

READINGS

IN

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

T.V. MAHALINGAM
READINGS
IN
SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

General Editor
S. P. GUPTA

Editor
K.S. RAMACHANDRAN

1977

*Published on behalf of the Indian Society
for
Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies*

B. R. PUBLISHING CORPORATION
DELHI

Mahalingam, Teralundur Venkatarama, 1907-

Readings in South Indian history / T.V. Mahalingam ; general editor, S.P. Gupta ; editor, K.S. Ramachandran. — Delhi : B.R. Pub. Corp., on behalf of the Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies ; New Delhi : distributed by D.K. Publishers' Distributors, 1977 [i.e. 1976]

xxiv, 229 p. : geneal. tables, map ; 25 cm.

Includes bibliographical references.
Articles; previously published.
Rs60.00 (\$12.00)

1. India, South—History—Addresses, essays, lectures. I. Title.

954.808
V441x

L6

DK-76D-6598

First Published 1977

© *The Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies*

Published by : B.R. Publishing Corporation, 461, Vivekanand Nagar, Delhi—110 052.
Distributed by : D.K. Publishers' Distributors, 1, Ansari Road, New Delhi-110 002.
Printed at : The Classical Printers, Rohtak Road, New Delhi-110 005.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF PROFESSOR T.V. MAHALINGAM

Born	on 15th July 1907 at Theralundur in Thanjavur District of Tamil Nadu.
Academic achievements	1931 : Master of Arts of the University of Madras. 1942 : Doctor of Letters of the University of Madras for his work on "Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar".
Awards	1929 : Annamalai Chettiar First prize for proficiency in History in Bachelor of Arts. 1931 : Annamalai Chettiar First prize for proficiency in History in Master of Arts. 1940 : Sankara Parvati Prize of the University of Madras. 1969 : Padma Sri.
Research and Teaching	1939-42 : Research Scholar and Research Assistant University of Madras. 1942-47 : Lecturer in History in the Madurai College, Madurai and the Raja's College, Pudukkottai. 1947-56 : Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. 1956-71 : Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras.
Lectures and Seminars	Besides delivering lectures in several Universities and attending various Seminars and Conferences between 1951 and 1974, Prof Mahalingam was invited to deliver the prestigious Sankara Parvati (1951), Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar (1954) and Sir William Meyer (1963) Endowment Lectures in the University of Madras.

Presidentship of
Conferences and
Seminars

- 1951 : Sectional President, Section II, Indian History Congress, Jaipur.
- 1953 : Sectional President, Dravidian Languages and Culture, All India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad.
- 1965 : Sectional President, History, All India Oriental Conference, Gauhati.
- 1970 : President, All India Numismatic Conference, Nagpur.
- 1972 : President, Fifth Annual Conference, Indian Archaeological Society, Bombay.
- 1976 : President, Third Epigraphical Conference, Epigraphical Society of India.

Sectional President, Medieval History, Indian History Congress.

Research and Field
work

Besides contributing more than a hundred papers on historiography, history, archaeology, art and architecture, epigraphy, numismatics and religion and philosophy, Prof Mahalingam has written more than a dozen books; important among which are : *Administration and Social Life under the Vijayanagar*, *Bānas in South Indian History*, *South Indian Polity*, *Early South Indian Palaeography*, *Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History*, *Report on the Excavations in the lower Kaveri Valley*, part I (Tirukkampuliyur and Alagarai), etc. Prof Mahalingam has explored extensively in Tamil Nadu and excavated four archaeological sites. At present he is engaged in several projects sponsored by the Indian Council of Historical Research and the University Grants Commission.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I take this opportunity to express my grateful thanks to the Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies for readily undertaking to publish the "Readings in South Indian History", a collection of my research papers. In the selection, editing and publication of the papers Dr S. P. Gupta of the National Museum, New Delhi, the General Editor and Shri K. S. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, the Editor, have evinced personal interest. To them I am beholden. Shri Anandasivam, my Assistant working with me in the various projects I have undertaken for the Indian Council of Historical Research was of immense help in the preparation of the Introduction. My thanks are due to him. I am grateful to B. R. Publishing Corporation, the publishers and the Classical Printers, the printers, both of Delhi, for the expeditious and neat execution, which they have achieved in a short time.

T. V. Mahalingam

EDITORS' NOTE

Therajundur V. Mahalingam is one of those stalwarts who have worked throughout their life with single minded devotion and intense passion to unravel the mysteries of the south Indian history. From a humble beginning as a Research Scholar/Assistant, soon after his Master of Arts degree in 1931, he rose step by step to the highest position of Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology in the University of Madras; a position occupied by such distinguished scholars as Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Prof K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. During the tenure of the last two the Chair was exclusively for History. It was only during Prof Mahalingam's time that a separate Chair for Archaeology with Ancient History clubbed to it was created and Prof Mahalingam had the unique distinction of being the first Professor of the newly instituted Chair with a compliment of teaching and technical staff for Field work.

Prof Mahalingam attained this height through sheer merit and hard work. He is one of the few to be awarded the degree of D. Litt. of the University of Madras for his thesis, "Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar". In recognition of his services to the cause of history the Government of India honoured him by bestowing Padma Sri in 1969. Prof Mahalingam had been President of several Congresses and Conferences. He has contributed more than two hundred articles and reviews. His total number of books exceed a dozen. His contributions are varied, covering history, archaeology, art and architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, religion and philosophy, etc. Two of his books *Studies in South Indian Archaeology* and *South Indian Sculptures and Iconography* are to be released shortly. Presently Prof Mahalingam is busily engaged in the projects sponsored by the University Grants Commission and the Indian Council of Historical Research.

The present book is a collection of thirty-six papers, and articles read before the distinguished gatherings of several Conferences, Congresses, Seminars and published in various Research journals; some of them are now defunct, spanning more than a millennium, from the Pallavas of Kanchi to the British East India Company. They at once bring before us his versatility and grasp of the subject. He himself has indicated in his Introduction, the scope, problem and further work done in each subject. It would be, therefore, redundant for us to recapitulate them here. But it would be interesting to mention only two topics, those relating to the village administration of the medieval south India (Village Communities in South India and the Chitrameli Periyannattar) and the social legislation, particularly regarding the obnoxious dowry system (Social Legislation in Medieval South India).

We hope and believe this collection would be of immense help to students of history in general and of south Indian history in particular. In spite of our best efforts, a few typographical errors have crept in and we crave the indulgence of our readers to bear with us.

We would like to thank Messrs B.R. Publishing Corporation, the publishers and the Classical Printers, the printers, both of Delhi, for bringing out the book in a short time.

Shri M.S. Mani of the Archaeological Survey prepared the map; to him also our thanks are due.

S.P. Gupta

K.S. Rawachandran

REFERENCES TO PAPERS—CHAPTER-WISE

1. Paper read in the International Conference of Orientalists held in Delhi (1964)
2. *Journal of Indian History*, XLIII (1964)
3. *Journal of the Madras University*, XXXII (1961)
4. *Journal of Indian History*, XXXVI (1958)
5. *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India* (1958)
6. *Journal of Indian History*, XXXVI (1958)
7. *Journal of Indian History*, XLIII (1965)
8. *Journal of Indian History*, XLI (1963)
9. *Journal of Indian History*, XXXVI (1958)
10. *Brahma Vidya*, Adyar Library Bulletin (1960)
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras (1953)
12. Paper read in the Indian History Congress (1954)
13. Paper read in the Indian History Congress, Gwalior (1952)
14. *Transactions of Archaeological Society of South India* (1955)
15. *Sethu Pillai Commemoration Volume* (1963)
16. *Journal of the Madras University*, January-July (1948)
17. *K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* (1940)
18. *Journal of Indian History*, XVII (1938)
19. *Federated India* (1942)
20. *The New Review* (1940)
21. *The New Review* (1940)
22. *Bharata Kaumudi* (1938)
23. *S.K. Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* (1936)
24. *Journal of the Madras University* (1950)
25. *The Hindu* (Dec. 1936)
26. *Journal of the Madras University* (1950)
27. *Journal of the Madras University*, XXII (1951)
28. *Dr. B.C. Law Commemoration Volume*, Part I (1945)
29. *Indica*, Silver Jubilee Volume (1953)
30. Paper read in the Indian History Congress, Bombay (1947)
31. *Indian Historical Records Commission* (1955)
32. *Indian Historical Records Commission* (1951)
33. Paper read in the Indian History Congress (1954)
34. *C.S. Srinivasachari Commemoration Volume* (1951)
35. Paper read in the Indian History Congress (1959)
36. Paper read in the Indian History Congress, Jaipur (1951)

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ARSIE</i>	—Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy
<i>CII</i>	—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
<i>EC</i>	—Epigraphia Carnatica
<i>Epi. Ind.</i>	—Epigraphia Indica
<i>IAR</i>	—Indian Archaeology—A Review
<i>IHQ</i>	—Indian Historical Quarterly
<i>Ind. Ant.</i>	—Indian Antiquary
<i>JA</i>	—Journal Asiatique
<i>JAHRS</i>	—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
<i>JBBRAS</i>	—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JBRAS</i>	—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay
<i>JIH</i>	—Journal of Indian History
<i>JOR</i>	—Journal of the Oriental Institute, Madras
<i>JRAS</i>	—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
<i>MAR</i>	—Mysore Archaeological Report
<i>PSI</i>	—Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State
<i>QJMS</i>	—Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
<i>SII</i>	—South Indian Inscriptions
<i>SITI</i>	—T.N. Subramanyan, <i>South Indian Temple Inscriptions</i>
<i>TAS</i> }	—Travancore Archeological Series
<i>TASS</i> }	
<i>TASSI</i>	—Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India
<i>TBG</i>	—Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal Land en Volkenkunde
<i>TTDI</i>	—Tirupati Tirumalai Devasthanam Inscriptions.

CONTENTS

	Pages
<i>Biographical Sketch of Prof T.V. Mahalingam</i>	v
<i>Acknowledgement</i>	vii
<i>Editors' Note</i>	ix
<i>Reference to Articles, Chapter-wise</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
<i>Indroduction</i>	xv
1. Early Pallava Geneology and Chronology	1
2. Early Pallava—Kadamba Relations	10
3. Pallava Rajasimha and South East Asia	15
4. The Accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla	25
5. Pallava Skandasishya II	33
6. The Nolamba Pallavas : Their Origin	42
7. Problems in Later Pallava Chronology and Geneology	50
8. An Interregnum in Pallava History	59
9. Aditya and Vikramaditya	72
10. Bana Nandivarman	77
11. A Bana Chieftain of the Thirteenth Century	82
12. The Battle of Uratti	86
13. An Odda Invasion of South India	89
14. Village Communities in South India	94
15. The Chitrameli Periyannattar	105
16. Hoysala Vira Narasimha II and the Magara Kingdom	110
17. Vijayanagara and Ceylon	117
18. Tirumalaideva Maharaya	123
19. The Administrative value of Amaktamalyada	128
20. Social Legislation in Medieval South India	134
21. Rural Problems in Vijayanagara	140
22. Sangama Dynasty and Ceylon	144
23. Irrigation under the Vijayanagara Kings	149
24. Randaula Khan and the Karnataka	154

25. Lessons of Vijayanagara History : Glories of a Great National Movement	158
26. Saluva Tirumalaideve Maharaya	164
27. Virappa Nayaka and Vijayanagara	170
28. Two Decades of Madurai (1734-1754)	175
29. The End of the Madurai Nayakship	182
30. Historical Material in the Ramappayyan Ammanai	186
31. The Nawabs of the Carnatic and Hindu Temples	192
32. Colonel Baird at Tirupparankunram	196
33. Haider Ali and Tiruchirappalli 1781	202
34. Sir William Balackburne : An Ideal Political Resident	205
35. Sopatma	214
36. Study of Medieval Indian History	222

INTRODUCTION

This volume contains 36 research papers contributed by me to different Journals, Periodicals, Felicitation Volumes or read at Conferences devoted to the study of Indian history during the past four decades. These represent different aspects of the history of south India, commencing from the times of the Early Pallavas of Kanchipuram and ending with the Toṇḍaiman rulers of the erstwhile princely State of Pudukkottai in the beginning of the last century. Of these ten relate to the period of the Pallavas upto the beginning of the tenth century A.D., six to the Chola-Chalukya period; eight to the Vijayanagara period and nine to the post-Vijayanagara period covered by those of the Nayaks of Thanjavur and Madurai, the Navabs of Carnatic and the Toṇḍaiman Rajas of Pudukkottai. The subjects deal mainly with important historical events and socio-economic and administrative institutions that marked some of the aspects of many of the facets of the history of south India. In the course of this introduction I have tried to indicate further research done by scholars on some of the topics dealt with here and my own recent views on them.

'Early Pallava Genealogy and Chronology' [1] is the outcome of the study of the genealogy and chronology of the early Pallavas of Kanchi prior to the accession of Simhavishnu, father of Mahendravarman I, which is one of the knotty problems in south Indian history and on which different scholars have suggested different pedigrees and chronological schemes. However, fresh discoveries of a few significant inscriptions enabled the present writer to suggest modification of the earlier views regarding the genealogy and chronology of the Pallavas and postulate a new tenable scheme till fresh evidences necessitate change. The copper plate inscriptions of the Early Pallavas of Kanchi, which number sixteen, the Manchikallu stone inscription of Simhavarman I and several contemporary Kadamba and Ganga inscriptions are the main sources of information to reconstruct the pedigree and chronology of the early rulers of the Pallava family. The date of the extinction of the Ikshvaku power in the lower Deccan as suggested by D.C. Sircar, the date of the *Dakshinapatha* expedition of Samudragupta, some synchronisms provided by the early Kadamba and Ganga inscriptions, the date of accession of Simhavarman II as furnished by the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*, the synchronism offered by Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, the information supplied by the recently discovered Indrapālanagara Copper Plates of Vishnukundin king Vikramendrabhattā-rakavarman II are some of the landmarks which have been utilised to reconstruct the chronology of the early Pallavas of Kanchi prior to the accession of Simhavishnu,

'Early Pallava-Kadamba Relations' [2] is a study of the contacts between these two powers of south India for about 100 years i.e. from the early fourth century A.D. to the middle of the fifth century A.D. The account is based largely on the Kadamba and Ganga inscriptions as the contemporary Pallava records do not speak specifically of their relations with the neighbouring powers. The humiliation experienced by Mayurasarman, a *brahmana* of the *Mānavya gotra* and of the family of the Kadambas during the *asvamedha* sacrifice performed by the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman I led to the establishment of the Kadamba kingdom in Western Deccan by Mayurasarman evidently at the expense of the Pallavas. However, the Pallavas were wise and diplomatic enough to keep the rulers of the Kadamba family under their influence, though Mayurasarman's conflicts with them continued for some time even after the reign of Śivaskandavarman I. The growing influence of the Kadambas over the Bāṇas in the subsequent period was considered a menace by the Pallavas to their power and prestige and they in turn patronised the Western Gangas to counterpoise it. The Pallava rulers lost no chance to assert their diplomatic supremacy over the Kadambas whenever the internal affairs of the Kadamba kingdom showed any sign of dissension and provided an opportunity for them to step in. Such an opportunity to interfere in the Kadamba politics came after the death of Kakusthavarman, the fourth king of the Kadamba dynasty after Mayurasarman. The Kadamba kingdom came to be divided among the two sons of Kakusthavarman viz. Krishnavarman I and Śantivarman. The former carved out a separate kingdom for himself with his headquarters at Tripurvata. When he chose Devavarman, his younger son as his heir apparent, the then Pallava ruler Simhavarman II along with Śantivarman espoused the cause of Vishnuvarman, the elder son of Krishnavarman I through a Kaikeya princess, defeated the last of them and crowned Vishnuvarman on the Tripurvata throne retaining the Banavasi throne for Śantivarman. The Kadamba prince during his exile served the Pallavas in the capacity of a General of the army and remembered gratefully the help extended to him by the Pallavas to gain the throne, by naming his son as Simhavarman after the Pallava ruler. Thus the account of the Pallava-Kadamba relations during the period enables one to get an insight into the political conditions of the lower Deccan and the diplomatic successes achieved by the Pallavas.

When the Kadambas were succeeded by the Chalukyas of Vatapi in the Deccan area, the conflicts between the latter and Pallavas of Kanchi became intense and persistent. Throughout the period the Chalukyas waged frequent wars in the South, mainly with the Pallavas. The Pallava raid of the Chalukya Capital in 642 A.D. by Narasimhavarman I caused pandemonium in the Chalukya politics. The history of the Chalukyas becomes clear only after the emergence of Vikramaditya I, a son of Pulakeśin II.

The paper on 'Aditya and Vikramaditya' [9] attempts to discuss one of the puzzles in the genealogy of the Western Chalukyas of Badami after Pulakeśin II. It discusses the identification of one Adityavarman, described as a son of Pulakeśin II in a copper plate grant obtained from the Kurnool district. The view of earlier scholars was that he was the eldest son of Pulakeśin II and that he endeavoured to wrest the throne from his younger brother after the Chalukyan resurrection by Vikramaditya II. The present article, however, throws a different light on the problem. Some common

features in the contents and phraseology between the Kurnool record and those of Vikramaditya I are brought to notice and it is concluded that Aditya was the original name of Vikramaditya I and that both of them were not different persons. Some scholars, however, feel that Aditya and Vikramaditya are two different rulers.

Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha and south India's contribution particularly during the supremacy of the Pallavas, to the Indianization of the South East Asian region is vividly brought out in a subsequent article [3]. In his book *Bijdragen tot de Taal....., Land en Volkenkunde van Netherlandisch Indie* (vol.IXXIV, 1918), J.P. Vogel was inclined to believe that there was not merely cultural contact but there were also political relations in those days between the Pallavas and the Far East; but he could not assert this for want of direct and clear evidence atleast from the side of the Pallavas. However, a study of the Chinese sources, some Pallava inscriptions and certain salient features of the history of South East Asian countries of the period furnishes several pieces of evidence which make one think that the Pallavas had much to do with South East Asia. Though each of them by itself may not be considered sufficiently significant, when taken together collectively, they paint an impressive picture of the trans-oceanic contacts of the Pallavas during the reign of Rajasimha. Here an interesting account of the Colonial Empire of the Pallavas and the political relations that existed between the Imperial Pallavas and their colonial kingdoms, are clearly brought to light.

'Accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla' [4] deals with an elusive and evading problem of the manner of the selection and accession of Nandivarman II to the Pallava throne at Kanchi. Pallavamalla was a prince of a little known collateral branch of the Pallavas and was 'chosen by his subjects' to rule over the Pallava kingdom after Paramesvaravarman II. In the Vaikuṅṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kanchipuram constructed by him, the Pallava king Nandivarman II has given an official account of the entire history of the Pallavas from their mythical ancestors upto the time of the construction of the temple in the form of a series of sculptured panels on the walls of the temple. Underneath these panels relating to the accession of the king are found label inscriptions in Tamil narrating the incidents portrayed therein. Such explanatory labels and sculptures giving an official account have no parallel in any south Indian monument. They are of significant value.

This paper brings out clearly : (i) The colonial kingdom of the Pallavas in the Indo-China region was ruled over by a collateral branch of the Pallavas which gave the prince Pallavamalla the Kanchi kingdom when the latter was plunged into anarchy; (ii) the selection and coronation of Pallavamalla was not without opposition and evidence for an early clash with the king-select and another contestant to the Pallava throne at the outskirts of Kanchi even before the former was invested with the authority of the Pallava kingdom is, for the first time, pointed out; and (iii) the disturbed political conditions which prevailed, in the Pallava kingdom for a period of nearly 20 years subsequent to the accession of Nandivarman II.

A different view of the above problem is given by Dr Ramesan in his recent book *Studies in Medieval Deccan History* (based on two unpublished copper-plate inscriptions in the Hyderabad State Museum, one of which belonged to the reign of Pallava Nripatungavarman). He thinks that Pallavamalla was a son of Paramesvararman II,

through a daughter of Hiranyavarman. The prince was brought up in the court of Hiranyavarman who was ruling over the southern part of the Pallava kingdom. After the death of Paramēśvararman II, Pallavamalla acquired his rightful heritage. Ramesan maintains that the above is the probable course of events leading to the accession of Nandivarman II to the Pallava throne.

However, the present writer still thinks otherwise and prefers to believe that the accession of Pallavamalla was not a natural or peaceful event. At the outset, a matrimonial connection between two branches of the Pallavas themselves, as suggested by Ramesan, is not at all convincing. The troubled politics in the Pallava kingdom during the period is evidenced, not only by the Vaikunṭha Perumāḷ temple label inscriptions, but also supported by the Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman II and the Rāyakōṭa Plates of Skandaśishya II.

The period of 20 years from the accession of Nandivarman II i.e. from c. A.D. 737 to c. A.D. 750 is marked by the disturbances and dissensions in the Pallava kingdom. The article on 'Pallava Skandaśishya II' [5] is yet another contribution which reviews the same period apart from the above paper. In this paper the place of the Rāyakōṭa charter which has been surprisingly ignored by the earlier scholars, is discussed. The date assigned to the charter in this article has been unanimously accepted by scholars. The Pallava king Skandaśishya II was able to establish his authority over a part of the Pallava kingdom against Nandivarman II for atleast fourteen years and this fact is strengthened from various pieces of information available from inscriptions. In passing the paper also gives a glimpse about the relations between Pallava Nandivarman II and Rashtrakuta Dantidurga.

Nandivarman II and his son and successor Dantivarman ruled the Pallava kingdom for 110 years. In the reign of Dantivarman the growing weakness of the Pallava rulers was exposed to an alien interregnum lasting for a period of about 27 or 28 years from the 21st year of Dantivarman's reign to the 49th regnal year. 'An Interregnum in Pallava History' [8] describes the earliest phase of the decline and disintegration of the Pallava kingdom. The article, based on the evidence of several inscriptions including some of the contemporary records of the Pandyas and Cholas, reveals that during the reign of Pallava Dantivarman, a Telugu-Choda ruler named Sri Kantha who, it is shown, was one among the predecessors of Chola Vijayalaya and a close relative of the Pandya rulers Manabharana and Śrīmara Śrivallabha, occupied Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam during that time and nominated one Abhimanasiddhi, probably a junior member of the Pallava family on the throne of Kanchi. However, after the death of Śri Kantha, the Pallava crown prince Nandivarman III, son of Dantivarman with the assistance of the Rashtrakutas regained his ancestral throne and thereby restored the Pallava power in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. This paper not only reveals the evidence of an alien interregnum in the Pallava history but also gives a complete picture of the political conditions that prevailed in the Tamil country then, which led to the occupation of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region, as far as the available evidence goes.

The problems in later Pallava genealogy and chronology are many and a number of scholars have speculated on them. The article [7] examines fully the question and fixes the genealogy and chronology of the Pallavas from Nandivarman II to

Apparajitavarman. The exact relationship between each of the rulers of the dynasty during the period is defined, their dates of accession are fixed and the period of rule of each of them is satisfactorily determined. This article takes the date of the famous Śrīpurambiyam battle to c. A.D. 895 and extends the Pallava rule in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region to c. A.D. 913. The last Pallava ruler, Aparajitavarman's defeat and death at the hands of Chola Aditya I and also the policy pursued by Kampavarman, brother of both Nripatungavarman and Aparajitavarman *vis a vis* the Nripatunga-Aparajita clasli is indicated.

'Bana Nandivarman' [10] is the outcome of the study of a stray verse found in the *Yapparunkalakkārigai*, a commentary on a Tamil prosody and also some other verses in the same work. The article, identifies the Bāṇa chief praised in the verses with Bāṇa Jayanandivarman who was a contemporary of Nandivarman II and the historical value of these verses embodied in the commentary are brought out. 'The Noḷamba Pallavas : Their Origin' [6] as the title suggests, examines the origin of the Noḷambas who figure largely in the inscriptions of south India of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. It is shown that the Noḷambas probably originated as a family of rulers during the reign of Pallava Nandivarman II.

These roughly cover a period of nearly six centuries from the early fourth century A.D. to the early tenth century A.D. and largely, as their contents show, are confined to the political history of the Pallavas and taken individually each of them tries to find solution for a specific problem in the study of Pallava history.

The next set of articles relates to the Chola dynasty. Among them four papers examine some important events that took place during the declining period of the Cholas, i.e. during the 13th century A.D. and which have some bearing on the disintegration of the 400 year-old Second Empire of the Cholas, and two papers on the guild organizations and village communities of south India that attained greater heights of importance during the supremacy of the Cholas.

'A Bāṇa Chieftain of the Thirteenth century' [11] is an article on the career and personality of a rebellious Bāṇa chief named Rajaraja Magadai Nāḍāḷvāṇ. In the early regnal years of Kulottunga III's reign he was a loyal feudatory of his suzerain and distinguished himself as a Chola General. He was crowned ruler of the conquered Pandya country in recognition of his services in the Pandya war. Subsequently he seems to have followed the example of the Kāḍavarāyas in defying the Chola emperor. This new policy of his was vigorously resented by the other chieftains under the Cholas and they formed a confederacy among themselves effectively isolating the defying Bāṇa chieftain. Consequently there occurred a new turn in the career of Magadai Nāḍāḷvāṇ and he went over to the side of the Pandyas who under Maravarman Sundara Pandya I was able to throw off the Chola imperial yoke. Sundara Pandya repeated what all Kulottunga III had done to his predecessors and country. He, after the conquest of the Chola country presented the same to Rajaraja Magadai Nāḍāḷvāṇ, as he was the same person who had been vested with the crown of the Pandyas by Kulottunga III. Thus this chieftain was able to receive a prestigious status in Pandya quarters also. However, his defection to the Pandya floor drew upon him the anger of Hoysala Narasimha and the latter punished the chief for his contumacy and imprudence. The

career of Rajaraja Magadai Nādālvāṇ is an interesting one and gives a glimpse of the unchecked power of the chieftains under the Cholas and how the changes in their loyalty brought about the disintegration of the Chola Empire in the thirteenth century.

'Hoysala Vira Narasimha II and the Magara kingdom' [16] examines the activities of one of the over-grown feudatory principalities under Chola Kulottunga III named Magara-Rājya which offered tough opposition to Hoysala Vira Narasimha II in the latter's attempts to help the Chola emperor to retain his authority. Interestingly the Magara kingdom is mentioned mainly in the inscriptions of the 13th century A.D., the identification of which remained a problem for a long time. In this piece of writing the Magara kingdom has been identified with the Telugu-Choda kingdom, a good slice of which geographically lay to the east of the Hoysala kingdom. However, the present writer has revised his view on the identification of Magara kingdom in a paper submitted to the Indian Epigraphical Congress (II Session) on the Tiruvēndipuram Inscription of Rājārāja III. In that article the Magara kingdom has been identified with portions of the Kolar district in the Karnataka State which region, from a study of the inscriptions of the place, is found to have been ruled by some Chola subordinates without acknowledging Chola supremacy.

The next paper [13] is devoted to a consideration of the evidence bearing on an invasion of the Oḍḍas (*Oḍḍas*) as far as down as Śrīrangam and their temporary occupation of the temple at the place for a period during the unsettled times in the area between 1223 and 1225 and the restoration of normal conditions in the Śrīrangam temple by Maravarman Sundara Pandya I as recorded in his Śrīrangam epigraph dated 1225 A.D. (*ARSIE*, 53 of 1892; *SII*, IV, No. 500). The inscription mentions that ten persons who were heads of ten groups of temple servants joined the invading *Oḍḍas* and collected a cess called *Oḍḍakkāṣu*. This is partly confirmed by the evidence of the *Kōyilolugu*, a chronicle of the Śrīrangam temple, though there are some discrepancies with regard to the chronology and details of the events as recorded in the work. It was Sundara Pandya I who was responsible for forcing the *Oḍḍas* to retreat from their conquest of the Śrīrangam area.

In the article the 'Battle of Uraṭṭi', [12] the feuds between the Kāḍavarāyas who defied the Chola Emperor Rajaraja III and the Yādavarayas who owed allegiance to the Cholas are brought out. As a preliminary step aiming at their own independence at the expense of the Cholas, the Kāḍavarayas seem to have attempted to capture the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam area from the hand of the Yādavarayas who were then loyal to the Chola emperor. Uraṭṭi near Madurantakam, Chingleput district was one of the battlefields in which a close relative of the Yādavaraya chieftain was killed. The article based on an inscription that mentions the above incident gives an account of the political disturbances during the period under review which eventually contributed to the decline and disruption of the Chola empire.

'The Chitramēli Periyanaṭṭār' [15] is a short but interesting article. The paper deals with the guild organization of agriculturists of the name Chitramēli-Periya Nāṭṭār and show how much encouragement it received at the hands of Kulottunga III. The paper 'Village communities in South India' [14] attempts a vivid portrayal of the general pattern, common characteristics and common purposes and ends of the village communities of south India in the medieval period. The material drawn for this study is mainly

from the *Śāngam* literature and later inscriptions which cover a period ranging from the *Śāngam* age to the Vijayanagara times. This is, more or less, an intense survey of this particular aspect and intended mainly to give a coherent picture of the village communities of south India through the ages.

The next nine articles which relate to the period of the Vijayanagara Empire bring out the aspects like the relations between Vijayanagara and Ceylon, irrigation under Vijayanagara kings, social legislation in that empire, lessons of this mighty Hindu kingdom to posterity and also the study of one of the great literary productions of the times by one of the most reputed kings of south India, Krishnadeva Raya of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara.

The two papers the 'Sāngama Dynasty and Ceylon' [22] and 'Vijayanagara and Ceylon' [17] are complementary in nature. While the first article confines itself to the first dynasty of the Vijayanagara Empire and its relations with the island, the second one covers the whole of the Vijayanagara period.

The article entitled 'Tirumalaideva Maharaya' [18] relates to the Vijayanagara prince of that name and the son of Krishnadeva Raya whose inscriptions occur in many parts of the Vijayanagara empire in the years 1524-1525. Till the appearance of this article, it was believed that Krishnadeva Raya abdicated the throne in favour of his son Tirumalaideva, evidence for which was the account of Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler on the coronation of the prince by the Emperor; and Tirumala, the successor died under suspicious circumstances for the death of whom the bereaved emperor plucked the eyes of his devoted minister Timmanna Dannayaka, the son of Śāluva Timma, his brother and two sons and put them into prison. The present article fully tackles the problem and unveils the following interesting details: Though Krishnadeva Raya had a number of wives, his chief queen being Tirumalambika; he had no male issue till very late in his reign. This fact not only worried the great emperor, but also caused much anxiety among many loyal courtiers regarding the succession after the emperor. One among them was Rayasam Kondamarasayya. This trusted lieutenant of the emperor even made gifts to temples in order that his master may be blessed with a son. It appears that a son was born in the year 1519 and was named Tirumalaideva. Krishnadeva Raya, it seems, installed the prince as *Yuvaraja* in 1524 when he attained six years, to avoid any dispute for throne after his death. But the installed *Yuvaraja* died a premature death within eight months of his anointment. Subsequently Achyutaraya was anointed *Yuvaraja*. Krishnadeva Raya continued to reign for atleast five years after the unhappy death of his son.

It has been shown clearly in the article that Nuniz's account on the abdication of the throne by Krishnadeva Raya in favour of Tirumala is nothing but a misconception of a Hindu practice of anointing the crown prince, while the king himself was alive.

The paper on 'Irrigation under Vijayanagara' [23] is a short note on the methods of the construction of irrigation works, their maintenance and repairs and the settlement of irrigation disputes in the Vijayanagara empire. It is shown how the Vijayanagara sovereigns were affording irrigation facilities for agricultural improvement in their kingdom. The next paper entitled 'Social Legislations in Vijayanagara' [20] deals with a few legislations relating to the practice of taking and giving dowry by either the bride's party or the

bridegroom's party on occasions of marriage and some arrangements of a social nature among a few artisan communities during the Vijayanagara and Madurai-Nayaka periods. One important point to be noted in this connection is that such legislations were made among communities themselves and not endorsed by the government. The next on 'Lessons of Vijayanagar History' [25] focusses one's attention on a need for a strong centre to check centrifugal tendencies in a vast kingdom and the need for co-operative effort on the part of the communities and associations for the maintenance of social harmony and promote economic progress in a country. These two papers are, incidentally, of immense topical interest.

The *magnum opus* of Krishnadeva Raya (1509—29) was the *Āmuktamālyada*, which is considered as one of the *mahakavyas* in the Telugu literature. It narrates the story of Periyālvār or Vishnuchitta, the sixth *Ālvār* who is said to have converted the Madurai King to the Śrivaishnava faith. Krishnadeva Raya, the author expresses his political maxims in the sub-plot which he intertwines with the main theme. He makes Yamunacharya instruct his son on politics and administration. The paper on the 'Administrative Value of the *Āmuktamālyada*' [19] points out the salient features of the political maxims contained in the great work. It reviews the original contribution of the author of the *Āmuktamālyada*. It has been shown that Krishnadeva Raya was not only talking a theory, but also silent practice. His views on the upkeep of *Dharma*, the choice of ministers, emphasis on the organization of an efficient system of espionage, the policy newly undertaken by him to administer the temple properties, elaborate irrigation facilities to agrarian section of his subjects and on the befriending of vigorous forest tribes are some of the points discussed enhancing the value of the *Āmuktamālyada*. Thus it contains the ideas of a great Hindu emperor of the medieval period on administration and practical hints to be followed by any Hindu prince.

The paper on 'Virappa Nayaka and Vijayanagara' [27] describes at length the relations of this ruler of Madurai with the three contemporary Vijayanagara emperors viz. Tirumala, Śrīranga I and Venkata II. In the early years of his rule, Virappa Nayaka appears to have been a loyal feudatory of the Vijayanagara House. However, by A.D. 1583 the relations between Srirangadeva and the Chief seem to have become strained and consequently the Imperial army under Venkata, the brother of Sriranga and the viceroy at Chandragiri along with the army of Achyuta Raya of Thanjavur marched against Virappa Nayaka. A battle was fought at Vallam near Thanjavur in early 1583. The victory of Tirumalai Raya, the General of Virappa Nayaka, over the Imperial forces is found recorded in the Pudukkottai Plates of Śrīvallabha and Varatungarama of the Tenkasi Pandya line. However, since Virappa Nayaka continued to acknowledge the authority of Vijayanagara it is said that the battle did not end in the complete defeat of the Vijayanagara army and by an agreement made between the two, *status quo ante* was restored and Virappa Nayaka promised to continue the payment of tribute to the Vijayanagara House. When Venkata II succeeded his brother Sriranga I on the Vijayanagara throne in 1584 Virappa Nayaka continued his loyalty to the Vijayanagara House in the reign of this emperor also. But by 1595 he appears to have once again revolted against Imperial control. The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsāvali* contains certain interesting details about this event. When the Vijayanagara army laid siege to the fort at Madurai, Virappa Nayaka succeeded in bribing some Generals of the Imperial army and persuaded them to

withdraw. One among the Generals who appears to have accepted the bribe was Tirumalai Raya, a nephew of the emperor. In the above article while tracing the career of Virappa Nayaka, the writer has pointed out the value of the Pudukkottai Plates, as also the trustworthiness of the work *Chikkadevaraya Vamsāvali*. The account given in the article duly reconciles different views on the subject.

The next set of articles relate to the post-Vijayanagara period from the second quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. to the middle of the nineteenth century and contains studies on the history of Madurai, Tiruchirappalli and the former princely State of Pudukkottai.

'Randaula Khan and the Karnataka' [24] gives an account of the course of conquest of the Western Karnataka between 1637 and 1640 by the Bijapur General Randaula Khan, ably assisted by Shahji, the father of Sivaji. The Bijapur General carried out his conquest of the Karnataka in different stages. The clashes between the Bijapur General on the one hand and the provincial chiefs and Venkata III, the Vijayanagara king on the other hand, are brought out in the paper. Though Venkata III repeatedly tried to recover the conquered areas of the Karnataka several times, he could not do so against militant Randaula Khan. However, some time in 1641 when the Bijapur General with the support of Sriranga, the nephew of Venkata III opposed the latter and came within twelve miles (18.2 km) of Vellore, Venkata III was able to defeat him with the support of the southern Nayakas.

