce the proper maintenance of the charities; they had power to levy a fine up to 25 kaḷaṇju for default.

32 of 1898; SII. iii. 193.

Year 12.—Kāṭciṟpuram (Ch.)—Fifty kaḷaṇju of gold by Danma-ponnār alias Trailōkya Mādēviyār, the queen of Perumāṇaḍigal; and 200 kāṭṭi of paddy to be supplied as interest on this amount at 4 per kaḷaṇju. Money deposited with the ūr of Tiraiya-mangalam.

17 of 1921.

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Year 12.—Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Anaiyaman Paramanāḍalāṭīṭan, called Virāṭarāja, built a māṇḍapa in the temple. 323 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II. 65.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Gift by Virāṭa king (Anaiyaman’s son?) for feeding fifteen Brahmans daily. 324 of 1906.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrāhipati-varman. Land. 69 of 1898.

Year 12, day 184.—Brahmadōsam (NA.)—Land by Viśuddhamatipāṇḍitar for abhiṣēka to god. The gaṇappūrur-makkal of the kōyil-vāriyam had to supervise this. 241 of 1915.

" day 326—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrāhipati-varman. Land, after purchase from the farmers of the town, given to god of the Śrī-Veljiviṣṇugṛha built at Uttaramērūr by Kongaraiyar, for music at śrībali (śrībali-koṭṭhuvadarkku) by queen (Tambirāṭīṭiyār) Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār. The sahā took pūrva-cāram from the same queen and made the land īgaiyili. The śraddhāmántas had power to fine defaulting persons 25 kaḷāṇju each. 49 of 1898; SII. iii. 194.

Year 13.—Brahmadōsam (NA.)—Thirty kaḷāṇju gold for maintaining the abhiṣēka-brāhmaṇa by a daily wage and two cloths in every six months; endowment by Muvāyiravan Trairājya Ghaṭikā Madhyasthan. Kaḷāṇju is equated with niśka. The gaṇappūrur-makkal for each year in charge. 197 of 1915.

" Kāṇeippuram (Ch.)—Fifty kaḷāṇju of gold by queen Danmaponnār alias Traillōkya-mādhaviyār. Residents, ār, of Pannaippuram, were required to supply 100 kāḍi of paddy as interest to the temple, 18 of 1921.

" Kāṇeippuram (Ch.)—Thirty kaḷāṇju by same queen to residents (ār) of Pondūr for one lamp. Measure: uragattu-ningār-kādak-kōḷ-nāli. 19 of 1921.

Kitiyanur (SA.)—Twenty-five sheep for lamp by a certain daṇḍanāyaka. 157 of 1919.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiya-talai-kōnda Pārthi-vēndrādi-varman. Twenty-five kaḷaṇju of gold for two lamps left with sabbā of Pattālam aliṣa Eḻunūruruvar-cath. by Vajjai-mahādēviyār, daughter of Nandi-varma Kāḍupatīgaḷ; (perhaps the queen of P.) 266 of 1906; SII. iii. 197.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Land, 2000 kuṭi, by purchase, for feeding a Brahman in a maṭha at Sīrriyārrū. The donor was Perumāḷ-pirukērum-ūnaiyāḷ Mannan Kannan alius Vāraṇappāraraian. 328 of 1906; SII. iii. 198.

Tirumullaivāyil (Ch.) — Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Viḷattūr-kilavan Śīngala Vīra-nāraṇan, a native of the Cōla country, gave ninety sheep for a perpetual lamp to the Mahādeva of the village, a dēvādāna in Pulaṛ-kōṭṭattu Vēḷḷaiyūr-nāḍu. 683 of 1904; SII. iii. 196.

Uttaramēṛū (Ch.) — Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Queen (Perumāṇaḷigaḷ nambrāṭṭiyār) Tribhuvana Mahādēvi gave 192 sheep, for two lamps, to the Perumāṇaḷigaḷ of the Kongaraiyar Šīrkoṭīḷ, distributed equally between the Vēḷḷaiyar of Panmaic-cēri and the merchants (viyāpārīgaḷ) of Naḍuvilānগো. Stops rather abruptly with the clause: “Ivuṭṭa āju kaḷaṇṭi-kāṇṭi-vidi anṭṭi-kōvukku dēvaṇaṭṭiyārē niṣadu-maṇi-jāṭīp-pōn da......” 52 of 1898; SII. iii. 195.

Vengalattūr (NA.)—Land to temple. 94 of 1921.

Year 13, day 120.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Thirty kaḷaṇju of gold by Caturan Muṉṉṉiravan Trairāya Ghaṭiṉka-Madhyas-
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than. It was placed under the charge of Gaṇavāri-
yap-perumakkal of Rājamalla-catm. subject in case of
default, to a fine to be levied by the Śraddhāmantar.
Mentions dhanmakkaṭṭalai-tuṭai-nīrai.

194 of 1915.

Year 15.—Parandīr (Ch.)—Tax-free gift of land for maintenance
of seven musicians for service during śribali.

75 of 1923. *

Year 2.—Kuhür (Tj.)—Land by purchase for offerings and worship to Āditta Iśvaram Uḍaiyār. 287 of 1917.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Remission of taxes on temple land by the assembly of Viḍēḷvidugu-eṭam. for 50 kāśu received from some Karikāla-sōḷat-teriṅja-kaikkōḷar. 136 of 1926. *

Year 3.—Minjuṛ (Ch.)—(Verse) Madhurāntaka. Temple of Sōḷa-kulasundara-Viṅṇagar constructed in this year by one Kēśavān Karukkaikkōn for god Āḷivalak-kēśava. 134 of 1916.

Year 4.—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Parakkēsarivarman. Sale of land by the Mūḷaparṇaḷai of Tirukkuḍamākkīḷ for a lamp in a temple in the name of Kārī Koḷamban, a Kaikkōḷan. 245 of 1911 ; † SII. iii. 129.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakkēsarivarman. A silver vessel of 400 kalāṇju for holding offerings to god, presented by Ayyan Māraśingaṇa § alias Viṛasākhaṇa Mūvēnda-vēḷan. 114 of 1926.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakkēsarivarman. Two kāśu to the temple by Panaiyan Kōdanḷaṇ, one of the Iḷaiya-vāḷ-pegga-kaikkōḷar. 125 of 1926.

Year 5.—Viḷanagar (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings at ardhaṇāma service to Tirunāḷarkōyil Mahādēva at Viḷalnaṅgar, a brahmaṇḍīya on the south bank, by Oraṭṭaṇan Śōrabbaiyār, the chief queen (agramahādēvi-yār) of king Uttama Cōḷa. Mentions the stream Nēriyunaicōḷap-pērāyū. 165 of 1925.

Year 6.—Kōṅeriṅjavapuram (Tj.)—Land for lamp to Āditya-Iśvaram § -uḍaiya Mahādēva at Tirunallam. 638 of 1909 ; SII. iii. 130.

* Date may be April 12, A. D. 969. ARE. 1926 App. E and li. 17.
† 22nd April, A. D. 975. ARE. 1912 II 20.
‡ Perhaps so called after Ganga Mārasimha ARE. 1926 II 18.
§ After Gaṇḍarāditiya I ?
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Year 6.—Pañankōyil (NA.)—Parākēsarivarman. Village Ēdiyam-balāsam given as a tax-free dēvadāna to Mahādeva at Tiruppaḷan-gōḻur by Kampanān Irāman alias Uttamaśōla Piridi-gangaraiyan, chief of Paṅgala-nāḷu in Palkurun-koṭṭam, with the consent of the king got while he was at Kaṅcipuram. Mentions a Mīnavanām Mūvēndavēḷān as the vāsīl-kēḷvi. 352 of 1925.

Tiruvaṭandai (Ch.)—Parākēsarivarman. Lamp to Maṅavāḷa Perumāl* to be maintained with \( \frac{1}{4} \) measure of oil every day as interest on 30 kaḷanju of gold accepted by the ēr of Tiruvaṭandai; who undertook never to remit the interest in cash (pon) on pain of a donqam at the dhanmāsana of 4\( \frac{1}{4} \) kāṇam and a maṇṇupādi of 1 maṇījāḷi pon to the ruling king (anvāḷkoṇkkukk) for every day of default. The oil was to be given regularly to the Tiruvaṭūṇgaligai-vārīyar.

268 of 1910; SII. iii. 125.

Year 8.†—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Parākēsarivarman. Sheep for lamp by one perhaps of Uḍaiyār-Gaṇḍārāddittat-teriṅja-kaikkōlar. 229 of 1911; SII. iii. 131.


,, Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Parākēsarivarman. Land for lamp by a queen of Uttama Cōḷa. 486 of 1918.

Year 9.—Kaṇḍiyūr.—(Tj.)—Lamp and offerings on the birthdays of the donor, Puduvūrṇḍiyān Māyaṅ Kāṅjanan alias Villavan Mūvēndavēḷān, to Tirukkaṇḍiyūr Viraṭṭāṇattu Mahādeva. 13 of 1895; SII. iii. 134.

Year 10.—Nallūr (Tj.)—An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Mahādeva at Nallūr by Mānakkurai-Viranārāyaṇa-

* In the Bēḷa country. The chief was perhaps the son and successor of Pēṭhivipatī II. ARE. 1925 II 11.
† This image was presented to the temple of Varāhadeva by Rājamārkṣyar. 264, 266 of 1910 ARE. 1911 II 19.
‡ 30 Jan; A. D. 579. ARE. 1912 II 20.
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när under orders of the king, Śrīkārīyam ardacciyil uḍaiyār tirumugam koḻuvandu.

41 of 1911; SIT. iii. 136.

Year 10.—Uḍaiyāṛgudi (SA.)—(Grantha). Building of the sabhā by Nambiyenbā and land for feeding 100 Brahmans in that hall.

578 of 1920.

Year 11.—Tirukkudiṅkāval (Tj.) — Parakešarivarman. Construction by Śembiyān-mahādēviyār, with stone, of Śrī- vimāṇa of the temple, an old brick structure, and re-engraving of old inscriptions that lay scattered on the walls of the temple. One of them is a Māraṇṇa-daṭiyān record (4 + 9 yr.) containing a gift of Vara- guṇa-mahārāja.

36 of 1931.

Year 12.—Gōvindaṇaṭṭur (Tri.)—Land, made tax-free, by Śekki- jēn Araiyan Saukaranārāyāyan alias Sōja-muttaraiyan of Kāvannūr to the temple of Śrī Kailāyattu Paramasvāmi at Periya-vānāvan-mahādēvi-catm.

158 of 1929.

" Gōvindaṇaṭṭur (Tri.)—Parakešari. Ambalavan Paḷuvur- nakkan alias Vikramaśōla-mārāyan, * the perundaram of Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, built of stone the Śrī-vimāṇa of the temple at Vijayamangalam in Periyavānāvan-mahādēvi-catm., a brahmadēya on the north bank.

165 of 1929.

" Gōvindaṇaṭṭur (Tri.)—Parakešari. Sheep for lamp by Aparāyītan Seyyavāymanī, wife of Ambalavan Paḷuvur- nakkan alias Vikramaśōla-mārāyan of Kuvalālam, who erected the stone temple.

166 of 1929.

" Gōvindaṇaṭṭur (Tri.)—Parakešari. Sheep for lamp by Kānçi-Akkkan, wife of Vikramaśōla Mārāyar (See 166).

167 of 1929.

" Mōḷappaluvūr (Tri.)—96 sheep for lamp in the northern shrine of the Mahādēva temple at Avani-Kandarparkāvara-grham, a dēvadēna in Mannup-perumbaluvūr in Kūnça-kūrgam.

379 of 1924.

* Figures also in 168, 163 and 160 of years 3, 7 and 7 respectively of Rājarāja I. See also 164 of year 14 Uttama Cōḷa.

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Year 12.—Śembiyanmahādevi (Tj.)—Parākēsari. Money to be deposited with the caturvēdi-bhaṭṭattānap-perumakkal, for offerings on birthday of Śembiyan-mahādeviyā, by five queens of Uttama Cōla, Paṭṭan Dānatongi, Maḷapūḍi Tēnnavan - mādeviyār, and Vānnavan - mahādeviyār, daughter of a certain Irungōlar, and the daughters of Viḷupparaiyar and Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar. 494 of 1925.

Year 12. *—Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parākēsari. Remission of taxes by assembly of Viḻelviḷugu-catm. on lands purchased by Ayyan Mārasinga alicia Virāśikhara Mūvendavēlān for lamp and for water from the Kāvēri.

112 of 1926.

Uḻaiyāṅgudi (SA.)—Parākēsari. Land for feeding five Brahmans every day and a perpetual lamp in the temple by Adīgal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Gaṅḍan Sundara-śōlan for the merit of his younger brother Gaṅḍan Śatrubhayan-karanār. 592 of 1920. ↑

Year 13. †—Kumbakōnam (Tj.)—Parākēsari. Gift of land by Viṟānārāẏaniyār, daughter of........ and Nambirāṭṭiyār of Śrī Uttamaśōḷar, for providing garlands of flowers to the Tirukklī-kōṭṭattup-perumai temple. The land was sold to the donor by the mūlaparudai of .......... 240 of 1911; SII. iii. 137.


* February 16, A. D. 980 (?) ARE. 1926 App. E. and II 17.

† Uttama Cōla was the only Parak. in this period who ruled over ten years; hence all Parak. records from this place with years 10 to 16 may be his. The name of the feudatory given here, perhaps taken from Paṇṭakara II, also leads us to give this Parak. a place among his successors. ARE. 1921 II 29. See also Viḍḍhēcalam under Parak. 12.

‡ 9th June, A. D. 982 ARE. 1912 II 20.

§ A. D. 981-2 ARE. 1908 II 53.

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Year 14.—

"Gōvindaputtūr (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Ambalavan Pájūr-nakkān, a chieftain of the Perundaram of Utama, built for the temple the Śrī-vimāna, the temple of Vēmāgalattigūr, and made a gift to it of the village of Neḍuvāyil. 164 of 1929.†

"Tirumullaiyir (Ch.)—(modern Characters). Gift of land, purchased tax-free for 80 pon from the sābhā of Ambattūr, by Tāṇṭirattigūr and his family, queen of Gaṇḍāraḍittra, and daughter of Maḻavaraiyir. 669 of 1904; SII. iii. 141; MCC. Mag. ix. p. 109.

"Tiruvadi (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp in the nāṭakāṣāla-māṇḍapa in the temple erected by Aṭṭāman Ayyāran. 398 of 1921.

"Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Silver vessel, weighing thirty Ḳakkāku. 113 of 1926.

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumāḷpuram (NA.).—Kō-nūn-inmaikoṇḍān. Gift of a village. Śīrīyāṭṭur in Manaiyil-nāḷu, a subdivision of Manaiyil-kōṭtam had been granted as a dēvadāna and brahmadēya in the 21st year of Tōṇḍa-māṇṭrāṭṭur-ruṭjina Udaiyār, to the sābhā of Puduppi-kām, a brahmadēya of Purisai-nāḷu in the same kōṭtām. Though a bāsana was drawn up in the next

* Son of Vikramakēsara of Koṇṭambēllūr (Venkayya) ARE. 1908 II 88, 91, quoted also by H. K. Sastri.

† The Sanskrit part of the record says that he got the title Vikramāṭṭal-mahāēya from the king, proof that Vikrama Cōjā was a title of Uttama Cōjā. ARE. 1929 II 29.
year, the village was not entered in the accounts as a deveda and brahmadesya. This mistake was rectified in the fourth year of Parakèsariwarman who took Madurai and Islam, and the sabha of Puduppakkam were remitting the produce and gold due from them to the Mahadeva temple at Tirumalperry. In the 36th year of the king last mentioned, the dues from Puduppakkam were increased as the result of a fresh grant; the village assembly did not remit the new items properly, and the temple authorities lodged a complaint to the king when he was in the groundfloor (adibhoami) of the pon-maligai within his palace (nam-vittin-ullal) at Kancipuram. The king after due enquiry fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple. Interesting details of administrative procedure given.

286 of 1906; SII. iii. 142.*

Year 15.—Kancipuram (Ch.)—Mentions Tirumayana-purattukkaḍaṇavul-sabhai who accept an endowment of gold for a lamp.

2 of 1906.

Sembiyanmahadevi (Tj.)—Parakèsari. Gift of lands for offerings and worship in the temple of Kailasamulaia-mahadeva built by Uḍaiyapirattiyar Madhuranthakan Madivadigaḷar alias Sembiyan-madéviyär, mother of Gandhan Madhuranthaka-dēvar alias Uttama Cōla-dēva, by Uraṭṭayan Śorabbaiyār alias Tribhuvanamadéviyär, queen of Uttama Cōla, who purchased, for the purpose, some land to supplement her own.

485 of 1925.

Sembiyanmahadevi (Tj.)—Parakèsari. List of articles required for worship etc., on sankranti days for which provision was made by Uraṭṭayan Śorabbaiyār, the mulla-nambirattiyar of Uttama Cōla.

488 of 1925.

Sembiyanmahadevi (Tj.)—Parakèsari. Gold forehead plate for the image of the deity by Paṭṭan Dānaton-giyyar, queen of Uttama Cōla. The village with the

* See Introduction to this record by H. K. Sastri for the reasons for assigning it to Uttama Cōla.

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PARAKESARI UTTAMA COLA

temple of Kailasamudaiyar was founded by Sembiyyan Mahadevi, as a brahmadeya in Ala-nadu on the south bank.*
490 of 1925.

Year 15.—Sembiyyanmahadevi (Tj.)—Parakesari. Fly-whisk with a gold handle by Paracavann Mahadeviyar, queen of Parak. Uttama Coila.
491 of 1925.

" Sembiyyanmahadevi (Tj.) — Parakesari. 507½ kaññju by a lady (queen?), Kaññapparasiyir alias Sonnamahadeviyar, for offerings on the day of Keññai in Cittirai, the birthday of Sembiyyan Mahadeviyar, the founder of the temple and the village. The money was to be in the charge of Caturvedi-bhajattanapp-perumakkal.
492 of 1925.

" Tiruvolliyir (Ch.)—An image of Sribali-déva, eight bugles (kálam) and 24 fly whisks with gold handles made by order of Uttama Coila, (devaraya-koññu ponnai sëyvittuk-koññukka). Mentions an officer Senniyeripalaic-cóljan—Uttamasóljan.
166 of 1912; SII. iii. 143.

Year 16.—Aduturai (Tj.)—Temple of Ápatasahayévara built by the mother of Sri-Madhurántaka-déva alias Sri Uttama Coila. Mentions the name Tirukkurangadudurai for the place; and the re-engraving on the new structure of worn-out inscriptions mentioning endowments to the shrine.
357 of 1907; SII. iii. 144.

" Milappaluvir (Tri)—Provision for lamp in temple by Paluvettaraiyar Kapilam Märvanär.
395 of 1924.

" Sembiyyanmahadevi (Tj.)—Parakesari. 590 kaññju of gold by Árúran Ambalattigal, a queen of Uttama Coila, and another gift of 145 kaññju (in both cases weight by úrkkal) by Uraññayán Sörabbai alias Tribhuvana-mahadeviyar, for offerings on birthdays of Sembiyyan Mahadevi. The committee called Sisana-baddha-caturvedi-bhajattanapp-perumakkal, to whom the gifts were entrusted, is said to have been the creation of Sembiyyan-mádëvi herself.
496 of 1925.

* This statement is repeated verbatim in 491 and 492.
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Year 16.—Tirukkołambiyur (Tj.)—Parakşari. Land as tiruccennadaip-puţam to Madhurantakan Umā-bhaṭṭārakiyur in the Tirukkoḷamba-deva temple by Ārūrān Ponnambalattādigaḷ, the queen of Uttama Cōla, after purchasing it from a lady Kādan Śingam, through her son Mahāmātran Gautaman Kēśavan Śrikanṭhan of Śattanur. Taxes remitted by assembly of Pērāvur in return for a lump payment. Ḫakkarungāsu mentioned.

47 of 1925.

" Tiruppugālār (Tj.)—Parakşari. Land as iṣaiyili by Uttamaśōla-mādēviyur alias Göpan-sākkappu..... after purchase from the sabhā and tanippuruśar, to Kailāsamudaiya Mahādēva at Tripura ....... mangalam a brahmadiya in Kūṟumbā-nāḷ. 66 of 1928.

" Tiruvōrriyur (Ch.)—888 kālañju of tulai-nilai-pon from the revenues of the temple (dēvarāyamey-kūṭṭi) for a salver (kuṭṭitaṭṭu), and 40 kālañju for offerings by Nandīśarān alias Parakşari Vilupparsaiyan of Elīnūr, (Elīnūr-kilavan), who was the officer managing the temple affairs (śri-kāryam-arāyginga) at the time.

245 of 1912 ; SII. iii. 145.

Ś. 901 and Kali 40(8)0—Uyyakkonḍān - Tirumalai (Tri.)—Uttama Cōla Parakşari. Land, for offerings.

456 of 1908 * ; SII. iii. 135.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following :

Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Mentions queen Viranārāyaṇiyaṟ. 3 of 1906.

Kōṅerirājaduram (Tj.)—Temple of Tirunallamuṇaḷiyaṟ † was built of stone by Mādēvadigaḷār, queen of Gaṇḍa-rāditta-dēva and mother of the king.

450 of 1908 ; SII. iii. 146.

* Though very seriously damaged, this record is invaluable for its date.

† Called elsewhere Aḍityāvāra from Gaṇḍaṛāditya, who is figured in stone in this temple. SII. iii pl. xi.
PARAKEESARI UTTAMA COLA

Talaicccangadh (Tj.)—Silver vessel (sambaram), weighing 151 kalajju, to the big temple of Mahadeva by Pirantakan Madaviga alias Sembian Mahadevi, mother of Uttama Cola. 204 of 1925.

Tirunaraityur (TJ.)—Land for offerings to the temple of Siddhevaram-Udaya-mahadeva by queen Pirantakan Madavdigalgar alias Sembian Madaviyur who gave birth to Uttama Cola. 159 of 1908; SII. iii. 149.

Tiruppallatturai (Tri.)—Mentions construction by some one (king?) of Dayaparap-purambalam and the grant of some land as ambalappuram, made iraiyili by the assembly which received a lump payment. Iraililyiyaga pancou.....nilamudalum pottagattum iraiyalli Tiruppallatturai kri vimanalte badhkhai teydu.........iraiyaliyuk-kolluppanum perunguri-sabhaiyom. * 569 of 1908; SII. iii. 150.

* H. K. Sastri translates: “Caused the deduction of the taxes (to be entered) in the land register (nilamudal?), the tax register (pottagem)" etc.
RÄJAKÄSARI RÄJARÄJA I

(Acc. 25th June—25th July A.D. 985)

Year 2.—Tirunāraiyār (Tj.)—Rājak. Silver vessels and a chauri of gold to the temple by Udaiya-pirattiyār Śembiyan Mahādeviār alias Pirāntakan Mādevaḻigālār. * 156 of 1908.

" Tiruvūrār (Tj.)—Rājak. Silver vessels by Śembiyan Mahādeviār for (merit of) Śri Uttama Cōla-dōva. 570 of 1904.

Year 3.—Gōvindaṭṭūr (Tri.)—Rājak. Sabhā of Periya Vānavan Mahādevi-catm. got 200 kalāṅju from a perundaram of Mummūṭti-Cōla-dōva, Ambalavan Pāḻuvūr nakkan alias Vikrama-sōla-Mahārāyau, for the izathivāl on 1/4 veli of land. 168 of 1929.

" Kīḷappăḷūvār (Tri.)—Rājak. Two silver vessels by the wife (ṇambirattigālār) of Vikrama-sōla-Ilangūvelār, daughter of Pāḻuvūṭṭaraiyar, when Kauṣiṇa Nakkan Mārath was looking after temple affairs (śri-kāryum-āraṇyaika) under orders from Aṭṭigāl Pāḻuvūṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭṭal Maṭravan. 110 of 1895; SII. v. 671.

" Kīḷappăḷūvār (Tri.)—Rājak. Two gold ornaments by Aṭṭigāl Pāḻuvūṭṭaraiyar Kaṇṭṭal Maṭravan. 111 of 1895; SII. v. 672.

" Śembiyanmahādevi (Tj.)—Rājak. List of articles such as golden pot, pāṭṭum, gold flowers, with their weights noted, as presented to the temple of Śri Kailaśamūṭṭaiyār by the mother of Uttama Cōla in the month Mīna in that year. 497, 498 of 1925.

* The presence of this lady's name is the reason for assigning this and similar records to this king. (ARE. 1909 II 41).
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 3.—Tiruccengāţangudi (Tj.)—Rājak. Rājarāja-dēva. Land for two lamps to shrine of Śīrāla-dēva by Veḷḷiḷan Ulagan Śīrīyian alias Tappillā Muvēndavēḷān. 56 of 1913.

"Tirukkalitattai (Tj.)—Rājarājak. Land for offerings and for supply of 108 pots of bathing water at monthly Sankrānti to the temple of Mahādēva at Amaninārāyanācām. by Kilānādigaḷ, the daughter of Viḷupparaiyar and queen of Utama Cōla-dēva, son of Gaṇḍarādittā-dēva. 298 of 1908.


"Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Sale of land for upkeep of a lamp. Mentions Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan and Sōla-mādōviyār alias Pāṇeacavan-mādōviyār, (queen of Mummuḍi Cōla), † the latter being donor. 294 of 1906.

"Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Gold by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan. 295 of 1906.

"Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—(Gr. and Tam.) Gold for feeding Brahman by Madhurāntakan Ācāpīḷāran (Āditya in the grantha portion), son of Vira-sōla-ţangāvēḷār of Koḷumbāḷur in Kō-nāḷu. 306 of 1906. †

"Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Rājarājak. Silver pot by Uḍāiyā Pirāṭṭiyār, mother of Śri-kaṇḍan Madhurāntakan alias Utama Cōla, on behalf of her son to god at Tiruppurambiyam. A weighing scale called ingu-turaiyāk-kaḷī. 338 of 1927.

"Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—A chauri to temple by Pāṇeacavan Mādōviyār, queen of Mummuḍi Cōla. 147 of 1918.

* Title assumed in this year ? — ARE. 1909 II 42. † i. e., Rējarēja I.
‡ Rējarēja I. Sanskrit part gives name Rējarēja.
Year 3.—Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (Ch.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi Cōḷa-dēva. Gold necklace (pallittongal) called Rājarājan, an ॐuvaṭṭil of gold called Mummuḍi-śōjan, and a gold door for the Mēvāśi called Rājarājan, by a certain Valīkkēytnaṟi Gaṇaśilan of Muḷḷak-kūṟumba in the Cōḷa country, for the merit of Āḻigai Nīṟḍhi, chief of Ûṟṟukkāḷu, a village in Āvūr-kōṭṭam of Śō-ṇāḍu, who was in charge of śṛi-kāryam of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-āḷvār. The jewels were made from accumulated savings of 810 kaḷaṇḍu from the temple income.

235 of 1912.


115 of 1895 ; SII. v. 676.

" Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Remission by assembly of taxes on some temple lands. 493 of 1925.

" Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi Cōḷa. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Agniśvara at Tirumāḻperu by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittar with a committee of five members. Proof obtained of neglect and misappropriation of endowments.

283 of 1906.

" Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—96 sheep for a lamp by Uḷaiya-pirūṭṭiyār Tambirāṇaḷigal Vānavaṇa-māḍēvīyār alias Tribhuvana-māḍēvīyār, the mother (ācci) of Śṛi-Rājendra Cōḷa-dēvar and the queen of Śṛi Rājarāja-dēva.

117-A of 1896 ; SII. v. 382.

Year 4, day 24.—Madhurāntakam (Ch.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālaikkalam-arutta Rājak. The mahāśabha of the place agreed to conduct a festival to god Tiruvenkāṭtu-Paramēvara with the twenty-five pon, collected from a merchant of Vra-śōjappāraṅgāḍi; and the tax kōḷuvaṇa-kōḷu. The madhyastha was also a signatory.

395 of 1922.

* 283 of Year 12.

† 446 of 1913 is same but fuller.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 4, day 154.—Madhurântakam (Ch.)—Kândâlur-sâlaik-kalam-arutta. An assignment of land by the mahâsabhā of Madhurântakâ-catm., for opening round the temple a street which was named Tiruvêkenkâttup-perun-dernuv; restrictions placed, and privileges granted to the Śivabrâhmaṇas, uvacar, tapasvins and the dêvarâdïyâr who were allowed to settle in it. 397 of 1922.

Year 5.—Dârâsuram (Tj.)—Land for sacred bath and śribali to āûvâr of Tirusômiâvaram at Tirukkuṭâlamûkku. 3 of 1915.

" Kilâppâluvâr (Tri.)—Rûjak. Land sold by sabhâ of Sirupâluvâr to Añjâl Pâluvâṭṭârayar Mârâvan Kâpâdan. 118 of 1895; SII. v. 679.

" Śembiyamalâdâvi (Tj.)—An order of the assembly to the ār-vâriyam (Frag.) 495 of 1925.

" Tiruccengâtu (Col.)—(Copper-plate) Râjakasâri. Lands to Paramâvârâma of sacred Mûlasthâna at Tûsîyûr by Kollimalavan Orriyûran Piridigândavârîma. SII. iii. 213. *

" Tiruvânuâlurkûvil (Pondicherry)—Rûjak. The silver vessels and gold of Tiruvâgrâi-nâkkâm-kûvil Paramásâvâmin having been utilised in former years by the sabhâ, certain lands were given in exchange to the temple in the 28th year of the reign of king Kannarâtû.† Mention is made also of a gift of land in the 14th year of Madîrunôka Parâkâssâri. 359 of 1917.

" Tiruvâdîkkûlî (Tj.)—Rûjak. Thirty iron torch-lights (îruppuâ - pûî - vîlakkû) by Râjârâjâ-dêva, fifteen servants being retailed for holding the lights. ‡ 68 of 1895; SII. v. 625.

* In this record the word ‘kamâlâvâ’ about which Krishna Sastri makes curious surmises seems really to mean ‘boundary stone’ and is by no means, either a reference to the ‘hero-stones’ of Tamil literature or an engraver’s mistake for ‘kamâdâvâ’. The word is very clearly engraved and occurs in three places in the same plate.

† i.e., 967-8 A.D., also the initial date of Uttama Cûja - ARE, 1918 ii 23.

‡ Each man held two lights. cf. 53 of 1895 of Yr. 6.
THE COLAS

Year 5.—Tiruvīśalūr (Tj.)—Gold by a queen of Rājarāja-śāva by name Vaṭṭan Kāṭjan Tongiyār for feeding five Brahmanas. One hundred ṛakkāśu yielding 15 kāśu as dharmaappaliśai. 19 of 1907.

Year 6.—Ś. 913.—Jōgi - kempanapura (Mys.) — Cōḷa-nārīyaṇa. Land. MAR. 1917 p. 42.

' Takkōlām (NA.)—Undertaking by the residents of Purisai to pay interest in the form of paddy on 20 kalanju of gold received from the temple of Tiruvūral. 244 of 1921.

' Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Rājak. Fifty iron lights (iruppuvilakkku) by Rājarāja-śāva for the śrībali at night; oil 2 measures; the following were to hold these torches: eight sweepers (tirumelukkiduvār), four buglers (kālamūdīgal), one cook of the ālai (aguvān), three tenants (kuḍīgal) of the flower-garden (nandavanam), and eight others, resident in houses belonging to the temple, who are not dēvar-nivandakkārār and are used to hold the lights every day.

53 of 1895; SIII v. 610.


' Tirumāṇaṇjēri (Tj.)—At the command of Įlaiya-pirāṭtiyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa, Ārūrān Kambaṇ alias Tirukkarañji-pican of the village gave 16 kalanju of gold for sandal paste etc., to Mahādēva at Tirumāṇaṇjēri, which is stated to be near Kāḍalanguḷi. Mentions piṭhiligaivārī. 9 of 1914.

' Tiruvempāḷu (Tj.)—Rājak. Mentions images made and jewels and vessels presented by Parāntakan Mādéviyār alias Śembiyan Mādēviyār, daughter of Majavaraiyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa and queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, in the fourth and sixth years of Uttama Cōḷa, in the fourth

* Sunday 1st December A.D. 989. EJ. ix p. 307 (Kielhorn).
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

year of Rājakēsari, in the 3rd and 10th years of Para-
kēsari and in the second year of Gāyālarādītya-dēva
alias Mummudī-cıla-dēva. * 444 of 1918.

Year 6.—Tiruvśalūr (Tj.)—Mentions a person belonging to the
Uḍaiyār Kōlandarāma-tanicećavagam. 342 of 1907.

Year 7.—Aḷḷayaḍripattūr (Tj.)—Land by sabbhā of Pāradāyakūḷi,
a brahmavāya, to temple for offerings. Mentions the
construction of the central shrine with stone by Pullāḷī
Śattān Kārīvēḷār Kāṇḍārādīttan alias Mummudī-
Śēḷiyavaraḷiyar. 283 of 1908.

Elvānār (SA.)—Mentions the 15th year of Śrī-Uttama
Cōla-dēva, the son of Śembiyān Māṭēviyār and two
Mīḷāḍu chiefs. 176 of 1906.

Gēvindaṇuttūr (Tri.)—Ambalavan Pāḷuvūr-nakkkan alias
Rājarājā Pallavaraiyān of Kuvalāḷam, a perundaram
of the king, appointed Śeqṭapōsān Vēṇṇayakramavīttan
as manager of the temple of Viśaiyamangula-dēvar;
and the sabbhā entrusted the manager with certain
powers. 160 of 1929.

Kuḷūr (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Rājarājā Pallavaraiyān
of Kuvalāḷam, one of the perundaram of
the king. 291 of 1917.

Śembiyānnarādēvi (Tj.)—Gift by Uraṭṭayān Śorabbaiyār
alias Tribhuvanamāṭēvālīgai, the senior queen of
Uttama Cōḷa, of 100 kāśu, deposited with the
Śasanapāddha - caturvēdi - bhaṭṭatāla-perumakkal of
Śrī-kailāsam. From the interest, offerings were to be
made in the temple on the Cittirai-tirukkēṭṭai day,
the asterism of her mother-in-law, Śembiyān Māṭēviyār,
who founded the village. 480 of 1925.

Tiruvcaṭṭaḷai (Tj.)—Land by royal order to śrīkāṟyan
sēykinga Mīṇavaṇ Vilatṭur-nāṭṭuk-kōn for an endow-
ment for offerings (as detailed) in temple.

55 of 1895; SII. v. 612.

* This surname of Gāyālarādītya and the fact of his rule are new.
Rājarāja is the first Rājak, after Uttama Cōḷa. Palaeography is in support of
this. The order of reigns mentioned in the inscription is not chronological.
ARE. 3919 II 14.

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Year 7.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—A Brahman set up an image of Umā-bhaṭāraki and granted a lamp. He also purchased 1700 kuṭi of land tax-free, after paying ‘vilaidravyamum iṇḍaidravyamum’ to the sabhā of Mandirām alias Jayamārā *śīkaraṇa-mangalam, and made it over to the Śivabrāhmaṇas who had to feed the lamp and supply the offerings.

8 of 1890; SII. iii. 50.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—A visit to Tikkālī Āḷvār temple by Madhurāntaka Gaṇḍiśārīdittāṇār † who caused 1000 jars of water to be poured over the god. He also held the Śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple and the sabhā of Tirukkālivallam to account for the income and expenditure of the temple scheduled in the tiruvāṇai and the tiruvāṇai; (rest of the inscription is built in).

10 of 1890; SII. iii. 49.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Details of expenditure for 74 kāḷiṇju of gold, realised as fine from the Śivabrāhmaṇas for misappropriation of temple lands, and 7 kāḷiṇju and 4 maṅgaṇi which Madhurāntaka Gaṇḍiśārīdittāṇār who scrutinised the temple accounts had added to make up the deficit. The four vāriyar of Tikkālivallam, the two vāriyar of Mandirām, and two kangoṇis were to look after the expenditure in future. Paddy quoted at forty kāḷi per kāḷiṇju. Rate of interest 12%. 218 of 1921. §

Tiruvāṇār (Tj.)—Mentions the building of a stone shrine in the temple of Tiruvaramūri-āḷvār by Śembīyan Mahādāvīyār, and the setting up of two images in it by the same lady, and records that she presented 234 kōṭi, invested with the sabhā of Adiappi-catam., for daily requirements, additions to the temple and repairs. 571 of 1904.

* A title of Bēṇa Vikramāditya I.
† 26th September 991 A.D. E.I. iv p. 66, Kielhorn.
‡ Perhaps an otherwise unknown son of Madhurāntaka the immediate predecessor of Rājāja I - Hultzsch. cf. 283 of 1906 of Yr. 4.
§ This settlement is quoted in 227 of 1921 of Yr. 4, day 114 of Rājendra I.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 7.—Tiruvperumbār (Tri.)—Money for feeding six Brahmanas versed in the Vēda by Ilājarāyar Pugalvippavar-gañjan Viraśōjan. * 116 of 1914.

"Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirunalai (Tri.)—2,432 kārājju of gold to Uyyakkoṇḍa-nāyanār † temple for festivals by sabhā of Rājārānya-catm. 457 of 1908.

"Vidhācalan (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp, and a lamp-stand, by Malaiyavvai-deviyyār, daughter of Pottappic-cōlar Śattiyārāyār and queen of Irungōḷa Prithipati Amanmālār. Also 2 mē of land for flower-garden. 49 of 1918.

Year 8.—Ibuvākkum (Tri.)—Lamp to Śrī Keśa Perunmāl at Tiruvāyppāli by a resident of Dantivarme-mangalam. 708 of 1909.

"Durvānakkyppu (Tv.)—(Vattelelātu). Kāṇḍālūr-sālaik-kalam-ayutta. Mentions a meeting in the dēvadānā Tiruvānakkōppu of the Karanattār for looking into the Talikkanākku and Savaikkanākku. (Frag.) TAS. i. p. 238.

"Kilippurūvaṟ (Tri.)—Pallai Ilaiya Irapamukha-rāman killed Kaikkōḷa Bala-Kovan Vayiri in a duel (uruvik-kutti); Adigaal Paluvēṭṭarāyār Kaḷḷan Maṟλaṉair adjudged the case and as a result 90 sheep were given by the culprit for a lamp. 109 of 1895; SIL. v. 670.

"Marudāṉ (NA.)—Land for a lamp by residents (nāṭḍōm) of Marudāṉu to the Perundirukkōyil-āḷyār temple for the merit of Kilipperumān of Mākanūr Pūṭturāi who fell that Marudāṉu may not be destroyed. ‡ 411 of 1912.