"Historical Material in Ramappayyan Ammanai" [30] is an article which examines the historical value of the poem which is a type of Tamil literary production. It deals largely with the war that was waged by Ramappayya, the famous *Dalavāy* of Tirumalai Nayaka of Madurai (1623-59) on behalf of the latter against the Setupati chief of Ramanathapuram, as also his successful fight on behalf of the Vijayanagara emperor Venkata III against the Muslims who invaded the Bangalore region. A careful study of the above *ammanai* work is made in the paper and it is concluded that the poem is historically not useful, particularly the portion dealing with the expedition of the General to Bangalore. But as a ballad it is an excellent piece of Tamil literature.

The article the 'End of the Madurai Nayakship' [29] extends the date of the end of Madurai Nayakship to c.1739 as against the accepted date of 1736 or 1737 on the basis of the evidence of the fact that Queen Minakshi, the last ruler of the dynasty reigned till about the middle of that year. The events of the reign of Queen Minakshi from c.1731 to 1739 are fully described and it is shown how with the tragic end of the Queen in 1739 the Nayakship of Madurai came to an end, as also a brilliant chapter in the History of the extreme south of the Peninsula. The article "Two decades of the Madurai" [28] reviews in brief the political fortunes of the city during the last years of Nayakship and the course of its occupation by the Muslims. The troublesome period of the Madurai principality continued till Col. Heron reduced the area to submission and appointed Mahfuz Khan as the ruler of Madurai for Rs. 15,00,000 per year.

The paper entitled 'Haidar Ali and Tiruchirappalli' [33] describes the events preceding the siege of Tiruchirappalli in 1781 by Haidar Ali and how the British were able to drive Haidar Ali from Tiruchirappalli with the timely help of the Zamindar of Turaiyur near the place. The information on the part played by the Zamindar of

Turaiyur in this particular event is furnished by the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and strengthened by the evidence given by the *Koyilolugū*, a Tamil chronicle that deals with the history of the Srirangam temple as mentioned earlier.

The paper 'Nawabs of the Carnatic and Hindu Temples' [31] brings out the deep interest shown by the Nawabs of Canatic in the proper maintenance of the Hindu temples. After the attack of the French army on the Srirangam temple in 1759, Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah made arrangements to rebuild, rehabilitate and fortify Srirangam giving a good instance of his interest in the proper functioning of one of the biggest and most important of Hindu temples lying in his jurisdiction. His successor Umdatul Umara Bhadur (1795—1801) also evinced great concern for the observance of the customary usages and the conduct of proper worship in temples. His successful interference made the priests of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram give up their obstructionist policy and reopen the Govindaraja Perumal shrine in their temple-complex for worship.

Between the 10th and 15th of March, 1793 interesting incidents took place at Tirupparankunram and Madurai consequent on the encampment of Colonel Baird at the former place along with his soldiers and his forced opening of the temple gate in order to house his men resulting in the religious martyrdom of some Hindus. The article 'Colonel Baird at Tirupparankunram' [32] gives a graphic account of the incident based on the British documents and an inscription found at the Subrahmanya temple at Tirupparankunram. The events that took place in Madurai and Tirupparankunram, on the provocation of Colonel Baird's forced opening of the Tirupparankunram temple gate shows that even in the 18th century the religious zeal of the Hindus was considerable and it was thought risky to wound the feelings of the religious minded people by the ruling authorities irrespective of their own religion or creed. The paper also shows how an important officer of the British administration made a false assertion in his statements.

'Sir William Blackburne : An Ideal Political Resident' [34] describes the part played by one of the outstanding men of the British Civil Service named Major Sir William Blackburne who was Resident at Thanjavur in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. William Blackburne (1764-1839) started his career as a cadet of the Madras Infantry division of the British Army in 1782 and distinguished himself in the British campaigns which ended in the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1792. In the subsequent years he was promoted to the rank of Captain and appointed Resident at the court of Thanjavur in 1801 and the office held it till 1823 when he resigned and left India. When Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman, the ruler of Pudukkottai died 1807 and was succeeded by Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman, a boy of ten years, he was appointed Political Officer for Pudukkottai and was required 'to undertake the management of the province of Poodocottah and the guardianship of the minors'. When one of the princes attained age and took charge of the State, Blackburne was made the medium of communication between the Raja and the *cutcheries* of Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and Madurai.

Here it is shown how this political Resident discharged his duties faithfully and earnestly and how his connection with Pudukkottai made the State one of the peaceful, progressive and reformed states in British India. His interest and love for his wards, and princes of the Pudukkottai Royal House, were so well-reciprocated by them that there developed a sort of filial affection between them.

Early Pallava Genealogy and Chronology

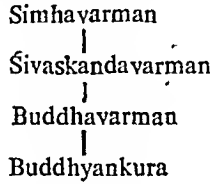
The history of the Pallavas before Simhaviṣṇu is full of tantalising guesses and intriguing riddles. This is not because of the paucity of material evidence for its reconstruction but perhaps of its abundance. The early Pallava rulers of Kanchi who, like their notable successors, played a significant role in the political and cultural history of south India, appear to have started as a political power in south India in the beginnings of the fourth century A.D. supplanting the contemporary Ikshvaku rulers of Nagarjunakonda. A few of their early copper plate charters are in Prakrit while a majority of them are in chaste Sanskrit. These charters which were essentially intended to be documentary records of various donations incidentally give the royal genealogy in their preambles which constitute an almost authentic and only source for a study of early Pallava history. The welcome addition of two newly discovered inscriptions¹ in recent years to the list and the find of a few contemporary Ikshvaku records from Nagarjunakonda² necessitates a revision of the early Pallava genealogy and chronology which have not so far been satisfactorily settled.

Of the seventeen available early Pallava records, the Prakrit inscriptions which number four are taken to be the earliest on the basis of their language and palaeography. They are the Manchikallu stone inscription of Simhavarman, the Mayidavolu grant of Yuvamaharaja Śivaskandavarman, dated in the tenth year of his father³, the Hirahadagalli Plates of Maharaja Śivaskandavarman dated in his eighth year⁴ and the British Museum Plates of the queen Charudevi.⁵ The Manchikallu inscription closely follows the early Ikshvaku records in palaeography and language and is assignable to about the

1. The Manchikallu Stone Inscription of Simhavarman, *Epi. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 87-90 and The Vasanta Copper Plate grant of Simhavarman, *Copper Plate Grants of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 211-18.
2. *IAR*, 1959-60 pp. 53-54; and *IHQ*, XXXVI.
3. *Epi. Ind.*, VI, pp. 84-91.
4. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 2-10.
5. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 143-46.

first half of the fourth century A.D. The Yuvamaharaja Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu Plates and Maharaja Śivaskandavarman of the Hirahadagalli Plates are unanimously taken to be the same, as such an identification is suggested by the name of the ruler as well as the palaeography of the Plates. The British Museum Plates of Charudevi refer to three names Vijayaskandavarman, Vijaya Buddhavarman and Buddhankura in the grand-father-father-son relationship. Vijayaskandavarman of this Prakrit grant may also be identical with Skandavarma of the other two Prakrit plates as the prefix *vijaya* in this record does not necessarily mean that he must be another king. In fact it is evident from the Vesanta Grant that there was nothing exceptionally special about *vijaya* which was borne indiscriminately as a prefix by many rulers.

The relationship between Simhavarman of the Manchikallu inscription and Skandavarman of other copper plate charters is at present a matter for conjecture, though the contiguity of the periods to which they have to be assigned on other considerations would warrant the assumption that the latter succeeded the former on the throne. The names gleaned from the Prakrit charters may be thus dovetailed :



Buddhavarman and Buddhankura of this order have been assigned a total reign period of thirty years, fifteen years for each of them;⁶ but as none of the other records refer to them, it is doubtful whether they actually ruled from Kanchi. Probably they belonged to a junior branch.

Another name to be reckoned with in early Pallava pedigree is Vishnugopa of Kanchi, mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.⁷ He is not spoken of as of the Pallava dynasty in the inscription; but as no ruler of any dynasty other than the Pallava bearing this name seems to have ruled in Kanchi or was connected with the place during that period, and as the name Vishnugopa was a familiar one in the Pallava family, it is very likely that he was a Pallava. Samudragupta is said to have ruled from c. 330-376 A.D. and his *Dakshinapatha* expedition in which he is said to have conquered Vishnugopa may be generally placed about 350-360 A.D.

Dr. D.C. Sircar considers this Vishnugopa of Samudragupta's inscription as a son of Simhavarman of the Manchikallu inscription and ascribes to him a rule of twenty years from 355 to 375 A.D.⁸ But it is difficult to determine his exact position in the Pallava family as also whether he actually ruled the kingdom or not; nor is it possible to identify him with Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa referred to in the Sanskrit charters, as the latter

6. Rao, B.V. Krishna, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, pp. 213-14.

7. Fleet, CII, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 6 ff.

8. *IHQ*, XXXVI, pp. 22-28.

appears to have belonged to a collateral branch, as the grants made by him, his son and grandson were issued not from Kanchipuram but from other places while the Allahabad inscription mentions Vishnugopa as of Kanchi (*Kāncheyavishnugopa*). It is, therefore, possible that this Vishnugopa was the brother or the son of Skandavarman and never ascended the throne on the main line.

The Pallavas of the Prakrit charters were followed by those of the Sanskrit charters; or to put it conversely Sanskrit instead of Prakrit was progressively used after the time of Skandavarman. The Sanskrit charters are twelve in number, among which ten furnish the names of the grantors and their three immediate ancestors, great-grandfather, grandfather and father, while one, the Vesanta Grant omits the name of the grantor's great-grandfather and another, the Darsi Plate gives the name of the great-grandfather alone.⁹ The copper plate grant from Omgodu (I)¹⁰; dated in the thirteenth *tithi* of the third *Hemanta-paksha* in the thirty-third year of a certain Skandavarman appears to be the earliest among the Sanskrit charters. Adverting to the form of dating in this grant Dr. Sircar observes that this "resembles that used in early Prakrit grants and is remarkably different from the form of dating used in the Sanskrit grants of the Pallavas. It, therefore, shows that Skandavarman ruled not long after the kings of the Prakrit charters."¹¹

This grant furnishes the following genealogy :

Kumaravishnu
|
Skandavarman
|
Viravarman
|
Skandavarman

Two other Sanskrit charters, the Uruvapalli¹² and Singarayakonda¹³ plates of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa dated in the reign of a Simhavarman give this sequence :

Skandavarman
|
Viravarman
|
Skandavarman
|
Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa

9. *Epi. Ind.*, I, pp. 397-98. This is a stray plate; the sheets of the grant having been lost. This probably belongs to one of the rulers of the collateral branch about whom nothing is known. The grant was issued not from Kanchi but Dasanapura.

10. *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 251-52

11. *The Successors of the Satavahanas*, pp. 202-3. Dr. Sircar refers to Skandavarman as Skandavarman II. But the intercalation of the Prakrit and Sanskrit charters makes him Skandavarman III. Though this grant was not issued from Kanchipuram but Tambrapa it may be taken that Skandavarman of this plate belonged to the main branch which ruled from Kanchi. It is significant to note that in the plate itself Tambrapa is described not as a royal capital but only as that of royal camp (*Yiava Tambrapa sthana*).

12. *Ind. Ant.*, V, pp. 50-53.

13. *Bharati*.

Two other copper plate charters, the Udayendiram²⁰ and Chendalur²¹ Plates both issued from Kanehipuram and dated respectively in the fifth year of a Nandivarman and the second year of a Kumaravishnu should belong to the main branch. The former affords a sequence thus :

Skandavarman
|
Simhavarman
|
Skandavarman
|
Nandivarman

In the light of a Skanda-Simha sequence in the Vesanta Grant and a Simha-Skanda sequence in the Chendalur Plates it is possible to treat this Nandivarman of the Udayendiram grant as the grandson of Simhavarman of the Vesanta Grant and the great grandson of Skandavarman of the Omgodu II, Pikira, Mangaduru, Vilavatti Grants.

The Chendalur Plates provide the following genealogy :

Skandavarman
|
Kumaravishnu
|
Buddhavarman
|
Kumaravishnu

As it is not possible to adjust this pedigree in a collateral branch and as the Plates were issued from Kanchipuram, the seat of the main branch, it is quite probable that Kumaravishnu, son of Skandavarman in this plate was the second son of Skandavarman, the father of Nandivarman of the Udayendiram Plates. If this surmise is admitted the following genealogy will emerge :

Kumaravishnu
|
Skandavarman
|
Viravarman
|
Skandavarman

├── Simhavarman
│ │
│ └── Skandavarman
│ │
│ ├── Nandivarman
│ └── Kumaravishnu II
│ │
│ └── Buddhavarman
│ │
│ └── Kumaravishnu III

└── Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa
 │
 └── Simhavarman
 │
 └── Vishnugopa

20. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 142-47.

21. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 233-36.

The Pallankovil charter of Simhavishnu, the first Pallava record using the Tamil language partly introduces two more names—Simhavarman and Simhavishnu, father and son, to this list.²² It is difficult to determine the relationship between Simhavarman of this charter and Kumaravishnu III, the grantor of the Chendalur grant. The Vayalur lithic record of Narasimhavarman II²³ which furnishes a conventional catalogue of Pallava rulers from Brahma onwards mentions respectively a Vishnugopa, Simhavarman and another Simhavarman preceeding Simhavishnu. It is noteworthy that this sequence is not seen in the immediate Chendalur and Udayendiram grants. Though the Vayalur inscription may not be taken at its face value it is not unlikely that at least a few names preceeding Simhavishnu, the progenitor of the later Pallava line, are trustworthy. If this is granted it is apparent that Simhavarman of the Pallankovil Plates was not a ruler in the direct line but belonged to a minor collateral branch. Is it that Kumaravishnu the grantor of the Chendalur Plates had no progeny and Simhavarman of the collateral branch was brought because of necessity? It is possible that Simhavarman of the Pallankovil Plates was a very young contemporary of Kumaravishnu II and was living during the successive reigns of Buddhavarman and Kumaravishnu III, and as an octagenarian ascended the throne nominally, while his illustrious son Simhavishnu was the *de facto* ruler. That it was Simhavishnu who ran the administration during the reign of Simhavarman is gleaned from the Pallankovil Plates themselves and the Hosakote grant of the Western Ganga king Avanita.²⁴ The genealogy of the successors of Simhavishnu is given in several of the later Pallava charters about which there are no two opinions.

The genealogy drawn up by Ramesan while editing the Vesanta Plates is difficult of acceptance, as according to him Vishnugopa who opposed Samudragupta in about 350 A.D. was the brother of Simhavarman of the Vesanta Plates and the great-grandson of Skandavarman of the Prakrit charters and the grantor of the Uruvapalli Plates and the king mentioned in the Omgodu II, Pikira, Mangaduru, Vilavatti and Chura Grants, while the very reign of Skandavarman of the Prakrit charters has itself to be pushed forward to *circa* 350 A.D. in the light of a few Ikshvaku inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda.²⁵ Further his assumption that there were no collateral branches on which the genealogy is based is contradicted by the names of a few minor Pallava dynasties which were definitely collateral branches of the main line. An inscription from Amaravati seems to speak of an entirely new stock of the Pallava family.²⁶ When Paramesvaravarman II died without any issue to succeed at a later stage in the Pallava history only a prince from a collateral line was brought to be crowned.

The determination of the date of these early Pallava rulers bristles with many difficulties. While editing the stone inscription in Prakrit from Mançhikallu Dr. D.C.

22. TASSI, 1958-59, pp. 41-83.

23. *Epi. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 4552.

24. *MAR*, 1938, pp. 80 ff.

25. *IHQ*, XXXVI, pp. 22-28.

26. *SH*, I, pp. 25-9.

Sircar ascribed it and the ruler Simhavarman mentioned in it to c. 290 A.D.²⁷ But his recent examination of three Prakrit epigraphs from Nagarjunakonda necessitates a revision of the date ascribed.²⁸ One of these, a record of the Ikshvaku ruler Ehuvala Chantamula, the son of Virapurushadatta and the grandson of Chantamula, is dated in the cyclic year *Vijaya*, corresponding to 333-34 A.D. It is to be noted here that the Manchikallu inscription appears to indicate from its provenance that Simhavarman of that record supplanted the Ikshvakus in the Guntur region—an achievement which could not be ascribed to any date before 334 A.D., the last known year of the last known Ikshvaku ruler. Therefore, the Manchikallu inscription has to be assigned to the period after 334 A.D. It is likely that Simhavarman started his reign about 315 A.D. and occupied the Guntur area towards the end of his reign which may approximately be in 345 A.D.

The next known ruler Sivaskandavarman is credited with the performance of *asvamedha* and other sacrifices. His Hirahadagalli grant is dated in his eighth year; and considering the fact that he was a *yuvaraja* before his accession and claims the performance of *asvamedha* and other sacrifices even by his eighth year it is possible to presume that he actively participated in the wars of his predecessor, was advanced in age at the time of his accession and ruled for about a decade only. Probably his reign ended by about 355 A.D. Vishnugopa of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta also fails in this period.

There are no means of determining the precise reign periods of Kumaravishnu I, Skandavarman II, Viravarman and Skandavarman-III. in the present state of our knowledge. The Penukonda Plates²⁹ of the Western Ganga ruler Madhava II and *Lokavibhāga*,³⁰ a Jain work on cosmology afford interesting synchronisms which enables the determination of chronology to a certain extent.

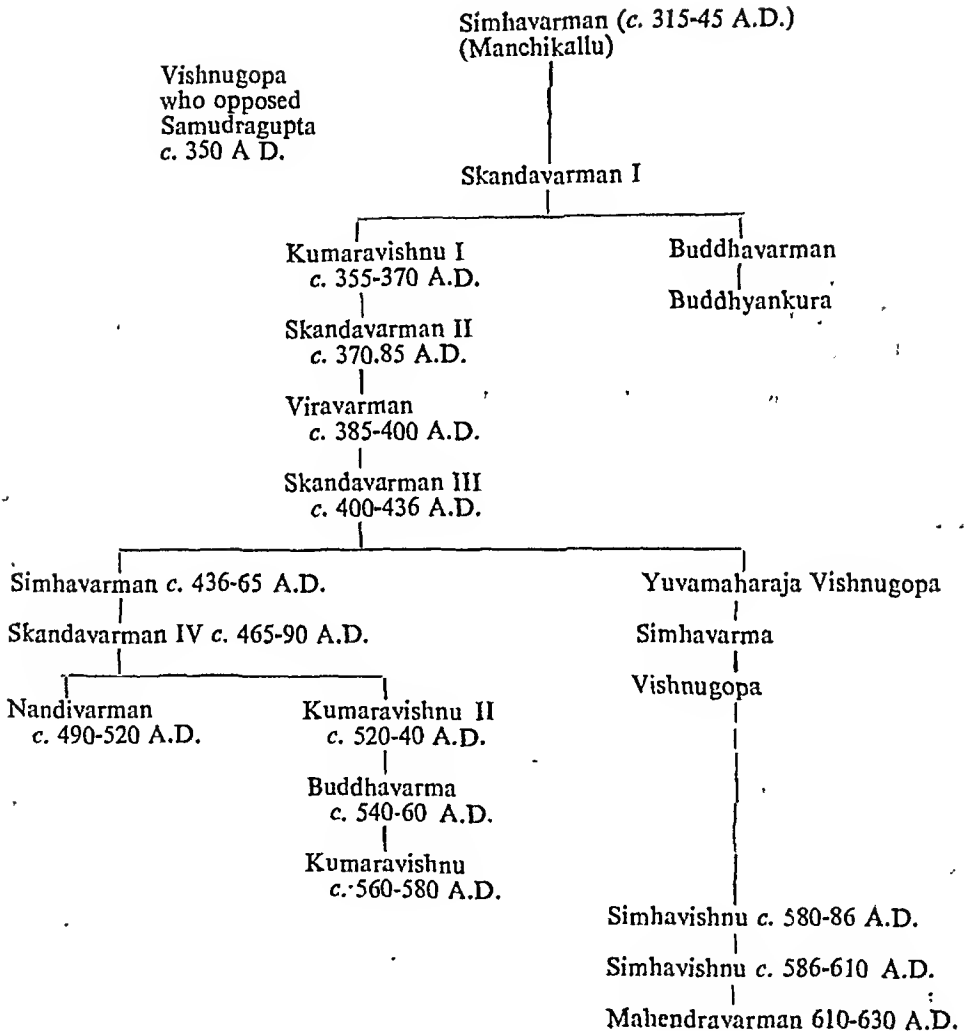
The Penukonda Plates over that the two Pallava kings Simhavaram and Skandavarman respectively anointed Ayyavarma and Madhava II on the Ganga throne. It then follows that the grantor of the Penukonda Plates must be a contemporary of Pallava Skandavarman who crowned him. The Penukonda Plates have been assigned to 475 A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Evidently Skandavarman must have been reigning during that period and Simhavarman who crowned the father of Madhava II reigned some two or three decades earlier. The *Lokavibhāga* mentions the twenty-second regnal year of a Pallava king called Simhavarman as equivalent to the Saka year 380 or 458 A.D. If 458 A.D. was the twenty-second year of Simhavarman he must have ascended the throne in 436-38 A.D.; in other words the reign of Skandavarman, the grantor of the Omgodu I plates extended upto 436 A.D.; as the Omgodu I plate is dated in his 33rd regnal year it may be taken that he ascended the throne circa 400 A.D. The period between 355 A.D. and 400 A.D. perhaps constituted the reign periods of Kumaravishnu I, Skandavarman II and Viravarman. By approximation a period of fifteen years may be assigned to each of these three.

27. *Epi. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 89.

28. *IHQ.*, XXXVI, pp. 23-28.

29. *Epi. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 331-40.

30. Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 471-75.



As his Vesanta Grant is dated in his nineteenth year Simhavarman, who ascended the throne in 436-37 A.D., should have reigned at least up to 465 A.D. There are at present no means of deciding the actual reign period of his son Skandavarman IV who was doubtless the Pallava king who crowned the Ganga Madhava II as mentioned in the Penukonda Plates. As the reign of Madhava II appears to have started in *circa* 475 A.D. and as the Penukonda Plates referring to this Skandavarman are assignable to the fourth quarter of the fifth century A.D. his reign may be taken to have extended approximately to about 490 A.D. An intercalation of the Udayendiram and Chendalur Plates, as attempted above, would suggest that this Skandavarman had two sons, Nandivarman and Kumaravishnu. The reign periods of these two and the latter's successors, Buddhavarman and Kumaravishnu III cannot be correctly settled now in the absence of further evidence.

On the authority of the Badami inscription of Pallava Narasimhavarman I³¹ the last year of Mahendrarman I has been calculated to be 630 A.D. and it is generally taken that he ascended the throne in the beginnings of the seventh century giving him a period of about thirty years considering his manifold achievements in war and peace. However, if the synchronism of the Western Ganga Durvinita, Pallava Simhavishnu and Chalukya Vishnuvardhana is accepted, the reign of Simhavishnu might have extended at least up to 610 A.D. Simhavishnu appears to have been an extremely enterprising ruler, who subjugated several chiefs in the South and clashed with the Chalukyas in his ambitious programme of expansion. If a period of about 30 years is to be given to him, giving allowance to his achievements and a period of about six years to his father Simhavarman (the Pallankovil Plates being dated in his sixth year) who does not seem to have virtually ruled, the period of about eighty years has to be distributed among Nandivarman I of the Udayendiram Plates and Kumaravishnu II, and Buddhavarman and Kumaravishnu III of the Chendalur Plates.

Thus the entire reconstructed early Pallava genealogy and chronology works out as given in the previous page.

31. *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 99; also *SIH*, XI, No. 1.

Early Pallava – Kadamba Relations

The early Pallavas of Kanchi appear to have played a very prominent role in south Indian history from almost the very beginnings of their recorded history. The exact nature of their relations with contemporary powers like the Kadambas and the Gangas is at present not known clearly on account of the paucity of sufficient evidence. Though the Pallava records do not often specifically speak of the aspects of their relations with the neighbouring powers, a few Kadamba and Ganga inscriptions incidentally refer to the role of the Pallavas in their kingdoms and considerably help a study of their mutual relations.

An early Kadamba ruler who came into active contact with the Pallavas of Kanchi was Mayuraśarma. In the Talagunda inscriptions¹ he is said to have gone to the Pallava capital with his *guru* Viraśarma to complete his studies in the sacred lore and entered the *ghaṭiḥā* at that place. The inscription records that he had a quarrel then with an *aśvasamstha* (taken to be a mounted guard) and became indignant at the treatment given to him. He then gave up his Vedic studies in anger and 'unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world'. After getting himself trained in warlike exercises he easily overpowered the frontier guards of the Pallavas and established himself in the dense forests round about the Śrī Parvata hill (in the Kurnool district). The Pallava ruler of the time having failed to control Mayuraśarma, installed him ultimately as the ruler of the region extending from the Arabian sea to Prehara. The expression *aśvasamstha* in the Talagunda inscription has been taken to mean a horse sacrifice and Mayuraśarma's quarrel with the Pallavas taken as an incident that took place in the course of the horse sacrifice of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarma of the Hirahadagalli Plates.² But it is absolutely clear that Mayuraśarma came to Kanchi with the avowed object of completing his Vedic studies by entering the *ghaṭiḥā*. If, therefore, his fight with the Pallavas had some bearing on the horse-sacrifice we have only to imagine that he was humiliated during the *aśvam dha*, took vengeance against the Pallava

1. *Epi. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 24-36; *EC*, VII, Sk. 76.

2. D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas*, p. 184, n. 1.

ruler and caused troubles thereafter. Again the expression *antaḥpālānpallavendrānām* in the Talagunda inscription suggesting that the quarrel of Mayuraśarmā was not limited to the reign period of a single Pallava king but continued in the succeeding reigns is interesting. If Mayuraśarma clashed with any Pallava ruler other than Śivaskandavarma of the Hirahadagalli Plates, it might in all probability be Kumaravishnu of the Omgodu I Plates³ who is also credited with the performance of an *aśvamedha*.⁴

Mayuraśarma was succeeded on the Kadamba throne respectively by Kangavarma (360-85), Bhagiratha (385-410), Raghu (410-25), Kakusthavarma (425-50), etc. The Kadambas appear to have become very powerful in south-west Deccan and even subjugated the Bāṇas who were originally the feudatories of the Pallavas. The growing Kadamba influence was most certainly a menace to the Pallavas. Perhaps to act as a counterpoise to their increasing strength and influence and to take back the territories of the Bāṇas, the Pallava ruler, according to the Udayendiram Plates of Prithvipati II consecrated Konkanivarma (c. 400 A.D.) of the Ganga race.⁵ The historical validity of the statement may be doubted because of the comparative lateness of the evidence; but as the Ganga subordination to the Pallavas during the next reign is attested to by the Penukonda Plates it may be taken to embody an authentic account. The Pallavas appear to have succeeded in drawing back the Bāṇas from the Kadambas because Konkanivarma is referred to as the 'confounder of the Bāṇa *kula*'⁶ and the forest fire to the stubble of Bāṇa.⁷ But it was during the reign of Pallava Simhavarma of the Vesanta Plates that the Kadambas appear to have been in subordination to the Pallavas.

It is interesting to note that the Hebbata grant of the Kadamba king Vishnuvarma dated in his fifth regnal year mentions that he was crowned by a Pallava king⁸. The actual expression in the grant is *Kadambānām Amareprati-buribaya aśvamedha yājinaḥ Śrī Kṛṣṇavarmanā Mahārājasyo jyestha-priya-tanayena aneka samara sankaṭopalabdha vijayena sarva śāstra kalā pārāgena samyakprajā pālana dakṣheṇa satyasandhena parmanābrahmanyena Śāntivarā-Mahārāja Pallavendrābhishikṭena Śrī Viṣṇuvarmanā Mahārājena* and this passage has been translated as follows : "by Vishnuvarmanā who has achieved victories against great odds in a number of battles, who has made a proficient study of all the *śāstras* and arts, who was an efficient ruler of his people, who was truthful and a good Brāhmaṇa and who was installed on the throne by Śāntivarā, a Pallava king." Here the editor of the inscription has taken Śāntivarā as the name of the Pallava ruler who crowned Vishnuvarma on the Kadamba throne. This lead has been followed by all scholars who have worked on the subject and thus have mistaken the real events and offered fanciful explanations.

3. *Epi. Ind.*, XV, pp. 251-52.

4. For a discussion on the early Pallava genealogy and chronology see the author's book, *Kāncīpuram in early South Indian History*.

5. *SII*, II, pp. 333 and 387-v-13; *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, pp. 187 and 189 n; H. Lefanu, *A Manual of the Salem District*, II, p. 370.

6. Kudlur grant, *MAR.*, 1930.

7. *EC*, IX, Db. 67.

8. *MAR*, 1925, p. 98, No. 118.

But this translation or interpretation does not appear to be correct. The expression *Śāntivara Mahārāja Pallavendrābhishikṭena* should be correctly taken to mean, "having been anointed by both Śāntivara Mahārāja and the Pallava king." (The Sanskrit rules of compound *saṁāsa* like Rama and Lakshmana may be recalled in this connection). We may also cite the analogy of the coronation at a later date, of the Western Ganga king Śivamara by the two crowned kings, Rashtrakuta Govinda and Pallava Nandivarman.

According to this interpretation, of the two kings who crowned the Kadamba ruler, Vishnuvarma, the name of the Pallava king is not mentioned in the record, though there are other evidences which reasonably enable us to identify him with Simhavarma of the Vesanta grant.⁹ The other, Śāntivara Maharaja, can only be the Kadamba king of that name and the uncle (*jyeshṭha-pitā*) of Vishnuvarma. It may be noted that in the Berur Plates in his third regnal year, Vishnuvarma records the permission of his *jyeshṭha-pitā* named Śāntivarman.¹⁰ Śāntivarman is described in it as the master of the entire Karnataka region adorned by Vijayanti.¹¹ It is well-known that the Kadamba grants fall into two distinct sets: one relating to the descendants of Mayuraśarma, the founder of the family, and the other tracing their descent from Krishnavarma, the performer of horse sacrifice. The only connecting link between these two different sets is the mention of Śāntivara in the Berur Plates as the *jyeshṭha-pitā* of Vishnuvarma, the son of Krishnavarma, the performer of horse sacrifice. That this Śāntivara is none other than Śāntivarman, the son of Kakusthavarma is evident from the Halsi Plates of Mrigeśavarma,¹² wherein he is described as the dear son of Śāntivarman who was the son of Kakustha.¹³

From the fact that Śāntivarman was the *jyeshṭha-pitā* of Vishnuvarma who was the son of Krishnavarma I it will be evident that Krishnavarma was his younger brother. But still he superseded his elder brother on the throne and performed the horse sacrifice, extending the Kadamba kingdom and proclaiming himself as the paramount sovereign of the entire Dakshinapatha. He is described as *dakṣiṇāpatha vasuvati vasupati* (the possessor lord of the riches of the land of Dakshinapatha), *ekātapatra* (possessor of the sole umbrella), *samarāṅgita vipulaiśvarya* (the acquirer of great wealth by war) *rājavīśesharatna nāgajanākaranya-dāyānubhāta* (who enjoyed a heritage that was not be attained by a person of Nāga descent or who enjoyed his heritage after attacking some chieftains of Nāga descent or who enjoyed a heritage which had not been attained even by Nāga kings). This would have certainly brought him into open conflict with the Pallavas of Kānchi whose nominal subordinates the Kadambas were. The very fact that the Talagunda inscription states that Mayuraśarma, the founder of the line originally entered the service of the Pallavas of Kanchi who were also ruling at the time when the record was incised and that the kingdom was bestowed on him by his master who also invested him with the fillet will clearly indicate that the Kadambas had not forgotten the favours

9. *Copper Plate Grants of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad, Vol. I, pp. 21-38.*

10. *EC, VI, Kadur 162.*

11. *Ibid., Vijayanti Tilaka Samagra Karnātadeśa bhuvanya bhātāram jyeshṭhapitāram Śrī Śāntivara vai ma Dharmamahārājau anujneyam.*

12. *Ind. Ant., VI, p. 24.*

13. *Śrī Kakusthanatendrasya sūnur bhūnur iva parah Śrī Śāntivara sarva eti-īṅjā-īṅjā-locharah.*

bestowed on them by the Pallavas and had been remaining loyal to them, acknowledging their overlordship, even though nominal. This presumption is supported by the Anaji Stone Inscription of the Kaikeya chief Śivanandavarma.¹⁴

The Devagiri Copper Plate grant¹⁵ made not by king Krishnavarma himself but by his son and heir-apparent (*yuvārāja*) Devavarma, was issued at a time when the former was at the height of his power. The heir-apparent chosen by him, Devavarma, was not his eldest son which status was claimed by Vishnuvarma who is described as born of a princess of the Kaikeya family.¹⁶ Thus Krishnavarma superseded not only his elder brother Śantivara, but also made his junior son the heir-apparent, superseding his eldest son Vishnu. Naturally the persons whose claims were overlooked appear to have allied themselves together against the aggressor, Krishnavarma. The Anaji inscription, referred to above, seems to be a hero-stone record set up in memory of the Kaikeya chieftain, Sivanandavarma and mentions the loss of his kingdom (*sva-deśa*) and a tumultuous battle between the Pallava king and Krishnavarmaraja, in which the army of the latter was completely broken. It then says that Sivanandavarma, with a tranquillised heart (*prasamita-hridaya*) lay on the *darbha* grass with a view to attain heaven. It is not explicit on which side he fought and fell. But this much seems to be certain, that his leanings were in favour of the Pallavas whose victory rejoiced him. The expression *prasamita hridaya* has been taken as 'with a heart full of sorrow.' Dr. Sircar has shown that it only means as above "mind freed of anxiety."¹⁷ This victory of the Pallava king whose name is not mentioned resulted in the restoration of the old order.

The duration of the reign of Krishnavarma is not known. The only record of his reign issued by the heir-apparent Devavarma is undated. But one may presume that it should have lasted for a few years to allow for the expansion of his kingdom after his overcoming all opposition, stabilisation of his position and performance of the horse sacrifice. It is also not known whether he directly succeeded his father, overlooking or casting aside the claims of his elder brother, or whether he usurped the kingdom sometime after the succession of his brother. No inscription of Santivarma other than the Talagunda inscription mentioned earlier has come to light so far. But he seems to have survived the usurpation of his younger brother and the subsequent restoration of the old order by the Pallavas. This becomes clear from the Berur grant of Vishnuvarma specifically mentioning the gift being made by Vishnuvarma with the permission of his *iyeshthapitā* who was the master of the entire Karnataka region adorned by its capital. Thus the restoration of the old order meant the installation of both Santivarma and his nephew Vishnuvarma to power, the former evidently over the entire Kadamba kingdom and the latter probably over the provincial government at Palavika. (It may be even inferred that the Talagunda inscription, incised in the reign of Śantivarma and registering the digging of a tank in the premises of the *Siddhālaya* for

14. *EC*, Vol. XI, p. 142.

15. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 33.

16. *Kaikeya-sūtāym utpanna* in the Bannahalli Plates of his grandson Krishnavarma II; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 16.

17. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

Bhava i.e., Śiva temple at Sthanakandini long after the event, was set up after the restoration as will be evident from the early history of the family and the foundation of the kingdom recorded therein, with some stress on the subordinate role played by the founder Mayuraśarma under the Pallavas by whom the progenitor was crowned).