"Puucaṇḍavamaralai (NA.)—Remission by Uḷaiyār Viraśōlar, son of Uḷaiyār Ilālarājar Pugalvippavar-gañjan,

* El. iv pp. 136 ff.
† Called Tirukkāṟkuṟṟu-Vijumaiya-dēvar in other 10th century records. ARE. 1909 II 42.
‡ Rice, Mysore and Coorg, pp. 186 ff.
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of karpūra-nilai and anniyaśyava-daṇḍavīrī in the village of Kūṭaṇātī, an ḍīṇaḷīḷa-pullicēndam, on a representation from his wife Ilāṇa-mādevīyār that the collection of these dues by previous (kūḷapagol-āṇaḷ) Ilājaṛājar affected this charity (Tiruppūmālai) adversely. 19 of 1890; EI. iv. p. 139.

Year 8.—Reṭḷiṭpāḷem (Nel.)—Lamp by Mummudi Vairamach Mahārājān alias Viṣṇu-dēvan alias Durai Arāṇā.

NI. G. 88.

" Tiruvāṇandai (Ch.)—Tirumagol-pila. Ilam, but not Raṭtāḷi. Sabhā and ñṟ agree to maintain a lamp to Śrī Bhāṭṭāraiki of Śrī Varāha-dēva, the goddess set up by a merchant of Mylapore, who gave also 15 kaḷaiḻol of gold towards the lamp. 261 of 1910.

" Tiruvirāṇisvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp and offerings by Kudiraikkāra Sōḥbamāyyān. 146 of 1911.

Year 9.—Āṭṭugai (Tj.)—Some temple land reclaimed by Śembiyan Mādevīyār, mother of Uttama Gōja-dēva, and called Śembiyan Mahādevi.

362 of 1907.

" Kōḷūr (SA)—Gold for lamp by Kundaḷājan Amirtavalli, the mother of queen Īḻaṇa-mahādevīyār; it was deposited with the Tiruvāṇāḷīḷācārī sabhāi. Also Ilaiṟyakku worth two kāṇī. 239 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 144.

" Kuḷūr (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple by some persons called Kūḷiyaṟkkuḷaiyār, who were unable to raise the money for paying some fines imposed on them. Mentions the harassing of royal officials in collecting the fine. 277 of 1917.

" Mēḷappaluvūr (Tri)—Rājaḷōsari. Money for lamp given to the temple servants by an inhabitant of Avanikandarpapuram. Mentions Adigal Paluvelḷāniyar Kāḷḷan Māṉavan. *

382 of 1924.

* cf. 395 of year 16 Uttama Gōja. Hence this Rājak is Rājaḷō 1 who has no attributes up to year 9, becomes Kūṇdaḷōr-ēḷaik-kalam-ṗutta in years 10-12, and has later on the Tirumagal introduction. AKE, 1924 II 10. Kūṇḍalōr expedition placed in the middle of 995 A.D. because some records of year 10 (234, 246 of 1926) mention it while others (193 of 1926) do not AKE. 1926 II 23.
Year 9.—Mālpāṭi (C.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 96 sheep for lamp; liquid measure Rajakasari. 97 of 1921.

Panḍāravāṭhi (Tj.)—Silver plate and bronze stand to temple by Śembiyan Mahādevi. 262 of 1923.

Tirugōlarayam (Pāl.)—Land for up-keep of a tank by a Brahman from the Cōla country. 307 of 1904.

Tirunelungaiam (Tri.)—Land for (feeding) Śivayōkins. 687 of 1909.

Tiruppucembigam (Tj.)—Some gold ornaments and a silver vessel were made out of the savings of the temple treasury between the second and ninth years of the reign. 78 of 1897; SII. vi. 28.

Tiruvāḷuturai (Tj.)—Land as nīlya-bhūya, on behalf of the temple, by the assembly of Sāttanur met in the hall (vattuśālai) to Kumaran Śrī-kāyājan who had the sīkkai-kāyī of the village, for acting the seven ankas of the Āriyakkāṭtu on festival days in Purattāśi in the temple of Tiruvāḷuturai-āyār. Provision is made for the supply of rice flour, betel leaves and areca nuts, ghī for mixing collyrium and turmeric. 120 of 1925.

Tiruvudaimarudur (Tj.)—Gift of ornaments to Umābhaṭ-ṭāraki by a servant of Nambirāṭṭiyār Śrī Paścavan-Mahādeviyār of Kōḍāndarāma-vējam of Taitijavār. 278 of 1907.

Year 9, day 158.—Uttaravamrūr (Ch.)—Decision of the Mahāsabha about the payment of fines imposed on several castes and communities of the place either in the king’s courts or otherwise †. Mentions the mukhā-maṇḍapa of the Tulābhāra Śrī-kōyil ‡ where the assembly held its sittings. 197 of 1923.

* Year doubtful (9).
† contra A&E. 1923 II 28.
‡ Probably the Sundara Varada temple whence the inscription comes. Perhaps the king performed a Tulābhāra here, ibid.
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Year 10.—Darśanakkōppu (Tv.)—(Vallējuttu). Kāṇḍalūrt-cālaiik-kalam-ārutta. One lamp by the sabhā for the merit of Pullanārāyana. TAS. i. p. 239.

Kāṇṭamangalam (SA.)—Kāṇḍalūr-śalai. Land to temple Śōtāngi-vinnagar Paramasvāmin by the assembly met in Tirukkkāvān in front of Virunārāyana Vinnagar at Tribhuvanamādēvi-catm. Another fragment related to a gift of land by Gaṅḍarādīttan Madhurāntakan.

356 of 1917.


Kuhūr (Tj.)—Kāṇḍalūr-śalai. Land and house-site to Āditya īḷara temple for the Śittirait-tiruviḷā in the shrine of Nambi Arūrran, by the īr and kaṇṭiyuḷaiya Kōliyakkāḷaiyārgal. 299 of 1917.

Kūram (Ch.)—Tirunagal-pōda. A sabhā-śrīmukham of the sabhā of Kūram providing for repairs etc., of a maṭha. 33-A of 1900; SII. vii. 34.

* Suīndram (Tv.)—(Vallējuttu). Fifty sheep with the Mālaparaḥai-sabhāi for lamp to Tiruce-civindirattumahādeva by Īlanūṭṭa Malavaraiyan Sennu Kaṇṭal.

71 of 1896; EII. v. p. 44; TAS. i. p. 238-9.

Tiṇḍivanam (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Land, 2910 kūḷi, reclaimed for a musician who was to play on the lute (viṇa) and a vocalist to accompany the lute in the Tiṇḍīḷaṭa temple at Kiḷangil.

141 of 1900; SII. vii. 154.

Tiruccengōḷu (Coi.)—(Copper-plate). Rājakēṣari. (A) An order of Malavaraiyan Sundaraśāla that the iṟai collected by him from the Nagarattār of Īṭiṭiyur viz.,

* The astronomical data in this record reduce the king’s accession to 25th June - 25 July A.D. 985. Kielhorn, EII. vi. p. 20

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mulūmanai-kāluṃ araī-manai araikkāluṃ, shall be in the form of nirōga-īlai; and that in the case of dues under dāṇḍangūrum, the practice of Nandipura shall be followed. (B) Kollimalavan Piradigāljan * makes an endowment for the merit of his father who died in Ceylon (engal-āccar-ilattuppaḷu avar śrīmadāhakkuc-ciyppāḷu.)

SII. iii. 212.

Year 10.—Tirumālparum (NA.)—Kāṇḍalūr-śālai etc. Gold by Kuḷakkudaiyan Arunilai Śriṅgāṇa alias Mūvēnda Piḷāvūr Veḷār. A tiruppadiyam beginning Kōlanūr-kulai composed by the father of the donor in praise of Gōvindapāḷi-ūḻār was to be sung at a festival.

333 of 1906.

Tiruvidâmarudūr (Tj.)—Kāṇḍalūr-śālai. Gift of a gold flower by one Hṛdayaśīva of Tiruppūttūr.

197 of 1907.

Tiruvidâmarudūr (Tj.)—Kāṇḍalūr-śālai. Gold image of Umāsahitar by queen Paṅcavan Mahālēvi.

254 of 1907.

Tiruvīṣalūr (Tj.)—Kāṇḍalūr-śālai. Money for lamp to Tiruvīḍalūr-perumāl at Avaniūrāyana-catam., a dēvadāna and brahmādēya.

3 of 1907.

Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Kāṇḍalūr-śālai. Land, by purchase, for water supply and a lamp. The tank, Kōkkilāṇaḷīppērcī, is mentioned among the boundaries.

196 of 1919.

Uyyakkonḍān - Tirunalai (Tri.) — Kāṇḍalūr-śālai. Gift, by Sonnīyan Mādōviyar, mother of Kaṇḍān Madhurāntaka-devan alias Śri Uttama Cōla-dēva, to Śri Kārkudī Vilunjīyār at Nandipanma-mangalam, of a jewelled crown comprising: gold 149 kaḷaṉju; silver 190 odd kaḷaṉju; muttu (pearl) 700 in number; māṇikkam 3; and diamond (vayıram) 27.

95 of 1892; SII. iv. 542. †

* cf. SII. iii. 213 of year 5.

† 459 of 1908 seems to be same record.
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Year 10. — *Vijayanārāyaṇam.* (Tin.) — *(Vallēlintu)-Kāndalūr-sālai.* Land as *sūlābhūga* purchased from sabbhā as *iraiyil,* and fifty sheep for lamp to Manōnaya Isvarattu Perumānālīgal; charities under supervision of sabbhā. 7 of 1927.

Year 11.* — Bāhūr (Pondicherry.) — Sālaik-kalam-agutta. Provision by sabbhā of Vākūr for annual repairs to the tank at Bāhūr, at the rate of *padakku-nel* per *pu* per *mā* of land in the village. 178 of 1902; *SII.* vii. 805.

**Brahmadēsam** (NA.) — Sālaik - kalam - agutta. Village called Kājamalla catm. of Tiruvēngambapuram in (Dūmar)-kōṭṭam. 190 of 1915.

**Kōńērivājapuram** (Tj.) — Kāndalūr-sālai. Gift by Udaiyapirūṭṭiyār for singing the Tiruppadiyam. (?) ‡ 631 of 1909.


**Tukkōlam** (NA.) — Sālaik-kalam-agutta Rājarājakēsari. Twenty-five *kaḷanōju* of gold deposited with Maṇaiyirkōṭṭattut-tiruvēngapurattucigir-ūrōm who undertook to supply paddy to the temple. 3 of 1897; *SII.* v. 1366.

**Temmēri** (Ch.) — Gift of vessels to temple by Śembiyan Mahādeviyyār. Engraved on stone by sabbhā by royal order. 190 of 1901; *SII.* vii. 411.

**Tirukkōṭhiyyūr** (Rd.) — *(Vallēlintu)-Rājarājakēsari.* Land, by purchase, for a lamp and for a Brahman for explaining the Prābhākaram, by a native of Śatta-mangalam in Tiraimūr-nāḍu. 333 of 1923.

* Sunday 14th June, A.D. 996-Kielhorn *EL.* vii. p. 169.
† Possibly after a Ganga king - *ARE.* 1916 II 8.
‡ Purpose of grant not in the text, contra *ARE* 1910 II 18.
Year 11.—Tirunāḻpuram (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-śāḷai. Sheep for lamp by a native of the Cōḷa country to the shrine of Anuma-đēva in the Viśṇu temple. 335 of 1906.

Tiruvāḷisvaram (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭēḻuttu) - Kāndaḷūr - śāḷai. Land. Village called Rājarāja-catm. 119 of 1905. *

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tin.)—Kāndaḷūr-śāḷai. 34 sheep for lamp to Gaṇapati in the local temple. The donor was one of the āḷuṅgaṇuttār of the village (iēvar-ṭyṉaṅgaṇuttār.) 98 of 1914.

Tiruvirāṁisvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the āḷuṅgaṇuttār of the brahmaḍēya village, Madanamaṇ-jari-catm. 136 of 1911.

Valappuramadu (Sm.)—Kāndaḷūr-śāḷai-kaḷam-arutta. The sattāpperunakkal of Tiruvaṟappalli received gold for a lamp from a merchant, Malaiyāmān Śēṭṭi. Mentions the weight malaikkal. 498 of 1930.

Year 11, day 164.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Śāḷai-kaḷam-arutta. The great assembly met in the brahmaṭēna of the village and made the rule that only Brahmins well-versed in the mantras were eligible for appointment as vāriyaṃ-śeyvār and for taking part in the deliberations of the assembly. Tennēri called Uttama Śōḷa-catm. Nammūṟil mantra-brāhmaṇam vaṭṭēḻur vāriyaṉjeyvarāṉum sabhā-māḻγṟaiölāṉvarāṉum... mantraprāthaṇam-aṟṟiyē ṣēṟyaṉjeydāṟaiyum sabhā-māḻγṟaiṉonnāiṟyum tiruvaṉai-maguttār paḷum-danṟappāḻuvāṟga. 211 of 1922.

Year 11, day 239. Tennēri (Ch.)—Śāḷai-kaḷam-arutta. Vyaṉasthā of sabhā: Nammūṟil brahmaṉasvāṅguṟēṟum mēḻpaḻukkuṟṟam-mulaiyāṟum nammūṟ-vāriyaṉjeyvarum sabhā-māḻγṟaiölāṉvarum peṟūdāṟagavum. Ikkuṟṟan-gaḻulaiyār vāriyaṉjeydāṟum sabhā-māḻγṟaiṉonnāṟum kaṇakkar ṭṟupṟuḻu-kāṭṭināṟum tiruvaṉai-maguttār paḷum daṟṟu(m) paḻuvāṟga. 240 of 1922.

* Why is Rājarāja’s conquest of the Pāṇḍyas not mentioned earlier than his year 14? - AKE. 1905 II 13.
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Year 12—Kāṇḍiṣpuram (Ch.)—Kāndaḷūr-sālai. Rājarājakēsari. Loan from temple to sāhā who agree to remit paddy as interest. SII. i. 146.

" Kīḻappāḻuvūr (Tri.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Lamp by Aiyāran Kānaṇ, a Kaikkōḷan of Adigāḷ Pāḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, for merit of a person killed by him (pāḻakkutta). 122 of 1895; SII. v. 683.

" Kōṇērirājaapuram (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Silver image (of God?) and copper image of Cāṇḍēśvara by Nakkan Nallattadigal, one of the Rājarājātteriniṇja Kaikkōḷar, and the son of Aṇukkan Māhāmālī, a penṭāṭṭi in the vēṭām of Rājakēsari. 627 of 1909.

" Kuhūr (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Land by residents of Kuhūr to Piḷḷai Nambi Ārūranār who sang the Tiruppatiyan hymns. 275 of 1917.

" Paṇḍāraṇāḍai (Tj.)—A gold pot, 20 kaḷaṇju, by Śembiyan Māhādēvi for the merit of her son Uttama Cōḷa. 263 of 1923.

* Pullamangai (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Assembly of Pullamangalam met in the temple to the beat of the drum and made gifts of land, one vēḷi wet land and 440 pāṛṭti of garden land to some Brahman versed in the Śāma and Rgveda. 553 of 1921.

" Tinnevelly (Tin.)—(Vatṭēḻuttu)-Kāndaḷūr-sālai. Land for offerings to Brahmapuri-dēvar at Tirunelvēḷi. 84 of 1927.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-sālai. An agreement of the villagers of Pāḻugūr regarding terms of an endowment in their charge. Mentions the fact that Madhu-rāntakan Cāṇḍārādittar had fined the men in charge of the store-room in the 4th year of the king's reign; also the 14th year of a king whose name is lost. 282 of 1906.

* Decr. 28 A. D. 996. - A.R.E. 1922 App. E.
† cf. 283 of yr. 4.
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Year 12.—Tiruvadi (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Tax-free gift of eighteen plots of land (ṣeru) by the sabhā of Avaiyanūr to the temple of Jalaśayana-mahādēva of that village. 418 of 1921.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. The assembly of Raṇadhāra-mangalam in Avaiyanūr-nāju, a division of Tirumunaippāḷi, agreed to furnish the dēvadāna lands of the temple of Jalaśayana-dēva, 18 1/2 ṣeru of land, with water for irrigation from the irrigation tank of the village. 419 of 1921.

Tiruvanañkāyīl (Pondicherry).—The assembly of Tribhuvana-mahādēvi-ctm., met in the maṇḍapa built by Mummuḍiśōla-umbala-nāṭṭu-veljan, remitted taxes on Munḷiyān Valḷaippākkam, purchased and given to the temple by Immuḍiśōla Māvēndavēļan, and fixed the fines to be paid by those who imposed or realised any taxes on it in future. 362 of 1917.


Year 12, day 231.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Śālaik-kalam-ārutta. Sabhā orders daṇḍakāṇam to be collected from Vikkiyaṇṇa alīs Vikrama-cōla-brahmādāryan.

202 of 1901; SII. vii 414.

Year 13—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Śālaik. Fifteen kaḷaṅju of gold, interest (2 1/2 kaḷaṅju) being payable to those who recited the Talavakāra Śāmaveda on the day of Mārgaḷi Tiruvūḍirai, each reciter being fed and paid 1 1/2 kaḷaṅju in gold. 70 of 1914.

Kammarasanḍra (Mya.)—Ś. 920. † Kanarese. Nojamba Ayyapa-dēva’s son Gannarasa was governing part of Daligavāḍi. 169 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 111.

* December 1st, A.D. 996-L.D.S. in ARE. 1918 App. E
† Date Ś. 92(3) in ARE, where ‘Hemalambi’, the corresponding cyclic year, is noted to be wrong. This is the earliest Cōla record in Mysore (Rice, Intr. p. 14). But see MAR. 1917 p. 42.

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Year 13.—Tirugōkaranam (Pd.)—Kāndāḷur-śālai. Money for payment of taxes. 310 of 1904.

Tirukkaḍaiyur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Purchase of some lands with money from the treasury of Tiruviraṭṭanamadaiya Paramavāmin, at the instance of the saḥhā of Paḷa-ōviya Kaḷavur, for Ulayaśāndiran Amudakān alias Kālakāla Māyilaṭṭi, a merchant residing in the village, who got it made rent-free by the assembly, with the stipulation that he should pay a fixed quantity of paddy to the temple every year for expenses of worship and of three lamps. 242 of 1925.

Tirumakkoṭṭai (Tj.)—Kāndāḷur-śālai. The assembly of Paḷaiya Śembiyan-mādēvi-catm. issued a new sale deed, in place of an old document lost, to a certain Parakāsari Viḷunparaṇiyan, the headman of Puravareḷiḷur, for certain lands which they had sold to him. Refers to about the fourth year of Mādikē-gelundarāḷina Rājakāsari-varman.*“Irūikāval” explained. 266 of 1917.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kāndāḷur-śālai. The supervisor of the temple of Tiruttikkāḷi-āḻvār, Mummaḷi-sōla Pōsan, finding that one of the directors (gaṟattar) of the village had received 25 pon, dharmakāṭṭalai-tulai-nilai, for a lamp founded by Śingapirāṭṭiyār, and that his marumagan had neglected to maintain it, now made a gift of 600 kuṭi of his land for continuing the charity. 208 of 1921.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kāndāḷur-śālai. Some ornaments made and handed to the saḥhā from 40 kāḷaṇju and 7 maṇīdī of gold accumulated from various sources in the treasury of the temple. Also a lamp and jewelled ornament by Mummaḷi-sōla Pōsar, the supervisor of the temple. (See 208 of 1921.) 210 of 1921.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kāndāḷur-śālai. 10 kāḷaṇju of gold with the saḥhā to Tikkāḷi-āḻvār by Irāyira

* Probably the king’s father Sundara Cōḷa-ARE. 1918 II 25.
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Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍi-śoja Pōsar of Araśūr for the Pavitṛārhaṇa festival. Rate of interest 3 maṇīḍi per kalāṇju per annum yielding 1½ kalāṇju.

216 of 1921.

Year 13.—Ukkal (NA.)—Śālai. Record by the Mahāsabhā of Vikramābharaṇa-catm. of a private endowment of 500 kuṭī of land for 4 nāli of tiruvamudu every day at noon for Tiruvāymoḷi-dēva of the place. The land was made tax-free after receipt of a lump payment by the sabhā.

20 of 1893; SII. iii. 2.


376 of 1922.

Araśaṇimangalam (Ch.)—Kāndalūr-śālai. Gift by a certain lady of a foot-rest, a seat (meṭtānqi), 90 sheep for a lamp, and utensils to god Tiruvāvī-bhaṭṭārakar at Araśaṇimangalam in Venkunta-kōṭṭam.

343 of 1923.

Kalakattūr (Ch.)—New introduction. Taṇḍāvevi etc. Mummuḍi-śoja Rājarājakēsari. Provision by Kāḷan Mayindan for two lamps in the temple of Uṛṇi-āḷvār at Kaḷakkāṭṭūr, a sālābbhūye at the instance of the king who desired a gift of only one lamp for the prosperity of all kings and of the world at large. Liquid measure nīṅgā-nāli. Land for one lamp and sheep for another.

121 of 1923.

Kuhūr (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for lamp to Ādityēvāra at Kūhrūr by a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mahādevip-pērāṅgāḍi outside Taṇjāvūr. Mentions Viṭṭēlivēgūttaṅkāci-catm.

279 of 1917.

Melpāḍi (C.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. The assembly of Tiruvallam get gold, tuḷai-nigai 15 kalāṇju, and assign 1000 kuṭī of land by Siṟgambalattuk-kōl to a person residing in Śankarappāḍi in Arumolo-dēvap-perunduru of this Rājuśrayapuram, who had to supply ¼ measure of ghī every day for a lamp. The gold was given by a well-known officer of Rājarāja and his son, Šōṇṭāṭṭ-
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tenkaraip-pāmbuṇik-kūṟṟattu Ariisūṟūlaiyān īrīyira-
van Pallavaraiyaniy alias Mummudi-sōla Pōsān.
87 of 1889; SII. iii. 19.

Year 14.—Mēḻpāli (C.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Boundary of dēvadāna
lands given tax-free to Cōḻendra-simhēsvāra from the
10th year, including those mentioned in No. 102 of
year 10 and day 107 of Parak. Rājēndra. Interesting
details of restrictions and privileges relating to irriga-
tion and crops, as in the Tamil part of the Tiruvālan-
gāḍu plates.
103 of 1921.

" Podavūr (Ch.)—New introduction †. 90 sheep for lamp.
67 of 1923.

" Suṟindram (Tv.) — (Vaṭṭeḻuttu). Kāṇḍalūr-sālaik-
kalam-ayutta Gāṇgāpāliyum Nuḻumalaiyum Tadiy-
gavaiyiyum Vēṅgaip-nāḷum-konja Kō. † Fixes dues
from the tenants (mun kīḷ-kāṟāṇumaiyaiy kuṟ-
gett) of Teu-Vaḷanallūr who held from Nṛpaśeḵhara
Vaḷanallūr, a dēvadāna of Rājarāja Vaḷanaiṭṭu-Nāṅji-
nāṭṭu-brahmadcyam Sujindirattu-emberumān.

" Tirunāṅgēsvaram (Tj.)—Sālai, Gāṇgāpāli etc. The
sabhā of Nallire-cēri sell land tax-free to Tirunāṅgē-
varum-uṭaiyamahādēva for 40 kāḷaiṇju endowed by
Ariṅgigippirāṭṭi alius Bāṇap-perunđēvi, the daughter
of Pillaiyar Arikulākāsiriyār. 81 of 1897.
SII. vi. 31; 82 of 1897, SII. vi. 32 is similar.

" Tirunāṅgēsvaram (Tj.)—Rājarāja Rājakēsari. Sale of 1½
vēli of land to temple by the assembly of Mādāna-
mangalam, a brahmadēya. Tirunāṅgēsvaram is called a
dēvadāna. The cost of the land, 101 kāḷaiṇju, 6 mā

† Later on, under Rājēndra, Uttamāsōla Pallavaraiyani. SII. ii. p. 222 n. 4.
† cf. 376 of 1922.
‡ Same form in 22 of 1906-Tirukkaḍaiyähr, year 14: 81 of 1897-Tirunāṅgē-
varam year 14; 23 of 1905-Tirukkaḍaiyähr year 15 which adds Kuḻamalai-nāḍu,
and others.
§ Here T.A.G. Rao accepts the naval victory of Kāṇḍalūr (p. 128).

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and 1 kāṇi, was the fund formerly deposited for offerings by princess Arinjigaip-pirattiyar. Mentions the processes involved in making tulai-pon. *

218 of 1911.

Year 14.—Tiruppaḷānum (Tj.)—Tirumagal-ṭīḷa. (No mention of Kalinga and Ḫam.) Kamban Maniyan alias Vikkiramaśinga-mūvēnda-vēḷān got a marakatua-dēva from the king, from the booty obtained in Mahāṭa, and conserved it in the temple at Tiruppaḷānum.
135 of 1928.

,, Tiruvyayinallīr (S.A.)—Tirumagaḷ-ṭīḷa. Provision for feeding a man who had to hale out water for the sacred bath and blow the conch at Tiruvāṟattarai-ăḻvār temple. 420 of 1921.

Year 14, day 258.—Mēḷpaḷi (C.) Kōnēr-yinmai-kōṇḍān. Land in several villages to Mahāśīva of the Coḷōndrasināṅṣvara temple constructed by the king in the city of Rājāśraya-puram, after cancelling the old name Mēḷpadī alias Viranāṟyanaṇapuram. † 101 of 1921.

Year 15.—Agaram (S.A.) — Tirumagul-ṭīḷa. Sale of land to Mahāśīṭā temple by a Kramavittan, one of the managing members (yāḻunguṇam) of Nippotongac-cayantāṅgi-catm. ‡ 369 of 1922.

,, Kāyār (Ch.)— Tirumagul-ṭīḷa. Sale of land by the assembly of Kāyār to a person for a lamp to god Āḍeri-ṭēva. 440 of 1922.

,, Kilaiṭīr (Tj.)—Sale of 7 mā of land tax-free to Śri-Kṟṟṇa temple by the big assembly of Tiruvāḷundūr for 15 kāsu got from Valikkōṭuṇai-gūṇa-śīlan (cf. 91 of year 17) who is also said to have set up the image of goddess in the temple. 93 of 1925.

* cf. preceding entry; also 215 of 1911 (Rējak. 9.)
† cf. 103 of 1921 (ante).
‡ This may have owed its existence to Kayirūr Perumēnūr of a Parantaka inscription (KE, v. p. 141) ARE, 23 II 28. The ṣīṭā is called Kayirūr Ayyanūr in 370 of 1922 of year 15 from same place.

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Year 15 *.— Mañimangalam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land to Tiruvāyappādi Śrī-Kaṇa Perumāl. The Mahāsabhā of Ulōka-mahādevi-catm. (Mañimangalam) met taṇṭirppandalī dharmi-seydu (?).

289 of 1897 ; SII. vi. 267.

Mēlapaḷuwūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land, one mā, reclaimed by Nakkan Kumarakkan, daughter of Dēvarmagal Nakkan Periya Arangapirūn, for offerings and worship on special days to the two gods in the temple of Avanikapāḷarpa Īśvaram. Mentions Adigal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṇavan.

363 of 1924.

Śermāṭēvi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu)—Tirumagal-pōla. Only the introduction is preserved.

182 of 1895 ; EI. v. p. 46.

† Sucindram (Tv.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu)—Tirumagal-pōla. The Mahāsabhā of Tiruccivindiram met in the āgrāsāḷā, being summoned by kāḷam and kuṛi (kāḷmūdiviccuk-kuṛi-sāṭti). The Mūlaparṣaṇa-sabhā managing the affairs of the temple under the Mahāsabhā said that they could no longer remit the iḍai on the dēvadānas of the temple or manage its affairs, and in this they were joined by their tenants (parasaika-kūṭigilār), and having thus resigned everything into the hands of the Mahāsabhā, they undertook to pay a fine of 15 kaḷaṇju if they revived their claims individually (taniccuttu-ḍaril) at any time, and 50 kaḷaṇju of sēydrāpon if the tenants (kūṭigal) did so, and not to set up any claims even after paying these fines. Thereupon, the Mahāsabhā ordered that two vāriyar of their choice and the Karṇappāṇ must together manage the affairs of the temple thereafter, and provided for the remuneration in paddy of each of them every day.


† Tiruvēṇkāṭu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold. Mentions treasures taken by Rājarāja from the Cēra king.

443 of 1918.

* Thursday 27th April, A. D. 999 Kielhorn, EI. v. p. 198.
† Tuesday 29th August A. D. 999, Kielhorn, EI. v. p. 48.

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Year 15.—Vydhācalam (SA.)—Gift of śri-muṣi, weight 9 kalāṉju, 9 maṅjūśi and 7 mā; inner silver cover 206½ kal., and 4 maṅjūśi; 3 maṅikkam, 36 vasīram and 1998 pearls assorted, by Śebimbian Mahādēvi. *

48 of 1918.

Year 16.—Brahmadēṣam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land for recitation of the Tiruppadiyam in the temple.

199 of 1915.

Hebbani (Mys.)—Kan. Navakhaṇḍa-maṇḍalamum Ṭḍaṅ śaṅṭigopuḷa. The king's general was Nojambādhi-rāja who gave Perbaṇḍa (Hebbani) to the plunderer of Kaḷiyanṭa (Kaluveṭṭi ?); and a farmer of the place repaired the big tank which had breached its bank.

EC. x. Mb. 208; 100 of 1899.

Kiliyar (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of a kāḷam by a native of Sōla-naḷu for convoking the assembly of Kiliyanṭa, a brahmādeva. Mentions also that the herald was entitled to get two meals (śōru) every day from the village.

156 of 1919.

Kilūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Provides for the supply of temple servants, two persons as paṇḍāris by sabhā of Tirukkōvalūr, and other servants by four other villages named.

231 of 1902; SII. vii. 858.

Kutṭālam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 360 kalāṉju of gold by Vira-naṭaṇ-kuṭṭaṭṭāḷi, a vaḷaṅgaśaṭṭikaṭṭāvana, residing at Kāvirinallūr, for midnight worship to Śonaṉāraṇivār. The amount was invested with Kōyil-maṭlam Σeyya-pūlam alias Tirutturuttic-pieccan, the rate of interest being one kāḷam per annum (on each kalāṉju). 106 of 1925.

Mamandūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 46 sheep for half a lamp by Namban Rāman to Rudravāḷīvaram Uḍaiya Mahādēva of Narasimha-mangala in Uṭta(ma ?) Cōḷēś-varapura within Tiruvēḥabam to the east of the Citramōgha-taṭāka.

39 of 1888; SII. iv. 137.

* 47 of 1918 of Parak. 12—same place.
† i.e., the world EC. x. Introduction p. xxiv.
Year 16.—Srīuvakām (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land for festival in the Mūlasthāna temple of Srīrupākkam. Mentions the eight members of the Manrāli-vāriyam to which was assigned the work of inspecting the produce of temple lands and conducting the festivals with the mēlvāram received from the tenants. 66 of 1923.

Srītriyam Tanḍalām (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land as srībali-paṭṭi for the festival of Veḷḷéri-āḻvār by the villagers (ūr) of Sander-Tanḍalām. 71 of 1923.

Tirumalai (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. (Copy in year 40 of Vīra Naraśinga Yādavarāya by Dēṣāntari Tiruprullāṇi-dāsā who rebuilt the temple). A puṭtam,—50 kālaṇi, 6 māṇikkam, 4 vāyiram and 28 muttu,—by Parānta-dēvi Ammanār, the daughter of Śrāmānār, and queen of (Ponmāligait-tuṇjinān), vīz., Dēvi Ammanār. * 61 of 1889; SII. iv. 293.

Tiruppugalār (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Tax-free grant of land by Nakkan Tillaiyālāyigār alias Paṅcavan Mahā-dēviyār, queen of Rājāraja, for festival and offerings on the day of Śadaiyām (king’s nativity and her own) every month. 47 of 1928.

Tiruppugambiyam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land for two perpetual lamps (nandāviḷakkukku) for the Paḷlijikkaṭṭil of the goddess by ivuṭṭa-vālaṇijiyaṛ. 71 of 1897; SII. vi. 20.

Tiruvāṭuturai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Some money which the sabbā of Śīrānaiccur owed to their Kaikkōlan Karṇāḷi-paṭṭālagan had become rājasvam and the king demanded its payment; unable to find the money, and unwilling to collect it from the people owing to fear of migration, the sabbā raised a loan from the temple to pay it off and agreed to make some temple lands iṟaiyili. Kāṭu equal to three-fourths kālaṇi and three maṇiṇdī. 105 of 1925.

* 189 of 1895 under Tiruviḍaiṭamarudur.
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Year 16.—Tiruvakkarai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Gift of a dēva-dāna village to stone temple of Śivalōka-uḍaiya-Paramasvāmin * built by Śembiyan Mahādēvīyar. Allotments for various requirements of the temple. 200 of 1904.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. The citizens of Vāṇapuraṇam, i.e., Tiruvallam, sold, tax-free, 700 kuḷi of land to Tiruvaiyan Śankara-deva who granted it to Tiruvaiya Iśvara, so called after his father. Tiruvaiyan seems to have claimed descent from the W. Ganga kings: Gōyuṇidhanma-Parama-Dhanma-mahārāja-Nipūṇilapura paramēśvara Śrīnātha Śrīmat-Siva-Mahārāja Tiruvaiyan-Śankaradeva.

11 of 1890; SII. iii. 51.

Tiruvirālmarudur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Sale of land by the sabhā of Brahmadēyam Mahēndra-mangalam. Mention of oppression and torture of people by paṭai-yilār, and an unsuccessful appeal to the king by them; also of Ponmāligait-tuṇjina-dēvar-dēvīyar-Śeramanar-Pirāntakan-dēvīyanmanar.† 159 of 1895; SII. v. 723.

Trichinopoly (Tri.)—Land to the shrine of Tiruccirappaḷḷi at Siṟṟambar in Uraiṭṟ-kūṟṟam. 412 of 1904.

Vijayanārayaṇam (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭelūtu). Tirumagal-pōḷa. The sabhā of Vijayanārayaṇa-catm., a brahma-dēva in Nāṭṭiruppokku, having assembled in the temple of Saṭṭakōpa - Viṇṇagara - perumāṇḍi in the village, exempted from taxes two pieces of land given to the temple by a Brahman. 2 of 1927.

Year 17.—Karuttaṭṭānguḷi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Sale of land by the Mahāsabha of Rājakēsari-catm. to Kundavai, the daughter of emperor Pirāntaka and elder sister of the king; she presented it for a lamp to Karundīṭṭāgudi-mahādēva. Mentions a general edict of the king ordering the sale of all lands in Brahman villages held

*Candramaulīvara. cf. 95 of 1892 year 10; 276 of 1903 year 2(4) ARE. 1904 paragraph 20.
† 61 of 1889 under Tirumalai.

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by lower castes except the ḫāṅī lands of workmen (paṇiśayakkal paṇiśeykāṇiṅiṇiya); and an order based on this from Adigārkal Vānava Mūvēndavēlēn regulating the manner in which the lands in this place were to be sold for cash and deputing an officer (Uḍaiyār paṇimakam) Sāttambiyār. Icāttambiyār tāṭā Mahāsabhiṅiṃ vīrγa - nīlavōliyāvaṇam. Attested by several people of the locality (in vīr). 46 of 1897; SII. v 1094.

Year 17.—Kīlaiyār (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla (in part), 180 sheep for lāmp and ghi in the month of Śittirai to the standing Kṛṣṇa in the Citramañṭata of the Tirukkaḷa-vudaiya-emberumān temple at Tiruvaḷlunur by a royal servant named Vāḷikkėṭuṇai-Guṇāsilai (cf. 93 of year 15) and his wife Aiyāḷi-puttaki. 91 of 1925.

Magkānam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Ārūraṇ Udayādīvā-karan Arumōli-mūvēndavēlēn of Araiśūr, while he was stationed at Paṭṭanam in Paṭṭana-ṇādu, enquired into some complaints relating to expenses in the Bhūmīś-vāra temple and fixed a fresh scale. States that the tiru-nāl of Rājāriya was Śadaiyām. 28 of 1919.

Sōmūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gold diadem, to Tirunōmbalur Paramēśvāra at Dēvaṇapaḷḷi, made out of fines collected from defaulting temple servants, by the survey officer (ulagalavīḷa) Tiruvaḷlīgai Śāttān who enquired into the expenses of the temple. 199 of 1917.


* No regnal year given in the text.
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Year 17.—Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Twenty kalāṇju gold, converted into land, for lamp, by queen Tennaivan Mahādevī.

123 of 1895; SII. v. 684.

"Tiruvadalai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pū‘ha. (Ilam but not Raṭṭapadi among conquests). Dedication of twelve families (pillinawan-kal) for conducting a festival of seven days, called Rājāraja-dīvar-tirunāl (satabhiṣaj) in the month of Āvaṇi. The families had to pay 3 kalāṇju per head out of their earnings from weaving or venturing on the sea, and to render assistance in celebrating the festival. Other duties and privileges are also mentioned. This was engraved under orders of: (i) Kāman Kumaran alus Sōja-Mūvendra-vēḷa-Mārāyan who was nāṭu-kāṇkāli; and (ii) Kāran Ādittan alus Dānu-Mūvenda-vēḷan Mārāyan who was nāṭu-vagai.

274 of 1910.

"Ukkal (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pū‘ha. The Mahāsabba including the (Dhanna)vāriya-perumakkal for the year, the Sattugayattūr of the locality (emmōr) and some others met in the temple of Mahākāstā to the north of the ambalam. Some gifts were made to the temple and these were left in the charge of the Sattugayattūr. A fine of one kalāṇju was to be laid on those who sold betel-leaves outside the Pīḍāri temple and the fine to be collected by the ēri-vāriya-perumakkal. The madhyastha made the record.

SII. iii. 6.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pū‘ha. Sheep for lamp, some being bought from the treasury of Subrahmanyadīvar of Uttaramērūr. Others were endowed by different people, one giving 11½ sheep for 1/8 lamp.

54 of 1898; SII. vi. 337.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pū‘ha. 96 sheep for lamp to the Paramasvāmi who was pleased to stand at the Kongaraiyar-sri-koyil of Uttaramērūr. The sheep were left with the sabhaiyār of Arasaṇi-mangalam.

173 of 1923.
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Year 18.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—(Valṭṭullu) Ṛājarājak. 25 sheep for a lamp to the temple of Tiruppottuḷaiya-devar. 98 of 1905.

Ärpākkam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gift by purchase of tank and land made tax-free (kāṭungulamum vilai koḷoṇu tiriṭu iṣṭaiyi[?i][cot]) for offerings to Tiruvirra-Vinṭāgar-ṭyār, in the name of Nambrāṭṭiyār Śembiyan Mukkōk-kilān-aḷigal alias Kannara-Nācici-Pīḷāṇ-ṅangai, by a certain Aragan Kōḍāṇḍarāṇan of Paṇīvaga-mangalam in the Cōḷa country. Liquid measure: sōṭiyam. 139 of 1923.

Brahmadēṣam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold for a lamp. The samvatsaravāriya of Rājamalla-catm. looking after grāmakārya had to see to its proper maintenance on pain of being fined for default by the Śraddhā-mantur. 192 of 1915.

Kūncipuram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 60 kāḷunju of gold by residents of Śiru-nanṟaiyur for four lamps in the name of the king to Aṉjuṉjaṉi Durgaiyur of Kūnci. 78 of 1921.

Kīḻaiyūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Provision made by assembly of Tiruvajunḍūr for supply of one kurwnt of ghī for offerings to Tirukkaḷavulaiya-emberumānneyamudusēyḍān on the day of Purnarpuşam every month with the interest on the sum of money received from Vaḷikkētuṇai-Gṇasālun. (91 of year 17). 95 of 1925.


Tillaisthānum (Tj.)—Sale of land by pati-pāḍu-māḷattar, pāṇcācīrvgal, śrīkoyiluḷaiyūr and dēva-kanmīgal for being endowed for offerings to the

* These are evidently in apposition. See the compound term below.
temple. The pati-pāda-mūla-pañcācārya-sīrokoyilūḍāi-yār and the dēvakarmis * declare this land free from the obligation to pay iṟai, ecorgu, vēṭi, uṟukkulai or anything else. 46 of 1895 ; SII. v. 603.

Year 18.—Tirunandikkarai (Tv.)—(Vatteluttu.) Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of Muṭṭam in Vaḷḷuva-nāḷ to Tirunandikkarai Mahādēva after changing its name to Mummuḷi-śoḷa-nallūr, for a festival and river bath to the god on Śadaiyam day, the king’s birthday. T.A.S. i. 291-2.

Tiruppurvambiyam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. (Mentions conquest of Iḷam.) Land for lamp. 333 of 1927.

Vṛddhācalam (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land by residents of Neṟkkuppai for the recitation of Tiruppadiyam in the local temple. 40 of 1918.

Year 19.—KōṭṭaiKarungulam (Tin.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 25 sheep for lamp to Rāśinga Iśvaraṭṭu Bhaṭṭara with an army officer paḷātiṭṭalaiyan (of the local garrison?) living in the place. 272 of 1928.†

Madras Museum—Tirumagal-pūla. Lamp. Mentions Tanṭiyālattūr in Sinattūr-nāḷu, a sub-division of Puliyūr-kōṭṭam, from Puliyūr near Kōṭlamkam to the west of the Mālāpūr tank. 290 of 1895 ; also 291.

Maṅkānum (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Salt-pan for lamp to Śrī-Bhūmīśvarattālyār at Rājarājapuṟuṟam in Maṅkānum, a dēvadāna in Paṭṭim-nāḷu, a sub-division of Oṃā-nāḷu, by the officer and workers (kuḍīgal) in the salt-pan. 23 of 1919.

Tirucceṅgattungulī (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land for feeding in the maṇḍapam of Śiruttaṇḍa Nambi devotees attending the festival of Śittiraiṭ-tiruvādirai of Śirāḷa-dēva. 57 of 1913.

* Had these any taxing or assigning powers?

† The Vatteluttu record of Śadaiya-Maṭṭam in this stone temple (270.) makes it more likely that a Paṇḍya Rējasimha was its builder than the Cēra feudatory of Rējāndra and possibly also of Rējāṭṭa. AKE, 1928 II. 5.
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Year 19.—Tiruccengaiyangudi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-polā. Land for tiruvilā to Śrīruttōnda-nambi, a devotee of Śrīla-dēva of Tiruccengaiyangudi, by two residents of Marugal. Mentions the revenue survey of the seventeenth year; also the phrase: mukudik-kugai-ullāfanga * re: land measurement. 59 of 1913.

" Tiruvañandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-polā. Thirty kaḷaṇju of gold by a merchant of Tiruvorriyur in Pulār-kōṭṭam to Varāhasvāmi temple. The residents of Taiyur agreed to pay interest in oil and paddy to the assembly of Tiruvañandai for a lamp and for feeding thirty-five Brahmans. 267 of 1910.


" Uttanūr (Mys.)—Tirumagal-polā. After 'Kalingamum' in the introduction, we have: "Kuḷamalai-nāḍum āṭkaṇal kuḷandāṅgaru Ni . . . niṟiramungoṇḍa tīrūḏigal vēngit-lawljärkoṇa tawmpējil" etc. Mentions Arumolideva-catam. in Pudal-nāḍu. 459 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 123.

Year 19, day 126.—Tiruvēṇkāḷu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-polā. String of rubies (māṇikka-nāḍu) by queen Kūṭtan Vira-nārayaniyār alias Coḷa-Mahādēviyār. 112 of 1896 ; SII. v. 975.

Year 20.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tirumagal-polā. Mentions an executive assembly (kūṭṭam) of 80 persons. 62 of 1914.

" Śēnūr (NA.)—A new introduction (beg. lost). Gift of land by Īr of Śeyanallār to the temples of Tiruvagat-iśvara and Tirumēṟalj-dēva, on account of the drummers who beat the drums during the śrībali

* This is common in the records of the period.

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ceremony; the gift was made at the instance of a local officer. 394 of 1911.

Year 19.—Śomūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A paṭlam from three kaḷaṇjū of gold collected as daṇḍam from the temple authorities. Mentions Rājādēvar Kaikkōḷap-pāḍai, Pirāntakat - terinjā - kaikkōḷ, Sundarāsōḷat - terinjā-kaikkōḷ, and Pāṇḍikulāsāni-terinjā-kaikkōḷ, and Iṇāḍū - vagai - keyyiṟa Kūlattūr - uḍaiyār. The offence thus punished was the failure to bring out the image of the goddess on the day of a solar eclipse. 67 of 1890; SII. iv. 391.

" Taṇimalingi (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to temple for offerings for 100 kāśu by tuḷai-ṇiyai-kempōṇāguraṇa-ṇiyai-kul. Mentions Periya-Kundavai-āḻvār-bhaṇḍāra and Ponnīla-āḻvar-bhaṇḍāra. 491 of 1911 *; EC. iii. Tn. 35.

Year 20.—Tirukkōḍhīyūr (Rd.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sheep for lamp by a cavalier of the king commanding the vattāṇa terinda-valangai-vēḷaiṅkārav. Tirukkōḍhīyūr is called a dēvaṅkāna in Kūrāṅsinga-vala-nāḍṆu, a sub-division of Rājarāja-vala-nāḍṆu. 320 of 1923.

" Tiruvāḻutuṟai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Agreement between Sadāśiva-bhaṭārars of the maṭha at Tiruvaṅkīṟu, as manager of the temple of Tiruvāḻutuṟai on the one part, and the assemblies of Śāttanūr (Tiraimūr-nāḍṆu) and SīrīṆaṅceṭ (Tiruvaṉḍūr-nāḍṆu) on the other, that the latter shall pay the taxes on the temple lands in their villages in lieu of the interest on loans due from them to the temple which they were unable to pay. 121 of 1925.

" Tiruvaḷḷam (NA)—Tirumagal-pōla. —Lamp by Nannamaniyar or Nannaman, son of Tukkaram of the Vaṇḍūr family ruling over Ṭengallūr-nāḍṆu, a district of MahārājaṆapţi. † 14 of 1890; SII. iii. 52.

* MAE. 1912 p. 38.
† Mahārājanapţi 7000 with Vaiḷḷura for its capital must have been in the Coddapah district, SII. iii. p. 106.

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Year 20.—Tiruvénkāṭu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Golden bowl (ponnin kapālam) by Nambirāṭṭiyār. Tiṭṭaipirāndera-mānār alias Sōla-mahādēviyār.

111 of 1896; SII. v. 974.

Year 21.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. An officer Parāntaka-sōla Mūvendavēḷān sent an order to the assembly of Nṛpatunga - śayantāngi - catm. that the property of those who ran away without paying the fines imposed on them was to be sold for any price it could fetch and the money credited to the tāḷum (treasury) at Kaccipēḍu and a receipt obtained. This was in turn communicated to the sabbhā of Tirunārāyyanac-cōri, a hamlet of the village, whereupon a certain Kīḷakkil Avanipabhaṭṭa was deprived of his bhāṭṭasavam land which was sold to the temple of Mahāsastā Kayirūr Ayyan in an ājūnakrāyam. 379 of 1922. *


8 of 1919.

Dādāpūram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions the construction of the three temples at Rājarājapuram (See No. 8 of 1919) by Pirāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār, and records that, on receipt of the royal writ, the officer Ārūran Aravaṇaiyān alias Parākrāmapāḷa Mūvendavēḷān of Panaiyūr ordered the temple treasury to be examined and the presents to be engraved on stone in the respective temples. 17 of 1919.

Ēmappērūr (SA.) — Tirumagal - pōla. Rājarājavarmān alias Rājarāja-dēva. 96 sheep for lamp. 517 of 1921.

* This record is treated as an instance of rent recovery in ARE, 1923 II 29.

† This confirms the identity of this person with Sundara Cōḷa II. The Jaina shrine exists no longer, though the others do. ARE, 1919 II 11.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 21.—Tirumalai (near Pōḷūr NA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. A verse recording construction of a sluice by Guṇavīra-māṁuni, * respected by kings and lord of the cool Vaigai-malai; the sluice caused paddy to grow on either side of the hill and was named after Venkiḷān Kaṇiccēkara-maru-porcūriyan. SII. i. 66.

Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Remission of taxes, after getting 15 kāśu, by the assembly of Kār-ōḷuc-cōri, a brahmādēya, on lands granted to the temple by the king and queen Paṅcavan-mahādēviyār for special worship every month on the Śadaiyam day. 54 of 1928.

Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Money, 12 kāśu equal to 96 kalam of paddy, yielding interest of 32 kalam at one tūṇi per kalam, for offerings to Tirunāvukkaraiya-dēva, installed by Agnikumāra-krama-vittan alias Porkgōyil Cauḍēvarayōgi of Kuṇḍūr, a hamlet of Vira-śīkānukac-cōri in Viranāyana-catm., an independent village (taniyūr) on the north bank in the Rāṇéndrasimha-vaḷa-nāḍu. 68 of 1928.


Tiruvaiyāṛu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Temple of Lōka-mahādēvīvara built by the queen of Rājarāja, Daṇṭisaktu-Viṭャ̄nki alias Lōka-mahādēvi. Sale of land by the authorities of the temple of Tiruvaiyāṛuḷaiyār to the Mahā-dēvakamis of the temple mentioned above, at 100 kāḷaṇju per vēli. Mentions vilaiyāva-ṇam and porulmēvāyūdi-porulcoṭhlōvālai. Formula of sale interesting. 219 of 1894; SII. v. 518.

Tiruvalaiṇḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa (in middle of record). While staying at Tiruvallam the king, who bore the surname Sivāpāda-śekhara-dēva, confirmed a

* Rangachari-i p. 80 notices three persons of this name.
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grant of land made in the twelfth year of Parakēsari and made a new grant also.

624 of 1902; SII. viii. 222.

Year 21.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to Rājarājēsvaram within the temple of Tikkāli-mahādōva for feeding Brahmans. Mentions the royal officer Araiśūraṇaiyǎn Irāyiravan Pallavan. 238 of 1921.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla, (but no Raṭṭapāḍi). A lamp, by a resident of Nārāyanac-chēri, to Veḷḷaimūrti-ālvār of Śri Veḷi-Viṣṇu-grha to be maintained by the Pēriṭamaiyār. The Śraddhāmanantas and the Śri-Vaiṣṇavas were themselves to punish defaults. 165 of 1923.

Year 22.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to Paramasvāmigal Kayirūr Ayyan by a managing member of the assembly. 381 of 1922.

" Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. (No mention of Raṭṭapāḍi). * Resolution passed by the big assembly of Nṛpatunga-sćendāṅgi-catm. met in the courtyard of Accutapriya-dēvar, setting apart a portion of land belonging to the Mahāśāstā for one perpetual lamp in the temple. 387 of 1922.

" Kāmarasavallī (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Tanks and ponds in the village and its vicinity for red lotuses in the month of Dhanus. By order of the sahā. 69 of 1914.

" Kōlār (Mys.)—A dēvadānā to Piḍāriyār (Kōḷāramma) :

"paṭṭan kaiyil tārai-attik-kuṭṭutturulīnā dēvadānām : 
Kuvalāla-nāṭṭu Arayirai sarvabādhāparihāra-
māgak-kuṭṭutturulīnār."

481 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 106 (b).

" Mēḻ-sēvār (SA.)—A member of the Janaṅūṭha-teriṇja-
valangai-vēḷaiikkārār set up the image of the goddess Umā-bhaṭṭāraki. 216 of 1904.

* Perhaps conquered at end of year 21 and beginning of year 22. 217 of 1894 mentions it. ARE. 1923 II 27.

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Year 22.—Puñjai (Tj.)—Tirunagal-pōla. Ten vēli of land by the king for a feeding house Arumoolidēvan and for daily havirbāli to Āḷjavallār in the temple, with the condition that taxes on half the portion were to be paid by the temple and the rest by the assembly of Talacengādu. Another tax-free gift of 5 vēli by the assembly for an annual festival in Śittirai and a remission of taxes on land given in the seventeenth year for havirbāli-arcanā. 186 of 1925.

" Tiruvaiyāṉu (Tj.)—Tirunagal-pōla. (Includes Raṭṭapaḍi). 96 Sheep for lamp Vīnayan Vambavai, the dēvi (queen) of Saḷakki Vīnayan, and daughter of Vaṉjayan-Pegrappai. 217 of 1894; SII. v. 316.

" Tiruvallum (N.A.)—Tirunagal-pōla. An increase of pāṇicavāra paddy that the assembly of Mandaram atiṭa Jayamēru-śīkaraṇa-mangalam agreed to pay to the dēvakummis of the temple. Mentions Irāyiravan Pallavan atiṭa Mumbumijisōja-pōsans, lord of Araisūr, and an officer of the Perundanam of Rājarāja-dēva, who raised the contribution from the village. 219 of 1921.

" Tiruviñīmilalai (Tj.)—Tirunagal-pōla (full). The assembly (mahāsabha) of Tirumajalai, a dēvadāna village of the god in Veṇ-nāṉu, made provision for the singing of Tiruppadiyam hymns twice a day in the temple. The assembly met in the tirumuggam of the temple (nammāḻvār kōḻil.) 423 of 1908.

" Tiruviñīmilalai (Tj.)—26 kāśu for lamp by Kaviyīyan Ēgan Śōndan of the locality. 449 of 1908. *

" Uṭtaranēṟṟ (Ch.)—Tirunagal-pōla. Gift of 96 sheep by a Brahman lady of Vāmanac-cēri for lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār, the Pēṟiṟumāyiṟṟ being responsible to the sādhā for its maintenance, and the semuvaṭsaravaṟṟiyam and the Śri-Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish default. 163 of 1923.

* Śen Tamīḻ iii. pp. 359-60, where T. A. Gopinatha Rao reaches the conclusion that Śōndan is identical with Tirumajilgal-dēvar of the Tiruvinaṭṭō]
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Year 23.—Ättür (Tin.) Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Kīranūr, to the following deities: Rājarāja Viṅṭaga Paḻli - kōndarulina - dēva, Durgā-bhagavati, Saptamārtkā, Kṣetrapāla and Gaṇapati set up in the temple of Sōmanātha-dēva alias Ten-tiruppūvaṇam-uṇḍaiyūr at Āṭṭūr-Sendamangalam. 415 of 1930.

" Dāḍāpurām (SA.) — Tirumagal-pōla. The dancing girls attached to the temples of Iravi-kulamāṇikka Iēvana and Kundavai Viṅṭagar should accompany the god in procession, and sing and dance during the hunting festival. 14 of 1919.

" Erumūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Five kudaiyu of gold by Araiyān Vicciādirān of Urumūr, a dēvadāna and brahmadēya, on receiving which the sabhā agreed themselves to pay the annual fee collected from the uvaccar and to have the śribali conducted properly. 385 of 1913.


" Maḻūṟpatṭu (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The assembly of Periya - maḻuvūr alias Rājendraśinga-catm. agree to give paddy to the temple every year, for offerings etc., from lands cultivated by themselves. 510 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 128.

" Śērmādevi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeḻuttu). Tirumagal-pōla. 25 cows for lamp. Śēravanmahādevi-catm. was in Mulīnnādu of Rājarāja-vaḷa-ṉāṇu. 713 of 1916.

" Tirumāḻpurām (NA.)—Gold by a native of the Pāṇḍya country. 342 of 1906.


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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 23.—Tiruppugalur (T.J.)—Nine gold flowers to Koppappurumal by Selvan-accan, one of the Satrubhayankaraterinda Velam of queen Panchavan-mahadeviyir.

62 of 1928.

"Uttaramerur (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pola. 96 sheep for lamp by Udayan Adittan of Tanjiruttam in Malainadu to Sri Veji-Vishnupattu Vejlamurti-aliyar; the Perilumaiyar of the place (invir) to conduct the charity, subject to punishment for default at the hands of the Sraddhamantus and the Sri Vaisnavas.

182 of 1923.

"Uttaramerur (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pola. 96 sheep for lamp by a merchant of Naluvilangadi, and 15 kaluvju of gold for a lamp to Tiruvaykkulam-udaiyir (Krsha), by a resident of Govinda-eeri. The viraganattar of the place were trustees (puvai) of the first gift. The gold was with the vaikhanaus of the temple. The Sraddhamantus had the power to punish default. All these arrangements were made by the sabha.

187 of 1923.

"Uttaramerur (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pola. 48 sheep for lamp to Vejlamurti-aliyar by a resident of Terkilangadi with the Kali-ganattar of the place (invir) as trustees (puvai). The Sraddhamantus and Sri Vaisnavas to punish default. The donor gave also a padiyukam.

189 of 1923.

Year 23, day 385—Tiruvanallur (SA.)—Tirumagal-pola. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple by Tamuljan Korrinangi of Sirudhamanallur, * the king’s agent, and trustee of the temple, who ordered the distribution of certain offerings among 21 temple servants; in year 27, Veljan Ariran of Pudukkudi, who belonged to the king’s perundaram, took objection to this distribution as it was against the sastras.

22 of 1922.

Year 24.—Jambai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pola. The sabha of Ner-kunram alias Vairamgha-catem. gave land in exchange

* 31 of 1922; year 26, day 306.

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for fields taken up by the bed of their new tank, made by Bāṇa Māraṇa Narasimharman. 84 of 1906.

Year 24.—Kālamastī (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. Gold for lamp to the shrine of Maṇikkengai-māḍōvar. ↑ 298 of 1904.

Karuttāṭānūṭi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. Arangan Kāri alias Sōlaviccādira Muttaraiyan of the Siṃudanam of Rājarāja and of the Siṅgajantukat-teriṇja-Kudirāic-cēvagar caused the death of Kāri-kulīr-vāgai of the Īlaiya-pañāi-irumudu-sōḷavīr in a contest (Śri-rāja-rājadēvar - karṇavillekkat - tōlam eydu ?), and compounded with his relatives (iwanukkuvaru mūgai kaṭāvār * * * oḍum tirunī) and endowed a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādeva.

48 of 1897; SII. v. 1411.

Mēlpāḍi (C.) — Tirumagal-pōlā. Sale of land, tax-free, for pavitrāḥaṣṭ festival to Mahādeva of the Candramaulīsvara temple, by residents of Mēlpāḍi alias Rājaśrayapuram in Tūy-nāḍu of Perumbāṇappāḍi, for thirty kālaṇju of gold received from Araśūraḷaiyān Iṟāyiravan Pallavaraiyan ↑ alias Mummuḷi-sōḷapōsaṇ of Śū-nāḍu.

96 of 1921.

Mēlpāḍi (C.) — Tirumagal-pōlā. Land, tax-free, by residents of Mēlpāḍi alias Rājaśraya-puram to god-Rājaśrayapura Viṭānkar.

99 of 1921.

Olagapuram (SA.)—Land by the nagarrattur of Ulagamāḍēvīpuraṇam for feeding 25 Brahmans in a śālai attached to the temple.

134 of 1916.

Śērmādevī (Tin.)—(Vatlēttuṭu). Tirumagal-pōlā. Gift of 75 cows for three lamps to Nigarili-sōḷa-viṇṇagarālvār in Śēravan-mahādevi-catm. by Divākaran Āsudēvan.

702 of 1916.

* 86 of 1906 of year 26.

↑ In ARE. 1904 II 31 this temple, Maṇikāṇṭhēvaram, is taken to be of the time of Kūlēttunga III. This inscription shows that the shrine itself is older than the present structure of the temple. ARE. 1905 II 11.

↑ Larger Leyden Grant; also 100 of Yr. 6 of Parak. Rājēndra; ARE. 1921 II 32.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 24.—Śevilippēri (Tin.) — (Vaṭṭeluttu). Tirumagal-pōla.
Lamp by a native of the Cōla country; endowment left in charge of those who, for the time being, were responsible for the daily worship being conducted properly.

419 of 1906.


322 of 1910.

Tirunāmanallūr (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gifts of gold ornaments made in the thirteenth and nineteenth years engraved now by order.

358 of 1902; SII. vii. 988.

Tiruṭṭhiuruttu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Assembly of of Tirutturutti received 20 kāśu from Kūttan Madhurāntakau, a member of the Tailakula-kāla-teriniya-parivāram, and agreed to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple.

78 of 1931.

Tiruppumambiyam (Tj.)—Agreement by residents of Śankarappati to burn a lamp in the temple on behalf of Rāman, a servant maid of Mēlai-vē śam called Madhurāntakat-terinda Vēḷam of the king.

340 of 1927.

Tiruvullalurai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Agreement by the assembly of Ilaccikudi alus Vikramaśinga-catm., a brahmādēya in Māṃṣi-nāḷu in Rājendrasimha Vajā-nāḷu, to pay taxes levied in the land-survey made by order of the king on the lands at Śāttanūr, (a brahmādēya in Tiraimūr-nāḷu), belonging to the temple of Tiruvāṭu-tūṇaiyudaiya Paramasvāmigal, in payment of the interest on money which they had received from the temple but could not pay back. 100 kuli—one mā. In continuation is another record of year 25 by which the ūr of Iļḷārī-kuḷi in Pērāvir-ṇāḷu give land for a lamp.

101 of 1925.

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Year 24.—Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gold ornaments and vessels presented to the temple—a long and detailed list. The Uttarakaiñāśa * shrine (stone) in the temple was founded by Dantiśakti Viṭānki and was called Lōkamahādeviśvara. 222 of 1894; SII. v. 521.

Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Ornaments and land to the same shrine founded by Dantiśakti Viṭānki.

155, 156 of 1918.

Tiruvāmāttur (SA.)—Gift by Tānuḷānkeṟṟangī of a silver vessel and plate for keeping sacred offerings.

24 of 1922.

Tiruveṅkāḷu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gold for Šengalūnīrtiru-vāśigai and gold flowers to Tiruveṅkāḷu-ṛvva by one of the Mūlapariśvāra and one of the Mūlapariśvāra-vīṭēru (servants) of the king.

454 of 1918. †

Tiruvśisalur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land for offerings. Refers to a revenue survey made at an earlier date.

44 of 1907.

Vyddāhoalum (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Residents (ārōm) of Maṇalur agree to supply annually four cloths in lieu of interest due from them to the temple—amuḍu paṇaippārkkku vāy-kältukku nālu puṭavai.

45 of 1918.

Year 24, day 124.—Parandur (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Mentions Citrakūṭam (king’s palace?) at Taijāvūr. General order relating to revenue; damaged, but same as the next.

73 of 1923.

Year 24, day 124.—Ukkal (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Oral order of the king seated in the college (kallirī) to the south of the Citrakūṭa at the Taijāvūr Periya-śeṇṭhu-vāyil (hippodrome gate). Procedure regarding the execution of such oral orders indicated by this inscription.

29 of 1893; SII. iii. 9; PK. pp. 114-5.

* This is the modern name of a small shrine in the Paṇcanadēvara temple. SII. ii p. 278 n. 7.

† No regnal year appears in the text.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 25.—Dāḍāpuram (S.A.)—Sheep for lamps to the temple of Kundavaï Vīṇṇaṅgaṛ-āḷvār by princess Parāntakan Kundavaip - pīrāṭṭiyār. Sēnāpati Mummuṇḍi Śōḷa Brahma-mahārāyaṇ in charge of the management of the temple. 10 of 1918.

"Dāḍāpuram (S.A.) — Tiruṇaṭṭaḷ-pōḷa. Sheep left with thirty shepherds for ten lamps to the Iravikulamāṇikka temple, by Kundavaï who built the temple. 18 of 1919.

"Māmallaṇpuram (Ch.)—Tiruṇaṭṭaḷ-pōḷa. A vyavasthā relating to division of land and some privileges among the Nagaram and the Pēṟiḷaṅaṅaiyār while Pudukkuṇṭhīyan Īkadhīrām Aiyambedinnāḷ was settling (vagai-ṣeygin) the Āmūr-kōṭṭam was present in the nandavanam (flower - garden) to the south of the Jalāsayaṇa-dēva temple of Nagaram Māmallaṇpuram. SII. i. 40.

"Pattukkaṇāmpattī (Tj.)—Land to Mahādēva temple at Nolvūy. Mentions Pāṇcavan Brahmadhirāyan ruling Tagaiḷār-nāḷu granted to him as jīvitaṅg by the king. He was an officer of the Perundaram, and his father was a native of Ariyūr and called Erumaiya-nālgā-muṇḍan. 254 of 1909.


"Tiruvulaṅji (Tj.)—Land to Kṣētrapāla-dēva set up by Nambirāṭṭiyār-ūḷōga - māḍevari and to Ganaṇaṭṭi. Mentions land-survey commencing in the sixteenth year. 624-A of 1902; SII. viii. 223.

"Tiruvulaṅji (Tj.) — Tiruṇaṭṭaḷ-pōḷa. Ornament by Rājarāja’s queen Dantisakti Viṭṭanki alias Lōkamahādēvi, his daughter Kundavai, the queen of Vimalāditya, and his middle daughter Māḍevari, to the shrine of Kṣētrapāla-dēva which had been built by the king. 633 of 1902; SII. viii. 234.
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Year 25.—_Tiruvallam (NA.)_—_Tirumagal-pōla._ A _paṭṭam_ of eleven _kāluijju_ by Dharmakkaṭṭañai-tulai-nirai for _Tikkali-Aṇṭār_ by judges (niyāyattār) of the village. 221 of 1921.

_“_ _Tiruvāmāṭṭür_ (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla._ Tāmūḷān Korra-nangi enquired into the temple affairs and arranged that the drummers engaged in the temple should, in return for some paddy, take out the god Candraśekhara-perumāḷ in procession thrice daily for _sṛībali._ The drummers got the share of the paddy till then given to the Pāḷjis for measuring the paddy due to the temple from the villagers, (kāḷ-aijavu-kūḷi).

16 of 1922.

_“_ _Tiruvekāḍu_ (Tj.)—Thirty _kāśu_ for lamp by queen Vānavaṇa-Mahādēviyār alias Tribhuvana-mādēviyār. 442 of 1918.

_“_ _Vṛddhācalam_ (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōlu._ Money for reading . . . in the temple. 50 of 1918.

Year 25, day 154.—_Uttaramēṛr_ (Ch.)—_Tirumagal-pōla._ Two thousand _kuḷi_ of land by the Mahāsabhā for Tiruccen-naṭṭai to the god in the _Śri-Puruṣottama._ 177 of 1923.

Year 25, day 310.—_Tanjore—_Tirumagal-pōla._ Gifts to Umā-Paramēśvari by the elder sister of Śri-Bājarāja-dēva, the Mahādēvi of Vallavaraiyar Vandyā-dēvar. _S.II._ ii. 2.

Year 26.—_Gangaiṅkoṭān_ (Tin.)—_Tirumagal-pōla._ Land, by purchase from the sabhā, for offerings to Śri-Kailāyatatu Kṛṣṭrapālu in Śri Vallabha-mangalam, a _brahmadēya_ on the south bank of the Tan-purundam. 160 of 1895; _S.II._ v. 724.

RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Nanda-giri-nātha Parama-purva-paramāśvara Veto-
ciñhālāmkiṣṭa uṣṇabha-lāñchana.

86 of 1906*; EJ. xi. p. 239 n. 4.

Year 26.—Kanṭhāmangalam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land made into an agrahārī called after Tribhuvana-mahādevī to the temples of Jayantāngi-Viṣṇugar-Paramasvāmi and Śrī-Kailāśam. 354 of 1917.

† Kōnērījāpuram (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Land by Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār to two persons at Pāngudi for singing Tiruppūdiyam in the temple of Tirunallam-udaiyār. 624 of 1909.

Kūhūr (Tj.)—Money for lamp to Ādityēsvaram-Uḍaiyār temple at Kūhūr. 276 of 1917.

Śevitippēri (Tīn.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of land by the Mahāśabha of Śrīvallabha-mangalam, a brūmādēya in Kāḷa-kūṛrām, a sub-division of the Rājarāja-manḍā-
lam. 422 of 1906.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 96 sheep for lamp. Takkōlam is called Kṣatriya-sikhāmaṇī-purām, a taniyār in Maṇiyāg-kōṭṭam in the Jayangopāla-sōla-
manḍālam. 259 of 1921.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 48 sheep for half a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār by a lady of Panmaic-
cōrī; the residents of Panmaic-cōrī were themselves the trustees (puṇāi) and the Śrudhāṁantas and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas had the power to punish defaults. 186 of 1923.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. 96 sheep for a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār in charge (puṇāi) of the residents of Panmaic-cōrī, the Śrudhāṁantas and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish defaults. The donor is described as: Ivvūr-āḷuṇaṇānattārūl Śrī-gōvindacērī Kōṭṭic-cunna-Kumāra Kramavittan Brūhmaṇi Nangai-mādic-cōnī. 190 of 1923.

* cf. 84 of 1906 of Year 24.

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Year 26, day 20.—Tanjore.—Begins: "Etad-visva-nirpa-brati-mouli-malayalaitam-Sasanum-Rajurajasya-Raja-kisari-varmanah." Tirumagal-pola. The king, seated for making dânas, in the Kilattiru-manjana-sulai of Irumadi-soja within the Tanjivuar Koyil (palace), ordered that there be engraved on stone all the gifts from himself, his elder sister, and his wives (nam-pey-dugal) and other gifts to Sri-Rajurajeshwaram-Udaiyur of the sacred stone temple built by him (nam etapiccu-tirukkalgarali) in the Tanjivurar-kurram of the Pandiyakulasani Vaia-nuul. 105 numbered paragraphs follow. SII. ii. 1.

Year 26, day 206.—Tiruvamallur (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pola. Tumulun Korinangai of Sivahama-nallur, the king's agent and trustee of the temple, called together the sabhâ and the ur of the village, and enquired into the affairs of the temple, and finding the existence of a certain surplus of paddy due to measurement by the vidivitanka-marakkâl instead of by the rajakâsari, he ordered this surplus to be utilised for the daily supply of akkara-alti by name Jayangundâ-suljan to god. Mentions other gifts for lamps; also sâlabhoga. 10 sheep for one kaalânu.

21 of 1922.

Year 27.—Brahmadesam (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pola. Ten kaalânus of gold for which were got 90 sheep (for a lamp) left in charge of the gaumpperumakkal who looked after the srikâram for the year. 204 of 1915.

"Emappirur (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pola. Sale by residents (Urâm) of Nalaur of lands made tax-free to the trustees of the temple of Tiruvâlandurâi-Udaiyâ Paramasvâmin of Emappirur for offerings thrice a day. 513 of 1921.

"Kâlahasti (N.A.)—Verse Etad-visva followed by Tirumagal-pola. Seems to enforce payment by the upâsakas of arrears of interest on some endowments. 299 of 1904.
Year 27.—Ś. 933.—Sadharana.—Kallahāṭī (Mys.)—Death in a
dfight of Jobayya, son of Bailora Nolambasēti who
received Kolatār Kal-nāl from Nanniyabhūpa,
"Samadhigatapāṇeṣamahāśabda Pulavāṇavaya Śrī
Pṛthivivallabha Pulavakuḷu-tīlaṅkavākyam Kāṇe-
puranavēvara Śrīman Nōlabādhirāja Cōrayyam
vāyāle." EC. x. Ct. 118.

Kīṭur (S.A.)—A new introduction. Conquest of Udagai
in the campaign against Malai-nādu.
236 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 863.

Mōlappaluvār (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. At the request
of his queen Nakkan Pāṅeṣavam-mālāvi, the daughter
of Avani-kandarpā-purattu-dēvanār of Paḻuvūr, the
king provided for offerings and worship in the temple
by granting an additional income of 900 kalam of
paddy due on some lands which were surveyed and
assessed, the āṇḍāna lands of Uranguḷi being
excepted. 383 of 1924.

Śekāndēvi (Tiu.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Lamp to Cōḷendra-
simhaśāvara.
192 of 1895 ; SII. v. 756.

Śekāndēvi (Tri.)—The Aga-nāḷigai Śivabrāhmaṇas of the
Cōḷendrasinga-śāvara agreed, on receiving twelve old
kāśu, to burn a perpetual lamp to Kailāsattāḷyār.
629 of 1916.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Money for lamp by Īḷangōn Picci,
the senior queen (mūṭṭa-dēviyār) of Śōḷapperumāṇ and
the daughter of Vallavaiyar.
14 of 1920.

Tiruppugalār (Tj.)—Undertaking by the Śivabrāhmaṇas
at Pugalār to burn a lamp to Kōṇapperumāḷ for money
received by them from a Brahman lady named
Gaṅpati Ponnāḷvi alias Śōlay. 69 of 1928.

Tiruvāṇḍandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land for
offerings in the Varāha-ēva temple by the residents of
Taliyār alias Rājakēsari-nallār.
272 of 1910.*

* Text does not give the details given here.
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Year 27.—

Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Provision for Śadaiyattirimāl in Aippigai and for festival during the six days preceding. 115 of 1896; SII. v. 979.

Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Twenty-two pon for lamp to Nāṅgūr Tiruvenkāḍa-ḍēva by Vēḷān Sundara-sōḷan, the son of Koḻumbāḷūr Vēḷān Śīriya Vēḷān who fell in Īḷam in the 3rd year of Uḷaiyār Pon-māḷigaiyir-tuṇjina-ḍēva. * 116 of 1896; SII. v. 980.

Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Setting up of a copper image of the goddess to Rābha-vāhana-ḍēva by persons of the Rājārāja-jananaṭha-ṭerini-ja-parivāra. 457 of 1918.

Tiruvenkumbār (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla, omitting mun-nirp-paṭandivu-pannirāgyirum. 100-A of 1892; SII. iv. 548.

Tiruvenkumbār (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land for two lamps. Mention seems to be made of a general tour of inspection by the king (dēvargal) in the course of which Kāḷi Ādittan audited the accounts of the temple. 109 of 1914.

Uḷaiyārqpḍi (SĀ.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Assembly of Viranārayana-catm. met in the hall Rājārajan, and under orders of the great assembly, decided that a ¼th share of all lands and tanks in the hamlet should belong to the Tiruvanantivara temple. 615 of 1920.

Uyyakkonḍān-Tirunalai (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 90 sheep for lamp to Karkuḷi-vilumiyär in Rājāraya-catm., in Pāṇḍi-kūḷasāni-vala-nāḍu. † The donor was queen Nakkan Arumoli alias Piridi-māḍoviyar. 455 of 1908.

* See MV. Ch. 54 vv. 12 ff. Mahinda IV. A.D. 954-70. Yr. may be (0) not (3).

† Before and after this year, the village was in Keraḷṣṭaka Vala-nāḍu, ARE. 1909 II. 42.

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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 28.—ś. 934.—Balmuri (Mys.)—(Canarese.) King called also Kali Rājarāja. Conquests mentioned: Gangavāḍi, Malēṇāḍ, Noḻamba, Āndhra, Kongu, Kalinga and Pāṇḍya, all becoming Cōḷa-nāḍ. Lamp by general Paṅcavan Mārāya, the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of Bengi and Ganga Maṇḍalas. He is called Mummudil-Cōḷana-gandhavāraṇam and is said to have seized the Taḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, held Malēya, pushed aside the Cēra, Telūṅga and Raṭṭiga.

5 of 1895; EC. iii. Sr. 140.

Year 28.—Jambai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. “A merchant of Jambai had a concubine whom a native of Nāvalūr (now Tirunāmanallūr) attempted to outrage at night. The latter was stabbed by the merchant. The merchant could not be prosecuted. He combined with a relative of the deceased and gave gold for a lamp to burn in the Tāṉṟōṅri-āḻvār temple at Jambai.”

77 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II. 42.


Sevilippēri (Tin.)—(Vatṭeluttu). Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions Nēccura-nāḷu in Rājarāja- maṇḍalam. The village Ten-tirumūḷiruṇṉōḷai was situated on the north bank of the river Taṇṇporandum. 411 of 1906.

Taḷimalingi (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Grant of land to temple in lieu of 100 kaḷaṇṭu of gold (by kemuṇagāraśa-nirai-kal) taken out of the temple treasury by the gāmiṇḍas of Māyilangai of Idāi-nāḍ. 491 of 1911; EC'. iii. Tn. 35.

Tirukkalittalai (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Vēmban Śrūḍaiyār alius Mhavan Mahāḍēviyār, queen of Rājarāja-dēva. 301 of 1908.

Tirunalavāḷi (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The king ordered that the central shrine of the temple should be rebuilt, and that certain original inscriptions in the
Year 28.—Tiruttani (N.A.)—Tirumagal-polā. Sale of land tax-free by the assembly of Jananātha-catm. to a private person for feeding pilgrims going to and returning from Śri Vāṅgādam. 430 of 1905.

Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-polā. Lamp by the mother of queen Villavan Mahādeviyār, named Nakkan Ulōga-cintāmaṇi-yār. 117 of 1896; SII. v. 981; also 447 of 1918 (same).

Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-polā. Gold for offerings to Āḍa-vāḷḷār in the temple of Tiruvenkāḍuṇḍai-yār by Kuttan Vīrāṇi-yār, a queen of the king. 449 of 1918.