The name of the Pallava ruler who restored the old order in the Kadamba kingdom is not explicitly mentioned anywhere. It is interesting to recall here that the Penukonda Plates¹⁸ of the Western Ganga ruler Madhava II state that two Pallava kings Simhavarma and Skandavarma respectively anointed Ayyavarma and Madhava II on the Ganga throne. The grantor of the Penukonda Plates must therefore be a contemporary of Pallava Skandavarina who crowned him. On palaeographical grounds the Penukonda Plates have been assigned to c. 475 A.D. This warrants the assumption that Pallava Skandavarma must have been reigning during the period and Simhavarma who crowned the father of Madhava II ruled some two or three decades earlier. The *Lokāvibhāga*,¹⁹ a Jain work on cosmology, refers to the twenty-second regnal year of a Pallava ruler named Simhavarma as corresponding to the Śaka year 380 or 458 A.D. If 458 A.D. was the twenty-second year of Simhavarma he must have ascended the throne in 436-37 A.D. Among the early Pallava copper plate charters the Vesanta grant²⁰ furnishes the sequence of a Viravarma-Skandavarma-Simhavarma and the Udayendiram Plates²¹ that of a Skandavarma-Simhavarma-Skandavarma-Nandivarma. An intercalation of these sequences would show that Simhavarma, the grantor of the Vesanta grant is the same as Simhavarma, grandfather of Nandivarma, the grantor of the Udayendiram Plates.²² A Simha-Skanda sequence, it may be mentioned, answering to the synchronism recorded in the Penukonda Plates is gleaned only from the Udayendiram Plates. Therefore, Simhavarma of the Vesanta grant must have ascended the throne in 436 A.D. and anointed Ayyavarma, otherwise known as Skandavarma on the Ganga throne; and the son of Pallava Simhavarma named Skandavarma anointed Madhava II.

Considering the fact that Pallava Simhavarma of the Vesanta Plates crowned a king on the Ganga throne and his date as revealed by the synchronism recorded in the *Lokāvibhāga* (from 436 A.D. to about 465 A.D.) coincided with that of Kadamba Santivara (450-475 A.D.) it is possible to presume that it was he who reinvested Śantivara and Vishnuvarma on the Kadamba throne. This is in a way confirmed by the fact that the son of Vishnuvarma was named Simhavarma—a name not borne by any other Kadamba ruler. It is interesting to recall here that in the Uruvapalli Plates²³ issued in the eleventh year of this Pallava Simhavarma by his younger brother, Vishnugopa, mention is made of a *Senāpati* Vishnuvarma who constructed a *devakula*. This *Senapati* Vishnuvarma seems to be no other than the Kadamba prince of that name, who presumably fled to the Pallava court for help and stayed there for some time when he was probably made *Senapatt*.

18. *Epi. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 331-40.

19. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 471-75.

20. *Copper Plate Grants of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, Vol. I, pp. 21-38.

21. *Epi. Ind.*, III, pp. 142-7.

22. For a discussion on early Pallava genealogy and chronology see the author's book *Kāncīpuram in Early South Indian History*.

23. *Ind. Ant.*, V, pp. 50-53.

Pallava Rajasimha and South East Asia

The story of Indian expansion in South-East Asia which has been slowly unfolded by the indefatigable labours of French and Dutch savants like Professor George Coedes and N. J. Krom and studied in recent years by Indian scholars like R. C. Majumdar and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri is a subject of great and absorbing interest. The part played by south India in the expansion of Indian culture in those far off lands even in the early centuries of the Christian era has been immense and may be said to be the most significant. One is struck by the complete Indianisation of institutions found in those countries. The kings bore Indian names and Sanskrit was their official language. Indian religions and religious institutions, easily spread there. The south Indian Grantha script was adopted in writing most of their inscriptions, many of them couched in correct, elegant and poetic Sanskrit. The character of such Indianisation has been discussed at some considerable length by scholars, and Nilakanta Sastri says, for instance, as follows:

“Of political conquest and empire-building, of the holding down by force of vast populations and their exploitation to the economic benefit and political advantage of a distant foreign power there is no question here at all. All our sources agree in presenting a picture of a number of autonomous Hindu states, each going its way and living its separate life; all having direct but by no means brisk trade relations with India and China—witness for instance of Fa Hien’s long halt in Java. But of the political influence of Java there is no trace whatsoever.”¹

Though China also exercised a considerable measure of influence over the countries of South-East Asia, Indian influence was more effective and durable for “the Chinese always remained colonies of foreigners with little inclination to mix with the local populations and in contrast to what the Hindus achieved there is no where any trace of the taking over of Chinese Culture by the children of the soil.”

1, Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, *South Indian Influence in the Far East*, p. 122.

South India's contribution to such Indianisation of the South East Asian countries was great and particularly so during the days of the Pallavas of Kanchi. J. Ph. Vogel in his contribution on the Yūpa inscription of King Mūlavarman from Koetai (East Borneo) has observed that, "It is certainly astonishing that in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and other Southern dynasties no reference whatever is made to the relations which in those days must have existed between the Coromandal and the Far East. The explanation probably is that those relations of which the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims have left us such a valuable record, were of a perfectly peaceful nature. Suppose the powerful Pallava princes of Kanchipura have equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Champa and Java, may we not assume that their conquests of the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their *prasastis* with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chalukyas?"² It will be apparent from the above that Vogel was inclined to believe that there was not merely cultural contact, but there were also political relations in those days between the Pallavas and the Far East or South-East Asia; but he could not say so for want of direct and clear evidence at least from the side of the Pallavas.

The Rayakota Plates of Pallava Skandasishya II describe the donor of the grant as equal to Agastya, who drank the ocean (*chatvrasya = ākārān = yātum = śaḥ karttā velā-vināśaḥ kalasabhava iva brāhmayā śākshirāja*).³

This comparison is not a new one in Pallava epigraphy. The Kuram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman I described Narasimhavarman I as one who "destroyed (the city of Vātāpi, just as the pitcher-born (Agastya) (the demon) Vātāpi (*Kalāṭa-yonerīva vimathīta-Vātāpeḥ*)).⁴ The Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman II Pallavamālla also employ the same simile of the same king Narasimhavarman whom it describes as 'one who imitated the pitcher-born (Agastya) by his conquest of Vātāpi'. (*Agastya iva vimathīta Vātāpeḥ*).⁵ It is well-known that Narasimhavarman I conquered Vātāpi the capital of the Chalukyas and assumed that title *Vātāpikonda*.⁶ On the analogy of the above we have to take the expression contained in the Rayakota Plates that just as Agastya drank the ocean and made it non-existent, Skandasishya II, the donor of the Plates conquered the ocean, making it as if non-existent, or in other words that he obtained victories on the seas, and evidently in the far distant lands beyond the seas.

What the lands beyond the seas were is made clear in the grant. Obviously the reference is not to Ceylon. It is well-known that Narasimhavarman I and Nripatunga among the Pallava kings gained victories over the Sinhala kings. The Kaśākkudi Plates of Nandivarman II Pallavamālla describe Narasimhavarman I who surpassed the glory of the valour of Rama by (his) conquest of Lanka (*Lankā jayādharita Rama parūkrāma*),⁷ and the Bāhūr Plates of Nripatunga mention that the donor was "renowned not only on

2. Vogel, *Bijdragen tot de Taal—, Land en Volkekunde van Netherlandsch Indie*, Vol. LXXIV, (1918), p. 192.

3. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 49. II. 9-11.

4. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 152. Text 1. 17.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 277; *SII*, II, p. 356, 1.54; 366, Text 1.14; see also p. 511.

6. *ARSIE*, 65 of 1909; see Report for 1933, pt. II, para 5.

7. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 349.

the earth, (but) even in the other (world) like Rama"⁸ while the Sanjan Plates of the Rāshtrakuta king Amoghavarsha I describe the conquest of Ceylon by Govinda III in the following words : "he behaved (like Rama) the enemy of Lanka."⁹ Thus one may normally expect that if the conquest of Ceylon was meant by the inscriptions referring to Agastya mentioned above the simile of Rama would have been used as in the inscriptions referring to Lanka. It is, therefore, most probable that some other land beyond the seas, and far distant from south India, was meant here.

It may be noted that from about the seventh or eighth century A.D. the cult of Agastya became popular in South-East Asia and his role in the Hinduisation in Java and as a preacher of Śaivism is well-borne out by the evidence of epigraphy, literature and sculpture.¹⁰ The well-known Dinaga inscription (A.D. 760), for instance, records how the ruler of East Java who was a great devotee of Agastya made a beautiful abode for the sage and installed in it an image of Agastya made of black stone in the place of wooden image set up earlier by his ancestors. In fact "Agastya was supposed to have played the role of an intermediary between the Deity and Royalty in Java, just as other sages did in Champa and Kambuja".¹¹

The concluding verse in the Vayalur Pillar inscription of Pallava Rajasimha says : "May he exercise the royal prerogative and take up the vow of administering (his) subjects upto the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand islands." The actual word used in the inscription is *Dvipalaksham* and the editor of the inscription, H. Krishna Sastri, doubts in a footnote the correctness of the translation of the word *Dvipalaksham* and asks whether there could "be a reference by *dhvani* in the word *Dvipalaksham* to the Laccadive Islands called *Lakshādvīpa* in Sanskrit.¹² But he prefers to take it as an *avyayibhāva* and translate it as above thus showing that the Pallava rule must have extended in the time of Rajasimha even to the distant islands in the Ocean. Again, according to him, the sense of the two verses in the inscription, particularly that of the second "is such that it suggests the occasion for the engraving of this record to be the accession of King Rajasimha to the throne".¹³ If the interpretation is correct, the inscription would show that Pallava rule extended to many islands across the seas even in the days prior to the accession of Rajasimha. However, it is unfortunate that nowhere it is stated explicitly what and where those islands were.

But most unexpectedly help comes from the Chinese sources which say :

"In the eighth year of K'ai-Yuen (720) the king of the kingdom of South India, Che-li-Na-lo-seng-K'ia (Śrī Narasimha) proposed to employ his war-elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Arabs) as well as the T'on-po (Tibetans) and others. Moreover he asked that a name be given to his army; the emperor praised it greatly and named his army 'the army which cherished virtue'."

8. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol, II, p. 349.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 254, vv. 32 and 34.

10. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, 'Agastya', *TBG.* (1936), pp. 471-545.

11. *TBG.*, (1924), pp. 227-86.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 152 and n.

13. *Ibid.*

Again : "In the 11th month, an ambassador was sent to confer by brevet the title of king of the kingdom of South India, Che-li-Na-lo-seng-K'ia pao-to-pa-mo (Śri Narasimha Potavarman)."¹⁴

The king of south India mentioned above is Narasimhavarman II, the Pallava ruler of Kanchi, well-known under his surname Rajasimha. It is said that he sent an embassy to China to inform the Chinese Emperor of his intention to go to war against the Arabs and the Tibetans and request him to give a name to his army which was given; he also sent word that he had also constructed a temple on account of the Emperor and requested him to give a name to it also. The Chinese Emperor honoured the ambassador highly and sent an embassy in return to south India to gratify the wishes of the Pallava king.

The mention of the Arabs and the Tibetans as the enemies indirectly at least of the Pallava kingdom in this period is interesting but intriguing. It does not stand to reason how separately or allied together, the Arabs and the Tibetans could have ever been the enemies of a south Indian kingdom in the eighth century. It is said that according to the evidence of certain Chinese writers, the Tibetans, called the Thufan by those writers, played in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. a great part in Central Asia. Masters for a time of regions situated in the north-east and south-east, they made the emperors of China tremble even in their capital.¹⁵ On this it has been thought that "one may reasonably surmise that it was the Chinese court, which being impressed by the political power of Narasimhavarman in India was anxious to enlist his support in its plans against the Tibetans.¹⁶ This would certainly look rather very strange. South India is far removed from Tibet and China both by land and sea. For a south Indian to reach these countries by land must have been hazardous in as much as he has to cross through many rivers and hills not to speak of the snow-clad Himalayan range. By sea there is no direct contact with Tibet, and a journey through China would take a long time. Further, the circumstances which would have compelled the Chinese Emperor to seek the help of a south Indian king of all the rulers of this vast sub-continent in which there were a number of powerful kingdoms particularly in north India in their struggle against the Tibetans are not apparent.

On the other hand, if sufficient reliance is to be placed on the Chinese evidence—there is no reason why it should not be taken to be reliable—one has to presume that the Tibetans and the Arabs were the enemies both of the Pallavas and the Chinese. So far as the Tibetans are concerned it may be doubted if they could have been on inimical terms with the south Indian Empire of the Pallavas. It stands more to reason that the country of the Pallavas with whom they were on terms of enmity must have been somewhere else, which should have been easily accessible both to the Tibetans and the Chinese. The Hinduised kingdoms of Champa and Kambuja are the ones, that being situated as they were, satisfy the requirements for such identification and hence most

14. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, pp. 116-17.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 17, Reinaud—*Aboulfeda*, 1, CCCLVII-VIII, also Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, p. 377.

16. *Ibid.*

likely they were the countries intended. The Tibetans had in these days extended the sphere of their influence and activity and occupied all the area to the north-east and south-east of their country. They definitely came down as far as the Gauda *deśa* and probably had direct contact with the Hinduised kingdoms of South-East Asia in the same way as they had contacts with China.

We also know that the Arabs had begun to extend the sphere of their maritime trade as far as the regions of Eastern Archipelago and the Chinese coast. They were thus powerful rivals and a serious menace to the Pallavas, who had not only extensive trade relations with those regions, but also perhaps political supremacy, though undefined, over them.

At the same time the Chinese were having extensive maritime trade relations with many countries in South-East Asia and hence the activities of the Arabs very close to their homeland would have been very much resented by them, because they should have affected their interests. Thus the Arabs like the Tibetans should have been considered their enemies in the same way as they were considered by the Hinduised kingdoms of South-East Asia rather than by the Pallavas of south India.

So the reference to the Pallavas seeking the help of the Chinese in the war against the Tibetans and the Arabs can be best explained only on the supposition that the intervention of the Tibetans and the Arabs was over the Hinduised kingdoms of South-East Asia, over which the Pallavas of south India probably had political control, though its extent is not easily definable.

But the political supremacy of the Pallavas over these regions during the period may be surmised from certain other pieces of evidence :

An inscription of the Kambuja king Jayavarman I¹⁷ contains a direct reference to the Pallava king of Kanchi in an eulogy of the king in a context which unfortunately is not easy to make out, because of a break in the stone. The actual expression is *ā-kāncī pura nripa*. The earliest known date of this king is 657 A.D.,¹⁸ while the latest is 674.¹⁹ One of the predecessors, some two or three generations earlier, Chitrasena by name, took the name Mahendravarman at the time of his coronation and after having conquered the entire country set up a *Linga* of Giriśa (Śiva) on the mountain in commemoration of his victory.²⁰ The following apposite remarks of K. A. Nilakanta Sastri are worthy of note here ; 'It will be recalled that about the same time, another Mahendravarman the first of this name and the most talented among the Pallava rulers of South India erected a shrine to a *Linga* on the rock of Tiruchirapalli overlooking the Kāverī river. Considering the very close resemblance in the lettering of the inscriptions of the two Mahendravarmans, one is tempted to ask whether this is not more than a

17. Briggs, Lawrence. *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, p. 55.

18. Coedes, *Inscription du Corbodge* 1, p. 55.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Jityen an-dāsen, ckhluen Gwīśasīca Ullīṭṭi lu ganmyeśavāmūsa Jayacīhanavāt-n arah*, See *BEFEO*, XXII, p. 58.

mere coincidence. Separated by many hundreds of miles of land and sea, the records of these two rulers are evidence of exactly the same type of culture; same in almost every detail that can be thought of.²¹

In Champa, the Myson inscription engraved on a circular pedestal has the following verse.

*Sthāpito rājasimhena Śrīmad Vikrānta Varmaṇā
Vāmeśvarasya Kōśoayam Stheyānābhuvanasthitaḥ*

"This *Kośa* (linga) of Vāmeśvara (Śiva) installed by Śrīmad Vikrantavarma, otherwise known as Rajasimha, will endure as long as the world exists." There were two kings with the name Vikrantavarma, the first one usually assigned to the period of A.D. 655-690 and the second to the period A.D. 710-730. It is not possible to say who among the two kings is referred to in the record. But it is to be noted that both of them fall within the reign of the Pallava king Rajasimha.²²

The following item also occurs among the references to the Pallava king, Narasimhavarman in the Chinese records :

"In the eighth year K'ai-yuen (720), the eighth month, the day ting-tch'con, a decree was addressed to tcheng-chow-men-hia to inform him that the king of South India having sent from a far (an ambassador) to render homage and pay tribute, and this ambassador being due to return, he must look after him with the greatest care till his departure and act in such a way that his desires might be fulfilled. This ambassador was therefore given a robe of flowered silk, a golden girdle, a purse with an emblem in the form of a fish and the seven objects; then he was sent away".²³

It is interesting that the Chinese Emperor should present the Pallava ambassador with a purse having the emblem of a fish. One would have expected on the purse the emblem either of the Chinese Emperor or the Pallava monarch. But neither of them had the fish emblem, which we know from other sources pertained to the Pandyas. Among the coins attributed to the Pallavas, there are a few bearing the legend *Śrībhara* or *Śrīnidhi* and a bull on the obverse with a single fish or double fish on the reverse.²⁴ *Śrībhara* and *Śrīnidhi* are the titles of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II, otherwise known as Rajasimha, and these coins have been attributed to him. The occurrence of the fish or double fish on the coins of Rajasimha has been taken to suggest 'the recognition of the Pallava supremacy by the Pandyas' then. On this evidence it is thought

21. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, *South Indian Influence in the Far East*, p. 37.

22. It is curious that we also find a king having the Vikranta title in south India. The Buddhist scholar Buddhadatta is said to have been attached to the court of the Kalabhra (Kalappra) king Achyuta-Vikranta (or Vikrama). There are also some Tamil verses eulogising a king Achuta (Acyuta). See Iyengar, P. T. Srinivasa, *History of the Tamils*, p. 529; *JOR.*, II, pp. 112-13; for identification of Achuta, see *JIH*, VIII, pt. I; also Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, *The Colas*, (Revised Edn.), pp. 102 and 107.

23. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 116.

24. Desikachari, T., *South Indian Coins*, p. 140, Nos. 1, 2, 14, etc., II list.

that 'it seems probable that the (Chinese) Emperor purposely presented to the ambassador the purse with a fish emblem in order to honour the Pallava king by the recognition of the fact that the powerful Pandyas acknowledged the Pallava supremacy in South India.'²⁵ This is drawing too much on the evidence. It does not seem probable that the Chinese Emperor would have acted as suggested above. Evidently the fish emblem was known to them otherwise; and they were also probably well-aware of the fact that the Pallavas had acquired a title to that emblem by their conquest of those who were using such fish emblem. Just like the Pandyas of south India, the Śailendras of Śri Vijaya also were using the emblem. And this is borne out by the reference to them as such, as for instance, in the Larger Leiden Plates of Rajaraja I, (*Makaradhvaja*).²⁶

Another reference to south India in the Chinese Annals is as follows :

"In the third month of the third year *t'ien-cheou* (692), the king of the kingdom of Eastern India Mo-lo-pa-mo, the king of the kingdom of Western India Che-lo-ito (Śilāditya), the king of the kingdom of the South India Tche-leou-k'i-pa-lo (Cālukya Vallabha), the king of the kingdom of Northern India Na-na, the king of the kingdom of Central India Ti-mo-si-na and the king of the kingdom Kieon-tse (Koutcha) Yën-yao-pa all came to render homage and make presents".²⁷ It is interesting to note that the Chalukya king, evidently of Vatapi, was one among those who sent embassies to China in A.D. 692 and that he was referred to there as the king of the kingdom of south India. The Chalukya king in Vatapi at that time was Vinayaditya. He is described in one inscription as 'arresting, at the command of his father (Vikramaditya I), the excessively exalted power of the three kings of Chola, Pandya and Kerala and of the Pallavas and so gratifying his father's mind by bringing all the provinces to a state of peace and quiet'.²⁸ In another he is described as rendering the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Malavas, Cholas, Pandyas and other peoples to similar state of servitude with his hereditary servants, the Aluvus, the Gangas and others.²⁹ In a third inscription it is said that he levied tribute from the rulers of the Kaveras (Kameras?) the Parasikas and of Simhala.³⁰ The Kameras conquered by Vinayaditya could have been no other than the Khmers of South-East Asia if the reference to them is studied along with the Chinese reference. This claim of the Chalukyan prince to have levied tribute from the Khmers of Kambuja may look incredible at first sight. But we know that the Chalukyias had overrun the Pallava Empire and even occupied it for some time. If the Pallavas had political supremacy over Kambuja at that time, then it would have automatically passed on to the Chalukyias, nominally at least, unless the Kambujas resisted such an advance. The Chinese annals mention that the Chalukya embassy to the Chinese court was in 692. If that had been the outcome of the Chalukya victory over Kambuja

25. Minakshi, C., *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 90.

26. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 222, 230, 242, 257 and 284.

27. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, *Foreign Notices*, p. 116.

28. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 87-88.

29. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 303.

30. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 229; Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, p. 368. It is not known if the original reading was *Kameras* and was corrected by Fleet into *Kaveras*.

deśa, though indirect it must have taken place earlier than that year. It was precisely during that period that we find the political expansion of Śrī Vijaya. Is it possible that these were inter-related ?

It is also possible that the Pallavas at that time had conquered the maritime kingdom of Śrī Vijaya in Sumatra and acquired for themselves the fish emblem. The kingdom had been in existence for some decades at least, and in the course of the last thirties of the seventh century it developed into a powerful empire. It wanted to have contacts with China and hence in the period 670-73 it sent an embassy to China. The earliest four inscriptions of the kingdom engraved within an interval of four years (683-86) give us an idea of the expansion of the new kingdom. The first two of the four inscriptions are found respectively at Kedukan Bukit on the bank of Sungai Tatang and Talang Tuwo five miles north-west of the above place, both in Palembang in Sumatra. The third and the fourth which are copies of the same inscription with slight variations are found at Karang Brahi on a tributary of the River Jambi. They unmistakably show that during that period Śrī Vijaya conquered Malaya in Sumatra and Taruma in Western Java. The conquest of Malaya is further borne out by the evidence of I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim who visited Malaya in 671 on his way to India and stayed in Śrī Vijaya till his final return to China in 695 except for a brief voyage to Canton in the meanwhile.³¹ The new kingdom must have gained in importance and influence particularly after the dissolution of the maritime empire of Funan probably even in the countries of South-East Asia, namely Cambodia and Champa. It was probably then that the Pallavas by their overseas expedition brought under them the Śrī Vijaya kingdom.

It must be said here that we have no idea of the emblem of the Śrī Vijaya kings in the seventh and eighth centuries. The emblem of the carp or *makara* was that of the Śailendras, the political fortunes of which dynasty started from middle Java probably in the eighth century. In the course of the second half of the century they appear to have made themselves masters of west and central Java and even of the Malay Peninsula. The early rulers of the new dynasty were known by the title *Mahārāja*. The Nalanda Copper Plate inscription of the thirty-ninth year of the Pala king Devapaladeva which fell roughly at the commencement of the second half of the ninth century records the grant of some villages to the *vihāra* at Nalanda erected by Balaputradeva ruler of Suvarnadvīpa (*Suvarṇadvīpādhipamahārāja*).³²

According to that inscription Balaputradeva was the grandson of a Dharmasetu of the lunar line through his mother Tara and of Yavabhumipala Śailendra *varṇśa tilaka* Śrī Viravairi-mathanānugatabhidhana through his father Sangramavira. Yavabhumipala Śailendravarṇśa tilaka Śrī Viravairi mathanānugatābhidhāna was probably the same as Vairi-varaviravimardana mentioned in the Kclurak inscription³³ of A.D. 782 and his son Samaragravira was probably the same as Samarottunga mentioned in the stone inscription

31. See Hall, D. G. E., *A History of South-East Asia*, pp. 37-38.

32. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 322-24.

33. *TBG*, 1928, pp. 58-60.

from Kedu.³⁴ Thus he was descended from the Śailendra family on his father's side. With regard to Dharmasetu there is some difference of opinion among scholars. Some have tried to identify him with Dharmapāla of Bengal 'which name in poetry could be regarded as a synonym for Dharmasetu'. It has been suggested that on account of the marriage alliance Mahayana Buddhism had great influence in Java. But he was of the lunar line and 'if the king of Bengal was meant, this would have been set forth in unmistakable manner in the Nalanda charter issued by his son and if Varmasctu is the correct reading of the name, all talk of Bengal must necessarily fall to the ground'. The latest position is to take Dharmasetu to be a king of Śri Vijaya and Sangramavira, the Śailendra ruler married his daughter Tara. Balaputradeva, the issue of this marriage, came later to rule in Śri Vijaya Suvarnadvīpa—apparently because there was no male heir to succeed to the throne after Dharmasetu. Thus it is taken that a Śailendra prince began to rule over Śri Vijaya from about the middle of the ninth century. When he succeeded to the Śri Vijaya throne he must have adopted that Śri Vijaya crest of emblem. Since the Leiden grant referred to above mentions the Śailendras of Śri Vijaya as the users of the *makaradhvaja*, it may be taken that the crest of Śri Vijaya was the first.³⁵

It is to be noted in this connection that the name Dharmasetu which is not found in any other inscription in South-East Asia was according to the labels in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram a surname or title borne by the Pallava king Rajasimha.³⁶ Is it not possible to take this name borne by the 'father of Tara' according to the Nalanda Plates as having originated from the surname of Rajasimha as a token of acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Pallavas ?

Among the other titles of Rajasimha engraved on the walls of the Kailasanatha temple at Kauchi *Śrīnāgapriyaḥ* is one.³⁷ It has been taken to mean "he who is fond of elephants."³⁸ He is also referred to as bearing several similar titles, such as *Śrī-ibha-vidyādharma*³⁹ *Sri ibha-vatsarājah*,⁴⁰ *Śrīgandha hasti*⁴¹, etc., which are all taken to indicate his love of and proficiency in the science of elephants. The surnames may be interpreted also as 'one who is dear to the Nāga people', in which case it may be taken that he was fair and good to the Nagas of South-East Asia, of whom also the population was composed.

Some of the coins having the bull along with the legend *Śrī bhara* or *Śrīmidhi* on the obverse and ascribed to the Pallava king Rajasimha contain on the reverse side any

34. *TBG*, 1928, tr. in Dutch by Bosch.; also Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, *Foreign Notices*, pp. 122 to 128 for all the three.

35. With this *makaradhvaja* may be compared the title *Minānkita Śailendran* applied to the Pandya king Rajasimha II, in the Sinnamannur Copper Plates (*SII*, Vol. III, p. 455. 11.140-41).

36. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 17, 41st niche 4th item.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 18, 50th niche, 4th item.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 15, 10th niche, 4th item.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 16, 29th niche, 4th item.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 18, 48th niche, 1st item.

one of the symbols, *chakra*, crescent, *chaurie*, *chaitya*, a state umbrella, tortoise and a crab.⁴²

"It is curious why Rājasimha introduced the figure of crab in his coins".⁴³ It was thought that 'perhaps it indicated the commercial activities of the period, the home of the crab being the sea shore'.⁴⁴ The suggested explanation does not seem to sound reasonable. Very probably the crab was the crest of a ruling family. It may also be mentioned in this connection that Adityavarman who was ruling in Central Sumatra in A.D. 1350 claims to have belonged to the *Kulīśadharavamsa*. Nilakanta Sastri takes the term to indicate that the king belonged to the family of Indra, apparently taking the word *kulīśa* to mean the *vajrāyudha* or thunderbolt of Indra.⁴⁵ But the term also means crab; and very likely the term indicates that the family had the crab as its crest. It was the crest of the Śailendra rulers, Śrī Vijaya; and possibly Adityavarman had Śailendra connections. This is further indicated by his royal title. Maharajadhiraja Udayadityavarman (or Adityavarmodaya) Pratapaparakrama Maulimani Varmadeva⁴⁶ which reminds one of the Śailendras.

All the above pieces of evidence, taken as a whole, though each of them by itself may not be considered sufficiently significant, will lead to the conclusion that the Pallavas have during the time of Rajasimha or Narasimhavarman II an overseas empire. According to the Vayalur inscriptions⁴⁷ referred to earlier, he seems to have inherited this kingdom of 'thousand islands' from his predecessors. The question then naturally arises when the Pallavas acquired such a vast colonial empire. The inscription of the Kambūja king Mahendravarman setting up a *linga* on the top of a hill as mentioned earlier would naturally suggest that political ties between the two countries had existed even then. But the history of the Pallavas becomes clear from the days of Mahendravarman. Our knowledge of their history prior to his period is still very uncertain and vague and hence it is not possible to determine at this stage the exact period when the Pallavas acquired such a big colonial empire.

But south India appears to have had connections with those lands from a much earlier period. The Vo-chanh Rock Sanskrit inscription in south Annam written in a definitely south Indian alphabet of the second or third century A.D. registers the donations by a king who belonged to the *Śrī Mara Raja kula*⁴⁸ The inscription belongs to a period when lower Champa formed part of the Fu-nan kingdom, one of the earliest kingdoms of Indo-China of which we have any knowledge. The royal family of Śrī Mara to which the king belonged can only mean the Pandyan family in south India, the word Maran in Tamil being the synonym for Pandya. It is well-known that many Pandyan kings were known by the title *Māran*.

The Pallavas, of whose colonial empire we have some knowledge from the days of Rajasimha II, appear to have maintained political relations with their colonies right up to the end of their rule.

42. Desikachari, T., *op.cit.*, I list; Minakshi, C. *op.cit.*, p. 91.

43. Elliot's list, I. No. 36

44. Minakshi, C., *op.cit.*, p. 91.

45. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, *Foreign Notices*, p. 100.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 152.

48. Majumdar, R. C., *History of the Far East*, Vol. I, *Champa*, List of Inscriptions, No. 1.

The Accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla

The Paṭṭattālmangalam Plates of the sixty-first regnal year of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla say that he was the son of Hiranyavarman and came to the throne when he was quite young (*yuvaiva*)¹ while the Kasākkudi Plates dated in the twenty-second year of his reign give the additional particulars that he belonged to the branch (*varga*) of Bhimavarman, his sixth ancestor and the younger brother of Simhavishnu of the main line, that he was “chosen—by his subjects” as king,² and that he “was engaged in ruling the kingdom of Parameśvara Potaraja”.³ The circumstances under which this young boy-prince of a junior branch of the Pallava family, six generations removed came to occupy the throne after Parameśvaravarman⁴ would make an interesting study and these are narrated in the descriptive labels incised below the panels of the historical sculptures found on the walls of the Vaikuntha Perumāḷ temple at Kanchipuram.

These sculptures which cover all the four walls of the raised varandah running round the central shrine of the temple and are arranged in two rows separated by a narrow horizontal band depict the entire history of the Pallavas from their mythical progenitor Brahma upto the time of the construction of the temple. Though the sculptures commence from the northern side of the west wall and run clock wise in a *pradakshina* manner, there are only thirteen explanatory labels, all of them found on the south wall, where the events leading to and following the coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla are sculptured. The labels constitute as it were the official version of the events relating to the selection and coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and so are important and

1. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 120 and 123, verse 7.
2. *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 349 and 357, verse 27, *vṛtahi prajābhūh*.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 350, 1.72. *Parmēśvara Pōtarājapada—praśāsana paṇa*; also p. 356.
4. The Udayendiram grant dated in the twenty-first year of his reign mentions him as the son of Parameśvaravarman II evidently to denote that he succeeded the latter or less probably he was the adopted son. (*Ibid.*, p. 363; also 11.19 and 37 on pp. 366, 367 and 371).

require careful study and interpretation. Among the thirteen labels four are unfortunately very much damaged, only a few letters here and there being decipherable. Some portions of the others are also damaged to a certain extent.⁵

The first label (Section A) contains the following : In the Pallava family descended in this was from (the originator) Brahma Parameśvarap-Pottaraiyar becoming a resident of Heaven (*svarggastar*) and the kingdom being reduced to a state of anarchy (*utsanna*), the *Mātrās*, the *ghaṭakayār* and the *Mūlaprakritis* approached Hiranyavarmma Maharaja of the family of the Kāḍava lords (*Kāḍavēśa kula*) to request him to become king, being one able to bear the burden of the kingdom (*rājabhāram grahaka-samaritar*) and of pure descent on both sides (*ubhayakula-parisuddhar*). The facts that the kingdom was then without a king, and the throne was vacant are indicated by the blank space which occupies the wall following the coronation of the previous monarch Parameśvara and preceding these labelled panels.

The next label (Section B) has :

When the members of the deputation came and saw Hiran yavarmma—Maharaja, he asked them about the object of their visit. They replied, “the kingdom has fallen in chaos (*utsanna*) (we are) unable to manage. You being of pure descent on both sides (please) do come as king.”

The third label (Section C) : Hearing this Hiranyavarmma Maharaja sent for all the *Kulamallar* (*mallas* of the family) and enquired (if they were willing to accept the Pallava kingship). (But) none of them willing to go, he asked his sons Śrīmalla, Ranamalla, Sangrāmamalla and Pallavamalla. Each of the first three in turn excused himself saying, “you had better go to rule as king; we will not go”; while Pallavamalla *alias* Parameśvara bowed to his father and supplicated, ‘I shall go’.

On hearing this Hiranyavarmma was tossed between two conflicting feelings. The fourth label (Section D) says : Hearing this (Hiranyavarmma) feeling happy (*harsha*) at the thought that the good and truthful son (*satyānvita suputran*) born to enhance the glory of the Khāṭaka kula (*Khāṭaka kulam śirakka tonriya*) was going to rule the kingdom and grieving (with the thought) of separation (from him) and his heart feeling the touch of ambrosia and poison at the same time,⁶ said, “my son who is only a boy of twelve years, I will not send”. Whereupon Tarandi-Kondapośar, an old *āgamika* assured, (and consoled) him that “this (Pallavamalla) had previously worshipped Mahaviṣṇu and would therefore become emperor (or is destined to become emperor). Do not grieve”.

The fifth label (Section E) is unfortunately very much damaged. Being very fragmentary we can make out only very little of it. Apparently Hiranyavarman saw something resembling a black elephant’s head (*kariyakāḷirinṇalai*) and asks

5. *SII*, (Texts), Vol. IV, No. 135; also Minakshi, C. *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuntha Perumāl Temple, Kānchi*, MASI., No. 63. Appendix I, pp. 54-55.

6. *Anrtamun-naṅṅi] kalandan (na) hridayattan*. Dr. Minakshi reads the portion as *amrtamannareri kaḷanda hridayatan* meaning “filled as if with ambrosia and fire at the same time”.

something which we cannot make out. Probably the reply for it is given by Tarandi-Kondapośar as contained in the next label (Section F). Showing the thing presented by the soldier (*śevakan*) of the retinue, Tarandi-Kondapośar said to Hiranyavarmma Maharaja "This is not an elephant's head; but the crown (and other royal insignia) of your son", whereupon the fear (of the latter) was dispelled.

The seventh label (Section G) says : This is the place where (Pallavamalla) having been given permission⁷ by Hiranyavarmma Maharaja and Tarandi-Kondapośar to go got down from the *śivakai* (*sibika*; vehicle) worshipped, prostrated (to them) and took leave (of them).

The next label (Section H) is read as follows :—

1. *Angu-nirum pōndu pala giri-nadi--vana-gahana [ni] gaḷaik-kaḷindu varuḡiramai kēṭṭu Pallavadi-Araiyar edirēy.*
2. *mahā balattōḍuṅ vāndu yānai errikoṇḍu Kāñchipura mahānagarattu.....ga marindu pōnda idam.*⁸

This label inscription has been taken to mean : starting from there Pallavamalla was coming (to Kanchipuram) passing through on the way many mountains, rivers and thick forests; hearing these Pallavadi-Araiyar welcomed him with a big army and placing him on an elephant proceeded towards the great city of Kanchipuram. But the correct reading and meaning of this label will be discussed more fully later.