Year 28, day 141.—Tirumukkūḍal (N.A.) Tirumagal-polā. The great assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. including the young and the old met together in the Śembiyan-mahādevi-perumandapam built by the king and agreed to pay the ārīyaḥ, and uḷavīgaḥ on certain temple lands from the interest on 100 kaḷāṇjū of gold which they had received from the temple treasury. One of the signatories was the accountant of the samuatsara-vāriyam. 178 of 1915.

Year 29.—Ādanūr (Tin.)—(Vaiṭṭuluṭṭu).—25 sheep for 2 lamps. 433 of 1909.


Maṭurpaṭha (Mys.)—The mercantile community provide for offerings in the temple by voluntary contributions. 508 of 1911.

* cf. 91 of year 14 of Rājendra.
† Evidently for the meetings of the assembly -ARE. 1916 II. 10.
‡ 171, same day, lays down the details of expenses to be met from this land.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 29.—Maḻūṟpaṭha (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Meeting of the assembly of Periya-māluvar alias Rājendra-singam at the temple and gift of a dēvadāna on the day of consecration. 510 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 128.


513 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 132.

Mēḷpāḷi (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Construction of the Cōḻēvarai alias Ariyēgarai-Īsvara temple by Rājarāja and gift to it. 83 of 1899; SII. iii. 15.

Mēḷpāḷi (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gift of a dēvadāna to Ariyēgarai Īsara Mahādēva by the Nagarattar of Pulikkunram: “Nir-nilamum kollaiyum kāḷum utpaṭa-(vunūṁ-lamō)jivini īppulikkunratu nil(lam) eppirpaṭṭadum ittēvaṭkku vēṅḍu nivandanagalukku-tēvadāna iraiyilī-yāga.” etc.

84 of 1889; SII. iii. 16

Mēḷpāḷi (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gift by a cultivator of 96 sheep for the supply of 1/2 Rajakesari measure of ghi every day for lamp to: “Āṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ久しぶり。” * 86 of 1889; SII. iii. 17.

Rajakkal (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 600 kuli of land by residents of Eḻādaḻēl for offerings in three services to god Agastāśvara. Measuring rod kaṟṟigaiyaiṭṭuk-kōl.

172 of 1921. †

Senkunṟam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Twenty pon by a Brahman to merchants of Jayangonpāḷa-śoḷapuraṇam

* A temple on the burial place (pallippadai) of Kaṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ.PropertyType (Van-kayya) ARE, 1907 II 30.
† ‘Written in beautiful florid characters’ - Hultsch.
‡ No. 173 in continuation of this mentions Śiṉṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ瑀.”

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(in Anda-naḍu, Perumbāṇappāḍi) for purchase of 180 sheep for a lamp at 9 sheep per kāṣu. Liquid measure jayangouḍa-śōgaraiyan. 149 of 1921.

Year 29.—Śevilippēri (Tin.)—Lamp by a merchant of Karavanda-puram in Kaḷakkuḍi-naḍu. 418 of 1906.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pēla. List of villages that had to supply accountants, māṇis and treasurers in accordance with the royal order and rates of remuneration for the servants of the temple. 57 of 1893; SII. ii. 69.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pēla. List of villages in the Cōḷa country which had to supply watchmen in accordance with the king’s command. 58 of 1893; SII. ii. 70.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pēla. List of persons to whom cattle had been assigned for the supply of ghi at the rate of ¼ measure by Ājavallānu every day for each lamp which meant 96 sheep or 48 cows or 16 buffaloes. 20 of 1897; SII. ii. 63.

" Tanjore.—This is a continuation of the preceding inscription. It gives the information: 1 kāṣu was equal to three sheep. (paras. 18 and 21) 21 of 1897; SII. ii. 64.

" Tanjore.—List of metal pinnacles (stūpi-kudam) for the different shrines in the temple with names of donors and description including weight. A gift of year 3 of Rājendra is mentioned. 24 of 1897; SII. ii. 90.

" Tanjore.—Catalogue of jewels. 25 of 1897; SII. ii. 32 (ll. 1-54); v. 1383-1401.

" Tanjore.—An image of Durgā by a native of Nallār alias Paicavan-mahādēvi-catm. and gifts of jewels to it described in detail. 26 of 1897; SII. ii. 79.

" Tanjore.—An image of Śrīkaṇṭha and jewels for it by queen Pṛthivi-mahādēviyār, detailed description. 27 of 1897; SII. ii. 80.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 29.—Tanjore.—An image of Kālāpiḍārī given by the son of a Perundanam of the king, described.

28 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 81.

Tanjore.—Seven copper images of Gaṇapati set up by the king, described.

30 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 84.

Tanjore.—Ornaments to Parivārālayattu Gaṇapati by king Rājarāja.

32 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 86.

Tanjore.—Ornaments to Parivārālayattu Gaṇapati by a puṇimaṇgan of the king.

33 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 88.

Tanjore.—A vessel to same by Rājarāja-dēvar puṇimaṇgan purava-varitnaikakkulattu varippottagā nāyakan (master of rent-roll in the department, tīnakkalam, of taxes from endowments-Hultsch) Pāṇḍyakulāśani-
Valanāṭṭu Purkiliyuruṇṭuk-kāmadamangalam-عالمian Kānjan Koṇḍaiyan.

34 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 88.

Tanjore.—Ornaments to Gaṇapati.

35 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 89.

Tanjore.—Silver vessels by king Rājarāja from his own treasures, and the booty of silver vessels captured in the campaigns in Malai-nāḍu against the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya.

36 of 1897 * ; SII. ii. 91.

Tanjore.—King’s grants to the temple including five villages in Ceylon † (continuation of SII. ii. 4)

37 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 92.

Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pōlā. Ornaments by the king out of the Cēra and Pāṇḍya treasures and his own.

38 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 93.

Tiruvaṇandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōlā. Fifteen kaḷaṇju of gold by a merchant of Koṇḍungōḷur in Malai-nāḍu

* It looks as if the king had more gold and precious stones at his disposal, than silver. Hultsch.

† Rājarāja’s foreign conquests were not mere inroads. Note omission of details of measurement unlike in villages in the Cōla country, and removal of previous holders in some cases. Money revenue more common outside the Cōla country than in it. Hultsch.
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for feeding 30 Brahmans in the Ālvār temple at Tiruvaḍandai from interest (paddy) given by the resident (ūr) of Taiyūr in Kumilī-nāḍu of the Āmūr-kōṭṭam to the sābbā of Tiruvaḍandai. The loan is called vāḍākkāḍān.

Year 29.—Tiruvaiyār (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Silver vessels by Viṣṇu-Vardhana-Mahārāja alias Vimalāditya-dēva, the king’s son-in-law, to Lōkamahādēvi-Iēvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēva. 215 of 1894; SII. v. 514.

Tiruviśalūr (Tj.)—Village called Vēmbārrūr alias Śōla-mārtanda-catm. in Mānī-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājendrasimha-vaja-nāḍu. Mentions the performance of tulābhāra by the king, and of hiranyaagarbha by his queen Dantisakti-viṭāṅkiyār alias Lōkamahādēviyār in the temple of Tiruviśalūr. 42 of 1907. *

Ukkal (NA.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Endowment of a well called Rājarāja, and of a toṭṭi by a servant of the king. 22 of 1893; SII. iii. 4.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 90 sheep by a lady of Trivikramac-ēri for a lamp to Vēḷajimūrti Ālvār of Śṛ Vēḷi Viṣṇugṛha. 178 of 1923.

Uyyakkonḍān · Tirumalai (Tri.) — Gold ornament (paṭṭam) called Jayangonda-sōlan. 468 of 1908.

Year 31.—Kanyākumāri (Tri.)—Bejūs . . . . perumbugat Kēvi-rājakēsari. The dēvakannis of Rājarāja-Iēvaram-uḍaiyār of Kumariṅkālīkkuḍi sell some land to the Nāṛpattanīyiravar for the establishment of a tāppirppandal named Jayangonda-sōlan,† the erection of a Kāvaṇam and the plantation of useful trees in the area which may be enclosed (sūtrumadāittu) for the purpose. TAS. i. 168-9.

* Inscription below a sculpture representing the king and queen in a worshipping attitude - K.V.S. Aiyar; EJ. xlii. p. 121, n. 2.

† T.A.G. Rao took this to be a surname of Rājēdhirāja, and assigned the record to Rājarāja II who was a Parakāṣari. 252 of 1915 (Brahmadeśam NA). is another record with year 31 which may be of this king.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Ś. 9(2)Ś.—Kāṅkāpuram. (Ch.) — (Sanskrit) Records genealogy of E. Cāḷukyas up to Dāmarava; and several titles of Cōḷa Bhīma whom Rājarāja conquered.


Ś. 929 (Prabhava). †—Kalēyūr (Mys.)—Tēyakulatīlaka Malepukalā Koṭtamandala - nātha Apramēya was a pillar of victory. He defeated the Hoysala minister Nāgaṇa; slew in battle at Kalavūr the Hoysala leaders Maṅjaga, Kāliga (or Kāḻi-ganga), Nāgavaḍa and others, winning by his valour in the plain of Kalavūr a name to endure for ever.

353 of 1901; EC. iii. i. Tn. 44.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Bannūr (Mys.)—(Kanarase) Tirumagal-pōla. Grant to temple at Muttatti. Kūṭamalai-nāḍu is here clearly Koḷaga-malē-nāḍum (Coorg hill country).

EC. iii. Tn. 122.

Brahmadēsam (Tin.)—(Vatṉeḻuttu.) Sale of land.

381 of 1916.

Kāṉeṟippākkam (N.A.) Mentions the Cōḷa feudatory Parāntakap - palla vaṭaiyan of Umbaḷa - nāḍu; also Janaṇātha-lēva and Mūmμuḷi-Cōḷa 414 of 1905.

Kōvalūr (N.A.)—Sale of land by the assembly of Kōvalūr.

438 of 1922.

Kūhūr (Tī.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land by Vaiyirukēṭeran alias Śōḷaviccādira-Pallavaṭaiyan, headman of Kūrūr, for offerings to a shrine constructed by him.

304 of 1917.

Kuttālam (Tin.)—Tirumagal - pōla. States that when the temple had become dilapidated it was repaired and

* No. 238 records the presentation of ornaments to the temple, and the construction of a tank, Cōḷa samudrām, and a temple. Mentions the Ganga family, a Pōḷi-rēja, Cōḷa Bhīma Vaidumbha.

† Date irregular. Kielhorn considers this of no value for historical purposes. EI. iv. 67, ARE, gives Ś. 9(28).
THE COLAS

the old inscription which was in vattam characters was re-engraved in Tamil on the new stone wall. Sañ̄aiyan is prefixed to the name of the king. Records a gift of land by residents of the village of Viṅṇandai alias Vikrama-Pãṇḍya-nallur in Kotu-nâlu, a sub-division of Iḷa-mañḍalam, for a lamp to Tirukkuttâlattu-bhaṭṭârakar. 454 of 1917.

Kuttâlam (Tin.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions the re-engraving in Tamil of old Vattâluttu records. 455 of 1917.

Māḷambi (Cg.) — The king heard of Manija's heroism in the battle of Paṇasagē and sent word to Paṇeavam-Mārīya to bind on him a paṭṭa (inscribed with the title) Kṣatriya-sīkhāmaṇi Kongalva* and give him Mālavvi. Witnesses: Gōvinda Rācamma's family. 633 of 1912; EC. i. 46.


Nāraṇavavanam (C.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Rājarāja-kēśarivarman — Vikkiyānṇān Pugalvippavargandam† of the (Ca)lukki family and two other chiefs of the Vatṭiya-nālu gave certain privileges to the Vellilās of that district in (Kunḍa)-vattanak-kōṭṭam. 375 of 1911.

Pallikonda (NA.) — Provision by the assembly for a festival to Bhaṭāriyār in the village by levying the water-tax due from certain specified residents of the village. Near by is another record of about the same time,—an undertaking by the assembly to maintain offerings to and worship of the Bhaṭāriyār from an endowment by Gōvinda Kāṭaka Sarvakratuyājyār of Kālamūr, a member of the gaṇa. 477 of 1915.

* This occurred in 1004 A.D. and was the origin of the Kongalva line—EC. i. pp. 16-7. See also year 28-No. 5 of 1895; and Rice — Myers and Coorg, pp. 144 ff.

† A title of the Ilūdas, like whom, the Ĉalukki were perhaps a local family subject to the Cōḷas. ARE. 1912 II. 21.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Talacangādo (Tj.)—Gift, of 100 kāśu to be raised in the manner specified, by the assembly of the place for feeding, in the name of Rājarāja, ten Brahmans in the temple Tirucitrakūṭatru-ālvār and for havirbali to the deity. 198 of 1925.

Tanjore.—Mentions one of the pañcudāhamūrtis of copper placed in the temple of Rājarājēśvarum Udāiyār by the king till his 29th year. 275 of 1911.

Tennēri (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Regulation of dues on areca gardens. 200 of 1901; SII. vii. 412.

Tiruccattuippai (Tj.)—In praise of a Cōla feudatory. Mentions victories in Puna-nāṉu and Malai-nāṉu, defeat of Valudi, destruction of Vilṉam and of Karkaḷaimāṇagaru, as well as defeat of Telunga Bhima. 204 of 1931.

Tirukkaḷittattai (Tj.)—Rajakesari. Silver pot to the temple of Śrī-kuḻittai-mahādēva at Vēmbagār by Śembiyan-mahādēvip-pirāṭtiyār who gave birth to Uttama Cōla-dēva. 297 of 1908.

Tirumaiyam (Pd.)—Mentions Perumbilugu Perundēvi, the mother of Vēlviḻingu-Viluppūrādi-Kāraṇa alias Śattan Māran. 403 of 1906.

Tiruvallam (NA.) — Tirumagal-pūla. 96 sheep by Śōḷa-mahādēviyār, daughter of Tiṟṟaipirān and queen of Rājarāja-dēva, for a lamp in the Brahmiśvara shrine in the temple of Tiruttukkāli-ālvār; also gold for a chaurni and offerings. 223 of 1921.

Tiruvāmāltēr (NA.) — Tirumagal - pūla. A certain Gunaśekharan of Vēsālippaḍi made a jewelled gold vessel for the sacred bath of the deity and a pair of bracelets set with precious stones. 23 of 1922.

* Said to be in characters of the 12th century and victories ascribed to the time of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cōla at AREZ. 1931 ii. 30.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

(Acc. 27th March.—7th July A.D. 1012)

Ś. 943 *—Nandigunga (Mys.) — Tiru manni vāḷaṇa. Malla-gāvunḍa gave land to Mallaṭēvara.

2 of 1895 ; EC. iii. Nj. 134.

Ś. 945. — Jōgi-Dalāṣigers (Mys.) — (Kanarese) Gold to temple. 57 gadyāṇa in gold, 359 golden grains of rice, and 42 poruṭ ; for Brahmins and ascetics 37 poruṭ.

171 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Ht. 10.


179 of 1911 ; EC. x. Cb. 13.


495 of 1911 ; EC. iv. Yd. 37.

Ś. 963.—Siddhanahalī (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Death of a heroine in a cattle-lift after the recovery of the lost cattle.

173 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Ht. 11.

Year 2.— Honganūr (Mys.)—Grant of tax-free land, after purchase, for offerings by the assembly of Punganūr alias Trailōkya-mahādēvi-catm.

199 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Cp. 42-A.

Kuttālam (Tin.)—Rājendrasimha. Lamp by a certain Veḷḷān-dēvan Paṭṭālagan, a native of Pāgūr.

479 of 1917.

Year 3.—Karuttatāṇguḍi (Tj.)—Sale of land tax-free to the temple by the sabhā of Pūralattūr for 75 kāṭu.

44 of 1897 ; SH. v. 1407.

* Wednesday March 1st, A.D. 1011.—Earliest correct date in current Śaka year. Kielhorn M.I. iv. 69.

† 949—BC.

[ 530. ]
Year 3.—Karuttattāṇguṇḍi (Tj.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple for 20 kāsu by an individual; attested by witnesses. 45 of 1897; SII. v. 1408.

"Kīḻur (SA.)—100 sheep by Rāman Mummaḷiśōla for the merit of his mother Rājaśēkharan Umai-mangaiyār, who was the daughter of Munaiyadiyaraiyar and the dēvi of Paṭṭalagān Rāman alias Arunōjiēva-milāḷu-daiyār. 13 of 1905.

" Mahīrpatna (Mys.)—Gift of a tax-free dēvadāna by the sabbhā of Trailōkya-mahādēvi-catam. alias Punganaṁ with right of irrigation from a tank in the neighbourhood: "Maṇulūr ērīyinirūm nir-pācēk-kollā candirādittval nir-pāya udakaṇārvaṇajeydu koṇuttţā Maṇulūr ērkku jëvam Kottāyān Uttaman āna Śē̄varivēdīma gōmuṇḍanum īśvara - gōmuṇḍanum uśīṭṭa urum." The fine for obstructing the irrigation was fifty kālaiyā. 506 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 127.

" Mahīrpatna (Mys.)—Agreement between the dēva-kantōs of a temple and the sabbhā of Vaṇjūr alias Sēḷa-mādēvi-catam., regarding a perpetual loan in paddy (nē{lumudai) of 320 kalam and the interest due on it every year (100 kalam) and the methods of enforcing its payment. 512 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 129.

" Nārīttalai (Pd.)—Tiru mānni vaḷara. Fragment. 358 of 1904.

" Nattam (Ch.)—Mentions Paramēśvara-mangalam alias Nigarili-sēḷa-catam., the meeting of the samvatsara-vērīyam who had met in the Rājendrasēḷan-catuśśālai; and Kaṇjāran Aiyān Sūryan who was the settlement officer (vagai ieyginra) of the district (kōṭtam) 262 of 1912.

" Pāṇḍāravādai (Tj.)—Sale for 70 kāsu of 9 mā tax-free by the big assembly of Rājēsari-catam., to Ājvār Śrī Pirāntakān Śrī Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār, for the maintenance of a free dispensary founded by her.

* Year said to be lost in ARE, 1912.
THE COLAS

Savarpan Araiyan Madhurantakan being the name of the physician. 248 of 1923.

Year 3.—Śṛmādevī (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu). The vaikhānasas of Nigarili-śoḷa-vinnagar in the Nigarili-śoḷa-catm., undertake to burn half a lamp for kāśu deposited with them. “Eviyādoliyil ançu śṛi-kōyil vāriyam śey-vārē muttina neyyirattti attuvicci erippārāgavar... Ipparišu otti ikkāsu koṇda vaikhānasarōmil munninrōmē erippōrānōm.” 179 of 1895; EI. v. p. 47.

Śṛmādevī (Tin.)—Assignment of a street with houses by Mahāsabhā of Nigarili-śoḷa-catm., for residence of Tījai-yāyarat-taṁirággar. 651 of 1916.

Śivankōṭal (Ch.)—The assembly (sabhā) of the village got money from a private person and declared some lands below the tank Brahmadhiriyap-pattūri rent-free in order to provide for offerings and lamp to the local temple of Mahādeva. 289 of 1912.

Tanjore.—Vessels in copper, zinc (tarā), and bell-metal (veṭkalam) to ālayuttap-pilḷaiyār in the temple by Uḷaiyār Śri Kājarājēvaram Uḷaiyarkku Śri-karyānjey-ginga Poyγai-nāṭu Kilavan Āditan Śuryan alias Tennavan Mūvēnda Vēḻān. 31 of 1897; SII. ii. 85.

Tirukkāravāsal (Tj.)—Tiru mānni valara, ↑ to May-vaikkkaṭakkan. Land by purchase for lamp to Tirukkārāyil-uḷaiyār. 451 of 1908.

Tirunukkūṭal (NA.)—Three kalāṇju of gold by nigaikkkal, yielding interest of 9 māṇīṛi per year for offerings at Māsī-makham. Price of paddy taken to be 40 kāḷi per kalāṇju as an average ↑ (ērituṁ-jurungilum). 176 of 1915.

* ARE. 1925 II. 14, cf. 249 of year 7.
† Usually no introduction in records earlier than year 5—ARE. 1909 II. 43.
‡ Con. 245 of about 20 years later. Interest and prices tripled, ARE. 1916 II. 12
Year 3.—Tirumukkūṟal (NA.)—Twenty-five vīḷi of land by Rājarāja-dēva, seated on Rājāsraya, given at the instance of Dāmōdarabhaṭan of Kaḷalanguḍī, * who was made madhyastha (nāḍurirukkam) in the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumukkūṟal. 196 of 1917.

Tiruvāṭuţutuyū (Tj.)—Gift, by a native of Tiruvilimilai, a brahmaṇḍeṇa, of paddy from interest on which the Śiva-brāhmanaṇas of the temple agreed to get daily three pots of water for the sacred bath from the Kāvēri during the three services. 116 of 1925. †

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—164 gold flowers to the Uṭtaramaištika shrine (modern name) by Dāntiśakti alias Lōka-mahādēvi, queen of Rājarāja. 220 of 1894; SII. v. 519.

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Seven bronze lamp-stands to Uḷōka-Mahādēvi-Iśvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēva at Tiruvaiyāṟu by Dāntiśakti Viṭṭankeyār, queen of Rājarāja. 152 of 1918. ‡

Tiruvahānṛjū (Tj.)—Two gold flowers to Kṣetrapaladēva (of the stone temple built by Dāntiśakti alias Lōka-mādēvi) out of the gold used for her īḷamagabha in the temple of Tiruviśalār in the 29th year of Rājarāja. 633-C. of 1902; SII. viii. 237.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—People of Vānapuram sold tax-free 1000 kudī of land to Vaidumban Śankara-dēva Sōmanātha to whose name are prefixed the same epithets as those of Tiruvaiyāṟu Śankara-dēva (Rājarāja I Yr. 16—SII. iii. 51). Sōmanātha assigned the land to the Mahādēva temple of Tiruvaiyāṟu-Iśvara which the members of his family had caused to be built on the southern side of Tiruvallam-Uḍaiyar; he also gave 96 sheep for a lamp. 82 of 1889; SII. iii. 53.

* This person appears also in the Larger Leyden Grant, ARE. 1518 II. 26.
† 117 n.d. is a list of images and lamp-stands (with details) in the temple of Tiruvāṭuţutuyū in Śektaṁuṭr alias Abhayāsraya-catm. (cf. 104. n.d.)
‡ cf. 154 of year 31.
THE COLAŞ

Year 3.—Tiruveṅkāṭu (Tj.)—Money, 46 kāṣu, to temple for offerings and festivals and feeding by a cavalier of the king’s troops (taṭi-mārum-kudiraicēvagār), a native of Aṭṭuppalīniyamam. 459 of 1918.

" Tiruveṅumbār (Tri.)—Eight kāṣu to the Śrī Kōyilūḷaiyar for lamp to Tiruveṅumbār-ūḷaiya-mahādeva by one of the āḷunganattar of Śrīkaṇṭha-catni. 100 of 1914.

" Tirūvīḍaiṭharudār (Tj.)—45 sheep for a lamp at night at the gate called Ėkanāyakan-tirūvīsāl. 200 of 1907.

" Tirūvīṭalār (Tj.)—Gold to provide śidāri for the incense. 15 of 1907.

" Tirūvīṭalār (Tj.)—Ornaments by the queen of the Pāṇḍya Śrī-valḷuvar. 46 of 1907.

" Tirūvīṭalār (Tj.)—Silver kāḷaśa by a queen. 340 of 1907.

" Tirūvīṭalār (Tj.)—Mentions the building of the Tiruccurṛḷaiyam and the gōpuram to Tirūvīṭalār Mahādeva temple at Vēmbaṛṛūḷ alias Śrī Śōḷamāṭ-tāṇḍa-catni. 341 of 1907. *

" Tirūvīṭalār (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Nakkan Śembiyān-mādēviyār, queen of Rājāndra. 348 of 1907.

" Uḷḷaiyāṟugūṭi (SA.)—Gift, by Kamban Madhurāntakan, a member of the elephant corps (perundarattu īṇaiyāḷ) ; lamp-stand and gold for lamp and offerings on specified days. 598 of 1920.

" Uttarāmēṛur (Ch.)—Land by the assembly for three daily offerings to Rāghava-deva in the temple of Veḷḷai-mūrti-āḷvār, and for flower-garden, with the stipulation that food offered at the two services should be given away to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas reciting the Tiruppadiyam hymns. 181 of 1923.

* cf. 52 of 1907 of Vikramacēla, a surname of Rājāndra. A.F.K. 1908 II. 65.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—Ujjattür (Tri.)—Death (?) of a certain Śrutimān Nakkan Candiran alias Rājamanalla-muttariyian of the elephant-corps, when, in a fight with Satyārāya*, he was ordered by the king to pierce the (enemy’s) elephant. A gift was made on his behalf to the temple of Mahādeva at Ugrattür. 515 of 1912.

" Uyyakkondān-Tirunalai (Tri.)—Survey of temple lands and change of tenants under orders of the king residing in his palace at Pañâyuru. 463 of 1908.

" Uyyakkondān-Tirunalai (Tri.)—Records the survey mentioned in the last inscription. 473 of 1908.

Year 3, day (3)50.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Gold for offerings by Indalādēvi, wife of Vallavaraasar Vundya-ēvar. Suhā of Parākkramaśīla-catm. take charge of the five kālayanu given. Measure: Śrī Polandaiyan-marakkāl. 191 of 1915.

Year 4.—Alagādriputtür (Tj.)—Land for offerings at the shrine of Sūrya-ēva constructed in the temple by a native of Kallūr in Mēl-vēmba-nādu in Pañḍi-nādu alias Rājarāja-manḍalam. Mentions Kurnīr Madam where the assembly of Parādiyakudi (a hamlet of Alagādriputtür) met to make a gift to the temple. The maṭha was to the north of the village tank. 289 of 1908; ARE. 1909 II. 43.

" Allūr (Tri.)—Provision for feeding five Brahmans on new-moon days. 365 of 1903.

" Dāddāpuram (SA.)—Sheep for ten lamps to temple of Kundavai-vinṇagar by Kundavaip-pirattiyar. 12 of 1919.


* Hōjō inscription of A.D. 1007-8 in Fleet DAK. p. 433. ARE. 1913 II 22.

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THE COLAS

Year 4.—Kāñcipuram (Ch.)—Sale of land by merchants (mānagaram) of Kāñcipuram for offerings and worship to god Gaṇapatiyār Kāñcipurā Aḷagar on the northern side of the temple called Aṇjāṇaṇḍi-ambalam-Rājendra-sōḷaṇ. 76 of 1921.

Kāvantuṇḍalam (Ch.)—Land by sabbā as iṣayili dōva-dāṇa to temple of Rājendra-coḷēsvarā built by a revenue officer (nāḷu vagai-sēyginra) Piccan. 210 of 1901; SII. vii. 423.

Kīḻur (SA.)—Gift by Pirāntakan-yādava-bhīman alias Uttama-cōḷa-milāṇaḷaiyār of the Bhārgava-gōtra at the request of Araiyan Malaiyarāḷittan alias Cōṇāḷai-vēḷiṇ of Āviyūr. The sabbā of Tirukkōvalūr sold land for the purpose. 20 of 1905.

Kuttaḷam (Tj.)—Sale of 8 mā of land tax-free to temple by the assembly of Villavanmādōvi-catm., on payment of 43 kāśu. 104 of 1926.

Markāram (SA.)—Taxes on a salt-pan for two lamps to Tiruppūmiccuram-udaiyār by the ār. 24 of 1919.*

Miṇjūr (Ch.)—Land for festivals etc. in the temple of Sōḷakulasundara - vinnagar-ālvār at Miṇjūr by the ārār. Mentions Kallaḷavaram-udaiyār. 133 of 1916.

Srīmādēvi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeḻutu). Deposit by a Brahman lady of six kāśu in the hands of the Vaikhaṇṇasas for half a lamp before Nigariliśōḷa-vinnagar-ālvār. 708 of 1916.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—30 sheep for lamp by one of the Janaṇāṭhat-terinja-valangai - vēḻaiṅkārār of Pangalanaṇḍu. 393 of 1921.

Tiruvāţiṇṭurai (Tj.)—Sale of land and house sites for one hundred and twenty kāśu, current and capable of passing for full value, by the assembly of

* cf. 23 of 1919 (Rējāḷi, Yr. 19)

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PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Pañaiya-Vānavan-mādēvi-catm. (in Innambūr-nādu of Rājendra-simha-vala-nādu) to Ālārā Śri-Pirāntakān-
Śri-Kundavai-pīrātīyār who conferred it on Sāvanān
Arāiyān Candrasekharan alias Uttama-Cōḷa-acalan and
his descendants as the physicians of the village. The
transaction was engraved on the temple walls by order
of the king. Another record (113) in continuation
is the undertaking by the assembly to pay the
taxes on this land and on the houses in return for 80
kāšu got from the donor. 112, 113 of 1925.

Year 4.—Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Śakkādi Samudaiyan alias Śem-
biyan-mādēvi-perundaṭṭān appointed to the Taṭṭarāk-
kānī of the Ulōka-mahādēvi-Īśvaram by order of
Dēviyār Dantiṅākti. 216 of 1894; SII. v. 515.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Arāiyurduaiyan Irāyiran Pallava-
райian alias Uttamaśōla-Pallavaraian, of the Perun-
daram of the king, had built a shrine Rājarājēśvara;
he bought 2000 kūli of land tax-free for 50 anṛgū-
nagkāśu from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam for two
lamps to the shrine. 299 of 1897; SII. iii. 54.

Tiruvēṅkāḷu (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a servant
(adigāricci) of the queen. 463 of 1918.

Tiruvēṅkāḷu (Tj.)—Money, 333 kāśu, yielding interest
41½ kāśu per annum, for incense etc., by queen
Nakkan Karukkamandāli alias Pañcavan-mādēviyār.
464 of 1918.

Tiruvēṅgalūr (Tj.)—Gift of land as śalyakriyābhūga by
Ālārā Śri Pirāntakan Kundavai-pīrātīyār while she
was in the palace (kōyil) at Pañaiyāru. 350 of 1907; also 351.

Uḍaiyārgudi (SA.)—Umbrella with 19,908 pearls with
a gold ornamental handle (?) of 25½ kāḷaṇju by the
Kaikkōḷas of Viranārāyana-catm., a brahmadēvyā in
Rājendrasimha-vala-nādu. 613 of 1920.

* cf. 248 of 1923 of Year 3.

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Year 4.—Ukkal (N.A.)—Sale of land, 3000 kuṭṭi, by Mahāsabhā as bāṅgām for two boats (ōḍam) given to the tank of the place by a servant of the king. Also sale of five picottahs (ēttam) besides one already bought for the ēttam. 27 of 1893; SII. iii. 10.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land, 720 kuṭṭi, by sabhā of Uttaramērūr alias Rājāndrasōla-catm., set apart as tax-free Bhavisyak-kīḍailppuram, to enable a person to reside permanently (nirantaram) in the village and teach, (ōduvippāraṇa). 29 of 1898; SII. vi. 312.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—480 kuṭṭi of land set apart as Tataitiriyak-kīḍailppuram by the Mahāsabhā. 33 of 1898; SII. vi. 316.

"Vṛddhācalam (S.A.)—Tiru manni valara to Maṇṇaik-kaṭhakam. Land by residents of Neṇakuppai for reciting the Tiruppadiyam. 44 of 1918.

Year 4, day 84.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Hereditary appointment of a Śivabrāhmaṇa to the place of arcaaka in the Subrahmanya temple. He was to perform the usual services (munbu-sāyyak-kaḍava-nibandam) with the temple lands. 53 of 1898; SII. vi. 336.

Year 4, day 114.—Tiruvallam (N.A.)—While Naḍuvirukkkum Puvatta Bhaṭṭa Sōmayājīyār of Koṭṭaiyār was seated in the hall Arumoḷi-dēvan on the north side of the temple of Śōlēndrasimha-Īvaram-udaiyār at Mūlpāḍi alias Rājārayapuram and audited the temple accounts, the scale of expenses of the Tikkālivallam-udaiya-mahā-dēva temple was fixed in conformity with the inscription engraved on stone by Madhumantakan Gaṇḍjaraccan in the 7th year of Rā jarāja * and with other relevant factors. 227 of 1921.

Year 4, day 352.—Tirumukkāhal (N.A.)—120 kādi of paddy for offerings on new moon days. Mentions Rājarāja-vāḍya-mahārājan an earlier donor and the officer Śembangudaiyār whose order the sabhā carries out in appropriating the paddy in a detailed manner for expenses. 175 of 1915.

* cf. 10 of 1890 of Year 7 Rājarāja I.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 5.—Ammangudi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (Frag). Land tax-free to Rājarājēśvaram - uḍaiya - mahādeva. Also provision for lamp. 236 of 1927.

Embūḍi (NA.)—Tiru manni valara up to ēmbōṛiṁiṟṟuṟṟu关羽. Order issued by the king in year 5 from his palace at Paḷaiyūṟu regarding the dues from the village Perumaḍi. The village had not paid up even by year 25, day 32. 585 of 1906.

Kaḷattūr (NA.)—Tiru manni valara. Land for offerings etc. to Tirukkumbūḷvaram-uḍaiya Mahādeva at Paṅjirai-kaḷattūr alias Vikramaśinga-catu. Mentions Kūṭṭan Tiruvēṅgaḷa-dēvan, an adigāri of Uḍaiyapirāṭtiyūr. 158 of 1916.

Karuttattāngudi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara up to Maṅgaik-kaḻakkam. Gold diadem made out of gold accumulated till year 4 in various ways including pīḍilīgivāri and gifts by different donors. The diadem was called Rājēndrasūḷam-pāṭṭam. 50 of 1897; SII. v. 1413.

Kīḻappāḷuvūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to Maṅgaikkaḻakkam. Lamp by Aṟiṅji-mādevaṅgal, a penqāṭṭi of Nambirāṭṭiyūr Pāṇḍi-mādeviyūr, on behalf of her daughter Arumolī-dēvan Bhōghi Bhāṭṭan Gaṇḍārdittī. 235 of 1926.

Kōṅērīrājapuram (Tj.)—Damaged. Mentions year 3 and Āḻvār ↑ Parāntakam Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyūr and her palace at Paḷaiyūṟu. 639 of 1909.

Olagapuram (SA.)—Tiru manni valara to Maṅgaikkaḻakkam. Records previous gifts of land to the temple not recorded before and now caused to be engraved by the tanquvān for the year. Mentions Kalikōṇḍaḷ-pērē and Gaṇḍārdittap-pērē. 140 of 1919.

* A striking instance of misleading names having no reference to the status of the persons bearing them.

↑ Probably died between years 3 and 5 of Rājēndra. ARE. 1910 II 20. Centra 249 of 1923 year 7 and ARE. 1924 II 14 where this mistake is corrected.
Year 5.—Sīnmannār (Md.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Maṇṇaiṅ-
kaḍakkan. Sale of land for a lamp to Durgāpara-
mēḻiyār by the sabāḥā of three villages, Ariṅsai-
nallūr, Arpagaṅkharā-mangalam and Mandragau-
mangalam met in the śrīvāsalingāpuram of Durgā-
paramēḻiyār. 439 of 1907.

" Tiruppalattuṟai (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Last con-
quest mentioned is Iḷa-maṅḍalam. * Land.
257 of 1903; also 275; † SII, viii. 650, 674.

" Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Iḷa-maṅḍa-
lam. Lands of the temple exempted from taxes by
the assembly of Bhūlkamāṇikka-catm., and provision
made for worship to Śrī-kàmēḻaram-ulaiyār and
reication of the Vēdas. Endowment was 50 kāśu
yielding 75 kalaṃ interest per annum. 52 of 1928.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Iḷa-maṅḍa-
lam. Sale of land by Vāṇapattu-ūr, tax-free, with
well, śrī-nīrkkāl and ētta-nīrkkāl and irrigation right.
Notable phrases: engalūr mahįkkamāy virṣa nilam; niṅ
vīlhīyum maṛṟu sīlliyai šōru-māḷtu veṭṭi unmāṇi-
yum maṛṟunongyum hāṭṭappēḻamāṅṇōṁ.
4 of 1890; SII, iv. 327.

" Tiruṅṛumbūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Maṇṇaiṅ-
kaḍakkan. Land for offerings to Tirumalai-ųyār of
Tiruṅṛumbiyār by ūr. Grant made in Rājarāja’s

" Tiruviśālūr (Tj.)—Provision for feeding Brahmans.
Mentions Urttirān Arumōḷi alias Piruti-mahādēviyār,
queen of Rājarāja-dēva. † 349 of 1907.

" Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — Tiru manni vaḷara up to
Iḷa-maṅḍalam. " This temple of Nāḷuvil-vira-nārāyana-
viṅṭagar at Tribhuvanamāḍīvī-catm., a brahmādēya
in Jayangoḷā-sōḷa-maṅḍalam, shall be under the

* Ceylon must have been conquered before 1015-6 A.D. ARE. 1908 11 55.
† 275 is dated Tuesday 26th March. A.D. 1017-EJ. viii 262 (Kielhorn.)
‡ cf. 27 of 1897.
parakEsari rajendra 1

Protection of the regiments of Sri-Vadanur Tillaipalippurumbadai and .... Pallayiravan of our lord RajaRaja-dévar. "

174 of 1919.

Year 5.—Uttaramérúr (Ch.)—Tiru manni valuara up to Maññakakakkam. Land for various purposes to Sri Kṣaṇa in the temple of Kongarayyar called Rājendra-sōla-vinçagar by the sābbha of Uttaramérúr alias Rājendra-sōla-catam. The endowment was in charge of the Śri-Kṣaṇa-gañap-perumakkal. 174 of 1923.

" Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Tiru manni valuara up to Ḫa-mañṣālam. Gold, 10 kaññū, for lamp to Nēkkuppai-tirumudukunyang - uññaiyar by Śembaliyan - dévañgalñar, daughter of Paḻuvëṭṭaraiyar and wife of Muññai Vallavaraiyar. 39 of 1918.

Year 5, day 230.—Brahmadēsum (NA.)—Tiru manni valuara to Ḫa-mañṣālam. 90 sheep for lamp to Poutai-mahādēva in Karikkottiup-piramañcyam alias Parākrama *-sōla-catam, in Tiruvēgambapuram. Mentions Mandara-gauravanur Kunda-dëviyar (wife of) Vallavaraiyar Vandya-dëvar, † chief of the sāmnatas.

243 of 1915.

Year 5, day 281.—Paṅgārwaryai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valuara up to Ḫa-mañṣālam. An undertaking by two shepherds to supply ghi, ‡ measure daily, for lamp to the central shrine of Tiruccclúr-déva for 90 sheep received by them from Āḷvār Śri Parāntaka Śri Kundavaipirāṭṭiyan †

256 of 1923.

Year 6.—Kaññiyūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni valuara up to Paḻpaḷandi-vum. A long record giving interesting details of the expenditure in the temple of Kaññiyūr situated in Āḷvār.

22 of 1895 ; SII. v. 578.

* Surname of RajaRaja I, ARE. 1916 ll 8.
† In other Brahmadeśam records, the wife is called Indaḷa-dëviyār. The Tanjore records mention another wife - Parāntaka Kundavaip. The chief was perhaps a native of Kongu (157 of 1915) - ARE. 1916 II 13.
‡ See n. to 639 of 1909 Year 5.

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Year 6.—Kilappaluvur (Tvl.)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpa-
landivum. Undertaking by the priests of the temple of Tiruvandurai-alyar to measure out a stipulated quantity of ghi daily for 15 kasu received by them from the temple treasury. 227 of 1926.

Melpadi (C.)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpalandivum
72 kaanju gold at the instance of Irayiravan Pallavan
alias Utamaasola Pallavaraian, lord of Arasiur, for
720 sheep, distributed among shepherds who had to
supply two measures of ghi daily by the Rajaekari
measure. Adhikarin Udayamattanda Muvendavelan
executed the order. 100 of 1921.

Nattam (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara. Land for offerings.
Mentions assembly of Nigarilisola-catm., which includ-
ed 12 members of the samvatsara-variyam doing
sri-karyam. Details of prices, wages and yield of
land. 263 of 1912.

Paundarivadai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara to Palpalan-
divum. Two lamp-stands and 90 sheep for lamp to
Tiruccelur-mahadova at Rajakari-catm.,* in Nallur-
nadu by Ajbar Sri-Parantakan Sri-Kundavaip-pirattiyar.
239 of 1923.

Sermaddevi (Tin.)—(Vadivelu). Tiru manni valara up
to Ita-manjadamuludum. Gift of hereditary karana-
mai over a devadana tank to the merchant
Mannirk-
kaalan alias Tirunilaankaat-setti of Nagaram Rajaendra-
sojaparam, by the assembly of Nigarili-sol-catm., a
brahmadeya in Mulli-nadu in Rajaraja-manjalam, the
merchant being required to pay two kasu to Kailasam-
udaiyiar as ujavu-kasu on each velli of land.
614 of 1916.

Suldenahalli (Mys.)—The nattar of Kaivara-nadu in
Gangapallapuram (of Nulumbapadi alias Nigarili-soja-
padi) make an arrangement for the sacrifice by the

* Perhaps after Aditya 1. Raja, a small place a mile from Kuyil Then-
ryanpetta, has ruins of temples, now forming private premises - ARE. 1924
II 8.

[ 642 ]
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Kurattiyar of the nāḍu of a goat (ḍu) on each Tuesday to Bhaṭṭāraki Munḍēsvari of Jayangonda-sōla-catm. 484 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 26.

Year 6.—Tirunāgēswaram (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara to Palpaṇḍānivum. A jewel to temple made from the accumulated income (antarāḥyattil kūḍina mudal) from the fieś (kāni) of Adīgal-āccan, one of the Iṣaiyakuñjira-mallar in the army of Rājendra-Cōla-dēva commanded by Adikārīgaḻ Śōla-Mūvēndavēḻarr. 211 of 1911.


" Tiruvāṭutrugai (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara up to Palpaṇḍānivum. Sale of naṁjai and puṁjai, 2 vēli, 8 mā each of common land, tax-free (cost 10 kāśu, irai-kāval 190), to the temple by the assembly of Abhayāśraya-catm. alias Śāṭtānur met at the Ulagaḷāndan to the north of the temple. Mentions the māligaik-kōl by which 100 kuḷi was a mā. Also land given to the temple in year 5 by the ūr of Kāranur in Pērāvūr-nāḍu for a lamp. 102 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṭutrugai (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara to Palpaṇḍānivum. Sale of one vēli of land to the temple for forty kāśu by the assembly of Pērāvūr, a brahmadēya in Pērāvūr-nāḍu, with an undertaking to pay all its taxes for a further sum of 90 kāśu received by them. 103 of 1925.

" Tiruvāḷangāṭu (NA.) — Copper-plates. SII. iii. 205.

" Tiruvāllum (NA.) — Tiru manni valara up to Palpaṇḍānivum. Sale of waste land by residents of Vāṇapuram. 220 of 1921.

" Tiruvilaikkuṭi (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara up to Tolperun-gāval Palperundivum. Detailed description of tax-free lands endowed for flower-gardens and śrībali to

* After a surname of Rējendra - ARE. 1909 II. 43.
THE COLAS

Tiruverundupadi-mahadeva in Kaalangudi also known as Vidavindugu-catam, in the (20) 24, and 27th years of Rajaraja by the residents of Kaalangudi, Ilayartru and Pirudur. Also gift by his queen Arumoli-deviyar made in year 2 of Rajendra of 50 cows of which only 26 survived in year 5. 120 of 1926.

Year 6.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpalandivum. The great men of the village of Tribhana-madave-catam, made an order that every 6 mā of land irrigated by the tank Madhurantakap-pērē must pay one kalam of paddy as ēri-āyam and that the tank-committee must collect this and maintain the tank in good repair. 192 of 1919. *

"Uttaramērēr (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpalan-
divum. Apportionment by the village assembly of shares in arcanāyitti among the four Vaikhānasas of Kongaraiya Śri-kōyil in lieu of those held by them at Arasinimangalam, an arcanābhūga. 171 of 1923.

"Vēlaccēri (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by a Brahman lady, the wife of one of the āḻungaṟṟūr of the village. 302 of 1911.

"Vēlaccēri (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara to Palpalandivum. Sale of lands held by non-brahmans to the temple with the king’s permission. 311 of 1911. †

Year 6, day 185.—Tiruppanangili (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara up to Palpalandivum. Under the supervision of the mūlaparudaiyēr, the perumakal of the Mēlaic-cēri-
maniyambalam administer an endowment of 150 kāsu for Śīhu-lālaip-parupppu-pōnagam. The schedule of expenses gives the information that 2 nāţi paruppu (dholl) = kuguni ēru nāţi paddy; one ēru of ghi = 2 nāţi paddy; sugar cnc ālam = two nāţi of paddy; and that one pōkkāriyamulu = four nāţi of paddy. 91 of 1892; SII. iv. 538.


† Though this number is not quoted, this record seems to be treated at ARE. 1912 II 23 as a sale by public auction for default in payment of taxes.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 7.—Elaburige (Mys.)—Irásentira-sóla-dévar. Below a female figure: “represents wife of Mükkaiyán” who performed sati. Mükkaiyán was the gámunaḍa of Kułatúr MAR. 1917, p. 42.

Konérirajapuram (Tj.)—Tíru manni válara to Ceylon conquest (variation at end). Some drummers of the temple undertook to beat drums, and blow horns and conches during the early morning service in consideration of the money they received from a private person. 642 of 1909.

Kuhúr (Tj.)—Tíru manni válara. Sale of land by the assembly of Tirupperundúraí, a brahmadéya in Tiruma-raiyúr-nádu. Mentions a revenue survey. 296 of 1917.

Punjávaráñai (Tj.)—Tíru manni válara up to tirutta-gumudíyínum. Sale of house-site (1½ grounds) to Álvar Śrí Kundavaip-piráṭṭiáyar by a resident of Kalákarac-córi of the village, to make up the deficit in the vaidyabhóga provided by her for the hospital called Sundara-sóla-vínaga-rátala-sálai at Tañjávír. The vaidyabhóga given by her in year 3 (No. 248) and the present gift were to be enjoyed by Sávarán Araiyan Madhurántakan and his descendants who were natives of Marugal. Both these transactions were engraved by the big assembly by order of the princess communicated to them from the palace at Páháiyíru.* 249 of 1923.

Kúmanátan Kúyíl (Tj.)—Tíru manni válara. Land for worship and offerings to god in the Pañcavan-Mahádivísvaram built as a pálluvelai† at Páháiyíru alias Mútikópála-sólapuram in Tiruma-raiyúr-nádu, a sub-division of Kṣatriya-sikhámaṇi-vala-nádu. Mentions Tiruvádirai as natal star of Rájendra and Róváti as that of his queen; also Lakullísvara Pañjíta who supervised the affairs of the temple. 271 of 1927.

* This palace was the home of Rájendra, cf. 463 of 1908 (year 3)
† This word is sought to be erased in the record - ARE. 1927 II 13.
Year 7.—Śāṅgēndi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara * up to tiruttagu-
muḍiyum. Sale of land to Kailāsamudaiya-mahādēva by
the assembly of Śāṅgēndi-mangalam for money
given by a lady for a lamp. Another gift of land by
the same assembly for offerings. 325 of 1928.

" Śēnkúngam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagu-
muḍiyum. Land, tax-free, to Jayangoṇḍa-sōḷēvāra, by
merchants assembled in the hall (built by) the su-
visor of Vīkkūr alia Jayangoṇḍa-sōḷapuram. Details
of temple expenditure given. 132 of 1921.

" Tanjore.—Tiru manni vaḷara to Śāndimāt-tivu (Kērala).
Money to image of Śrī-Kaṅṭha deposited with the
kaṟavattār by the Perundanattuk-karmigāl of Rājēndra
Cūḷa and lent out to villages on interest at the rate of 3
kuṟuni paddy per kāśu per annum.
29 of 1897; SII. ii. 82.

" Tiruvadi (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpalan-
divum. 90 sheep for lamp by a captain (nāyakan)
of the Rājakūḷa-tarteriṇi-jā-villigāl of Eṇanallūṛk-kaḷagam-
āṇu-udaiyār-pāḍai. 394 of 1921.

" Uyakkoṇlān-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to
Palpalandivum. 90 sheep for lamp by Sōḷai-iruṯa-
singam, for merit of her mother Dēvan Pēṟrāmai, the
peṟṟāṭṭi of Rājēndra-sōḷa Irukkuvēḷa of Koḻumbāḷūr.
97 of 1892; SII. iv. 544.

Year 7, day 186. — Tiruvallam (NA.) — Tiru manni vaḷara
to (tiruttagu)muḍiyum. Deposit of gold in temple
treasury for the daily supply of tumbai flower and an
extra quantity of it on Sankrānti days to Tikkāli-
vallam-udaiyār. Grain measure paṅcavāṟakkāl.
226 of 1921.†

Year 7, day 229.—Tirumukkūṭai (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to
tiruttagumudiyum. Detailed regulation by the sabhā
of Madhurāntaka-catm., a taniyir, of the cultivation
of a Nandavana belonging to Mahā-viṣṇu of

* In later characters.
† 228 of year 14, day 187, is similar.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Tirumukkūḍal by the Vaikhānasas of the temple, and provision for the expenses of cultivation. Wages, manure, irrigation, and lease and cultivation rights dealt with. 172 of 1915; ARE. 1916 II. 11.

Year 8.—Agaram (Ch.)—The king constructed the village of Vānamangai and settled in it 4000 Brahmans.

232 of 1931.*

"Ambāsamudrām (Tin.)—Tiru mannī vaḷara to tiruttaguṇuṇuṭiṇi. Lamp to temple of Tiru-śalait-tūrai-ālvār of Īlangūkkutji, a hamlet of Rājarāja-caṭam, by a native of the Cōḷa country.

74 of 1907.

"Kāmarasavvalli (Tri.)—Tiru mannī vaḷara to tiruttaguṇuṇuṭiṇi. Land made tax-free by assembly met in the Kailāsasam-udaiyar temple after being summoned by double bugle (irāṭṭaik-kāḷam).

72 of 1914.

"Kilappaluvār (Tri.)—Tiru mannī vaḷara up to tiruttaguṇuṇuṭiṇi. Sabhā of Śirupaluvār took fifty kāsu from Inṇaṭṭu-mannu-perumpaluvār Aṭigal Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar-penḍattī Virāṇan-orrīyār. 104 of 1895; SII. v. 665.

"Kōḷār (Mys.)—Tiru mannī vaḷara to tiruttaguṇuṇuṭiṇi. Five buffaloes for one lamp left with the Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple. EC. x. K. 106 (a)

"Pūṇḍai (Tj.)—Tiru mannī vaḷara to tiruttaguṇuṇuṭiṇi. Decision of the assembly (mūḍaparutuṭai) of Talaiccan-gāḍā met at Mummuṭi-sōjan-manḍapa to pay taxes, in return for fifty kāsu, on two vēḷi of land at Pūdanur which had been purchased by the Periyatāli-mahādēva temple for expenses of the Vaigāsī festival and of feeding Brahmans on the occasion. It also agreed to pay taxes on two vēḷi of temple land at Kilppulam in lieu of interest on 100 kāsu which had been received by it on kaiyeluttuṭai from the same temple. Engraved by order of the assembly on the walls of Tirunannipalḷi-udaiyar. 187 of 1925.

* No. 231, 235 refer to the king’s construction of the Kailāsasamṭha temple in the village.
Year 8.—Śembiyanmahādevī (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to tiruttagumudiyum. Remission by village assembly of taxes due on land granted for a flower-garden to the temple. Another remission of taxes on other lands given to certain images including one of Śembiyanmahādeviyar. Mentions Vikramaśoṭa-vadi.

481 of 1925.

Śivaparam (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to tiruttagumudiyum. Two lamps by the king to the Rājarājēśvarar temple in Uṟṟaḻagam in Puriśai-māḍu of the Maṇayir-kōṭtam. Sheep 180. 18 of 1896; SII. v. 881.

Takkōlaṁ (N.A.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to tiruttagumudiyum. 32 cows by a private individual for milk to god for the merit of the king’s mother Tribhuvanamādeviyār. 276 of 1921.

Tirunāyēśvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḻara up to tiruttagumudiyum. Gift of 48 sheep for half-lamp by a peṇḍalī of Uḻaiyār-ānaimeṛṟuṇjīnar-veḷam alias Abhimāṇa-bhūsaṇat-teriuda-tiruvandik-kappu-veḷam for merit of her daughter. 211 of 1912.

Uḻaiyārgudi (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḻara up to Iraṟṟapāḍi conquest. Fifty kāśu for sale of land by sabhā to Tribhuvana-mahādeviyār Vāṇavan Mahādeviyār, queen of Rājendra-śoḷa-dēvar, for offerings and worship to images of Candraśekhara Perumāl and his consort set up by her. Tiruvanantēsvarar of the temple is called nammūladevāram by the sabhā. 624 of 1920.*

Year 8, day 50.—Tinnevelly—Tiru manni vaḻara † up to tiruttagumudiyum. Enquiry by Adigāriya Brahmaśēri-kiljar into the Kōyil-karanum. Mentions the Tirunelvēli Vaḷaṇjīyur who gave 5½ nilam in Kaṇṭanaṟ as dēvadāna iḷṇiyili.

157 of 1894; SII. v. 449.

* In App. F of ARE. 1921 this record is treated doubtfully as of Rājendra I or II.

† Later characters-copy?
Year 9.—Agaram (SA.)—Tiru manni valara up to tiruttagumaligum. Deliberations of the great assembly of Nrpatunga-Śeuntangi-catm. alius Jananātha-catm. relating to the occupation of temple land (of Mahāśāstā) by artisans and others, and the assignment, in return, of several kinds of services to them such as conducting worship, supplying oil for lamps, keeping watch over the temple etc.; mentions Sāttagaṇattar.

386 of 1922.

Ś. 943*—Belaturu (Mys.)—Rebuilding of an old temple and its consecration after Rudra-hōna and large scale feeding. Gift of land to it.

139 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 16.

Goeindaradhi (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. 96 sheep for lamp in the temple of Tiruvūgal-anjār at Takkōlam alius Kātriyasikhamanipuram. Six lāṣā for supply of flowers given on the 345th day of the same year.

37 of 1923.

Ś. 943.—Marur (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Mentions the Nāṭṭaraya Hulinmadca and his part in the administration of justice. In this case capital punishment was awarded for assault and manslaughter.

497 of 1911; EC. iv. Hs. 10-11†

Mēlāḍi (C.)—Tiru manni valara up to Iraṭṭapāḍi. Some shepherds give an undertaking, before Maḍam-tulaiya Lalukūḷaśvara Prāndtar Kaumigaḷ, to secure the supply of ghi for a lamp by a shepherd Erān Śattan under all circumstances.

85 of 1889; SII. iii. 18.

Simūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. Fifteen cows for one lamp by Veṭṭilān Śingan-sōlai resident of Dēvanapalli. The temple authorities (iyyūr-ṣrīkōṇ̄ulaiyōm) undertake to protect the charity. “Nāyinjina śūlam poįceū śānāmūvaṇ-puṛumbaśuwagak-kāḷu” etc.

69 of 1890; SII. iv. 393.

* July 7, 1020 A.D. Kielhorn EL iv p. 21.

† Obscure language difficult to interpret—Rice (n. to Eng. Trans.)
THE COLAS

Year 9. —Tirukkalittattai (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara up to navanidikkulappatu-malaigalum. Remission of taxes on temple land in Vēmbaruru alias Śōjamārtanda-catm., by the mahāsabha of that village. Mentions a survey. The taxes included: siddātāya-kāśu; pāicavāra-nellu; payāgu, tuvarai and other āriñuvarai; ēri-ivu; silvarai. The remission was made after taking 65 kāśu from the Śri-Kuḍittitaivali temple. The names of sēris in the place give surnames of Rūjarāja.

292 of 1908.

" Tirukkalittattai (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara to conquest of Iraṭṭapūḍi. Similar to the above (292). Mentions a kāḷigaṭ (ghaṭikā) in Vēmbarur which included this village and Tiruvilalur; as also many sēris of the town.

293 of 1908.

" Tirunukkāṭal (NA.) — Tiru manni valara to navanidikkulappatu - malaigalum. 90 sheep for lamp by the headman (kiḻavan) of Kāmavīr-Kiliñalur to the north of Vānavana-Mahādevi-catm., a tuniyūr.

170 of 1915.

" Tiruvadai (SA.) — Tiru manni valara up to Iraṭṭapūḍi conquest. One hundred kāśu by Aṇukki Śattan Rāma-devi, a peṇḍāṭṭi of the Periya-vēlam of Rājendrasāla, to the Nagarattār of Adiyaraiya-mangalam, who had to give as interest fifty kalam of paddy to the temple for offerings on specified occasions. Mentions Arumoli-devan marakkāḷ.

401 of 1921.

" Tiruvāṭuturai (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara. Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Kāvanur for 100 kāsu.

128 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṭayiyil (Tj.) — A Śivabrāhmaṇa took from Korrir- yammai 12 kalam of paddy at interest of 3 kuruṇi of paddy annually for offerings during the Śittirai festival. Another gift by same donor of 28 kalam (yielding annually 7 kalam at 3 kuruṇi per kalam) for feeding dancing girls during the festival.

28, 29 of 1918.

* Wednesday, 8th February 1921, Jacobis, EJ. xi. p. 121.
Year 9.—Tiruviṣalūr (Tj.)—Twenty-five kaśu for a lamp to Umāsahitar by a native of Pāṇḍī-ṇāḍu. 346 of 1907.

Year 9, day 38.—Tirumukkūyal (N.A.)—Tiru mannī vaḷara to tiruttanumudiyum. 90 sheep for lamp by Manḍai-nangai, the senior wife of Perundanam Rājarājan alias Vānnavan Brahmādhirājan, in charge of kaḷani-and ār of Kūḍalūr. 174 of 1915.

Year 10. — Kottaṣivanam (An.) — (Kan. and Tamil). This Maṇḍapā erected by Arūyaru Rājarājan alias Vikrama Cōla * Cōliya-varaiyan, chief of Śattamangalam in Tirēmūr-ṇāḍu and commander of the forces (of the king), on the 40th day opposite the 160th (of this year). Below are titles : Nālaṃaṇī Bhīma, Cōḷana-cakra, and Sāṃnṭābharaṇam in Kan.; Nāmādibhan and Sāṃnṭābharaṇam in Tamil, perhaps titles of the chief who built the Maṇḍapā. Another record (24)—Edirttavarkālan and Ahitaroṭṭālivan in Kan.; and Vayirinārīyanān and Virabhiman in Tamil, of about the same period (as in No. 23). No. 30—is Tamil verse mentioning Nāmaṭṭivina and Telungar. On same pillar in old Kannada : Jayasīngakulakāla and Sāṃnṭalaprahārī. No. 31—Tamil verse mentions battle with Kalingas, Oḷḷas and Telungas; also titles in Nāgari: Ahitaroṭṭāliva etc.

23, 24, 30 and 31 of 1917.

"Tuṭi-malingi (Mys.) — Tiru mannī vaḷara. Muṣangī is here called Mayal. Apparently Gangapāḍī was called Mudikōṇḍa - cōḷa-māṇḍala; and Māyilangai (Malingi opposite Taḷakkāḍ on the other side of the river) was called Jananāṭhapura : Gangapāḍīyāna Mudikōṇḍa-sōḷa-maṇḍalatu tenkaraí - nāṭtū - Māyilangai tan (yāna ?) Jananāṭhapurattu.

490 of 1911; BC. iii. Tn. 34.

"Tanjore—Tiru mannī vaḷara up to navanidikkulappu-peru-maḷaiyaḻum (i.e., Iraṭṭapāḍī). Loans from endowments to Mahāmūrī Viṭṭanka and his consort (set up

* Surname of Rājendra? ARE. 1917 II. 2. cf. 752 of 1917.

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by Rājarāja), by the śirudanattup *-panimakkal, for interest at the rate of mukkuṟṟuni per kāsu per annum (Continuation of SII. ii 82 of year 7).

SII. ii. 83.

Year 10.—Tirumālpuram (NA.) — Money for supply of four kālaṟṟju of Śīdāri by a native of the Cūḷa country, 292 of 1906.

" Tiruppuḻigalur (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to kulappuṟṟu-malaigalil. Remission of taxes on the temple land by the assembly of Bhūlōka-Māṇikka-catam, in consideration of 150 kāsu from the temple. 44 of 1928.


" Tiruvuḷi-nilai (Tj. )— Tiru manni vaḷara (dam.) to Muyangi and a little more. Mentions copper image of Aḷagiyā Maṇavāḷa caused to be made by the mother of Rājendrāsōla-Aṇukkapaḷlavaraiyar. 444 of 1908.

" Uḻaiyāṟṟuḷi (S.A.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to conquest of Iṟṟatāṟṟūḍi. Sixty kāsu by the headman (kiḷān) of Ārkkāḍu for the daily supply of 1000 lotuses for worship. The assembly met in the hall constructed by Tennavaṇ Vilupparaiyar, called māmīnagānār by the king. Assembly calls the Tiruvanantāvāram namuḷadeyvam. 625 of 1920.

" Uḻaiyāṟṟuḷi (S.A.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to conquest of Iṟṟatāṟṟūḍi. Agreement by some villagers to supply the flowers stipulated in No. 625 as interest on 60 kāsu received by them from the treasury of the temple. 626 of 1920.

* 'Servants of the minor treasure' (SII. ii. p. 405) servants or officers of the king when he was young (īḻṟi-dana) — ibid n. 2.
Year 10.—Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Tiru manni vālara up to conquest of Iraṭṭapūḍi. Paddy for abhiṣeka to the god on the king's birthday (āḍrā) to Tirukkarkudṉi-vijumaya-dēva. 464 of 1908.

Vēlarōri (Ch.)—Tiru manni vālara to conquest of Iraṭṭapūḍi. Assembly (mahāsabha) of Vēlarōri sold 1500 kuṭi of land to the temple, and receiving 13 kāśu made the land tax-free. Also gift of 23 kāśu for a lamp by a Brahman lady. 305 of 1911.

Year 10, day 107.—Mōḍaṇi (C.)—Tiru manni vālara to Iraṭṭapūḍi conquest. Paddy and money of the temple not properly appropriated for expenses since the third year. As a result of audit by a royal officer, a fresh allocation is made. 102 of 1921.

Year 11.—Aqappām (S.A.)—Tiru manni vālara up to tegünar-kenganaiyam. Land for offerings and lamp to Mahāśetē Kayirūr Aiyānūr by the members of the big assembly of Nēpatunagā-sōntangi-catam. alius Jamanātha-catam, brahmudēya. The assembly met in the Aiyānūr temple. 368 of 1922.

Kīlaiyūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vālara. Land for the maintenance of two persons singing the tiruppadiyam during the three services of Tirukkadavumaiya-dēvar, each getting three kuguni of paddy per diem. 96 of 1925. *

Kōḷār (Mys.)—Pūrvadēsamum (gandaiyum kōṇḍa. A royal gift of duvadhana from the camp at Kāṇḍūrapuram. The record furnishes interesting details of procedure followed on such occasions. 476 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 112 (a).

Kūṇddūru (Mys.)—Sīri Pūrvadēsamum (gandaiyum Kaḍāramun-gonḍa. EC. x. Ct. 47.

* This, and 91 and 95 of years 17 and 18 of Rājarāja, are records on pillars, and part of the introduction is omitted; perhaps for lack of space.
THE COLAS

Year 11.—Tirumukkūdāl (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara to Gangaiyum. 113 sheep to temple of Venṇaik-kūttar at Tirumukkūdāl in or near Nirkunram, the northern hamlet of Madhurāntaka-catam., a luniẏār in Kālattūr-kōtţam, by a native of Akkāramangalam. The sheep were in charge of Tirumukkūḷalum Kūḍalūrum Ürōm. 167 of 1915.

Year 12.—Kāḻahusti (N.A.)—Gold for the Kṛttikā-dīpa and 90 sheep by Gangaikōṇḍa-cōḷa-milāṇḍulaiyār, a chief of Mīḷādu. 291 of 1904.

Tirumalai (Pāḷir N.A.)—Tiru manni valara to teṟi-punay-kangaiyum. Lamp to Pāḷiiceandam Vaiṅavīr Tirumalai-dēva by Ilaiyamaṇi-nangai also called Palla-varacāsē-deviẏār Śiṉṉavaiyār. Sixty kāśu, the amount of the endowment, was converted into land. SII. i. 68.

Uyyakkonḍan—Tirumalai (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to teṟi-punay-kangaiyum. Provision for feeding Śiva-yōgins in the Tiruvāṅgalēvaram-Rājēndraśālan at the foot of the hill on which the temple of Tirukkaṅkudi Viḻuniya-dēva stands. 467 of 1908.

Year 13.—Māṭr (Mys.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Sale of land by sabbā of Rājēndraśinga-catam. III. ix. Op. 84.

Tirumalai (N.A.)—Tiru manni valara to teṟi-punay-kangaiyum. Twenty kāśu for lamp and ten kāśu for tiruvanidu to Śri-Kundavai-jinālāya-dēva of Tirumalai by Cāmunḍappai, the wife of (māṇavāḷḷī) of Nandappayānu, a merchant of Porumbāṇappādik-karai-vāḷi-Mallīyār. 80 of 1887; SII. i. 67; III. ix. pp. 229-33.

Year 13, day 207.—Emappērū (SA.)—Kōṅkrinmaikōṇḍān. An order of Udaiyār Rājēndra-Cōḷa-dēva ‘who was pleased to take Pūrvadēsam and Ėṅgangai,’ confiscating the lands of persons who did not settle down in Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍṉ and had migrated elsewhere, and granting the

* The Pāḷir, Vahkk and Ceyyār rivers meet here. ARE. 1916 II 11.
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lands to others who undertook to cultivate them or rear areca-palms thereon. * 331 of 1921.

Year 14.—Puñjai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Undertaking by the assembly (mūlapuranājai) of Talaccangāṇa to pay some taxes for the temple on some lands, to enable the temple to meet expenses of daily worship and offerings and of a special festival once a year to Rṣabhavāhana-dēva in the big temple for the victory of the king’s arms (bhujam vardhittarvaṛa). 182 of 1925.

.. Tirumalavai (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara up to teripunag-kanguyum. Records the re-copying (from the books on stone of the order of Rājarāja at the instance of Nārākkan Rāman (who built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). The dēvakanmīs and the sākhā of Gantarādittacatm. executed the order. 91 of 1895; SHI. v. 651.

.. Tirumāgēvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full though damaged). List of jewels etc. owned by the temple, engraved by order of the king made at the instance of a servant Kapṭan Kōval-ṉāthan. 213 of 1911.

Year 14, day 341.—Erumūr (S.A.)—Tiru manni valara (apparently full). Assembly of Vajavān-mādēv-catm. met in the temple and in the presence of the ‘annual supervision committee’ † agreed to pay in paddy the silvarī on certain temple lands, the income to be utilised for lamps and offerings. 338 of 1913.

Year 15.—Mēlappalavūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full). An undertaking by the managers of the temple of Paļūvēr to burn a perpetual lamp before Paṅgaiḍāiy-lēvarattu-mahādēva and another before Amanikandarpa-lēvarattu-mahādēva for lands and money received by them respectively from two persons as an atonement for homicide. 372 of 1924.

555 Is similar.

Called sannivataram eygīnga kṛ-vārīyap-pumāphaj.

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Year 15.—Tirukkaḍaiyar (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full). An agreement of the Mahāsabhā of Paḍa-oviya Tirukkaḍaiyar in Uyyakkondar-valanādu to maintain an endowment for two meals to Māhēvaras at midday. 20 of 1906.

Year 16.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Gold by Nigarli-Lōkanādāvi, a servant of queen Mukkōkkilān-āṅiṇa, and by a dancing girl of the temple called Perri-ponnambalam, for two lamps before Aṉjąṉāṟuṇbhi-durgaiyār. 73 of 1921.

Kōḷār (Mys.)—Pūrvadāsamum Gangaiyum Kaṭāramvun-kōṭuṇ. Gift of a dēvadāna to Piṭārāiyār of Kuvalāḷa by the king seated in the palace at Vikramacōla-pura in the Kavirināṭa. The grant was ordered on the 240th day and entered in the revenue register on the 281st day. 475 of 1911; BC. x. Kl. 111.


Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Pīḷḷaiyar Arumolī-mangaiyāna-pirān gave 180 sheep for two lamps, distributed among eight shepherds, one getting 45, three others getting 45 together, and the rest 22½ each; 45 sheep being counted as yielding one āḷākku of ghi daily, and 22½ sheep, 2½ sevītu. 77 of 1895; SII. v. 635.

Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full.) Lamp by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kausalaiyar, wife of Narakkāṇ Śrī Kṛṣṇa Rāmaṇ alias Rājendraśīla Brahmanārayar, (the builder of the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). 100 kāśu for 90 sheep distributed among four persons equally, each getting 25 kāśu, the equivalent of 22½ sheep, and having to supply 22½ nāṭis of ghi per annum. 78 of 1895; SII. v. 636.
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Year 16.—Tiruppurambyam (Tj.)—Tiru manni vāḷara (full.)
Fifty kāśu for ten lamps to Ādittāvara temple at Tiruppurambyam, deposited with viraiyākkalip- perunderuvī-cangurappādiyōm.

80 of 1897; SII. vi. 30.

"Tiruvāḍīṭuvai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vāḷara (full.)
Undertaking by Śiva-brāhmanaś to provide offerings to god for midday service and to feed an apūrvi daily with the same, out of the interest on 45 kāśu received by them from a person, the rate of interest being two tūṇi of paddy per kāśu per annum.

134 of 1925.

"Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Tiru manni vāḷara (full.)
Sale of land as śālaḥbāga ṣū to temple for feeding devotees by the assembly of Kaḍakangudi who received a lump sum towards payment of taxes due on the land. They agreed to maintain the feeding house on behalf of the temple and supply red lilies to the god.

140 of 1926.

"Tribhuvani (Pondicherry).—Tiru manni vāḷara. Assembly met at night, resolved that the village of Varakkūr (dēvadāna) divided into six divisions and assigned to 48 tenants with rights of sale and mortgage, was not liable to pay any taxes except those due to the Nāḷuvil-śri-kōyil and the tank Kōkkilānaṭip-perēri. The dues to the temple amounted to 5 kalam per mā (by murakkūl equal to nāḷāyinuvan) from year 17.

189 of 1919.

Year 16, day 32.—Tirumukkūṭal (N.A.)—Tiru manni vāḷara.
An agreement by certain Vaikhānassas of the temple with the officers Puravu - vari - tiṇaik - kaḷam and Varpottagam to use the surplus paddy due by them (as discovered by a scrutiny of the temple accounts) for the recitation of the tiruppadiyam in the temple for the first time. Mentions Śembiyam-māhādēvi-persemanḍapam in the middle of Madhurāntaka-catm.

183 of 1915.
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Year 17.—Külpākkam (N.A.)—The great assembly of Nityavināda calm., assembled in the temple of Śri Kailāsa in the village, borrowed twenty kaṭaṇju of gold from the temple of Rājāditta-Iśvaram-udaityār and placed it in the hands of the ur-vāriyam, who had to supply oil, as interest. 38 of 1911.

Kőnerivājarin (Tj.)—Tiru mannī valara (full). Setting up of image of Kōṭināda-dēva by queen Arindavan-mahādevi who also bought some land for it in year 16. 632 of 1909.

Tirunalavādi (Tri.)—Tiru mannī valara (full). One hundred kāsu for lamp by Teccappan Śembiyan Mādevi, the wife (marṣīyār) of Arumolo alias Uṭtamāśōla-brahama-mārāyar to Tirumalavādi-mahādeva. The money was distributed among shepherds in the same manner and proportion as in 78 (year 16). 78-B mentions a dautak-kāl-pulikkaṭṭil given to the deity. 78-A and B of 1895; SII. v. 637-8.

* Uḍaiyārgudi (SA.)—Tiru mannī valara (full). Land, tax-free, for feeding ten devotees at midday worship and for feeding twenty-five Brahmins in a choultry erected for the merit and in the name of queen Vānavan-mādevi. The land was sold to the queen for 160 kāsu by the Perunguri-sabhā. 627 of 1920.

Year 18.—Mysore—(Kanarese)—Ganjeeyum Pārvadēsumum Kaḍāramum aṇḍa. Erection and endowment of the Śiddheśvara temple on the demise (siddhi) of the daṇḍanāyaka of Śri-yuddhamalla-dēva. Writer of the inscription was the son of Mahāmātra Ajavarmaya. 502 of 1911; EC. ix. Nl. 1.

Treated doubtfully as Rājendra I or II. in ARE. 1921 ASE. F.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 18.—Tirukkalār (Tj.)—Copper-plates. Tiru manni vaḷara. Registers extent of dēvadāna lands belonging to the temple. SIL iii 207; A.K.E. 1903 II 17.

Year 18, day 93.—Tiruvāṃṭṭiṟ (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land for campaka flower-garden. Also, land for village doctor, by many corporate bodies acting together. 18 of 1922.

Year 19.—Maḷūr (Mys.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Sale of land by assembly to temple on receipt of money from the king. 195 of 1911; EC. ix. Op. 84.

Year 19, day 238.—Tirumalavāṭi (Tri)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Two vessels of gold (198 kaḷi) and silver (294 $ kaḷi) by queen Vānavan-mādhūvi. 79 of 1875.

Year 19, day 343.—Uttarambrūr (Ch)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). 2240 kuṭi of land lying waste (maṅģikam) without yielding any taxes was reclaimed by the assembly and presented tax-free for three daily offerings and special worship on the four āyanaṃ and viṣu days and during eclipses to Ananta-nārāyaṇa on the third storey of the temple: some other lands for lamps and offerings to the three (auxiliary) images in the lower floor and 1470 kuṭi for recitation of Tiruvāy notices by three persons during morning and evening services. 176 of 1923.

Year 20.—Kalavāṭtār (NA.) Gold to Kumbāḷaram Uḍaiya-mahā-dīva at Vīkraśinga-catn. Mentions a number of persons of the āḻungaṇattār of the sabhā of the village. 155 of 1916.

Kāṅcipuram (Ch.)—Pūrvadēśamum Gangaívelum Kidāramum koṇṭu. Sale by some merchants of Kāṅcipuram of one tūṇi of land as a tax-free dēvadāna for 127 kaḷaiṇju of gold to Tiruveṭkā-aṇaik-kiṭandarajina Parāmasvāmi at Kāṅcipuram. 23 of 1921.

Kōhūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land by purchase as īrṇayiḷi from ēr by Madhurāntakaṇ-dēvī for feeding persons who attended the nine days festival in the Āditta-Iśvaram-uḍaiyaṭ temple. 303 of 1917.
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Year 20.—Maruddādu (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. 90 sheep for a lamp with ārār of whom some are named. Also sale of land for digging a tank, by a servant of a daṇḍaṇāyaṇa. The village is also called Vikrama-gōṇa-nallīr.

407 of 1912.

Nangavaram (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). The king dismissed two of the temple drummers and appointed another man instead.

335 of 1903.

Śīlaṇpuram (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (damaged). Sale of land 14000 kula (by 16 sāṇ-kōl) to temple by the residents (nagarattōm) of the city as igāyili dēva-dāṇa.

344 of 1912.

Tirumalalavōḍi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Paddy for offerings to images of Pillaiyar Tirumāna-sambandadasīḷa, Tirunāvukkariya-dēva and Nambi Arūranār set up by Tirumālaraṇagān alias Tiruppallittāma-pīcēan and his lady.

37 of 1920.

Tiruvārār (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. List of gifts by Rājendra-gōṇa-dēva's Anumkkiyar Paravainangaiyar for plating and gilding certain portions of the temple; also gift of pearls and coral wreaths by Arumoli-Kāttan alias Lōkamāryān; other gifts. Rāĳārājan-kāṣu-nīyaṅkal is mentioned as a standard of weight for gold.

680 of 1919.

Vēḷdēsavalam (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land for monthly festivals (tiruvādīrai) paṅgagayva, hōma etc., in temple, for the prosperity of the king.

54 of 1918.

Year 21.—Kratnagiri (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Sale of land tax-free to temple for 380 kāsu by the assembly of Ariṇjigai-catum, after paying taxes on part of it for fifteen years on behalf of the original holders who had left the place to live elsewhere without arranging to pay the accumulated dues on the land.

189 of 1914; ARE. 1915 II 22.

* Vast quantities of gold and copper and the building of the temple mentioned.
Year 21.—Tiruvaiyār (Tj.)—Tiru manni valaṟa (full). Gold ornaments, jewelled, to Ulōkamahādēvi-Iśvaram-udaiyār by Dantiśakti. 154 of 1918.

Year 22.—Ś. 955 †—Belatūru (Mys.)—(Kanarese)—Pārvatēśa-nam Gangaiyānam Kāṭīraman-guṇa. Fragment giving the titles assumed by the Vira Balāṇji Dhamma merchants in grants made by them. 140 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 17.