The ninth label (Section I) says : Hearing that his (Pallavamalla's) elephant was coming, the *Mahāsāmantar* the *Nagarattār*, merchants, the *Mūlaprakṛiti* and the *Kaḍakka Muttarayar* went forward to meet him and all of them entered the palace (*koyil*).

The tenth label (Section J) records : After entering the palace, the body of ministers (*mantrināḍalam*), the *mahāsāmantar*, the men of the two *gaṇas* (*ubhayagāṇat-tayār*) and the *ghaṭakayār*, all combined together and anointed him (the prince) under the name of Nandivanman and (investing him) with all the insignia of royalty, such as the royal umbrella (to his chariot) known as *karivai*, the *saṃdraghosha* (conch blowing with the sound of the roaring sea) the *khaṭvāṅga* flag and the *riṣhabha-lāñchchanda* (the bull crest) proclaimed his authority by issuing commands under the royal seal of *viḍēl viḍuḡu*.

The explanatory labels do not stop with the coronation of Pallavamalla. Three more are found. The eleventh one (Section K) is damaged in important places, but enlightens some crucial points. It says : "When here (*ingē*) he became Perumanaḍigal"

7. The actual term is *viḍai koḍukka*. Originally it was read as *paḍaikoḍukka* and translated as "having been given weapons." The latter *vi* is clear and the correct reading is as above.

8. The concluding portion of the second line was originally read as follows : *Kāñchipura Mahānagaratturugi marindu pōnda idam*. It may probably be read as '*Kāñchipura Mahānagarattukkarugi* (1) *marindu pōnda idam*.

(i.e. His Majesty the King) and had been ruling the kingdom—the ministers (*mantrigaḷum*) the *mūlaprakritis* (*mūlaprakṛitiyum*) and *Jinikayum*.... Śrī Chalu who was zealous in prowess (*parākraṃo-tśāhaṃ uḍaya*).....

The last two labels are still more damaged. The phrase *avvagaiya irundu pōna durdhukkamāga*.....(in such manner the great calamity having come (existed) and gone.....) is decipherable in the twelfth label (Section L), while the expression *svaram gaṇḍār kūṭṭiya nipuṅargal* (the experts assembled by some person or persons) is found in the last label (Section M). The last two labels begin with the word *avvagaiyē* (in such manner) while, as has been said earlier, the first label begins with the word *ivvagaiyē* (in this way). It is possible to conclude that the two expressions *ivvagaiyē* and *avvagaiyē* mark the beginning and end of the explanations of the series of sculptures relating to the accession and coronation of Pallavamalla, and thus the thirteen labels contain the official account of the same.

The eleventh label mentioned above begins with the clause “(when) Perumaṇaḍigaḷ was ruling *here* (*inge*) as king”. With regard to expression *Śrī Chālu* in the label after which some letters are lost, Dr. C. Minakshi supplies the missing letters and reads the word as ‘Chālukki Vikramāditta.’ Though the Editor of the Memoir says that “it is difficult to read these words from the existing traces” the suggestion of Dr. Minakshi appears to be acceptable in view of the fact that the expression *Śrī Chalu* is prefixed by the qualification *parākraṃ-otsāhamuḍaiya* (who was zealous in prowess). It may be taken that the monarch referred to here was the Chalukyan king who was very likely Vikramaditya II.

The Narwan Plates dated in Śaka 664 (exp) *uttrāyāṇa kāla* and the eighth regnal year of the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya II (A.D. 741 or 42) describe the achievements of Chalukya Vikramaditya II. The details contained in them are practically the same as those in the Vakkaleri and Kendūr Plates of Kirtivarman II. It is said in all of them that “immediately on coronation, being resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy (*prakṛiyamitra*—i.e. the Pallava) he reached *Tuṇḍākavishaya* in great haste, beat and put to flight at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king named Nandi-Potavarman, took possession of particular musical instruments..... many elephants and a heap of rubies; he then entered the city of Kanchi but did not destroy it, and acquired, great merit by granting heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rajasimheśvara and other gods which have been caused to be built by Narasimha Potavarman.⁹ This statement finds corroboration in the much obliterated short Kannada inscription of Vikramaditya found on one of the pillars of the Rajasimheśvara shrine in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanehipuram mentioning that the king having captured Kanchi (and) having inspected the riches (belonging to the temple of) Rajasimheśvara gave (them) again to the God.¹⁰

This expedition of Vikramaditya against the Pallava took place according to the

9. *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 23 and *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 129.

10. *Epi. Ind.*, III, p. 360.

Chalukyan records immediately after his coronation and was carried out in great haste. He ascended the Chalukyan throne in A.D. 733-34 and we may not be far wrong if we take that the expedition took place in A.D. 734. His Pallava adversary at that time was the young Nandivarman Pallavamalla.¹¹ But this was not the first expedition of Vikramaditya against Kanchi. A Kannada inscription on a slab broken into two and lying near the dilapidated Trimurti temple at Ulchala in the Kurnool Taluk, dated in the 35th regnal year of the Western Chalukya King Vijayaditya corresponding to A.D. 731 records that Yuvaraja Vikramaditya went on an expedition to Kanchi; levied tribute from Paramēśvara-Pallava, and while returning presented Ulchalu and Pariyaḷu to Durvinita Ereyappa who granted certain concessions.¹² It will be clear from the above that Paramēśvaravarman II was ruling the Pallava kingdom in A.D. 731 and that tribute was levied from him by the Western Chalukya. It is not known how long he ruled after that. Since no inscription bearing a date later than his third regnal year has been found so far, it may be taken that he died soon after and Nandivarman Pallavamalla ascended the throne by 733 or 734 A.D. Immediately thereafter Vikramaditya invaded the Pallava kingdom as shown above. The question naturally arises as to why he should have directed his wrath on this boy-king just twelve years old, especially when the previous Pallava king had submitted to the Chalukya and paid tribute earlier.

It appears that the eighth label (Section H) of the Vaikuntha Perumaḷ temple contains an indirect answer to the above. It records that a certain Pallavadi Araiyan who came to meet Pallavamalla on his way to Kanchipuram to assume that Pallava crown died (*marindu poṇḍa*) probably near the outskirts of Kanchi. This point has unfortunately not been noticed so far. Why should the death of a person be mentioned while narrating the events connected with an auspicious function like the coronation of a king, unless it has a bearing directly on it, very likely a conquest?

But the label as construed at present does not envisage any such thing. It is taken as recording the homage paid by the feudatories to the king-elect on his way to assume the crown. Further the Pallavadi Araiyan, mentioned in it is taken as a feudatory chief of the Pallavas like the Muttaraiyar and Peraraiyar. But we have to take the word Pallavadi Araiyan to mean a junior member of the Pallava ruling family on the analogy of the word Gangadiaraiyar which means Ganga princes ruling over provinces. Such usages are found in some inscriptions. For instance the Kūram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman I mention the construction of temple Vidyavinita Pallava Paramēchchuragriham and the gift of the village of Paramēśvaramanagalam by Vidyavinita Pallavadhiraja (Sanskrit portion 1.54).¹³ Again the Hellegeri Copper Plate grant dated in Saka 635 (713-714 A.D.) corresponding to the thirty-fourth regnal year of the Western Ganga king Śivamara mentions two persons Jayapallavadhiraja and Vriddhi Pallavadhiraja the two-year sons of the Pallava *Yuvaraja*.¹⁴

11. Both Chalukya Vikramaditya and Nandivarman Pallavamalla came to the throne almost at the same time.
12. *ARSIE*, 1943-44 and 1944-45. App. E. No. 22 of the collection in the year 1941-42; also *AI.*, No. 5, p. 34.
13. *SII*, I, p. 154.
14. *EC*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

Really the label appears to record a different tale. It says that Pallavadi Araiayar came to meet the newly elected ruler with his great force or large army (*mahābalaṃ*). It would seem incongruous for a feudatory chief to take his large army (*mahābalaṃ*) with him when proceeding to meet and pay his homage to the king-elect on the latter's journey to the capital for his coronation. The wording of the label and the use of the word *mahābalaṃ* have to be taken to mean military action.

The sculptures depicting the scene do not also show the prince on the back of an elephant. The relative panels are described as follows :

Panel VII which is divided horizontally into two sections contains in the upper row a seated royal figure, sad and dejected, with two attendants to his right. The rest of the panel illustrates one scene. A number of men on the right side are cheering a person, evidently Pallava-malla, as he is proceeding on horse back. A man with a *kiriṭa* on his head is meeting him. Evidently this is the Pallavadi Araiayar. His army of elephants is represented in the next panel (i.e. Panel VIII) which is again divided as before into two sections. The upper is filled with the army of elephants and the lower contains the marching soldiers and horsemen. In the next panel (i.e. Panel IX), the officials, the townsmen, the feudatories and the *Mūlaprakritis* are all seen in the lower half of the panel going towards Parameśvara Pallavamalla to welcome him. He is seen on horse back.¹⁵ Nowhere is the king-elect seen seated on the back of an elephant as the inscribed label is said to narrate. On the other hand the disposition of the elephants and of the marching soldiers and horsemen, nay, of the whole scene, seems to illustrate some military activity.

Further the expression which has been read as *errink-konḍu* meaning raising or placing the prince on the back of the elephant is not also supported by sculpture. The word may better be read as *errik-konḍu* with a short *e*. The word *erruḍal* means to attack, to kick, to strike, to kill. With this suggested reading the label may be translated as follows : "Starting from there, he (Pallavamalla) was coming on the way leaving behind many mountains, rivers, and dense forests; and hearing this Pallavadi Araiayar came opposite to him with a big or great army (*mahābalaṃ*), struck and killed elephants and died—(near) the great city of Kanchipuram.

Thus it will be seen that the selection of the boy Pallavamalla was not unanimous or without opposition as it has been supposed to be. The label clearly states that the boy's progress towards Kanchipuram was opposed by Pallavadi Araiayar who however died in the skirmish though he killed some elephants.

Who the Pallava Prince was that opposed Pallavamalla on his way to his coronation and died is not clear. It is possible he was one of the two Pallavahirajas mentioned as the sons of a Pallava *Yivaraja* in the Hellegere grant dated in 713-14 A.D. mentioned above. The name of the Pallava *Yivaraja* is not given in the inscription. The then Pallava king was Rajasimha also known as Narasimhavaram II. He had two

15. Minakshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

sōns Mahendravarman III and Paramēśvaravarman II. We have an inscription of Mahendra in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram.¹⁶ But he does not seem to have succeeded to the throne. Evidently he predeceased his father.¹⁷ But when that happened is not known. Anyway the *Yivaraja* mentioned in the Hellegeri inscription must be either Mahendra III or Paramēśvara II.

If the Pallava Araiyaṅgar who opposed Pallavamalla before his coronation was possibly one of the two grandsons of Rajasimha, then naturally the question arises as to what became of the other. The Udayendiram Plates dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla give a graphic account of his long and difficult campaign against the southern powers and the services rendered by Udyachandra, the Lord of Vilvalapura, and the general of Nandivarman to his royal master.¹⁸ The grant says: "When he (Udayachandra) perceived that Pallavamalla was besieged in Nandipura by the *Dravida* princes, unable to bear this, like the visible death of the cloud of the enemies of Pallavamalla, slew with his sharp sword which glittered like the petal of a water-lily, the Pallava king Chitramāya and others"¹⁹ (*Chitramāya Pallavarajam*). Chitramāya was one of the titles of Paramēśvaravarman I.²⁰ Possibly the Pallava prince Chitramāya killed by Udayachandra was the great-grandson of Paramēśvaravarman and bore his name. Thus even after his coronation Pallavamalla had a Pallava claimant to the throne to oppose him. It is possible to surmise from the Udayendiram grant that Chitramāya who is mentioned there as king was not prepared to accept Pallavamalla as the Pallava king and probably was able to wrest a part of the Pallava kingdom from Pallavamalla and was ruling it as its king.

When there were thus at least two princes coming in regular Pallava line and claiming right to succeed to the Pallava throne, it will appear strange that the *Māttras*, the *Ghaṭikayār* and the *Mūlaprakṛitis* of the Pallava kingdom should approach Hiranyavarman and request him to accept the crown. The two requisite qualifications which were necessary to rule the kingdom, and which, they thought, Hiranyavarman possessed and so was eligible for being chosen as king, were ability to bear the burden of the kingdom and purity of descent on both sides (*rāja [bhā] ran grahaka samarthar—ubhayakula pariśuddhar*). But one wonders if the first requisite for the kingdom could have been satisfied by the selection of Pallavamalla as king since he was only a boy of twelve years and was living at a place far away from Kanchipuram and separated from it by hills, rivers and forests.²¹ In the early years of his reign at least he must have been a king only in name, the actual powers being in the hands of some others. But

16. *SII*, I, No. 27, p. 22.

17. Minakshi, *op. cit.*, p. 32; descriptions of panels XVII and XVIII. The wounded chief being carried in a cloth hammock to the presence of the king and his queen and the two Brahmanas seated on the floor below the king's seat as if in the act of prayer may well be taken as representing the death of Mahendra III.

18. *SII*, Vol. II, Pt. III, No. 74, pp. 367-374.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

20. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 9; *SII*, Vol. XII, p. 10.

21. It is not even known whether the place where the junior family of the Pallavas to which Hiranyavarman belonged had been then residing was within the Pallava kingdom itself or outside it.

with the present available evidence it is not possible to say who the *de facto* ruler of the Pallava kingdom was during the early years of the reign of Pallavamalla or if he had the support of any foreign power. But it is certain that there was a strong party that stood for him and supported him successfully against the other Pallava princes who opposed him. But from the point of view of ability to bear the burden of the kingdom the Pallavadi Araiyaṅgar who opposed Pallavamalla with *mahābalaṅga* was probably a better person. He had possibly some support from inside and outside the Pallava kingdom. And even after his death we find that another, Chitramaya, put forth his claim to the Pallava throne and partially succeeded in his attempt.

Thus there appears to have been two strong opposing parties in the Pallava kingdom. The expedition undertaken by the Western Chalukya, king Vikramaditya II, in great haste immediately after his coronation against Pallavamalla would suggest that the Pallavadi Araiyaṅgar who fought against Nandivarman before his coronation and died had the support of the Chalukyas, and the expedition of Vikramaditya against Kanchi was undertaken to avenge the death of his protegée. The Kannada inscription of the Chalukya king in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanelipuram testifies to the fact that the expedition was successful, and that the Pallava kingdom was conquered by him. Probably he installed Chitramaya on the Pallava throne and made grants to the Kailasanatha temple, without destroying the city. All the above discussion would show that the first requisite thought to be essential for ruling over the Pallava kingdom does not seem to have been satisfied by the selection of Pallavamalla to the Pallava throne.

Much is not known about the purity of descent on both sides mentioned as the second requisite. From the information available it is seen that the rival princes were of the same Pallava family. As such the purity of their descent on the male side is beyond question. If at all any claim is to be made of purity it could be only on the female side. The Kasākuḍi Plates describe Nandivarman as one "who is able to support the race of the Pallavas" (*Pallavānāṃ kula bhārya paṭuḥ*) and "who is descended from a pure mother" (*suddha mātramavāyāḥ*).²² With this has to be compared what is stated in the Vaikuntha Perumāḷ temple label, namely *ubhayakula paṛisuddha*. Thus more than the ability to rule, family purity was considered important, and from that point of view Nandivarman Pallavamalla had obviously a better claim to the Pallava throne than Pallavadi Araiyaṅgar who was probably an illegitimate son of Parameśvarman II. Hence his choice.

Thus a careful examination of the contents of the label inscription in the Vaikuntha Perumāḷ temple and other pieces of evidence would show that the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla to the throne was not so peaceful as is supposed. Since the available material bearing on the subject does not give the entire information it is not possible to determine in detail the exact course of events. But one thing is clear. There were other Pallava princes evidently of the main line itself who had good support from one section of the people and they strongly opposed Pallavamalla from the very beginning.

22. *SII*, II, p. 350, l. 70.

Pallava Skandasishya II

Scholars who have studied the history of the Pallavas have so far consistently ignored the Rāyākōṭā Plates of Skandasishya.¹ This is probably due mainly to the fact that the donor of the grant, Skandasishya could not be conveniently accommodated in the history of the Pallavas. His exact position in their genealogy and chronology cannot be easily settled. Even the dynasty to which the king belonged is not mentioned in the inscription.

The Plates said to have been obtained from Rayakota in the Krishnagiri taluk, Salem District (now in Dharmapuri District) belonged to the collection of Sir Walter Elliot. They were three in number and were secured by a ring with a seal bearing the emblem of a kneeling bull facing proper left and a few other emblems not identified. The seal is also said to have had a line of writing, which was not, however deciphered.

As is usual with the copper-plate grants obtained from the Tamil country, it consists of two parts, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil. The Sanskrit portion which is in verse gives particulars about the king. After invocation to Vishnu, the mythical genealogy of the family to which Skandasishya belonged is given in it. The genealogy commences with Brahma, born of the lotus from the navel of Vishnu and mentions the following in order : Angiras, Brihaspati, Śamyu, Bharadvaja, Drona and Asvatthaman. Adhiraja Skandasishya was born to the last of them by a Nāga woman. In the family was born another Skandasishya who is described as resembling the pitcher-born Agastya, who drank the sea. The Tamil portion which is in prose says that in the fourteenth year of the reign of Kovijaya Skandasishya Vikramavarman the king granted on the request of Mahabali Vāṇarājar, Maheśvara Bhaṭṭa being the executor (*ānatti*), the village of Saragur in Mel-Aḍaiyārūnāḍu, a subdivision of Paḍuvūr-koṭṭam, renaming it Skandasishyamangalam to Madhava Sarma Bhaṭṭa of the Vatsa *gotra* and Pravachana *sūtra* with several exemptions and immunities (*parihāras*) evidently as a *brahmadeya*. No other particulars are furnished in the inscription.

1. *Epi. Ind.*, V, pp. 49-53.