Year 22.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Pārvatēśaṁ etc. Tax-free gift of 1000 kuli of land as dēraṇāṁ and of 3600 kuli by sale of 47 kāḷiṇi by the mā-nagaratōm of Kāṇci puram for worship in the temple Tiruvaṭa-bhuyagghattu-mahāviṃ. 6 of 1921.

Kōḻār (Mys.)—Tiru manni valaṟa (full). Gift of buffaloes for lamp in the Pīḷāri (Kōḷāramma) temple built to the king’s order by Mārāyan Arumolī alias Śēṇāpati Uttamasōḷa-Brahmanārāyan, son of Nārākkan Śrī Kṛṣṇan Rāman alias Rājendra-śōḷa Brahma- mārāyan of Vēḏiṟu Aṇuṅkōli alias Kēralantaka- catām. 480 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 109 (a).

Kōḻambondal (NA.)—Tiru manni valaṟa. Land and gold to 24 dancing girls of Gangakõṇḍa Śōḷa Iśvaram Udaiyār built by priest Iśna Sīva Payḷita (cf. SII. ii. 9). 414 of 1902; SII. vii. 1047.

Year 23.—Kuttāḷam (Tj.)—Tiru manni valaṟa (full). Land for feeding Śivāyōgins at midday service for the prosperity of the king’s arms. Further gift of 12 kōśa for taxes on the land. 99 of 1926.

Maḷār (Mys.)—Tiru manni valaṟa (full). Remission by assembly of taxes on certain temple lands after receiving gold in lieu of the taxes from a servant of the king and headman of a village. 196 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 82, 83.

Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Money by Dēvan-Puṟāṇyāḷ Āḍal-vitanka-māṇikkam, a maid-servant of the bathing

* cf. 152 of Year 3.


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establishment called Ilankēvāra-kula-kāla-teriñja-tirumanjanatātār vēlam for offerings, worship, etc., to Umāparamēśvariyāl of the Tiruppaḷḷikkaṭṭil, an image set up by her. 323 of 1927.

Year 24.—Cidambaram (SA)—Tiru manni vājāra. After Tak-kayalukaṭālamum, the introduction is not in the usual form, but different. Gift of viramu-nilam eḻuṭṭipetki-kālē-araiikkāyi; deducting land taken up by āvai, nāraikālāru, kollai and nattam, making up muppattu-nāḷē-kālē-araiikkāyi, the net arable land was forty vēṭi.

The total yield (varisayilīṭapāṭi) was 4500 kalam of paddy; of this the mēḻvāram was 2250 kalam which, at eight kalam one tōpi and one padakku per kāsu, yielded 264 kāsu which with 40 kāsu from another source formed the fund for the expenses in the temple, to be administered by Kyumānaṇkapurattu ēṅina-vyūpāriyāl, Veḷḷāḷar, Šankaraṇṇāṭiyār, Šāliyār, Paṭṭināvar and other kuṭiligal and the kīṭ-kalanaiygal including carpenters (tōccar), blacksmiths (kollar), goldsmiths (ṭattār) and the koliyar. Another gift by Nakkan Parvai, the aṇukki of the king, for feeding Brahmans and maintaining the required establishment, yielding mēḻvāram of 1225 kalam, to be spent in the manner detailed. 118 of 1888; SII. iv. 223.

Kanyākumārī (Tr.) — Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kayāramum konjamulina. Fifty sheep for lamp by Śōjakulavalli, the cook of the king (Uḻaiyār Śrī Rājēndra-śugādevarkku-tiruvamadu aṭṭum peḻḷaṭṭi).

TAS. i. p. 161.

Mannārkkovil (Tin.)—Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kayāramum konḍa. Reports that the Gopālasvāmin temple was formerly called Rājēndra-cōļa-vināgagar and built by the Čēra king Kājēsimha.* The king made a grant of land to the temple from his palace at Kā_ACL paramount to take effect from year 15 of Jaṭēvarman Sundarāri-cōļa-Pûndyan, one of the king’s sons. 112 of 1905.

* 111 and 113 of 1905 give the name of Rējarēja-dēva, another Čēra king. These were probably Cōļa feudatories. ARE. 1906 II 14.
Year 24.—Olagapuram (SA.)—Tiru manni vajara. Mentions a woman of the Räjendra-sôla-dëvar Mummuḍî-sôḷat-
terinda-tirumâṇjanatâr-vôḷam. 142 of 1919.

Tukkôlam (NA.)—Tiru manni vâḻu (full). Beginning lost. Twelve kalânjju of gold (lîṣai-nilvai-pon) re-
ceived from Šarabandônçâvai of Tôndamân-Pärâṟûr, the peyâṭṭi of Räjendra-sôla Brahmdârîyâr, for a 
lamp to be maintained by the assembly of Urigaiyûr 
alias Râjamûrtânda-catm., a dëvâdana of Tiruvûral-
mahâdëva. 256 of 1921.

Year 24, day 230.—Brahmâdaraisam (SA.)—Land for worship and 
offerings to Pâtâlîvaram-udâiyâr by Parântakan Šutta-
maliyâr alias Mukkôkûlûnâjgar for the king’s success 
(bhûjam vardhikû), the king being present in the 
temple of Râjaraḯjëvaram-udâiyâr at the time. 188 of 1918.

Year 25.—Jambai (SA.)—An agreement among citizens (nugarut-
lû) of the city of Vâlâiyûr alias Nittavîndîpûram on 
the N. bank of the Peñûr. An interesting commuta-
tion of old endowments. 82 of 1906.

Tirunâlavâdî (Tri.)—Tiru manni vâḻu. Silver kava-
cum to be used at the three sacred baths and 30 kâsu 
for one lamp by Udâiyâr Śri Räjendra-sôla-dëvar-
ûkki-sûrûya-Pâncavan-mâdëvi. 70 of 1920.

Year 25, day 112.—Enûvâiyiram (SA.)—Tiru manni vâḻara (full). 
At the king’s order, the assembly of brahmâdëyam 
taniyûr Râjaraḯja-catm. met in the Mummuḍîsôḷan 
with Nambi Udîtûr-udâiyân who governed the village, 
and made a nyavasthai regarding incomes from the 
lands of a number of shrines : Râjaraḯja Viṇṇagâr-âlvûr, 
Kundavai-and Sundara-sôḷa-âlvûrs, Dëvânda, Sarasdû, 
Śri Bhastaṟakîyûr, Mahâmãliyûr, Sûryadëva, Sapat-
matra, Mahâsástâ, Durgaiyûr, Subrahmanyâ, Jyêṣthai-
yûr and the village gods. 335 of 1917.

Year 26—Ś. 959.—Ankanâthapuram (Mys.)—(Kan). Mentions 
the Cangâliga of Kûḍalûr in Nolênuḍ coming on an 
expedition. Grant of Nâvagangalâm as a kai-nâḍ tree
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of all imposts. Some Gāvunḍas made chiefs of certain territories. 142 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 104.

Year 26.—Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru mānṇi vālara. Remission of certain taxes on lands granted for feeding in the Gangaikondān-sālai in the temple by the great assembly of Gaṇḍarādittā-catum., met at the hall Uttamaśōjan-māṇḍapam. 33 of 1920.

" Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru mānṇi vālara. Fourteen kāśu and vessels for early morning offerings by Tirumālalaranga alīus Tiruppaḷḷittāna-pīcen. 61 of 1920.

" Tiruvolliyār (Ch.)—Tiru mānṇi vālara. Adigārigaḷ Rājarājendrasinga Mūvendavēḻar enquired into the affairs of the temple in the Vakkānīkkum-māṇḍapam, and fixed details of service to be maintained from kuggarāṇam and the excess paddy collected from the servants of the temple and the tenants of the dēvaḍāna villages. Interesting schedule of expenses. 146 of 1912.

" Tiruvolliyār (Ch.)—Tiru mānṇi vālara. Sale of land by people of Igaṇṭiyār (dēvaḍāna) to Śattan Rāma-
dēviyār, the ayyukkiyār of the king, for maintaining twelve dēvaḍāniyār in the temple for the goddess Gauri. 153 of 1912.

Year 26, day 180.—Uttaramāṭṭur (Ch.) — Tiru mānṇi vālara (full). Sale of 1,520 kuḷi, tax-free, by the assembly to Vellaimūrti-āḷvār of Rājendra-sāḷa-viṇṇagar for providing seven kuggar of paddy daily to three persons reciting the Tiruvolliyār in the temple; also two plots of land, one as Vājasonćiak-kiḍalippr-imm and the other for a flower-garden and festival in Māśi Pumarvau. Names of taxes remitted: one set giving sittāyam paṇcavāram sittirāi ecoṭṭukkārrariṇi aṭṭukkāl-
amāṇji; another erikkādi pāḍaganellu uḷavirai nīṛvilai and other piṭṭagaiyirai. 194 of 1923.

Year 27.—Āḻūr (Mys.)—Tiru mānṇi vālara (full). Land to Cāmuṇḍiśāvarī by the ūr including Māṇipka-śettī of
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Vañnapuram (in this nāḍu), and Rājendra-sōla-gāmuṇḍan of Vīṇṇamangalam, who was doing the nāṭṭu-gāmuṇḍu. 

EC. ix. NL 7 (a).

Year 27.—Ārppākam (Ch.)—Tiru manni vāḷara. Land by residents (ūr) of Ārppākam for the maintenance of seven musicians for service in the temple Tiruvil-viṇṇagar-āḻvār. 145 of 1923.

Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tiru manni vāḷara. Money for nīlēṟṟu by a native of Mīvanam for which some temple land was made tax-free. Also gold for lamp. Mentions Kundavaip-pēṟēṟi and Sundaraśōḷap-pēṟēṟi. 264 of 1915.

Year 28.—Tiruvāḷutuṟṟu (Tj.)—Tiru manni vāḷara. Land, half-vēli, made tax-free for 200 kāṉu received from the temple by assembly (sabhā) of Mēṟkili-mangalam with the condition that the Māḷēṉavas of Sarva-dēvān Tirumāḷam called after the king’s guru should be fed daily. Mentions Tūṟūvan Arumōḷi, a woman of the Periya Vēḷuṟu, as owning some adjacent land in describing boundaries. 103 of 1925.

Year 29.—Kāmaraśavallī (Tri.)—Tiru manni vāḷara. Land by the assembly of Kāmaraśavallī-catuṟm. to Śēkkai-māṟāyan Vikaramaśōḷān for performing the sākkai-kūṟṟu thrice during either of the Tiruvāḷdirāi festivals in Mēṟgāḷi and Vaiyāśi. Śēṟris numbered one to four in the village mentioned. 65 of 1914.

Tirthamalai (Sm.)—Pāṟvadēśam etc. Gift of three villages by Utamaśōḷa-Puramalai nāḍūḻvān, who seems to have been the chief of Rājendra-sōḷa-viriyūr-nāḍu. The donor repaired the temple and constructed the Mukhamāṇḍapa. Taguḷūr-nāḍu was a sub-division of Nigarili-sōḷa-māṇḍalam. 670 of 1905.

Tiruvishalūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vāḷara (full). Land for lamp by a queen. Mentions a revenue survey of the country. 347 of 1907.

* May 6, 1941 A.D. ARE. 1915. App. F. (L.D.S.)
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Year 29.—\textit{Tiruvoggiyur} (Ch.)—Money deposited, interest to be paid in paddy, with the inhabitants of Iganiyur, for offerings every year at the festival of \textit{pudiyidu} (first crop?) by Nakkan Kôdai \textit{alias} Kâñçepura-nangai, a \textit{maga}l (maid-servant?) of Tiruvêkkambam-ùçaiyamahâdêva of Nagaram Kâñçepuram. 139 of 1912.

\textit{Tiruvoggiyur} (Ch.)—\textit{Tiru mann i va\textit{la}ra} (full). Gift of \textit{tulai-nigai-pon} and Madhurântaka-dévan-máçai for Mârgâji-tiruvâdirai and for feeding three Brahman learned in the Védas. Money loaned out on interest at 2 \textit{kalam} of paddy per annum by the Râjakèari-mankkâm on each \textit{pon} and \textit{máçai}, with the \textit{nagarattâr} of Tiruvoggiyur and the residents of Mañjîyam-Kârâñai. 140 of 1912.

\textit{Tiruvoggiyur} (Ch.)—\textit{Tiru mann i va\textit{la}ra} (full). Râjarâjan kâsîn* for feeding a Brahman by Kûttna Gâñavadi, the military officer of Gangâi-kônîlân \textit{alias} Uttama-sôjamârâyan, also called Sirudanam Perudanam† mârâyan. Money loaned out to merchants of the place, interest being payable in paddy. Mentions Aâriyammai and her money gift. 141 of 1912.

\textit{Trihkuvani} (Pondicherry) — \textit{Tiru mann i va\textit{la}ra}. Assembly agree regarding land for feeding the Śrîvaiśnavas of the eighteen districts in the Râjendra-sôjan-madham not to change its class or levy on it Śrî-Śåyam and sûruvari. 187 of 1919.

Year 30.—\textit{Kûñjîyur} (Tj.)—\textit{Tiru mann i va\textit{la}ra}. Appointment of new dancing-master, the late master's brother-in-law (\textit{mattbudan}), nun-gândarovan araiyan Râjarâjan \textit{alias} Muñkëonîla - sôla - vêcçiya - mârâyan; the place was to be hereditary (vargattâr). 23 of 1895; \textit{SII.} v. 579.

* Must have been \textit{h} a \textit{máçai} as interest was \textit{h} \textit{kalam} per annum. \textit{ARE.}
1913 II 22.

† Treasuries small and big (Hultsch); minority and majority of the king? Perhaps purely honorary titles implying status in official life or society. \textit{ARE.}
1913 II 22.

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Year 30.—Tirunāgēśvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara. Mentions innādu vagai-śeyinga Koñandaññī Udayīn. Adigārīgal Rājendraśōla-mūvēnda-velān sent a niyōgam (order) that a tirukkolgai, tiruk-koḍukku and tiruk-kōsam were to be made from gold accumulated in the form of flowers and broken jewels. Another niyōgam from the mūluparudaiyār of Tirukkuḍamākki. The niyōgam was addressed to Šrīkōḻil-vaṟiyam-śeyvär Devakannīs, Paṇḍārīgal and Karunattān. Mentions also Kaṭtriya-malla-teriñjā-valangai-veḷaiyārār.

83 of 1897; SII. vi. 33.

"Tiruvōḷiyyūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara (full). 90 sheep for lamp by Māriyān Gaṅgaiṅoḻ̄a-śōla alias Uttama-śōla-māriyān, chief of Tiruvōḷi, for the merit of one Gaṅavadi Iḷumbar alias Tammī-mūnvār-peeḍiṅgangā Visaiyaraīyan*, who stabbed himself and died (in order to relieve) the distress of the donor. Another gift of 90 sheep for lamp by Nimbalā-dēvi, wife of Indaḷa-dēva of Taḷaigrāma in Virāṭalēsā.†

138 of 1912.

"Tiruvōḷiyyūr (Ch.)—Sale of land, for the maintenance of a flower-garden and the supply of four garlands every day, to Nāgalabbai Sāni alias Āriyammaī, wife of Prabhaṅka-bhaṅṭa of Mūṟkāḷiḷpuram in the Āryāḷēsā. "The land purchased included house-sites for the tenants who cultivated it; and it was also specified in the deed that the tenants were not liable to pay any kind of irai (the kuṭimai of other inscriptions) such as veṭṭi, amaṇji and kuṭṭunel."

155 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 22.

"Tiruvōḷiyyūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni valara. Sale of land by assembly of Moḷalī alias Simhaviṅgū-class, to a person who presented it to the temple. Mention that eight Madhurōṅṭaka-dēva-māḷāi was the price of 2000 kuḷi of land.

156 of 1912.

* Same as Kūṭta Gaṅavadi of 141 cf. 411 of 1912 of Yr. 8 of Rājarīga,
ARE. 1913 II. 22.

† Country round Hangal, itself called Virāṭanagari or Virāṭakōṭe in inscriptions. — ibid.

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Year 30.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumanni vailara. Sale of some waste land (innilangal innāvaraiyil igaiyigādu kidandamaiyil), tax-free, by the sābbā to the Rājendra-sōla-vinnagar for a flower-garden, including 120 kuli as Nanda-vanappūram for three gardeners (ucappār), and to provide for a maṭhum called after Kundavai-ālvār for feeding Śrī-vaṅgaṇavas. The tenants had not to pay ucāvāigai. 184 of 1923.

Year 31.—Ś. 9(54.) * Śuttāgu (Mys.)—Pūrvadesam etc. Land to temples for services in them including “Pānca mahāśabdam un trika lājisuvaḍakē.”
1 of 1895; EC. iii. Nj. 164.

Year 31.—Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tirumanni vailara. 90 sheep for lamp by Nittavināṭat-terinjaja-Vaṅga-vēlai . . . . . . . . given to Tiruvannālagai-udaiyir and Dēvakanmigal.
17 of 1890; SII. iv. 340.

Tiruvogriyēr (Ch.)—Tirumanni vailara (full) — 150 kāsū by Caturānanā Panjita of Tiruvogriyēr and Tirumayānām for ghi to bathe god on the Mārālī-tiruvādirai day, the king’s birthday.
104 of 1912; 399 of 1896; SII. v. 1354.

Year 32.—Kāḷugōḍi (Mys)—Pūrvadesam etc. Construction of a tank at Paṭṭandōr by Rājarāja Vēḷān, son of the Nāṭṭukkāmunḍan of Šeṇṇai-nāḍu.
170 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 142.

Tirunogēśvarum (Tj.)—Tirumanni vailara (full). Mentions years 24 and 31 of the king and Narukkāṇ Kṛṣṇān Rāmaṇ who gave some land to temple for bath, flowers and offerings to god. Mentions vellān vetṭi among taxes (varigal.) 217 of 1911.

Year 32, day 70.—Tiruvāṉṭṭāṟ (SA.)—Tirumanni vailara. Gold vessel called Rājendrasōḷan for sacred bath to god.
28 of 1922.

Year 33.—Tiruvāṉūr (Ch.)— 79 of 1909.

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The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

_Agaram_ (Ch.)—Construction of stone temple of Tirukkallayar at Vānavan-mahādevi, (Vanamangai.)

231 of 1931.

_Brahmadēsam_ (NA.)—Provision for daily offerings and feeding of hundreds of Vaiṣṇava pilgrims coming from the Tiruvēngāda-malai.

255 of 1915.

_Eṻṇāyiram_ (SA.)—_Tiru manni vaḷara_. By the king’s order, 46 veḷi of land was given to Rājarāja-viṇṇagar by the assembly of _taniyūr_ Rājarāja-catam. for offerings, the recitation of _Tiruvāyur_ and the maintenance of an educational institution in which Vēdas, vyākaraṇa and mimāṃsā were taught.

333 of 1917.

_Mahēndragiri_ (Gj.) (Sanskrit).—Below the inscription is engraved a tiger with double fish in front. Having defeated Vimalāditya, the king set up a pillar of victory on the Mahēndra mountain.

396 of 1896 *; _SII_. v. 1351.

_Mangalum_ (Sm.)—Gift of the village Mangalum as a _dēvadāna_ to the temple of Rājasēkhara-Īvaramudaiya-mahādeva built by Kongilāñḍar of Mudalā-nilappallī _alias_ Jayangonda-sōlapuram in VallavaraiyarnāṆu. Proclaims that the property of those who steal away the cattle from this _dēvadāna_ or otherwise cause any injury to the village shall become the property of the god. Mentions Munnūṟuvvar of some nāṆu.

157 of 1915.

_Nambikkallī_ (Mys.)—(Kan.).—Ereya Gāvunla, son of Arasigaya Gāvunla, who took Beḷagattūr in Cōraya-dēva’s war when cows were carried off and women’s clothes were unloosed (_tora golalu pēyilun ude uchchaḷu_), fought and went to svarga.


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* 397 (_SII_. v. 1352) is a Tamil version of same. Also 858 of 1917, a much damaged record, begins with names Madhurantaka and Rājendra.
Pailabanda (An.)—Tiru manni valara. * Cows for lamp to the Mahādēva temple. 7 of 1917.

Polonnāruva (Ceylon.)—Tiru manni valara. Mentions shrine of Pallākkondār within the temple of Vānavanmādēvi-Iśvaram Udaiyār. 595 of 1912; SII. iv. 1389, 1390.

Śembiyamahādēvi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara to tiru-tagnostum. Decision of the assembly, met in the Śembiyan-mahādiviyal-periyan-manḍapam, to utilise the vellān-velli from the dēvaṇāna lands of Ādityēvaram Udaiya-mahādēva at Mōganūr, a western hamlet of the village, for a lamp in that temple. 483 of 1925.

Śivapuri (SA.)—Pārva-dēkaṭum Gangaiyum Kadāra-mum koṇḍa. Gold by Nāṭṭāmai . . . . , a maid-servant of the bathing establishment in the palace at Gangai-koṇḍa-sōḷapuram. 510 of 1926.

Tālaiiccangādu (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full); damaged. Remission of taxes on some temple lands by assembly in lieu of the annual interest of 150 kaḷāṇju due on 800 kāśu equal to 400 kaḷāṇju of gold (by standard Rājēndra-sōḷam-māḷai) received from a merchant of the Vira-sōḷa-maligai at Gangai-koṇḍa-sōḷapuram on account of the temple of Tiruvāyppūḷi-ālvār. 203 of 1925.

Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full). List of lands lying waste till year 21, and brought under cultivation, for feeding Śivayōgins and tapasvins on the occasion of the midday offering, by a servant of the king. 75 of 1920.


* Evidence of annexation of Nuḷambapūḷi-AKE. 1917 ii 2.
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_Tirunayaiyūr_ (Tjr.) — Mentions a _dōvadāna_ village belonging to the temple of _Arunoṭi-dōva_ Īsvara at _Pāraśīyaṇa_. 157 of 1908.


_Tiruvāḍuṇai_ (Tjr.) — List of presents to temple by several persons including _Rājendra’s mother_, the guru of _Uḍaiyar Rājadhirāja-dōva_ and servants of the _Periyavāḷam_. Mentions _Rājarājanūṭai_ as test of fineness of gold. 104 of 1925.

_Tiruvaiyānu_ (Tjr.) — Verse:

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  ṛṇaḥ-ṛājaṁya-makula-svējī-valnēṣu sāsanam /
  etad-rājendra-cūlasya parakēsari-varmaṇaḥ //
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214 of 1894; _SII_. v. 513.


_Tiruvorriyūr_ (Ch.) — Erection of the _Śrī-vimāna_ to _Dēvaśa_ in _Adhipuri_ in fine black stone (atibahulaturai-rasimahhiḥ kṣīna-varmaniḥ) by _Ravi_, called _Vara śirāṭatakan_, under orders of _Rājendra_, the son of _Rāja-rāja_. The _vimāna_ was of three tiers (trīṭaḷam) and built at the instance of _Caturāna(ippa)_. 105 of 1892; _SII_. iv. 553; also 126 of 1912.

For daughter see — _Rājadhirāja_ I-Yr. 29, day 102— _Tirumalavāṭi_, 71 of 1920.
RAJAKESARI RÄJÄDHIRAJA I.

[ acc.—* 15 Mar.—3rd Decr. A.D. 1018, ]

Year 2.—Sendalai (Tj.)—Śrī-bāti in the temple of Perundurai-
udaiyar had to be stopped owing to absence of drum-
mers and the land appertaining to this service was
thereupon transferred to some others. 201 of 1926.

Year 3 †—Koṭtaiyūr (Tj.)—Rājak. alias Tribhuvana-cakravartīn
Rājādhirāja-dēva. 270 kāśu by Arumoli-nangai, wife
of Araiyan Porcōman of Īr alias Kulottunga-sūla-Savan-
namangalam for offerings to an image of Śrī-lāyingum-
purāṇa-dēva (Linga-purāṇa-dēva) set up by her.

241 of 1927.

Year 5.—Kāṭhastī (C.)—Sale of land for areca-nut garden in
the name of Tirukkaṇṇappa-dēvar, for 250 kāśu from
the temple treasury. 125 of 1922.

Year 5, day 87.—Kāṭhastī (C.) — Cakravartīn R. An order
(uṭvart) of gift of tax-free land in Pālsaiyāru in
Ambar-nālū of Uyyakκonḍāl-vāla-nālū. 121 of 1922.

Year 10.—Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Tingalōr-taru. Remission
by royal order of taxes on some lands belonging to the
temple of Tiruvēḷirukkai-mahādēva for a lump payment
of 100 kāśu (Rājarājan kāśu 75, pālaiyāśu 25) made
to the assembly of Śatiyakkudi 484 of 1925. ‡

Year 24.—Penṭāḷam (S.A.)—Vijayarājendra-dēva who was pleased
to take the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Śeraṭānu-salai,
Ilangai and Raṭṭapādu 7½ lakhs, and to perform the
anointment of victors at Kalyāṇapura. Money for
offerings. 245 of 1929.

† Saturday, April 30th 1020 A.D. ARE. 1927, App. E.
‡ The regnal year is really 36 in the impression, though it is given as 10 in
ARE. 1926. This is followed by a long introduction of Vijayarājendra stopping
with the regnal year.
Year 26.—Pennaḍam (SA.)—Who took the head of Vira Pāṇḍya and destroyed the ships at Kandaṭūr-śilai. Records rates of taxes due to temple in merchandise.

244 of 1929.

" Tirukkalukkuṇṟam (Ch.)—Tingalé-rāṇu. The naga-rattar (names of vīyāpārikaḷ given) of Tirukkalukkuṇṟam alias Ulagalanda-śoḻapūram make a nilavilai-āvanak-kaiyelutu, for tiruvenndai and arcanā-bhōga to the god on the hill top. Reason for this disposal of the land: innitam kāykōḻyak-kiḻanda-maiyin. 172 of 1894; SII. v. 465.

" * Tirumalavāḻi (Tri.)—Tingalé-pegu. The Perungur- mahāsabha of Gaṇḍarāditta-catm. dispose of some taxes and institute a festival on: nammai uḍaiya cakravarti Śri-Rājendra-śoḻa-dēva tirunakṣattiram. 75 of 1895; SII. v. 633.

" Tiruvvōrriyūr (Ch.) — Tingalé-rāṇu. An enquiry into temple affairs by the adhiṣṭhīrī Valavan Mūvēnda-vēḷar and Vikkira-śinga-mūvenḍa-vēḷar held in the maṇḍapa of the temple called Maṇḍai-koṇḍa-śoḷan. They sold uncultivated waste lands of the temple to a military officer of the Cōḷa country, who brought them under cultivation and provided paddy for offerings on festive occasions. The temple share (irai) was 28 kalam of paddy on each vēli for one class of land, and 19 kalam for another. The donor was the chief of Śattimangalam, of the rank of perundam-daṇṭanāyakam and was named Śoḷan Kumaran Madhurāntaka Mārāyan. 103 of 1912 †; ARE. 1913 II 24.

Year 26, day 120.—Brahmandēsam (NA.)—Tingalé-rāṇu. The assembly which met under a tamarind tree sold land for a water-pandal for quenching the thirst of the king Śri-udaiyar Rājendra-cōḷa-dēva and queen Vira-mahā-dēviyār, who is said to have entered the supreme feet of Brahmā in the very same tomb in which the body

† cf. 102 of 1913 of Year 26, day 134.
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of king Rājendra Cōla was interred; the gift was by sēnāpati Madhurāntakan alias Parakōsari Vēḷār, who was the brother of the queen. 260 of 1915.

Year 27.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Tingāḷēr-taru up to Koḷiḷippākkaiyullēri-māṭuppi, and then Villavar Minavar etc. Kōnīrī ēr took five kāḷānu for offerings to Tirumayāntattu Brahmlāvar Unālaiyam-mahādēva of Kāncipuram. Details of expenditure given for the annual interest of 8 kalam and one tūṇi of paddy, at one kalam and two tūṇi per pon-kāḷānu. Ippomudāpon-kāḷagaven-kollappēdōmāganavum.

54 of 1893; SII. iv. 867.

"Tiruppgalūr (Tj.)—Tingāḷēr-taru to Koḷiḷippākkaiyullēri-māṭuppi. Money by a Brahman lady for festival and offerings, including the service of eight men who helped in the Aṣṭa-mangalām during the abhisēka on the Sadaiyam day of every month.

49 of 1928; ARE. 1928 II 7.

"Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tingāḷēr-taru. Details of quantities of paddy due from temple lands bought over by Rājendra-sōja-dēva-anukkkiyār Paravainangaiyār for expenses connected with offerings and worship to Tiruvāranceyyaiyār.

679 of 1919.

"Tiruvveppiyār (Ch.)—Money for Māsi-makham by members of the assembly of Manali alias Singaviṣṇu-catam. deposited with the revenue-accountant (puravāvarid-ṭīnāik-kaḷattuk-kaḷakkan) of Siruvāyppēdu alias Mūmmudisōja-nallūr, who had to pay the interest in paddy.

142 of 1912.

Year 27, day 241. *—Tiruppangili (Tri.)—Tingāḷēr-taru (omissions and abridgments). Sale of land as abhisēka-dakṣiṇā by the mūlaparuḍai of taniyūr Tiruvellai to Rājādhirāja-dēvar perundanam Uṭtama-cōḷanallikurūḍaiyān Venkādan Śankaran alias Danḍanāyaka Rājādhirāja Pallavaraiyan, for feeding Brahmans.

90 of 1892; SII. iv. 537.

RAJAKESARI RAJADHIRAJA I

Year 27 + 1.—Tirumanaṇaḻiṟi (Tj.)—Land for feeding annually 1000 devotees including Śivayōgins and tapasvins in the temple of Tirukkarraḷi-mahādēva in the locality on Panguni-uttiram day. 2 of 1914.

Year 28.—Kāḻahasti (C.)—Mentions the king’s conquest of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Cēra king and Ceylon. Two lamps. 283 of 1904.

Kiḻiyanūr (SA.)—Tingalēr-taru (part). Sale of land for 22 kāśu by assembly of Kēralāntaka-catm. to temple of Tiruvaiḷḷavara for the maintenance of a feeding-house called Maṟavaḍīgai. The land was made iraiyilī after payment of 78 more kāśu. 151 of 1919.*

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. Thirty kāśu for special offerings paid to the assembly (sabhā) of Kēvai-nūr alias Kamala-nūrāyana-catm. who agreed to pay as interest 75 kulam of paddy every year for offerings. Mentions images of the Bhaktas (63 nāyanār) † (pattarkul-tirumēnī). Catalogue of temple servants. 137 of 1912.

Uṭṭattūr (Tri.)—Parakēsari ‡ alias Rājādhīrāja-dēva who destroyed the ships at Śalai and took the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya. Sale of land to temple. 513 of 1912.

Veppangulam (Ch.) — Tingalēr - taru (variant form). Fixing expenses in temple by royal order. 417 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 3.

Year 28, day 134.—Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Sale of land by some members of the assembly of Maṇai alias Śingaviṇu-catm. a devadāna of the temple of Tiruvorriyūr-udaiyār. to Duṇḍanāyakam Śōlan Kumaran Parāntaka Mārāyan alias Rājādhīrāja Nilagangasaiyar. 102 of 1912.

* cf 152, Year 29.
† Their stories were compiled in an abbreviated form by Nambi Xaḍūr Nambi in the time of Rājarāja I, under the name Tiruttōṇḍattogai (sic)’ ARE. 1913, II. 24.
‡ Apparently a mistake for Rējak.
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Year 29.—Gangavāra (Mys.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). A grant by persons named. 176 of 1911; EC. ix. Dv. 75.

" Kiliyanār (SA.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple by assembly for feeding-house. Sale price 30 kāśu; tiydravyam 50 kāśu. 152 of 1919. *

" † Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. The Mahāsabhā of Rājačulāmaṇi-catm. met in the Brahmasthānam and sold 2000 kuli of land to the temple of Tuvarāpati alias Kāmakkōli-viṇṇugār-ālvār for 100 kāśu.

6 of 1892; SII. iii. 28.

" Tirumalarādi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. Land for lamp by Araiyan Jayangonḍa-ālvār, also Paṇcavan-mādēvīyar wife of Śōla-vallabha-dēva, called Pillaiyar.

85 of 1920.

" Tirunēkkāṭu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). Land, by the king, seated on the flight of steps to the north of the Gangai-konḍa-śiljan-māligai inside the palace in Gangai-konḍa-śilapuram, for offerings to Ardhanāri-dēva in the temple of Tirunēkkāṭudaiyar given as devadāna (devadānamāga variyiliitu.)

114 of 1896; SII. v. 978.

Year 29, day 102.—Tirumalarādi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. A pearl umbrella by Madhurāntaka-dēvan Aruṣoṭi-nan- gaiyar alias Pirūnār, daughter of Rājendra-cōla-dēva.

71 of 1920.

Year 30.—Emūyiram (SA.)—Tingalēr-taru. ‡ Assembly (Perunguri) of taniyūr Rājarāja-catm. met in the mandapa Mummudi-śiljan with Aragan Vīrīrundān alias Nirupāndra-sōla-Mūvēnda-vēlar § who was governing the village, and ordered the lands of the temple of Tiruvāyppādi-dēvar to be taxed on the lowest

* cf. 151 of Year 28.
‡ As in 221 of 1894 Yr. 32.
§ 240 of 1929 (Peppājam, Year 32, day 345) also mentions him.

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scale (kaḍaitaram), as were those of Rājarāja-vinnagar-dēvar and Kundavai-vinnagar-dēvar. The royal order dated 137th day in the 27th year reached the assembly only on 240th day in the 30th year.

330 of 1917.

Year 30.—Kanyākumāri (Tri.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum Śrēra-ḍan sāliyum Itangaiyum-taṇḍāyukṣa. Order to the officers of the salt department (uppaḷaṅgaḷ kēṟusēy-vārum kapkāṇi sēyvārum) in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḷu to remit to the Śri Vallavapperūṇjālai alias Rājarājappaperūṇjālai of Kalikkudi, salt at the rate “uppu muda-lilum selavilum kalattuvāy nāḻigai-yugai” (one nāḻi of salt per kalam of salt added to stock or spent from it,—Gopinatha Rao). Mentions that Nāṉjinēṭṭu Manar-kudi aliya Mahāpūlakulakālap-pōṟaḷam had stopped remitting the kaiyugai salt for sometime before this order. T.A.S. i. pp. 162-4. Same as 93 of 1896.


Year 30.—Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tingalēr-teru (with variant readings). The sabhā of Mandaram undertake to supply three tumbai garlands (tiruppallittāmam) daily at interest on 10 kalam 6 nāḻi and 1 vēlku of paddy (?). 6 of 1890; S.II. iv. 329.

Tiruvēṇkāṭu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-teru. Amalan Śeyyavāyār set up an image of Picca-dēvar, gave lands for its requirements, presented gold and silver ornaments to it, opened a charity house (sāḷai) and provided for its maintenance. Daily wage of a woman servant of the sāḷai was one kēḷunī of paddy. The same person obtained lands for the temple from the king’s father who was pleased to take the Pūrvadēsam, Gangai and Kiṭāram. 450 of 1918.

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Year 30.—Trihuwani (Pondicherry)—Tingalher-taru (full). Land for offerings in the name of Rājendra-śōla by Śanāpati Rājendra-śōla Māvalivānarājar, under the auspices of the great assembly of the village, a taniyur, which met in the Maṇḍapa built by Śembiyann Umbalā-nāṭṭu-Mūvēnda-vēḷaṇ for the merit of Rājendra. 72 vēḷi yielding 12,000 kalam of paddy per annum, of which 2475 kalam went for festivals (specified), feeding Vaiṣṇavas and reciting the Tiruvāymoḷi, the balance going to the maintenance of an elaborately organised college of higher learning. Conditions laid down regarding the grading and taxation of this land. Exemptions for teachers and students. 176 of 1919.

Year 31.—Ālambākham (Tri.)—Tingalher-taru. The servants of the temple residing at Madhurāntaka-catm. received five kāsu from a merchant of that village and agreed to supply paddy towards the interest for maintaining a lamp in the temple of Kailāsamaṇḍaiya-mahādēva.

721 of 1909.

Munagamakulapalli (C.) — (Kan). Rājarāja Brāhma-dhirāja was ruling Mahārāja-vara 7000. Mention death of Mādabbe, wife of Sōvaya alias Rājendra-cōla-deśa Raṭṭāgudi, son of Kommayya Raṭṭāgudi.

295 of 1922.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tingalher-taru. In compliance with the king's order, Vēṅkāṭan Tirunilakantha alias Adhikāri Irumudiśōla-mūvēnda-vēḷaṇ utilised certain gold and silver vessels in the temple treasury for the erection of a golden pavilion for Udaiyār Vidi-viṣanka-dēva of Tiruvārūr. Other gifts recorded in continuation (versees).

670 of 1919.

Tiruvilīmiḷalai (Tj.)—A detailed description of the boundaries of Jayangonda-śōla-nallūr, a dēvadāna village of the temple of Tiruvilīmiḷalai. Mentions a survey of the temple lands.

393 of 1908.

* No. 723 recording the erection of a maṇḍapa in the temple says that the temple was founded by Dānti.
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Year 31.—Tiruvorriyir (Ch.)—Tingalé-raru (full). The mahá-sabha of Sundaraseša-cattam and Vánavan-mahádevi-cattam sold land as vaidhapparam to Āriyavammainia alias Nágalavaiccáui, the wife of Prabhákara-bhaṭṭan of Mógaḷipuram in the Āriyadeśa, who had done tiruppani to the local god and founded the Rájendra-sójana-mátha. 107 of 1892 *; SIL. iv. 555; 132 of 1912.

Tiruvorriyir (Ch.)—Tingalé-raru. 35 sheep for a lamp by Caturaḷ-caturi, the ugamulaiyáḷ of Nágan Perungádan and a dévaradiyáḷ of the temple. 147 of 1912.

Year 32.—Basisikondu (C.)—Tingalé-pegá. 1,500 merchants of all samayas, of the four quarters, including nálu, nagara and nánadéśi met at Sírāvali in Mugaínádu in Púraṇi-mñitrayaśádi of Jayangoḍa-sóḷa-máḍalama, and resolved to convert the village into a nánadéśiya Dusámaṇi-Śrivaśireśapáṭaṇa and grant certain privileges to the residents of that village. 342 of 1912.


Tiruccengáḷḷangúli (Tj.)—Tingalé-raru. Land tax-free to temple in the village by the assembly of Tirukkaṇṉapuram met in the temple of Brahmiśvaram-uḍaiyá-mahádeva of their village. 55 of 1913.

Tirumalavádi (Tri.)—Tingalé-raru. The Perunguri-maháśabhai of Gaṇḍarādittam-cattam. met in the Śri Gaṇḍarādittac-cári of the place (nammúr) and gave land for ten lamps to the temple. 81 of 1895; SIL. v. 641. †

* cf 127 of 1912 n.-d.
† cf. 256 of 1912, ARE. 1913 II 25.
‡ Astronomical details given for only year 22. (Kishúrn ÉI. iv. p. 218). But the prácātri records late transactions of the reigned and must be of year 32.
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Year 32. — *Truvaiyāru (Tj.)—Tingalēr - taru. Three hundred Rājarāja-mādas by Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva†; also gifts in year 27 of Periya-dēvar who conquered Pūrvadēsam etc., and year 31 of Rājādhīrāja. 300 Rājarāja-mādas equalled 337½ kalāniṇi by kudānaikkal.

221 of 1894; SII. v. 520.

" Tiruvirudinarudēr (Tj.) — Tingalēr - peya - valar. An endowment in favour of Araiyan Tiruvirudinarudurudaiyan alias Mummuḍi-sōḷa-nittappēraraian and his troupe. The grant proper begins with the word 'Kōnerunmatikōṇā.' 264 of 1907.

" Vīddhācēlam (NA.)—Tingalēr-valar. 32 cows for lamp. King called Jayangonḍa-sōḷa. 55 of 1918.

Year 32, day 28.—Tennēri (Ch.) — Viru Pāṇiyan-talaiyum etc.— On a representation made to Adhikāri Viramāraya-Muṇṇāvēlar who had convened an assembly in the hall called Rājarājan in Uttama-sōḷa-catm., the lands in the village were properly classified and assessed. The new award was engraved in the temple of Uttama-sōḷahār. 239 of 1922.

Year 33.—Ś. 971—Cīk-kāṭi (Mys.)-(Kan.)—Viru Pāṇiyan-talēyum Āraṇam śāleym Lankaiyum danībālikōṇa. Erection of temple and grant of land and cows. EC. iv. Gu. 93. †

Year 33.—Gangarāvu (Mys.)—Tingalēr-taru. Senpāi-nādu was the jīvita § conferred by the king on Sēnāpati Rājendra-sōḷa-brahma-māraiyar.

177 of 1911; EC. ix. Dv. 76.

* Introduction same also in 444 of 1905—year 31, Tiruttanī.
† Perhaps the future Kulottunga I—ARE. 1895, paragraph 11.
‡ Hs. 32 n.-d. mentions a war between Rājādhīrāja and a Pallava; Ch. 50, the burning of the Cāḷukya palace at Kampli (on the Tungabhadra, in the Bellary District). EC. iv. Introduction p. 14.
§ Rice takes this to be the authorisation of some collections during the officers' life-time. Eng. Tr. p. 85.
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Year 33.—Kuḻambandal (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. Provision for a lamp and for antik-loppu by Udaiyār Rājadhīrajār Gurudūvar Adhikārigal Parāśaryan Vāsudēva-nārāyaṇan alias Ulagaḻandar-aḻiḷa Brahmamārājan.

413 of 1902 ; SII. vii. 1046.

Māṇḍikere (Mys.) — Tingalēr-pēya - rahur. Sēnāpatai Jayangonḍa-aḻiḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyur agrees to take as mēḻvaram in Māṇṭai-nāḍu : “niṟṟāram baṟṟi aṟṟiṟṟī raṟṟum kāṟṟāmbam nādi-l ūṟṟum,” two-fifths of wet crops and one-fourth of the dry.

505 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Nl. 25.

Tirukkolambiṟ (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Agreement by the mahāsabba of Abhayāsiraya-catm. to pay all taxes on certain specified lands of the temple in lieu of interest on 250 kāsu received by them from the temple. Mentions grain measure : āyiravan-muṟrkkuḷ and the Kuḻiramaḷḷan-vāykkul.

52 of 1925.

Tirumalavūṭi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. Vira-rājendravarman. Land, for daily worship of some images, by the Perunguri mahāsabba of Gaṅḍalāditya - catm. assembled in the temple Gaṅḍalāditya-vīṁṭagar.

78 of 1920.

Tiruvilakkūṭi (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. (form including Pūṇḍur). Remission of taxes on some temple lands for a lump sum by the assembly of Gaṅgaikonḍa-aḻa-catm.

119 of 1926.

Yeldūr (Mys.)—Vira-Pūṇḍiyam tulaiyum Śrēlaṇ-śetaliyum Ilangaiyum Irappāṭiyum koṇḍa. Gifts to temple for tiruvamidu.

471 of 1911 ; EC. x. Mb. 106 (a).

Year 34. — Brahmadēśam (NA.) — Tingalēr-taru. Gold, 12 kalāṇḍu, for offerings to Pāsupatamūrti when taken out on procession for śrī-bal; the gift was by a woman of Niyaṁam in Pūḷar-kōṭtam of Jayangonḍa-aḻa-manḍalam.

262 of 1915.
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Year 34. — Pennadjan (SA.) — Rājak. Vijayarājendra-dēva who was pleased to take the head of Vira Pāṇḍya, the sālai of Śrēṇājan, Ilangai, Iraṭṭapādi 7½ lakhs, and who performed the anointment of victors at Kalyāṇapuram. Money for offerings to god and goddess. 245 of 1929.

Tirunukkuṭu (Tj.) — Tingalēr-ṭaru as in 92 of 1892 n.-d. Sheep for two lamps by Araiyan Nambanangai, mother of queen Trailōkyam-uṭalīyār. 446 of 1918.


Year 35. — Kōlār (Mys.) — Vīrāqyam-tulaiyum Šrī...n sālaiyum Ilangaiyum Iraṭṭapādi - Eśwaraīḻakkanum koṇḍu Kalliyāṇapurattu jaya...n mūṭi virasīngāṣanattu vīḻgirundu Vijayarājendra-vaiṣṇavēkan ✦ ....... ḍina etc. (Fragment.) The king is called Parakēsari. 135 of 1892 ; 477 of 1911 ; E.C. x. Kl. 112 (b).

Kōnērivājapuram (Tj.) — Same introduction as the preceding, with Śrēṇājan-tulaiyum for sālaiyum. Lamp to Vaiṣṇava temple. 656 of 1909 †.


Pāṇḍāravāḍai (Tj.) — Tingalēr-ṭaru. Agreement by assembly of Rājakēsari-catūm. to pay all taxes on some temple lands in lieu of interest on amounts borrowed


† King taken to be different from and brother of Rājak. Rājadhirāja by Rice—E.C. x p. xxvii.

‡ Text has year 34.

§ As in 172 of 1894.

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from the temple treasury in the 28th year of Periyadévar who took Púrvadéśam etc., for the purchase of house-sites, and in the 31st year of Rájádhirája amounting with interest to 710 káśu. One kálaíjú was equal to two káśu. 228 of 1923.

Year 35.—Tiruvadandai (Ch.)—Vijayarágéndra. Gift of this village to Mahá-visnu. Income from sékhréyái and other dues was to be spent on monthly festivals on the day of Púrva Phálguni, the king’s asterism. The village was in Pájuvá-rádá, a sub-division of Kálliyánapuram-kónjú *sójak-kóttam (formerly Ámúrkóttam) in Jayangónda-sóla-manálam. The record is signed by 70 officers. 258 of 1910.

Year 35, day 90.—Tirukkilambiyár (Tj.)—Kéérininaikóngán. Royal gift of land as provision for wages, 75 kalam per annum, for two gardeners for a flower-garden after his name. 45 of 1925.

Year 35, day 93.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tingalér-taru. Land, after alteration of its class by sábhá in accordance with royal order, to the temple. Mentions Adhikárdi-Áhavamalla-Kulántaka Múvenda-véláñ. 188 of 1919.

Year 35, day 281.—Káncipuram (Ch.)—Royal grant of a tax-free village, Sarvatiráthamáláir, for worship and offerings to Sarvatirátham-údaiyá-maháádeva at the request of a number of royal officials, while the king was seated on the throne Pálíívaráyan in the Véli-médái manálapam in his palace at Gangaiónda-sólapuram. 420 of 1925.

Year 36.—Kársuapalli (C.)—Gift of tax on oil-mills for a lamp in the temple of Ángakkárá-Iśvaram-údaiyár at Mattukura, an Egyvíraptántá, t by Sójakula-kárañá-Múvenda-véláñ, who was the revenue officer in charge of the district, for the prosperity of the emperor. 321 of 1912.

* This conquest was in or a little before the 55th year of the reign—ARE. 1911 II 23.
† cf. 342 of 1912 of year 32.

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Year 36.—Kōnērirājapuram (Tj.) — Tingalēr-taru. Land to temple at Tirunallam by the assembly of Pāvaikkūdī met under a tamarind tree called Rājendrasōļan on the bank of the channel called Suttamallī-vāykkal.

640 of 1909.

" Šembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.) See under year 10.

" Takkōlam (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. † Vijayarājendrā-dēva. Undertaking by some persons in charge of the central shrine in the temple of Tiruvūral-mahādēva in Takkōlam alias Iraṭapūddi-konđa-sōlapuram, to supply 7 nālī and one uṛi of ghi by Ārumoḷi-dēvan measure as interest on 12 kaḷaṇju of gold received by them.

262 of 1921. †

" Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tj.)—Tirukkōdiyōṭu. Vijayarājendrā-dēva. This introduction stresses the conquest of Āḥavamalla and says that the Vijayarājendra title was assumed at the virābhiṣeka that followed it. Gift of some land as saḷābhīgya, after reclamation, by Pīccan Ādittan alias Vijayarājendra-Mūvēnda-vēḷan of Kōmak-kūḍi, for feeding 17 persons in Rājādhīrajan-sālai and meeting the expenses of worship to Kālakāla-dēva.

244 of 1925.

§ Tiruvadi (SA.) — Tingalēr-taru. Rājākēsari alias Uḍaiyūr Tribhuvana-cakravartin Rājādhīraja-dēva. 96 sheep by two persons for a lamp

392 of 1921.

Year 38.—Tiruvōrriyūr (Ch.)—Sale of land by sābāḥ of Kuraṭṭūr for the daily services in the temple of Tiruvōrriyūr-udaiyūr-kārāṇa-viṭanka-dēvar.

129 of 1912.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Dārāśuram (Tj.) — Records that the image of dvārapālaka under which the inscription is engraved was

* cf. the village peepal with a big platform round it in the centre of almost every Mysore village—ARK. 1910 II 21.

† As in 172 of 1894.

‡ Text gives year (2)6.

§ The year is given as 18 in ARK. 1922, App. B.

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brought by the king from Kalyāṇapuram after his capture of the place. 24 of 1908.

Eragaram (Tj.)—Part of the introduction of Rājādhirāja. Seems to relate to the assignment of seven vēli of land belonging to the temple on kuṇḍiningā-dēvadānam tenure to Sundara Cōḷan Rājādhirāja-viccādira Pallavaraiyan as the taxes on this land were not properly paid up till then. 283 of 1927.

Puṇjai (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Remission of taxes by the king of some temple lands with orders to the assembly on Talaicángādu to take over the management of the lands hitherto in the possession of the temple. Mentions improvement of certain lands made on behalf of the temple by a lady of the periya-vēļam by name Sōman Sōjakulasundari. 185 of 1925.

Tirukkolambiyr (Tj.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum etc. Order of the king to the śthānattār and the dēvakannis to bring under cultivation 6 mā of (waste) land for the maintenance of two gardeners to look after the Rājādhirājan-tirunandavanam. 48 of 1925.

Tiruppangili (Tj.) — Tingalēr-taru (variant form) 96 sheep for lamp. 92 of 1892; SII. iv. 539.

Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Sale of land tax-free by the inhabitants (ūr) of Veṣṭāru-paṭhīyur to the Brahman lady Āriyavammai * for feeding the māhēsvaras in the Rājendrasōḷan, the maṭha founded by her. Mentions irrigation rights and other matters. 127 of 1912.

Tribhuvani (Pondicherry.)—Tingalēr-taru. In accordance with royal order, the sabhā gave two vēli of land as goldsmith’s service-inam (kāṇi) to Aragan Komāran alias Rājādhirājap-perundattān who was required to do goldsmith’s work for himself and others within the village and its hamlets. 210 of 1919.

* cf. Year 31—107 of 1892.

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_Vellore_ (NA).—Fragment of _praśasti_.

41 of 1888; _SII_. iv. 139.

See under Rājendrā II

Year 6.—_Puñjai_—193 of 1925 for king's death on back of an elephant; also 5 of 1899 (_SII_. vi. 440.) of year 6 of Rājarāja II.
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Year 2.—Tirunägësvaram (Tj.)—Iraṭapädi etc. Receipt by the Mükparuläiër of Tirukkuḷamükkin and other temple authorities of 100 käsü from an individual for repairing damages caused by floods to the irrigation channel. Interest at one kalam of paddy on each käsü was to be devoted to offerings in the temple (25 kalam) and to expounding the Śivadharma (75 kalam) in the assembly hall Tiruccirrambalamuläiyan built in the temple by the same person. Lands belonging to the temple and adjoining the channel were also damaged; the chieftain Vikkiramaśinga-pallavaraiyan lent to the trustees of the temple the amount required for restoring these to their original condition.

214 of 1911; ARE. 1912 II 24.

"Tiruppugalür (Tj.)—Tirunagaḷ-maruviya. Remission of taxes on a flower-garden, called Ponmënda-sólan, by the úr of Kāraikkāl which met in the Durgā temple in the Sūnāmukham of the village. Also remission of taxes on lands for gardens by the assembly of Bhūloka-mañikka-catm. in year 3 of Rājak. Virājendradēva. 81 of 1928.

Year 3.—Jambai (SA.) — Tiru-maruviya séngalvëndan. A village officer demanded taxes from a woman, who declared that she was not liable. The former seems to have put her through an ordeal. The woman took poison and died. A meeting of the people from the four quarters, eighteen districts and various countries was held, and it was decided that the man was liable. In order to expiate his sin he paid 32 käsü for a lamp at the temple of Tiruttántongi Mahâdēva. The

* cf. Sūnāmukhattar in a Siam inscription. JRAS. 1913 p. 337, (ARE. 1928 II 8).
vaṇik-kirāmattār and the Śankarappūṭiyār undertook the task of supplying 2/3 and 1/3 of the oil required.

80 of 1906.


478 of 1911 ; EC. x. Kl. 107.

,, Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—Tirumagaḷ-maruvīya. Undertaking by the Śivabrūmaṇas and two uvacēr of the temple to perform certain specified ceremonies including hōma on every new-moon day to god Nānūdēśiyatā Viṭṭankar, from the interest on money and produce of land given to them by an officer of the šītudānattup-perundaram named Maraikkāḷan Devan alias Rājarāja Taḍigaippāḍi-nāḍālvan of Śattanūr. 51 of 1925.

,, Tiruvaiyāgu (Tj.) — Fragments of the introduction. Gold ornaments to the Ten-kailāsa shrine in the temple by Nambirāṭṭiyār Trailōkyam-uṣaiyār Adigāricci.

213 of 1894 ; SII. v. 512.

,, Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru - maruvīya. 25 kaḷaṇḍu of gold given to temple authorities for feeding a learned Bṛhadman and for other purposes. The total interest was padakkunel every day. 75 of 1889 ; SII. iii. 55.

,, Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāḍi etc. Details of the quantity of gold used for plating and gilding the different parts of golden pavilion-(ponuin tirumāṇalapam).

669 of 1919.


396 of 1912.
Year 4.—* Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—Tirumāṇu-puviriyen. Sale of land in Amaṇḍākam, tax-free, to Kāmmakkaṇavaiyar, mother of Sēnāpati Jayangonḍa-śōja Bhrāmādhirūja, who gave it to the temple. Mentions meeting at the Bhrāmāvasthāna maṇḍapa of the Mahāsbhā of Rāja-cūḷāmānic-caruppādi-mangalam.

3 of 1892; SII. iii. 29.

" Tiruppūrulaṅ (Tj.)—Tirumagul-maruviyā. Remission of taxes on temple lands by the assembly of Bhūlōka-māṇikkaka-catm.

79 of 1928.

" Tiruvāḷuturai (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāḍi etc. (in middle of the record). Royal (Kōnerinmaikonḍā] confirmation of grant made by the Māḥēśvaras of certain privileges in the temple to Parasūra-man Sankaran of Iḷangārikudi for his acts of piety, such as, providing for offerings at Tiruvāḷuturai on festival days in Purattāsi, constructing in his own village a temple called Madhurāntaka-Īśvara and endowing lamps and offerings therein. His father provided also a perpetual lamp in the temple at Tiruvāḷuturai.

108 of 1925.

Year 4, day 184.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—Iraṭṭapāḍi etc. The king, seated on Kāḻuveṭṭi in Kēralan-māligai in Gangaikondā-śōlapuram, orders certain taxes from dēvadāṇa villages to be devoted to a festival on the birthday of Nampēḻugal Kīḻāṇaḷigal. Kanyākumāri is called Gangai-kōṇḍa-śōlapuram. Details of taxation and administrative procedure given.

TAS. i. pp. 164-8.

Year 5.—Bhrāmādēśam (NA.)—Tirumagul-maruviyā. Sale of land to temple of Bhāvarudrāsāṃśvāra-dēva on the south bank of the river Veḻkā (Vēgavatt) by the assembly of Parākrāma-śōja-catm. in Dūmar-nādu of Jayangonḍa-śōja-maṇḍalam. Rights of irrigation and residence for labourers secured.

244 of 1915.


Kilur (SA.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Sale of land to temple of Tirukkovalur tax-free by ur of Pudduppur as provision for recitation of Tiruvembavai on Margali Tiruvadirai days and for offerings and prasadam to persons specified. 12 of 1905.

Kuttalam (Tj.)—Iruppapadi etc. Money to the temple of Sonnavaarayur at Vingnapiri-turutti by a native of Jayangondasola-puram for feeding itinerant Shaiva devotees to secure success to the arms of the king.† 486 of 1907.

Kuvam (Ch.)—Tirumadar-puviyenum. Sale of land for 160 kasu by the assembly of Kottur alias Colavidyyadhara-catm., in Kangur-madu of Manavirkottam in Jayangondasola-mandalam through which a feeder channel to the Tribhuvana-mudovic-poori at Kuvam alias Madhurantakanallur was to pass. 328 of 1909.

Tirukkalukaikkunram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-nilaviya. ‡ 90 sheep for lamp. 173 of 1894; SII. v. 466.

Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Agreement by the assembly of Pugalur to pay ten kasu as interest on forty kasu lent to them from the sum given by Parakaran Arumoli alias Akaraana-dani Pallavaraiyar of Vultur for the expenses of the nilékam ceremony in the temple. 51 of 1928.


† The details given here are not in the text, which is an incomplete record giving only the name of temple followed by the names of some Shivabrhamana.

‡ This short form has much in common with Iruppapadi etc.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 5.—Tiruverumbār (Tri.)—Tirumagal-maruviiya. Money for lampstand by a pevdāṭṭi of the Uyyakkoṇḍān-terīṇadā-
tirumaṇiṣṭaṇṭar-vēḷaiṇi at Gangai-koṇḍa-sōla-puram.
121 of 1914.

Year 5, day 35.—Kuttālam (Tj.)—Begins Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān.
Tiru-maruviiya in middle of record. Land, tax-free, 
given in year 3 day 143 for festivals to Šonnavāra-
yum-mahādeva at Vingu-nīrt-turutti (in Tiruvalundūr-
nāḍu) on the king's birthdays. Also gift of taxes due 
from some villages, amounting to eighty kāṭu per 
annum, for Mārgalī-tiruvādirai, to the temple. Regu-
lation of expenses (nivandam), made on the day 
mentioned in year 5. 101 of 1926.

Year 5, day 135.—Mēḷappaluvār (Tri.)—Tirumagal-maruviiya.
Land as wēṭṭatuv-kāṭti to a dancing master.
361 of 1924.

Year 6.—Ś. 979 *.—Belatūru (Mys.) (Kan.). A long pathetic 
poem on the sati of Dēkabbē, the daughter of a chief 
of Nuguṇād, her husband having been sentenced to 
death and the sentence executed at Tālakkūd for his 
having killed a member of the royal family in a wrest-
ling contest. 141 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 18;
EJ. vi. pp. 213-9 (Fleet).

Year 6.—Punijai (Tj.) †—Iraṭṭamūḍi etc. Agreement of the 
assembly to pay taxes on some lands in lieu of 
interest at 50 per cent. from the 3rd year on 80 kāṭu 
received by them in parts from Irumāli-sōla-mūvēnd-
vēḷār in year 36 of Anaimērṇījyarulina Vijaya-
rājendra-dēva and in year 3 of Rājendra-dēva. Produce 
from the land to be used for midday service to Tiruval-
amburum-udhaiya-nāyanār, his consort and the Pillaiyār 
set up by him in the temple. Also gift of 30 kalaṇju 
to temple for beating the kacērum (?) on the marriage 
day of Āḷappirandār; this gift was made in year 
(3) 2 of Parak. Rājendra who took Pūrvadēlam, 

† The text gives date year 3 immediately after the introduction and then 
mentions year 6; also expression “Iraṭṭahvai leydu kuṇṭūla-nilam.”
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Year 6.—Tanjore (Tj)—Tirumalarviiya. Royal order to provide a tāṇi of paddy daily for playing the Rājarājēvaranāṭaka in the Rājarājēvara temple to Śāntik-kūtān Tiruvālān Tirumudukunrān alias Vijayarājendra-ācārya and his vārgattār as kāṇi. The performance was to take place in the Uḷaiyār-vaigāśip-periyā-tiruviḷā, the total annual allowance being 120 kalam to be given out of the temple treasury.

55 of 1893; SII. ii. 67.


"Tiruppurugalār (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruviiya. Money, by Dēvan-pattagal-Pandāram and her daughter belonging to the Śivappāṭā khara-terūṭa-tirumāṭjanottār Vēḷam, for offerings to Ulaguyakonta-ōḷa-sūryadeva, set up by them in the temple. 64 of 1928. *

"Tiruppallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-maruviiya. Gift of 1,500 kuli to be cleared of forest and cultivated as arranā-bhāya, for worshipping Durgā standing in the north-western corner of the temple, to a Śivabrahmanā by the dēvakannīs and residents (ūr) of ....... nur. 217 of 1921.

"Tribhuwani (Pondicherry)—Tirumagal-maruviiya. Order of Tirumandira-ōḷai Pallavan Pallavaraiyar at the request of Śenāpāti Vāṅghārājjar that none except the Vēḷḷiḷas of Vēkkūr should levy or pay any kind of dues within the village, and that others who do so should be considered to have transgressed the law. This was agreed when Perumpuliyūr-nambī was inspecting the temple business. 180 of 1919.

* cf. 63 of year 11.
† Business was transacted by assembly at night. ARE. 1919, II 15.
Year 6.—Tridhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tirumagal-maruviyar. An order of the assembly in accordance with a royal mandate altering the classification of land at Puttur already granted for the merit of Udaiya-pirattiypar Pirantakan Uluga-madugiyar. Refers to kaalaiyidu of Villavaraiyar Muvenda-vellar, the adhikari who is called amman and Senapati Rajendra Vayiragaracoojan.

181 of 1919.

Year 6, day 300.—Vippangulam (Ch.)—Tirumadu-puriyenum. Sale of land as iyaiyiti devadana for 97 kalaaju of gold.

416 of 1902: SII. viii. 1.

Year 7.—Konerirajapuram (Tj.)—Iritappuli etc. Land. The Perumugri-sabhai of Pavaikkulji met in the temple of Madhurantaki Isvaram-udaiyar.

634 of 1909.

Puujai (Tj.)—Tirumuda-puriyenum. An iyaiyval of 200 kasu received by the assembly of Talaccangadi from the temple for taxes on 2½ vili of land given in return for 1½ vili which, having been assigned to the temple for harirbaali-dana, and found unproductive owing to the high level of the land and the difficulty of irrigating it, had therefore to be resumed as village common land.

194 of 1925.

Singavaram (S.A.)—Tirumagal-maruviyar. Lamp by a chief in atonement of his having stabbed a military official.

227 of 1904.

Tirumalai (NA.)—Koparatrakisari alias Sri Rajendra-coila-dava. Adhikari Koppamangalam-ulaiyan made an enquiry of Shirudanam Panimagan Kuippangudaiyan and Tiruvangadu-dava Karim, discovered irregularities in the maintenance of lamps endowed before, only two out of twenty-one were being burnt, and regulated matters for the future, the Sri-vaisnavas accepting his finding.

64 of 1889: SII. iv. 293.

* A later copy. May be of Rajendra I.
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Year 7.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — Tirumagal - maruviya.

Land, for offerings etc., to Vira-sōla-vinnagar-ālvār; made tṛaiyṭṭi by the great assembly which met at night in the temple. Royal order suggesting the action. 183 of 1919.

Year 8.—Tirumalavadhī (Tri.)—Tirumādar-puviyenum. Land left in charge of dēvakānmi for offerings to an image set up by Śirūdanap-perundaram Sēnāpati Araiyan Kāḍakkangoṇḍa-śōlan Rājarāja Anīmuri - nāḍālvān the son of an Anukki of Rājēndra-cōla-dēva I. Other gifts. 84 of 1895; SII. v. 644.


" Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Land for offerings, for feeding twelve śivayāṅgins every day in the temple, and for two ear-ornaments to the god. 677 of 1919.

" Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Deposit of gold with certain merchants of Tiruvārūr for offerings and oil for bath to the god; further gifts of gold for clothes to images and fees to temple songsters and servants. 678 of 1919.

Year 9.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—The assembly of Karaikkōṭṭu-brahmadēsam alias Parākrama-sōla-catm. met in the temple of Pondai-udaiyar, and ordered the public sale of land to the temple of Rudrasōlai-mahādēva on the southern bank of the Veṭkā. 270 of 1915.

" Karuvār (Coi.)—Tirumagal - maruviya. Grant of a village to the Tiruvānailai temple. Signed by five officers who also appear in an inscription of Vira-rājēndra (SII. iii. 20), one of them being Araiyan Rājarājan alias Vīrājēndra Jayamuri-nāḍālvān, perhaps the same as Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍālvār of the Ceylon inscription (Sangili-Kanadarava) of Rājēndra. 59 of 1890; SII. iii. 21.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 9.—Karuvur (Coi.)—Tirumagül-maruviya. Grant of Nelvayappalli to the Tiruvanilai temple. Signed by the same officers as the preceding (SII. iii 21), some prefixing Kulottunga to their names.

65 of 1890; SII. iii. 22.

Kuttalam (Tj.)—Tirumadu-puviyenum (later form). Undertaking by a number of Brahmans of Tiruvalundur, a brahmadeya, to feed Sivabrahmanas during the mid-day service of Sonnavararivär with the interest (30 kalam) on 25 kasu received by them from Venkadan-Adavallan, a merchant in the big bazaar (angadi) within the fort of GangaiKonda-Sojapuram, who had made this endowment for the prosperity of the king's arms.

102 of 1926.

Mahabalipuram (Ch.)—Iraṭtapāṭi etc. The nagarattār of Nagaramāmallapuram alias Jananāthapuram define limits of tax-free lands held by Śri-Paramśvara-mahāvarāha-visṇugrhattālvār, make some additions to them and regulate expenses.

54 of 1890; SII. iv. 377.

Pulavur (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, as Bhārata-vytti for the exposition of the Bhārata, Rāmāyanam and similar Purāṇas in the temple of Tiruvayōddhi, by the assembly of the village.

48 of 1923.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tirumadurar-puviyenum. Ornaments including a mantrapuspam with nilam and other items, Rājādhīrāja is called the elder brother of the king and a gift of year 3 of Vīrājōndra-dēva (successor) is mentioned. *

87 of 1895; SII. v. 647.

Year 10.—Bāhur (Pondicherry.)—Iraṭtapāṭi etc. Paddy for offerings. Interest 6 nāţi per kalam per month.

171 of 1902; SII. vii. 798.

* ARE. 1895 paragraph 9, contra the published text (SII. v. 647 li. 59-3).

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Year 10.—Tereyūr (Mys.)—An introduction with many gaps. Capture of 75 elephants of the Bhadra species including Śatrubhayankara and Karapattira as well as camels and queens of Āhavamalla.

EC. xii. Mi. 76.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru-maraviya. Land and certain rights to a Sivabrāhmaṇa for the worship of Tribhuvanasundara (Śōja-kēraḷa-vīṭānkar), his consort and Pilāiyār set up by the assembly and some regiments of the army named.

214 of 1921.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—850 kuṭi of land as arvanābhōga to Śōja-kēraḷa-vīṭānkar set up by the assembly. Land sold as devudāna iṣaiyili to the temple by the sabhā.

215 of 1921.

Year 11.—Kāṭattūr (NA.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Sale of tax-free land to one of the ājungutattūr by sabhā including the samvatsara-vāriyan of Vikramaśingacatu, for the perumbali offerings on Sundays to the Pāṣupatamūrtigal in the temple of Tiruk-kumbivaram-ucchajai Mahādēva. Special grant, in lieu of taxes, of 37 kāśu, equal to 10 katuṇju and 9 maṇīḍā of gold of the fineness of Madhurāntakan-mādai.

157 of 1916.

Tiruppuagalūr (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāṭi etc. Ornaments presented to Śinga-dēva and his two consorts set up in the temple at Pugalūr by Devanāṭtigal-Panḍāram and her daughter belonging to the Śivaśaṅkharabheriṇi-tirunmaṇjanattār-vēḷam.

63 of 1928.†


144 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 115.

*15 katuṇju 9 maṇīḍā and 2 māṛ, as now read. Codrington, Ceylon Coins p. 85.

† cf. 64 of year 6.

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The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—


Kunadaru Korale (Ceylon)—Mentions Śenāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāḷvān. 612 of 1912 †; SII. iv. 1408.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tirūnādu-ppuviyenem. An order (of the king) of Veḻḷukūttan alias Śembyyan Mūvendavēlān to cover with gold plates certain portions of the garbhagrha and the ardhamanḍapa of the temple. 675 of 1919. ‡

* This name occurs also in 247 of 1909 (n.d.) as an alias Kaḷambūr with part of the introduction of Parak. Reḻadra.
† cf. 600 of 1912; MP. Chh. 55, 58-60
‡ cf. 669 of year 3; 670 of Reḻadhīrīja 31.
RĀJAKĒSARI RĀJAMAHĒNDRA-DĒVA

Year 2.—Cidambaram (SA.)—Frag. Mentions Parāntakan Lōka-mahādēviyār. 612 of 1930.

" Hōsahalli (Mys.)—Manunidi-muṟai - vaḷara. Gift of land to Tiruvīyalūr Paraṅjōti alias Agorāśiva of the Tiruvūṟul-math, who was a native of Avikkūr alias Jayangoṇḍa-sōḷapuram in Perumbāṇappādi. 172 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 33.

" Pulallūr (Ch.)—Tirumangai - vaḷara. Land given as Bhārata-vṛtti by a lady, wife of one of the āḻungagam of Madhurāntaka-catam. 50 of 1932.

" Tiruvāṇandai (Ch.) 275 of 1910.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal - viḻanga. Śankaran Gaṅjarādittam alias Śēnāpatigal Rājarājac-cōliya-varaiyār purchased from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam 800 kuḻi of land for 64 good current kāśu equal to 22 kaḷaṇju and 8 maṅjādi in gold at 7 maṅjādi per kāśu, and presented it to the temple. 5 of 1890; SII. iii. 56.

Year 3.—Grānam (SA.) 741 of 1905.


" Olagapuram (SA.)—Manunidi-muṟai - vaḷara. Sale of land by the nagarattār of Uḷōga-mādēvipuram for being presented to the temple of Ariṅkūḷaṅkāri-Uṟuvam to meet the expenses of the shrine of Rājendra-sōḷa-viḻankar in it. 130 of 1919.

" Olagapuram (SA.)—Manunidi-muṟai - vaḷara. Sale of land by the nagarattār of Uḷōga-mādēvipuram to a certain Śattan for being presented to the temple of Ariṅjigai-Viṅṇagar Viṟrirundalvaḷ of iṉuṟ - tirumēr-kōyil for expenses. The sale-deed was drawn up by

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RAJAKESARI RAJAMAHENDRA-DEVA

Samantabahu Ācārya, a worshipper of the Sundarāsōlap-perumbali of this town. 141 of 1919.

Year 3.—Tiruppāpuliyūr (SA.) — Short introduction says that the king fought with Āhavamalla. *

119 of 1902 ; ShI. vii. 743.

* This confirms his place between Rājendra and Virarājendra cf. SII. iii. pp. 113 ff. ARE. 1903 paragraph 9.
Rājakesari Virarājendra *

Year 2†.—Alambakkam (Tri.)—Tiruvalar-tiralpuya. Assembly of Madhurantaka-catm. met in the temple of Tiruvilār-Paḷlikonḍālvār of this village and made a gift of land to Tiruvilāvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva.

718 of 1909.

"Tiruvaṅgāmalai (NA.)—Repair of a tank by Topḍai-māṇāci, daughter of Gangaiyar, to whom the lands irrigated by it were surrendered by former tenants who, being unable to repair the tank, had allowed the lands to lie waste for a long time.

552 of 1902; SII. viii. 143.

Tiruvenkāṭhu (Tj.)—Tiruvalar-tiralpuya. Taxes in several villages in three nāḍus in the Rājādhīrāja-vala-nāḍu granted for festivals and offerings on Āyiliyam days (the king’s asterism) to Tiruvenkāṭhulaiyār.

113 of 1896; SII. v. 976. ‡

"Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇaiyāgavum. Apportionment of 120 kāṇu paid as rent by the Śāliya merchants in the Jayaśinga-kula-kālap-perundu of Tiruvorriyur for special services in the temple on the day of Āśkēśa, the star of the king’s nativity, as settled by the officer Jayaśinga-kula-kāla-viluppaiyān, after an enquiry held in the vakkhāṭikum-maṇḍapa in front of the temple.

136 of 1912.

Year 3.—Pūṇai (Tj.)—80 kāṇu by six persons for obtaining the tirukkāvanakkāl (title-deed?) which had been lost after the death of their relation, a certain Tiruvenkāṭhulaiyān of Koṇnādūr.

190 of 1925.

* Rājamahāṇḍra was the immediate predecessor of Virarājendra. ARE. 1910 II 12.

† Read as 22 in ARE. 1910 II 22

‡ 482 of 1918 (Vr. 2+1) is similar.

§ Probably after a surname of the king, the opponent of W. Chukya Jayassimha III. Other quarters in the place were: Tribhuvanamarudrap-perundu of the Manjādis, and Nāṭpatteṇṭayintrap-perundu of sculptors and artisans. ARE, 1913 II 32.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Year 3.—Tiruvāmāṭṭūr (SA.) — Viramē-tuṇḍaiyāgayavum. Gold and cows for two lamps by Vicēdiran-madhurāntakan alias Sēnāpati Virarājendrā Kārāṇi Viḷuppariyan of Kālikudī. 3 of 1922.

Uyyakkōṇgān-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Taxes for a festival by the king while seated on the throne called Abhimāna-rāman at Tiruvānaikkāval. Among the taxes mentioned is dasabandā. 462 of 1908.

Year 3 + 1. — Karuvūr (Coi.) — Tiruvalar-tiral. Grant of a dēradaṇa by the king from his palace at Gangai-koṇḍa-sālapuram. 58 of 1890; SII. iii. 20.

Year 4.—Maṉē (Mys.)—Tiruvalar-tiralpuṇa up to Gangai-māṉagār; only the introduction is preserved. 194 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 85.

Punganūr (NA.) 541 of 1906.

Tennēri (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇḍai (part). 93 sheep for lamp distributed among three persons, 48 with one and 22½ with each of the other two. 198 of 1901; SII. vii. 410.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Viramē-tuṇḍai up to kaikkōṇdu, and then - Svaṭśi Śrī Sakala - bhavan - āśraya-Śrī - Mēdini - Vaiṭhaba - Mahārājādhīrāja - Cōḷakudā-sundara * Paṇḍya-Kulāntaka Āhavanallakula-kāla Āhavanallumai mummāṭi † venkōṇdu (Rājāsēkharā) Rājāśraya (Rājarājendrā) Śrī Vira Cōḷa ‡ Karikāla-cōḷa Śrī Virāvēndrā-dēva Rājakēsiravannam-perumān-udigāl Kōṅrīmaikoṇgān. Object of the record is not clear §. Mentions the nagaratār of Tirunāvalūr alias Rājādittapuram. 371 of 1902; SII. iii. 81.

Tiruvōṛiyūr (Ch.) — Tiruvalar-tiralpuṇa. Sale of land by residents of Elinulai for presentation as

* Škhera in others.
† Aimmāṭi in later records.
‡ cf. Viraśēkiyam.
§ Land to Tiruttōḍīvāra. ARE. 1902 App. B.

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madappuram to the Rājendra-sōla-madām. The price was paid by Tiruvaranga-dōvan alias Mummuṭi-sōla Brahmarāyan of Viranāraya-catm., a tanigūr in Rājendraśinga-vala-nāḍu of the Sōla-maṇḍalam. Land was made iraiyili, the taxes remitted being named. 135 of 1912.

Year 5.—Accarappākkam (Ch.)—Viramē-tūṇai (part). Gift of paddy and taxes (named) to god.

253 of 1901 ; SII. vii. 467.

" Byādarāhali (Mys.)—Viramē-tūṇai up to Śingyanai-yum-ulaippuṟangai. Self-immolation (tiṟṟāya) of a lady on the death of her husband.


" Gangaikondal-cōḷapuram (Tri.)—Tiruvvalar-tiru followed by Viramē-tūṇai several times. Long but ill-preserved.

82 of 1892 *; SII. iv. 529.

" Kilūr (SA.)—Viramē-tūṇai up to munnavar viradānuṟi. 48 sheep for lamp by a Maṇḍali.

273 of 1902 ; SII. iii. 82.

† Maṇimangalam (Ch.) — Tiruvvalar-tirulpuṭa. 4450 kuli of land to temple as arcanābhāga by Śūnāpati Jayangopala-sōla Brahmādhirāja whose father Maṇjipayamūr alias Jayasimha-kulāntaka-piramarāyar had purchased the land from the village.

2 of 1892 ; SII. iii. 30.

" Tiruvuṟṉiyūr (Ch.)—Viramē-tūṇaiyāṉam. Sale of land to temple by assemblies of Sundara-sōla-catm. and Vānavan-mādevi-catm., the temple share of produce being 30 kula per vēli. Another sale of waste land in year 6 by assembly of Śingavīṟu-catm. for Virāṅgendra-tirumandavanam, founded by Tiruvarangan alias Rājendra-mūvēonda-vēḷān of Maṇakkudi.

228 of 1912.

* 82-b mentions year 23 of Ayyan who took Pūrvadālam, Ganga, and Kaṭkaram. SII. iii. p. 195 and n. 11.

RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Year 5.—Tiruvōrjīyūr (Ch.)—Viramē-tūpāiyāgavum. Shrine of Paḻambakka-dēva * was built of stone by adhikāri Rājendra Mūvēnda-vēḷān. 232 of 1912.

Year 5, day 348.—Tirumukkūḷal (N.A.)—Tiruvaḷṇar-tirālpūya. Royal order assigning the taxes of Vayalaikkāvūr, making it a tax-free āvadhāna, for the requirements of a Viṣṇu temple at Tirumukkūḷal in Madhurāntaka-catm. Mentions eight officers, the seat Rājendra-śōla-māvali-vāṇarājan in the Sōḷa-Kēraḷa-tirumāḷigai at Gangaikōṇḍa-śōḷapuram. Details of the equipment of a hospital (āṭalū-sūḥai), and a school in the temple are also given. 182 of 1915.

Year 6.—Jambai (S.A.)—Viramē-tūpāiyāgavum. Gift of land to an accountant (māyurakkaṇākkai) by the temple authorities among whom figures the Mahāvratī Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita. † The beneficiary was to write up the accounts of the temple. 100 of 1906.

Pōḻapallī (Mys.)—Titles as in 371 of 1902 (Yr. 4) with variations, most important among them being aṁmaḍi-vēnkaṇḍa for mūmmaḍī. Gift of wet land (ūr nilam) 50 kūḷi and dry land (kāḷḷāraṁbaṁ) 1000 kūḷi by an orphan for the merit of his deceased father and his mother who committed sati (tīyīḷpāṇḷal). 188 of 1911; EC. x. Ct. 161.

Tīṇḍīvaṇam (S.A.)—Viramē-tūpāi (full). Twelve cows for offerings of ghi and curd for hōma and anuḍu to the Tiruvaṅṉāḷigai sabhaiyūr of the temple. 207 of 1902; SII. iii. 83.

Year 7.—Budūr (N.A.)—Gold for lamp by two goldsmiths of Vēḍavār. 411 of 1922.

Perumbēr (Ch.) — Viramē-tūpāi (alternative form). The Mahāsabha of taniyūr Madhurāntaka-catm. give iraiyil land, from land described as parappum tāḷvum-ini-māṉjikamāyak-kiḍandā nilaltil, to Tiruttān- * ARE. 1913 II 32.
† Same as in 85 of 1889. (Mēḻpāṭi) Yr. 9 of Rājendra I. ARE. 1907 II 39.

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tonri-mahā-Śrī-karaṇa Iśvaram-uḍaiyār at Nammūr- piḷāgai-peru-Perūr alias Tribhuvana-nallār.  
266 of 1901; SII. iii. 84.

Year 7.—Tirukkalukkunangam (Ch.)—Viram-tnuai as in 266 of  
1901. 90 sheep for one lamp; again 270 for three.  
175 of 1894; SII. v. 468.

" Veḷlanūr (Pd.)—(Verse). Erection of arūhu-mañḍapa in the Agastīvara temple by the Cūḷa subordinate  
Muḍikonda-nāṭīyān of Śrīvāyil-nāḍu. 206 of 1914.

"Ś. 991—(Saumya) * Yogi-Mallavaram (C.)—Sakalabhu- 
vanāśraya. † After Śaka year, Virammi-tnuaiyāgavum. Mentions temple of Piplādiśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva.  
273 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Eluvaṇāśūr (SA.)—A curious declaration by a sati:  
"If she lived after her husband, she should become the slave of her co-wives. Whoever said she ought not to die should incur the sin of prostituting his wife. If she did not die, those who did not bind and throw her into the fire and kill her should incur the sin of prostituting their wives."

156 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II 41.

Kāṭambarkōyil (Ch)—Tiruvaḷar-ṟirāl (part). Sale of land by ēr.  
226 of 1901; SII. vii. 439.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Tiruvaḷar-ṟirālipuṭā (with variations) and signatures.  
19 of 1897; SII. v. 1382.

Tirupputṭār (Md.)—Sanskrit part mentions Kollāpura.  
A part of the Tamil introduction and mention of ayyar (father ?) who took Gangai, Pūrvadēsam and Kādā- 
ram.  
110 of 1908.

* This gives acc. Ś. 986 (1064-4 A.D.) contra. Kielhorn A.D. 1062-3. Perhaps cyclic year in this Y.M. record is wrong. Ruled up to 1070-1. ARE. 1904, paragraph 21.

† See under yr. 4 (371 of 1902). The variants noted there are from this record.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

_Tiruvorriyur_ (Ch.)—Reclamation of 60 _vēli_ of waste land in Śingaviśṇu-catuṣ, by order of the king. It was to be called Virarājendravilāgam, its produce being utilised for services in the temple ‘for the health of Cakravartin Virarājendra-dēva, for the increase of his race; for the prosperity of the _tirumangalyam_ of the queen, and for the health of their children.’ Paddy, gold and _kāśu_ were appropriated to various items of expenditure including (a) the pay of two priests and a musician for _pāḷiyēpuruṟi_; (b) _tiruvadaini-tirumāṟ_ including recitation of the _tiruvembāvai_ and (c) the maintenance of 22 _taḷiyilār_ who danced and sang, one dancing master, 16 _devaradhiyār_ who recited the _tiruppadiyam_ in the _agamāruṟṟa_ and (d) of four cooks. 128 of 1912; _ARE_. 1913 II 32.

_Yogī Mallavaram_ (C.)—Virarājendrā-dēva. Taxes from Muṇṅaippūndi, a _devaradāna_, made over to the temple of Tiruppalādēvara of Tiruccukanūr by Nārana-dēva, a local chieftain with Cāḷukya titles. 266 of 1904.
PARAKESARI ADHIRAJENDRA-Dева.


" Tiruvakkaraī (S.A.)—The vimāna of Varadarāja-perumāḷ (in the Candramauliśvara temple) which had been previously built of bricks by Köczöla, was now reconstructed of stone. 205 of 1904. *

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Tingalër-malarndu. Remission of taxes on four mā of land by assembly (name lost) in favour of Tirukkārāli-mahādēva for seven kāśu received from the temple treasury. 123 of 1926.

Year 3.—Kalavai (N.A.)—Tingalër-malarndu. Sale of land by the mahāsabha to the Tirukkāriśvara temple at Ulagalanda-Cōla-catm. 228 of 1901; SII. vii. 442.

" Kiliyr (S.A.)—Tiru-mañandaiyum. Lamp. 256 of 1902; SII. vii. 884.

" Kāhur (Tj.)—Tingalër-malarndu. Land for recitation by a person of Tiruppadiyam twice a day before Māmbalum-udaiya-mahādēva for (the recovery of the health of ?) the king. 280 of 1917.

" Mūgavēdi (N.A.) 573 of 1906.

" Panaiyavaram (S.A.) 438 of 1903.

" Panaiyavaram (S.A.)—Gift of land by purchase to Para-vai †Īśvaram-udaiya-mahādēva by a native of Mīlalai-kūr∂ in Rājarāja-Paṇḍi-nāḷu. 322 of 1917.

" Polonnaruva (Cey.)—Tingalër-malarndu. ‡ Gift of five kāśu for lamp to Vānan-śādi-Īśvaram at Jana-nāthamangala (old name of Polonnaruva), left in the

* Rightful successor of Virarajendra I; in possession of Kēhī as capital in Yr. 3.=1972-4 (SII. iii. p. 117) Rājendra II, Kulōttunga, usurper. ARE. 1904, paragraph 21.

† Paraivaspuram, old name of Panaiyavaram. ARE. 1918 ii. 32.

‡ Śiva temple Fergusson i. 248. cf. SII. iii. p. 114-8.
charge of the priests and their descendants, servants, dancing girls and the nāṭṭavar.

594 of 1912; SII. iv. 1388.

Year 3.—Puduppāṭi (NA.)—Sale of land on the banks of the Pālār by the villagers (Puduppāṭi āṟ) to the temple as the land had become unfit for cultivation in a flood. 428 of 1905.

" Puttāṇṭirīpalle (Cud.)—Mentions Iraṭṭapāṭi-kopāla-

sōla-māṇḍalam. 537 of 1906.

" Tirukkanūr (Tj.)—Gift of land and house by the assem-

bly (śabha) of Alaiyūr to the Viṣṇu-temple of Maṇavāla - āḻvār. Mentions Viṭṭarājēndra - dēvar-

vāykkāl. 165 of 1911.

" Tiruṇāmanallūr (SA.)—Fragment. 355 of 1902; SII. vii. 985.

" Tiruppāṭu (Ch.)—Tiru-maṇḍondaiyun. Order issued by king from his palace at Gangaikopāla-sōlapuram remitt-

ing some taxes in the village of Śēlai in Kākkalūr-

nūḷu as dēvadāna to the temple at Tiruppāṭu. Officers of Udankūṭṭam mentioned. 113 of 1930.

" Tiruvuggūriūr (Ch.)—Tingalēr-malarndu. Sale of land to temple by the assembly of Sundara-sōla-catm. 219 of 1912.

" Vēppangūlam (Ch.)—Tingalēr-malarndu. Three officers record dues from dēvadāna villages as obtaining from year 7 plus 1 of emperor Viṭṭarajēndra. 418 of 1902; SII. viii. 4.

Year 3, day 200.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tingalēr - malarndu. Enquiry into and a fresh settlement of temple affairs by two royal officers. Reference is made to an earlier settlement of the eighth year of emperor Viṭṭarajēndra-

15 of 1890: SII. iii. 57.

The regnal is missing or uncertain in the following :

" Pulomnaruvā (Cey.)—Tingalēr-malarndu. 596 of 1912; SII. iv. 1392.
Year 4.—Mannārkōyīl.—(Tin.)—Land to Rājendra-sōlā Viṇṇagar, by sabbhā of Rājarāja-catm. for settling temple servants. 107 of 1905.

Year 6.—Ambāsamudrām (Tin.) — Incomplete. Mentions Rājarāja-catm. a brahmādēya in Mulīni-nādu of Muddikonḍa-sōlā-vaḷa-nādu in Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nādu. 70 of 1907.


"Pārthivaśekharapuram (Tv.)—(Vatēluttu). Provision for a perpetual lamp and the sumptuous feeding (agrām ąpparrum) of one brahman every day in the temple of the village. TAS. vi. i. App.

Year 8.—Virasikhāmaṇī (Tin.) — (Vatēluttu) † No Jaț. title. Lamp. 40 of 1908.

Year 9.—Sucindram (Tv.)—Lamp. 76 of 1896.

"Sucindram (Tv.)—The local commandant (irvār-paḷait-tahārān) undertakes to maintain 1½ perpetual lamps with 3/8 measure of ghi daily from 38 cows given by Śankarappōliyān Kaḷani-veṇṇi alias Madhurāntakap-pērārayaṅ of Kōṭṭār alias MummudǛ-śōḷanallūr, in the temple of Tiruvēṅgaḷattūvār in Sucindram alias Sundaraśōḷa-catm., a brahmādēya in Nāṇji-nādu.


* Palaeogr. later.

† The only other Vatēluttu record of this king is 162 of 1895 (Gangai-koṇṭān). ARE. 1908 II 41.
COLA-PANDYA JATAVARMAN SUNDARA

Year 10.—Śermādevi (Tin.)—Incomplete. Mentions Śoḷendra-
singa-Iśvaram-udaiyār. 615 of 1916.

Vaijayanāṟiyam (Tin.)—The village is called Jayan-

Year 11.—Ādanār (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu). Lamp. 439 of 1909.

Cōḻapurum (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—25 cows for lamp to Rājendraśoḷa Iśvaram in Tirukkoṭṭur alius Mummadī-
śoḷanallūr by Sarvalākāraya-śrī-vaiyuvadhan Mahā-
rāja alius Cāḻukya Vijayādiyā Vikkiyanaṇ. 44 of 1896 ; T.A.S. vi. p. 8 ; El. xi. pp. 293-4.

Cōḻapurum (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—80 Sheep for a lamp in
same temple by Udaityār-perundanattu-dēvan-Viccādi-
ran alius Śoḷa-māṟiyān. The sheep were left with one
person, for whom another was guarantor. T.A.S. vi. p. 9.

Cōḻapurum (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Sabhā of Śivalūva-
mangalam alius Kūrala (?)-kulāšani-catm., a brahmadeṇya
in Nāṟṟiyappūkku of Uttamaśoḷa-vulā-nāḻu, sold some
of the common land (engaḻūr viyukkudutta podu-
nidamāvadu) to the dīvakānum of the same temple in
Koṭṭur. Some conditions made regarding payment of

Year 12.—Cōḻapurum (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Incomplete. 45 of 1896.

Śermādevi (Tin.)—The Śivabrahmanas of Aganāḻigai
received 36 kāśi from Śrikānta Dāmōlarabhaṭṭa for
a lamp to Kailāsam-udaiyār. Mentions the temple
Cōḷendraśinga-Iśvaram. 193 of 1895 ; SII. v. 757 ; 621 of 1916.

Year 13.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Gift for merit of the Nāṇā-
dōsittisai—1,500 of Rājendra-cōḷa-mapalām. The
temple is called Tiruccalait-ṭurai-āḻvār. 82 of 1907.

* Not found in Rājarāja's records from the place. A.R.E. 1927 II 35.
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Year 13.—Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of land, 14½ nilam (vēlī) and 2 mā, including dry and wet lands, to Rājendra-sōla-vinṇagar of Rājarāja-catm., by the Mahāsabhā of the place. The names of ārūs in this village, twelve in number, furnish an example of the Cōla practice of renaming places: Rājarāja, Mummuji-sōla, Arumoli-dēva, Nittavināda, Cōjendrasimha, Sundara-sōla, Vānavan-mādēvi, Uttama-sōla, Sembiyian-mādēvi, Kundavai, Pañcavan-mādēvi, Lōka-mādēvi.


Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of land. Long account of land converted to veḷḷān-vagai, a tenure. 110 of 1905.

Śērmādēvi (Tin.)—Sale of land by Mahāsabhā of Nigarili-sōla-catm., to the temple of Śri-Kullāsam-uḍaiyār of the village. 612 of 1916.

Tiruvālīśvaram (Tin.) — Lamps. Temple of Tiruvālīśvaram-udaiyār was in Rājarāja-catm, a brahma-dēya in Mulli-mādu. 115 of 1905.

Year 14—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Incomplete. 73 of 1907.

Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sundara C. P.-dēva. Half a lamp and 16 cows by Śēraṇam-mādēviyār Adicci, queen of the Cōra king Rāśinga-dēvar to Rājendra-sōla-vinṇagar-ālīyār † at Muṇi-kōṇḍa...in Rājarāja-pāṭy-līnālu. 392 of 1916.

Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of a whole village to same temple, by two bhaṭṭas who were brothers. 106 of 1905.

Śērmādēvi (Tin.)—Half a lamp by a lady. 618 of 1916.

Year 14, day 320.—Śērmādēvi (Tin.)—Provision by sabhā for offerings to Uyyakkonḍan (Tiruccenna)ḍai in the Nigarili-sōla-vinṇagar temple. 712 of 1916.

* Yr. 15 of this prince = Yr. 24 of his father (ARE. 1905 ll 25). Hence acc. 1020-1 A.D. See PK. p. 116.

† Temple built by Rāśinga himself (112 of 1905).
Year 15.—Śermādevi (Tin.)—Land for tirumeykkappu in the Nigarili-sōla-viṇṇaga-ālivār temple. 700 of 1916.

Year 16.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp to Tirucceilait-turai-

yuṭaiya-mahādevā in Rājarāja-catm. 77 of 1907.

Mannārōkiyil (Tin.)—Land. Mentions the Ĉārā king Rājarāja-dēva and kuṭiningāk-kārāyīma.

† 111 of 1905.

Year 17.—Śermādevi (Tin.)—Fifty sheep for a perpetual lamp and a śandiviṭākku to Kailāsam-uṭaiyār. 622 of 1916.

Tiruvāḷīśvarām (Tin.)—Uṭaiyār Śrī Sundara Cōla-
Pāndya-dēva, seated in the maṇḍapa outside his palace at Rājōndra-ūḷapuram, gave, in accordance with the order of his annmān (the Cōla emperor?), five vṛti of land, after purchase, to the temple in Rājarāja-catm. in Mulī-nālu in Mulikōṇḍa-sōla-vāḷa-nālu, for festivals, the feeding of Brahmanas, and the reading of Śivadharma. The gift included paddy given by the cultivator (villān) as the landlord’s share, uruvukōt-kāsū and kāksi-erudu-kāsū. 427 of 1916.

Year 17, day 7.—Śermādevi (Tin.)—Uṭaiyār Śrī Sundara C. P.-
dēva.† Remission of taxes with effect from year 16 on lands at Kallīr in Mēl-Vēnma-nālu in Mudikōṇḍa-
sōla-vāḷa-nālu in favour of Kailāsam-uṭaiyār, by the king seated in the western hall of his palace at Rājōndra-ūḷapuram at the instance of his annmān. Mentions items of money-income: aljagerudu-kātei-
kašu, kātei-erudu-kāšu, and ārkkalajīju; and also a number of royal officers. The lands got the new name Śivapādasāṭkharā-nallūr. 619 of 1916.

Year 17, day 65.—Tiruvāḷīśvarām (Tin.)—Uṭaiyār Śrī Sundara C. P.-dēva ‡. Begins with the phrase: variyīḻu.

* This prince without any distinguishing epithet was another and a later prince than Jat. Sundara C. P. and was perhaps the successor of Mēḷ. Vikrama C.P. and a nephew of Rājēdhīṛa I. ARE. 1917 II. 3.

† See note above.

‡ See n. ante.
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The king being at dinner in the siddur-kūḷam in his pleasure-garden called Puttan on the north side of Māḷakkuṅak-kīl-Madurai was seated (?) on the Rājendrā-sūla-Atimūrkkaccengirai. The order of ammān was received and sanction given for variyiliṇu. (See No. 327 ante.) 332 of 1916.

Year 18.—Ambāsamudram (Tn.)—60 sheep for lamp. The Tiruppottuḷaiyār and Tiruccālait-turai Śrī-mūlasthāna temples are said to have been in the southern hamlet of Rājarāja-catm. 102 of 1905.

Year 19.—Cēramangalam (Tv.)—A zinc (turī) lamp-stand to Ten-tiruvaramam-ulaḷaiyār of the village by Tiruvorriicievagān Māyilāṭti, the younger brother of Śankarappādīyān Kaḷañi-venṭi of Mukkari alias Mummudi-śolapuram in Purangaramai-naḷu, a sub-division of Arumolīdēva-vala-naḷu in the Śolai-mangaḷam.


" Cēlapuram (Nagercoil)—(Tv.) Lamp. 31 of 1896.

" Cēlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—12½ cows (prān) for half a lamp by the woman (vēḷ) Tavaśi Nāṟpatteṇṇāyira Maṟali-dēvi of the place (iḷḷē) to Rājendrāsūḷa-iśvaram-ulaḷaiyār in the interior (uḷḷalai) of Tirukkōṭṭār alias Mummudi-śola-naḷḷūr. T.A.S. vi. p. 13.

" Śernādēvi (Tn.)—Order of puravu-varii-ṭiṇai-kalattār and variy-pottuḷam-ulaḷaiyār that the ten persons who had the kāṇi of the 2 vēḷi of temple lands at Kallūr, under the name Śivapādaśēkhara-naḷḷūr, had relinquished them in favour of the temple servants who would thenceforth cultivate them. 'Mānaṇa Varāṇaka' appearing in this record was perhaps a surname of the king. 630 of 1916. ♦

♦ See under year 9.—Sucindram.

† This record taken along with 619 (Yr. 17, day 7) shows that the vicerey in both must be the same.

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Year 20.—Tiruvīṅkūṭu (Tv.)—(Vāṭṭeḻuttu). Gold for lamp. 20 kaḷāṉju, kāśu niṟai kaiḷai onbūru māṭṭu. 
TAS. iv. pp. 139-41.

Year 21.—Ānaimalai (Md.)—25 sheep for lamp. Mentions Kīl-Iraṇīyamuttam and Tiruvānaimalai. Sheep left with Nakkan Šenbagam of the veṭṭikkuṭi of Śrī Narasimha-
dēva. 64 of 1905.

Ānaimalai (Md.)—Lamp to Narasimha-āḻvār on the Tiruvānaimalai in Kīl-Iraṇīyamuttam in the Rājendra-
Oḻa-vaḷa-nāḍu of the Rājāraja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 65 of 1905.

Gangaikondān (Tin.)—(Vāṭṭeḻuttu) Land. 162 of 1895; SII. v. 726.

Tiruvāḷisraram (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a certain woman (peṟṟalṭṭi). Pattargal-paṇḍāram, of the Ulaga-
ṉaḷaiya-Pirāṭṭiyār-vōḷam. The lamp was in the charge of a commandant (paṭṭait-ṭakaivan). 330 of 1916.

Year 23.—Ādanār (Tin.)—(Vāṭṭeḻuttu). Damaged. 438 of 1909.


Year 30.—Ēṭṭuṛ (Tin.)—Lamp by one of the Sundara-sɑḷa-
Pāṇḍiyat-terind-vāḷar. 395 of 1930.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp. Mentions aganāḻigai-
yōm. 76 of 1907.

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Mentions Mutturrukāṟram. 80 of 1907.

* Clearly implying that this viceroy was the son of Rājendra I. A.R.S. 1917 II 3.
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Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp. Mentions Kṣatriyasikhūmanipuram and the shrine of Karumāṇikka-dōvar in the temple of Tirne-cālait-tūrāi. 85 of 1907.

Cōḷapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Two lamps. 38 of 1896.

Cōḷapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Sale of land by úr of Karumbāḷu alias Ḍāgiya-sōla-nallūr of Nāṉja-nāḷ.


Cōḷapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Sale of land by úr to ḍō. cngulūr Madilagattu Rājendraśōla-īśvaram.

T.A.S. vi. i. App.

Munnārkōyil (Tin.)—Mentions the Cēra king Rājasmīha, 114 of 1905.

Śevilippēri (Tin.)—50 sheep for lamp. 410 of 1906.
CÔLA-PÂNDYA: JÂTÂVARMANUDAIYÂR ŚRĪ CÔLA

PÂNDYA-DÉVA.

Year 3.—Śevilîppēri (Tin.)—25 sheep to temple of Tentirumüli-ruñjôla by a native of Dêvar-veṭṭi-kuḍi near Tirunelvêli in Kîl-vêmba-nâḍû, of the Muḷî-köpḍa-śôla-valâ-nâḍû in Râjârâja-pânḍi-nâḍû. 408 of 1906.


Year 3, day 380.—Śermâdēvi (Tin.)—The king from his throne in the tirumâñjana-śôla of the palace at Râjêndra-śôlapurus declared tax-free certain dêvadâna lands at Kallûr, four vêlis (including two vêlis called Śiva-pâdaśekham-nâllûr), and had them entered in the register under the orders of his father (nammuṟyâr) the Côla emperor (Virârâjêndra) whose eulogy commences viramē-tvajâyagavam. Temple Kailâsamudaiyâr said to be on the Muḷikôḍa-śôlapûrâra, Tâmbâparâṇi. Many revenue officials sign the record. 642 of 1916. †

Year 24.—Sucîndram (Tv.)—Lamp. 69 of 1896. ‡


Year 25—Sucîndram (Tv.)—Land. 70 of 1896. §

* Viceroy must be GangaiKôḍa appointed by Virârâjêndra. TÂS. ibid.
† Viceroy was GangaiKôḍa-Śôjan of Virârâjêndra's records. (E.L. xi. 293) – JRE, 1917 ii 3.
‡ Perhaps the first Côla-Pânḍya ruler. K.V.S. Aiyar. E.L. xi. p. 293.
§ See last note.
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Year 25.—Sućindram (Tv.)—Sabha of Sundara-seṣa-catm. sell land for 60 kāsu, being iṣaip-poruḻ and viṭaip-poruḻ, to the temple. Procedure of sale interesting. Mentions Veñkaṭan Śankaranāna Śenāpati Malayappic- cōḷan vaitta Abhayākaran tiruvamudu. Also two lamps endowed. 

\[TAS. iv. pp. 131-4.\]

Record from which the name and regnal year of viceroy have disappeared:—

Śeṃrādēvi (Tin.)—Fifty cows for two lamps by Ulaguḍai- yāḷ, queen of (Rājendrā I) who took Gangai, Kidāram and Pūrvaḍēśam. * 623 of 1916.

* Perhaps Vikrama C.P.-dēva. ARE, 1917 II 3.

[ 616 ]
CÖLA-PANDYA : MĀRAVARMAN UDĀIYĀR
ŚRI VIKRAMA

Year 20.—Idhumār (Tin.)—(Vallēḷuttu). Before this is a line in Vallēḷuttu mentioning year 3 of Jaţuvarman Sundara Cōla-Pândya-dēva. 434 of 1909.

Year 21.—Śērmādēvī (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailāyam-uḍaiya Mahādēva of Nigarili-sōla-catu. by a Brahman lady of the Kuṇjilina-gōtra. 194 of 1895; SII. v. 758.

Śērmādēvī (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a Brahman lady. 628 of 1916.

Year 22.—Śērmādēvī (Tin.)—25 Sheep for a half-lamp to Kailāsam-uḍaiyār * by Kuḍitāngi-Śengodi of the Śēramāṇār-vēḷam. 620 of 1916.

Year 24.—Kunyākumāri (Tv.)—Money. 100 of 1896.

Year 25.—Śērmādēvī (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailāsam-uḍaiyār. 616 of 1916.

Śērmādēvī (Tin.)—25 cows for lamp by Dāṇḍanāyakam Parākrama-nārāyaṇa Brahmadhirājan. 627 of 1916.

Śērmādēvī (Tin.)—The Aganūḷīgai-śivavrūhmanār of Śūḷēndra-sūngā-lōvara and Kailāsa temples at Nigarili-sōla-catu. received twelve kāśu from a Brahman lady and agreed to serve in the Rājadhīrāj-cūrūlai of the temple and burn a lamp to Daksīṇāmūrti in the same temple. 640 of 1916.

Tiruvāḷēvaram (Tin.)—13 cows for half a lamp. 328 of 1916.

* Indirect evidence of sway of the C.-P. s over Kēraḷa. ARE, 1917 II 4.

† King identified with Mummudi-sūjan, younger brother of Rājēndra-dēva (II) ARE, 1917 II 3.
Year 29.—*Kanyākumāri* (Tv.)—The sabhā of Kajikkudi met in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Rājarājēśvara temple and resolved to devote 20 *kāsu*, collected by public subscription (*payikṣampukku*) at their instance (*nām dēsanguḍuttu*) by Accan Mārrili, a merchant of Kumāri *alias* Gangaikonda-sōlapuram, and intended to be the corpus for meeting expenses for *tiruvamidu* in the temple, for repairing breaches in the Kōnālar-kulam, the *perumakkal* of Rājarājēśvaram undertaking to supply daily two *nāli* of rice for offerings.

*TAS.* i. pp. 249-50 (R). *

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* T.A.G. Rao is surprised at the Piṇḍya titles in this record and seems also to mistake its import.
CÖLA-PÅNDYA : MÅRAVARMAN UDÄIYÄR
SRI PARÄKRAMA

Year 3.—*Tiruvälévaram* (Tin.).—Twenty-five sheep for half a lamp to Tiruvållo-curam-udäiyär by Räman Këni alias Nañuvirukkai Tanam-śeṭṭi. 329 of 1916.

Year 4.—*Śermādēvi* (Tin.).—Money, 12 kāšu, with Aganālīgaiyär by Yōga-dēva and (his wife) Sōma-dēvi of Kāśmirādēśa for a lamp in the temple of Kailāsam-udäiyär at Nigarilli-śōla-catm., a brahmādē̄ya in Müllī-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttama-śōla-vala-nāḍu in Rājarajapāṇḍi-nāḍu. 613 of 1916.

CÖLA-PÅNDYA : JATÄVARMAN UDÄIYÄR VĪRA *

Year 21.—*Poriccikōgil* (Rd.).—Land for offerings during one service every day and for a lamp to Kṣētrapāla-dēva in the temple of Muñtisvaram-udäiyär in Mën-Marudūr alias Jayangoṇḍa-śōlanallūr. Mentions Kulāsani Ambalattūḍi also called Rājādhirāja-pûnguna-ra-nāḍāḷvān and his brother Kulāsani Māḷuva-māṇikkam alias Adhirājādhirāja-pûnguna-ra-nāḍāḷvān. 99 of 1924.

* Perhaps Mummudī-śōlan on whom his elder brother Rājendra conferred the Cōḷa-Påṇḍya title (*SII*, iii. p. 62), or Gangaikōḍa-śōlan who received from his father Vīmarājendra-dēva the Påṇḍya country and the title. *ARE*. 1924 II 25.
ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 30.—n. *—Regarding the omission of Cōla in the *Periplus*, Krom says: "Is this an omission or had the Cōla temporarily disappeared before the spreading power of the Pāṇḍyaśas chronicled in Tamil poems? Another Tamil legend connects the Pallavas with the Cōlas, making the first of them the son of a Cōla king and a nāgi. Could the Pallavas for whom, however, a Parthian origin has sometimes been postulated, have taken the place of the Cōlas, as in the centuries after the fall of the Pallavas, the Cōlas again rise into importance in the same territory?" *Hindou-Javaansche Geschiedenis* p. 70. See, however, Studies, p. 11.

Page 64.—Il. 1-3.—The camp of Poraiyan (*Poraiyan pāsaiyai*) is mentioned by Poygaiyir in another poem as well, *Nārpiñai* 18.

Page 100.—n. *—But see pp. 263-64 infra.


Page 104.—n. *—For a discussion of this passage in the *Periplus* with reference to Indian boat-designs, see Hornell, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii. pp. 215 ff. He suggests that the *Columbia* of the first century had close kinship with the two-masted Javanese outrigger ships of the Boro-Budur sculptures. But surely the two-masted ships without outriggers on the Andhra and Kurumbar Coins seem to be nearer the vessels mentioned by the *Periplus* than Javanese sculptures of the 8th or 9th century A.D.

Page 127.—n. †—It must be noted, however, that Idangali is said to have been the ancestor of Āditya who covered the
ADDITIONAL NOTES

Cidambaram temple with gold from Koug. Even if this is a reference to Aditya I who conquered Koug and annexed Toyalai-nad to the Cöla kingdom, Ijangaḷi might have been connected with the Cölas only by giving his daughter in marriage to a Cöla prince. At any rate, we have no evidence that the Cölas were descended from the Vēḷ in the male line.

Page 137.—n, §—On Mārambāvai and the title Pallavatinaka see also Eli, xviii, p. 118. The two inscriptions mentioned at the end of the note now published as 301-A and 303 of 1901 (Nos. 523 and 525 of SII, viii) may not belong to Nāpatunga’s reign: their beginnings are lost.

Page 153 and n*—It is doubtful if Cēṅukya Bham’s territory could have extended up to Śītpuli-nādu between Venkatagiri and Cēṅūr (Rapur Toq). It may have been an attempt of Parāntaka to subdue the Telugu Cōlas. NZ, l. 47 (p. 1267) l. 34 mentions Čēḷupuli-nādu.

Page 186—ll. 9-10.—The third year of Sundara Cōla, about 959 A.D., is based on the text of 116 of 1896 in SII, v. But the figure ‘3’ is doubtful in that inscription, and as the general is mentioned in an inscription of Sundara Cōla in the seventh year (291 of 1908), Surya-vēḷar must have fought and died in Ceylon after that date. K.Y.S. Aiyar suggests the ninth year, c. A.D. 965 (EII, vii, p. 124), and this is quite possible.

Page 217.—n, §—Published Eli xvi, pp. 29 ff. An incomplete inscription from Thirucattur (Tj.), 204 of 1931, mentions victories in Parāntiḻu and Malai-nādu, the defeat of Vaiḍūri (Vaiḍyā), the destruction of Vēḷiḷam with its strong ramparts, the sowing of corries in Kaṅkaḷai-nilai-nar, and the defeat of Telunga-Bhima, and Jamantaram-unberamunā Śembiyar Kōn. Evidently it is in praise of a chief who took part in these events, but whose name is lost. The inscription seems to be of the time of Rājarāja I; I have examined the impression and am unable to accept the twelfth century date suggested in TBE. 1931, II 30.
Page 220.—n. — "The Sultan takes the official title of king of the thirteen provinces and of the 12,000 islands. According to Owen this is scarcely a third or a fourth of the actual number, although, apart from mere reefs, a few hundred only appear on the most carefully prepared charts. Ptolemy reckoned as many as 1,378, but not more than 175 are inhabited." The Universal Geography by Elisee Reclus, ed. A.H. Keane, Vol. viii. India and Indo-China, p. 384.

Page 221.—II. 14-5.—Another inscription of the thirty-first year of Rājarāja comes from Brahmadāsam (NA.), 252 of 1915.

Page 224.—I. 8.—Attention is drawn to the flight of Buddhist monks from Magadha to the South mentioned by Tarānātha (Schiefer p. 255), and the foundation of the monastery at Negapatam by a king of Sumatra may be explained, it is said, "as the continuation of the relations between Magadha and the Archipelago." Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde Deel 20 (1933) pp. 19-20. But there are insuperable chronological difficulties in the way of accepting this; the Muhammadan invasion which dispersed the monks of Magadha did not occur before the twelfth century.

Page 260.—n. *—It is perhaps worth noting that Ferrand (Relations ii. p. 646 n. 11; J.A. 11 : 14 pp. 173, 176 n. 1) has made a serious mistake in supposing that Hultzsch locates Malaiyūr in the North Arcot District (El. ix. p. 231). Hultzsch’s remark about Muliyūr relates to the donative part of the Tiramalai record, not the praśasti narrating the campaign.

Pages 259-265.—Rouffaer proposes a different scheme of identifications for the places mentioned in the Tanjore inscription in an important contribution in Bijdragen, Deel 77 (1921). I translate below the passage summing up his conclusions:

We find the 13 states in Rājendra’s Tanjore manifesto summed up in this soundly rhetorical and partly geographical order:
ADDITIONAL NOTES

[1=14 see end] 1. Kedah (Kaḍāram) the pre-eminent-

ly strong, particularly on land (by its elephants);

2-4 on Sumatra] 2. Palembang (Śrī Vijayam), the

rich emporium*; 3. Pane; Panai (Paṇṇai) the river-
town; 4. Djambi (Malaiyūr), the ancient;

[5-8 on the Malay Peninsula :] 5. Hasin, Ma Hasin
(Māyiruḍīngam), the sea-town; 6 Wurawāri=Gangā-
yu=Langkāśuka (I-Langāśukam), the unconquerable;
7. Pahang, or rather Penang (Mā-pappāḷam), the water
state (defended by an abundance of deep waters);
8. either Dinding or Braus, in Perak (Mēvilimban-
gam), encircled by a wall (defended by beautiful
walls), or probably also the equally ancient Kelang in
Selangor;

[9 on Campa’s south coast] 9. Phanrang, Pāṇḍuranga?
(Vaḷaippandūru wherein, according to a kind com-
munication of Prof. Van Ronkel, Tamil vaḷai means
‘fortress’) in parts still wild (possessing at once
cultivated lands (?) and waste-land);

[10-11; back on the north of the Malay Peninsula]
10. Pтолемy’s Takōla=Takkōla of the Miṇindapaṇha
(i.e., Menander dialogues c. 400 A.D.)=Takuā Pā of
to-day (Gerini-1909), Mal. Takōpa, on the W. coast, 8°
25′ N.L. (Talattakkōlam, in which Tamil talai means
chief, original, Coedes); 11. Tāmbra-linga. (Linga of
Copper)=either Chaïya or Bandon or—and in my
opinion the most likely—Ligor, (Lakon, Nagor, Nakor,
all meaning Nagar: against which Ligor can just be a
corruption of an older ‘Linga’: the Lo-yue of
Ki-Tan’s sea-itinerary of c. 800 A.D.), thus all three
on the E. coast resp. 9° 20′ 9° 5′ and 8° 22′ N.L. (Mā-
Damālingam, Coedes pp. 15-18 and 32-3; where he first
publishes a Buddhist inscription from Jaiya=Chaïya,
dated 4332 Kali=1230 A.D., given by Śrī Dharmarāja,
prince of Tāmbralinga).

* Coedes (p. 5. n. 1) remarks that some of the ornate epithets which in
Hultsch’s translation of the inscription in 1891 all become related to Kaḍāram
may probably relate to Śrī Vijayam.
THE COLAS

The first, Ptolemy’s emporium Takōla thus from c. 150 A.D., is described in this Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D., as ‘praised by great men versed in the sciences’; which, via the Milindapañha of the 5th century A.D. and the Bactrian prince Menander alias Milinda (c. 155 B.C.) praised therein, was known not simply in India itself but in the land of the Yavanas—Greeks.

The second, I think, is no other than Ligor = Lo-Yue (c. 800 A.D.) = Linga, say: ‘Śiva’s town’; later become Buddhist, and ‘the city’ (Nagara) or capital of Buddha, Dharma-nagari (Nāgarakṛtyakāyam of 1365 A.D., 15:1) alias Nagara Śri Dharma-rāja (924 A.D.; Gerini p. 107), thus in the manner of the older Śrī Vijaya = Palembang, and the much later (15th century?) Śīk Śrī Indrapura = Siyk in 1365 A.D.; all sign-boards of political power like Great Berlin, or Great Netherlands or Great(er) Britain:—here in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. described as ‘intrépid in great and terrible combats.’

[12-13, to the S.W. and W.S.W. of Takkola-Ligor] 12. Great Atjeh, Lamoeri (I-Lāmuričām), ‘of which the terrible force (Atjeh wars 1872-1905!) was conquered by a violent attack’; and 13. the Nicobars (Mā-Nakka-vāram), these islands of naked idyllic wilds described as: ‘of which the gardens of flowers resemble the zone of the nymph of the southern region’

and—I, Rājendra Cūla king by the grace of gods (since 1012 A.D.), repeat:

[14 = 1; Alpha and Omega] Kadha (Kadāram) the mighty (on land), protected by the sea.
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