As said above the record does not mention the dynasty to which the donor-king belonged. But the mythical genealogy attributed to him in it is the one usually found in the records of the Pallavas of Kanchi, especially their copper-plate grants found in the Tamil country from the time of the Kūram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman onwards² and also in the Vāyalūr Pillar inscription of Rajasīmha.³

According to the Velūrpālaiyam Plates⁴ of Nandivarman III, Pallava was the son of Asvatthaman; and after many kings like Aśokavarman and others born in the family had passed away, was born Kālabhartru. It is said that Virakūreha, son of Chūta Pallava and grandson of Kālabhartru obtained the sovereignty along with the hands of the daughter of the chief of serpents (*phaṇḍrasutā*) and Skandasishya was born of this union. The Rāyakōṭa Plates also mention that Skandasishya was born of a Nāga woman (*dvijhṛmgini*). The Tirukkalukunram inscriptions⁵ of Rajakesarivarman Aditya I registering a land grant to the god of the *mūlasthāna* in the Śiva temple at the place states that the grant was originally made by Skandasishya, and later on ratified by Narasimhavarman I, the conqueror of Vatapi.⁶ These will show that Skandasishya the first of that name, was not a mythical person, but actually ruled the kingdom of Kanchi.

The Rayakota grant is the only inscription of Skandasishya, the second ruler of that name so far recovered. Nor is the ruler mentioned or referred to in any other record, and therefore we have to depend on the palaeographical and other available extraneous evidence for fixing his place in the Pallava history and chronology.

The name Skandasishya is interesting. Literally it means the 'disciple of the war-god'.⁷ It is not however known if it was only a title by which the king was called. It does not appear to have been borne by any other known Pallava king; and obviously it was taken by the ruler who is the subject of this paper in remembrance of the first

2. Kūram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman, *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff; Kailāsanātha temple Inscription of Rajasīmha *SII*, Vol I, p. 9; Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman II, *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 361 ff; Kaśākkudī Plates of Nandivarman II, *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff; Paṭṭattāṃmangalam Plates of Nandivarman II, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 115 ff; Velūrpālaiyam Plates of Vijaya Nandivarman III, *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 501 ff; Bāhūr Plates of Nṛpatunga, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.
3. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 145 ff. It is also to be noted that the Hira Kogilur Plates of the Chālukya prince Rajaditya who was a feudatory of the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna III and was ruling over the Kadambaliga kingdom give the same mythical ancestry of Rajaditya *MAR*, 1936 pp. 177 ff. But this is in complete variance with the mythical ancestry given in the various Chalukyan grants. As such an explanation for this anomaly has to be sought elsewhere, and he cannot be taken as a Pallava. Similarly it is also not possible to take that Skandasishya of the Rāyakōṭa Plates was a Chalukya for the reasons discussed further in this paper.
4. *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 501 ff.
5. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 277-80.
6. The inscription of Narasimhavarman I making the gift to the god of *mūlasthāna* at the place has since been found. *ARSIE*, 65 of 1909; also *Ibid.*, 1933 pt. ii, para 5. But it does not mention that the grant had been previously made by Skandasishya.
7. Is it possible that the word Skandasishya has anything to do with the Tamil word *Kandali*? It is known that occasionally the Sanskrit letter *sha* is equated with the Tamil *la*. cf. Skt. *Ushā*—Tamil *Uḷai*; Skt. *māsha* (gold)—Tamil *māḷa*; Skt. *Kaśhāḷya*—Tamil *Kiyālam*. (Also Tamil *tiruvīḷa* becoming *tiruvishā* among rustics and *iḷisudal*—*isudal*).

ruler of that name and to show that he was a 'reviver of the past'.⁸ It might be that he assumed this name to infuse confidence in the minds of his subjects that difficult and hard times were over and that golden age had dawned.

Dr. Hultsch who edited the Plates in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* was of the opinion that palaeographically the alphabet in them is more developed than that in the Kūram and Kasākkūḍi Plates but archaic when compared with that in the Udayendiram Plates of Hastimalla.⁹ Thus the age of the plates must be in the period roughly between A.D. 700 and 900. This period can be narrowed further down. The Rāyakōṭa Plates are written in the ordinary free flowing hand and the Kūram Plates are in similar hand. But the Kasākkūḍi and Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates are written in an ornamental way. It is well-known that some archaic forms used to occur in ornamental writing. But still we find some letters more developed in the Kasākkūḍi and Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates than in the Kūram and Rāyakōṭa Plates. For instance the initial vowel *i* of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates (occurring twice in line 12) has almost attained the modern shape while that found in the Kūram Plates (lines 26 and 37) retain the older form. The Rāyakōṭa Plates which are in the ordinary flowing hand give the older form for the letter (line 10). It would thus appear that the Rāyakōṭa Plates have to be assigned to a period anterior to the date of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates. They may, therefore, be assigned roughly to middle of the eighth century, i.e., circa A.D. 750.

During that period the Pallava kingdom was ruled by Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It is known that he did not succeed the Pallava throne in the regular line of succession. He belonged to the junior branch of the family, being the sixth in descent from Bhimavarman, younger brother of Simhavishnu of the main line. The Kasākkūḍi Plates state that he was chosen by his subjects as king.¹⁰ The descriptive labels incised below the penals of the historical sculptures found on the walls of the Vaikuntha perumāḷ temple at Kanchipuram narrate that the kingdom being reduced to a state of anarchy on the death of Paramēśvaravarman II, the ministers and others approached Hiranyavarman, father of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, with a request to become the king, *he being one able to bear the burden of kingdom and was of pure descent on both sides*. They further say that Hiranyavarman enquired all the members of his family whether anyone

8. Such a practice is not unknown in south Indian history. It is well-known that Aditya II son of Sundarachola had the title Karikūla and another Rajakesarivarman of the period was known as Perunar-kijji, *SII (Texts)* Vol. XIII, Nos. 15 and 21. A recent writer has identified this Perunar-kijji with Rajaraja I himself; T. Subramanian, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pt. 1, Historical Survey, pp. LXXXIV, XCIV. The significance of these Chola rulers bearing names likely to conjure up the minds of people will be evident if it is remembered that at that time the Chola dominions were in the throes of revolution and strife consequent on the invasion and occupation of a portion of the kingdom by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III.
9. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 49; for the Udayendiram Plates of Hastimalla *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 375 ff. Dr. Hultsch further says: "If it is admissible to compare the characters of stone inscriptions, which sometime retain older forms, I would say that the alphabet of the Rāyakōṭa Plates lies between the two Kilmuṭṭugūr inscriptions of Narasimhavarman as the upper limit and the two Ambūr inscriptions of Nripatrunga—Vikramavarman as the lower one". *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 49-50. For the stone inscriptions see *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 182 and 360 and plates.
10. *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 349 and 357, v. 27.

among them was willing to take up the Pallava kingship, that while the others declined to accept it, Pallavamalla, whose real name was Parameśvara, the youngest of the four sons of Hiranyavarman, then only twelve years of age, consented to accept the kingship, and that finally the boy was brought to Kanchipuram and crowned king under the name of Nandivarman.¹¹

The selection of this boy of the junior branch to assume the Pallava crown was not unanimous and without opposition. It is clear from the Vaikuntha perumāl temple label inscriptions that Nandivarman even before his coronation, while he was still on his way to the capital for the ceremony, was opposed by a certain Pallavadi-araiyar with his large army. The rival Pallava prince did not succeed in his attempt and was killed in battle on the outskirts of the capital city. The very fact that he came with a large army (*mahābalaṃ*) would show that he was already ruling over a portion of the kingdom and that he had the backing of at least a section of the people. But Nandivarman had no peace even after his coronation.

The coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla took place in *circa* A.D. 733. Immediately after that he had to face an invasion of his kingdom by the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya II who also came to the throne almost at the same time. This expedition is described in the Chalukyan records in the following terms: Immediately on coronation being resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy (*prakṛitya-mitra* i.e. the Pallava) he (Vikramaditya II) reached *Tuṇḍakaviśhaya* in great haste, beat and put to flight at the opening of the campaign the opposing Pallava king named Nandipotavarman, took possession of particular musical instruments—many elephants and a heap of rubies; he then entered the city of Kanchi, but did not destroy it and acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rajasimheśvara and other gods which had been caused to be built by Narasimha Potavarman.¹² This statement finds corroboration in the much obliterated short Kannada inscription of Vikramaditya found on one of the pillars of the Rajasimheśvara shrine in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram which mentions that the king having captured Kanchi (and) having inspected the riches (belonging) to (the temple of) Rajasimheśvara gave (them) again to the God.¹³

It will be evident from the above that the Chalukyan victory was complete and that Vikramaditya had captured the Pallava capital Kanchi; but what became of Nandivarman is not clear. It would appear rather strange that Vikramaditya who had led an expedition to Kanchi only some two years earlier (A.D. 731) when he was *yuvaraja* during the reign of his father and levied tribute from the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman II should have rushed again against the Pallava kingdom immediately after his own coronation, especially when the new Pallava king was only a boy of twelve. But if we remember that Nandivarman on his way to Kanchi for his coronation was opposed

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 135.

12. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23 ff; *SII*, Vol. I, p. 146.

13. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

by another Pallava prince who lost his life in the encounter, it may be surmised that the rival Pallava prince had the support of the Western Chalukya king who did not approve of the selection of Nandivarman and therefore was inimical to him, and that the expedition of Vikramaditya against Kanchi was undertaken obviously to avenge the death of his protege. The Kannada inscription of Vikramaditya II in the Kailasanatha temple mentioned earlier would show that he himself conducted the expedition personally and that he was present at Kanchi when the victorious army occupied the city.

The Chalukya records mention that Nandivarman was put to flight. Evidently he fled the capital and the country to a place of safety. What became of him after that is not known. It would be natural to expect that Vikramaditya would not have reinstated him on the Pallava throne; nor would he have returned to Vatapi abandoning the Pallava kingdom after obtaining a signal victory and avenging the death of his protege. He would certainly have placed on the Pallava throne some one of his choice.

The Pallavadi-araiyar who opposed Nandivarman on his way to Kanchi for his coronation and lost his life appears to be one of the two princes, Jaya Pallavādhirāja and Vriddhi Pallavādhirāja. "the two dear sons of the Pallava *Yuvarāja*" mentioned as donors in the Hallegare Copper Plate grant dated in Śaka 635 (A.D. 713-14) corresponding to the thirty-fourth regnal year of the Western Ganga ruler Śivamara I. These two princes appear to be the grandsons of Rajasimha who was the reigning Pallava monarch when the above grant was made.¹⁴ It is possible that the other prince or the son of the one who lost his life in the battle with Nandivarman was installed on the Pallava throne by Vikramaditya. Very likely these cordial relations which these princes had with the Western Gangas, and through them with the Western Chalukyas, the family foes of the Pallavas, made them unpopular with a section of the people and drove that section to select the boy-prince Nandivarman to the throne overlooking the claims of those princes, though another reason for not considering them as fit to succeed to the throne was that they had doubts about the purity of their descent on both sides.

This position is in a way confirmed by the Udayēndiram Plates dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Plates give a graphic account of his long drawn and difficult campaign against southern powers and the services rendered to the Pallava king by his general Udayachandra, the lord of Vilvalapura. The grant says: "When he (Udayachandra) perceived that Pallavamalla was besieged in Nandipura by the Dramiḷa princes, unable to bear this, like the visible death to the cloud of the enemies of Pallavamalla, slew with (his) sharp sword which glittered like the petal of a water-lily, the Pallava king Chitramaya and others (*Chitramāya Pallavarājā-mukhān nihatya* 1.48)" and also that he "defeated the hostile army on the battle fields of Nimba [vana] Chūtavana, Śankaragrāma, Nellūr, Nelvēli, Sūrāvaḷundūr and so forth, and thus bestowed the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava."¹⁵

It is clear from the above that within twenty years of his reign; (1) Nandivarman

14. *EC*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

15. *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 367 and 372.

lost his throne and kingdom presumably on more occasions than one; (2) another Pallava king Chitramaya by name and who was inimical to him was ruling over the whole of the Pallava kingdom or at least a portion of it; and (3) Nandivarman was once besieged by the Dramiḷa princes in the fort of Nandipura wherfrom he was rescued by Udayachandra after killing Chitramaya and others.

The fact that Nandivarman was besieged by his enemies is also referred to in the inscriptions of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II. Both his copper plate grants, the Vakkaḷēri and Kendūr Plates, say that while he was still the heir-apparent (*Yuvarāja*) Kirtivarman having asked for and obtained an order (from his father) to put down the lord of Kanchi, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every quarter, drove him back into the fort from which he emerged, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and erores of rubies and delivered them to his father.¹⁶ This campaign of Kirtivarman against Nandivarman Pallavamalla in the reign of his father Vikramaditya II was different from the expedition which Vikramaditya undertook immediately after his coronation, and should have happened only after Śaka 664 (A.D. 741-42), the eighth regnal year of Vikramaditya II as the Narwan Plates issued in that year mention only the first encounter and not the second. The Plates further state that on account of this victory, Kirtivarman "thus gradually attained to the position of emperor". It is very likely that the second campaign led by Kirtivarman II was conducted just before his accession to the throne, in the last days of the reign of his father. The Chalukyan records describing this expedition narrate only one phase of it, and the other phase is evidently that which is contained in the Udayēndiram Plates of Nandivarman.

Chitramaya said to have been killed by Udayachandra the trusted general of Nandivarman in the siege of Nandipuram is described therein as Pallavaraja. It is known that Chitramaya was one of the titles of Parameśvaravarman I.¹⁷ Possibly the Pallava prince of that name who was killed by Udayachandra was a great-grandson of Parameśvaravarman I and bore his name. His being described in the Udayendiram Plates as the Pallava king (*Pallavarāja*) clearly testifies to the fact that he was actually ruling as king over the Pallava country. If he had been the prince placed on the Pallava throne by Vikramaditya II in the course of his first expedition, then Chitramaya would have ruled the kingdom for a period of at least ten to fifteen years. Any attempt to dislodge him from that position would have evoked and brought in immediate protest and retaliation from his protector Vikramaditya II. Probably such attempts were made and hence the invasion of Kirtivarman. In this connection the statement in the Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman that Udayachandra, his general bestowed the kingdom many times on his master is also to be noted.

The Rāyākōta Plates of Skandasishya (dated in the fourteenth year of his reign) palaeographically assignable to this period have to be accommodated only in the interval.

16. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 204.

17. *ARSIE*, 531 of 1907; *SII*, Vol. XII, No. 20.

The history of the Pallavas both before and after this short period of confusion is clear and well-founded. The next possible period in which the reign of Skandasishya could be accommodated is at the very end of the Pallava rule when the Cholas had become powerful and occupied the *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam*. But as remarked earlier, the script in which the *Rāyakōṭa* Plates are incised is archaic for that period. Under the circumstances the reign of Skandasishya has to be accommodated in the earlier period. But we do not know of any other claimant to the Pallava throne who had more successfully established his claim than Chitramaya, which was probably more a title or a surname than the official name of the ruler. Evidently Skandasishya was the name with which he ruled, and Chitramaya was the surname or title which he took.

This position is corroborated by a few other pieces of evidence. The gift village *Sarugur* was according to the grant situated in the *Mēl-Aḍaiyāru nādu* of *Paḍuvūr Koṭṭam*. The *Udayachandra-mangalam* granted as a *brahmadeya* to several Brahmanas according to the *Udayēdiram* Plates was also situated in the same sub-division. Not only that. *Tiruveḷālamuḍi* figures as one of the boundaries of the gift village *Sarugur* and this is only the *Tamiḷ* equivalent of the hill named *Vēḷāḷāśikhara* mentioned as one of the boundaries of *Udayachandramangalam*. It will be clear from these that *Skandasishyamangalam* and *Udayachandramangalam*, the two *brahmadeyas* newly created by Skandasishya and Nandivarman Pallavamalla respectively were situated side by side with a common boundry between them.

The gift of the *brahmadeya* village mentioned in the *Rāyakōṭa* Plates was made by Skandasishya at the request of a *Mahāvalivāṇarāyar*. This *Bāṇa* chief, whoever he might have been, should have therefore been a subordinate of Skandasishya, acknowledging his suzerainty and thus inimical to or at least not accepting the overlordship of Nandivarman. Later inscriptions found in the region clearly attest to the fact that the *Bāṇa* chiefs ruling in this region were loyal to Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his successors and that an early ruler of the dynasty about whom we get some definite knowledge bore the name Nandivarman or Vijaya Nandivarman, evidently to mark his subordination to Pallavamalla. But the *Puḷḷūr* Plates dated in the thirty-third year of Nandivarman indicate that the Pallava fought with and obtained a victory over the *Bāṇas*, and it should also be noted that the successors of the *Bāṇa* chief Vijaya Nandivarman bore names like *Vijayaditya* and *Vikramaditya*, names not known to have been borne by members of the Pallava family, but frequently met with among the *Chalukyas*. Evidently these names were borne by earlier rulers of the *Bāṇa* family when they were the subordinates of the *Western Chalukyas* and later on were borne by their successors. Then it would appear that these *Mahābali Vāṇarāyars* were planted in the region by the *Western Chalukyas* when they set up their own candidate on the Pallava throne as a link between the Pallava on one side and the *Western Ganga* on the other. The period of rule of Vijaya Nandivarman, the first ruler with whose name the history of the *mediaeval Bāṇas* commences is placed towards the closing years or at least the latter half of the long reign of sixty five years of Pallavamalla. But his *Udayēdiram* and *Puḷḷūr* Plates dated respectively in the twenty-first and thirty-third years of his reign reveal that prior to the period of the *Bāṇa* chief Vijaya Nandivarman, the region was for some

time at least under the control of the Pūchān family of Vilvalapura to which Udayachandra and Avaniehandra belonged. It is possible that mainly with a view to wean the people of the area from the influence of Skandasishya and his supporters that this region which was in the nature of a buffer between the Pallava and the Western Ganga Kingdoms was placed by Pallavamalla in charge of his loyal lieutenant Udayachandra and new *brahmadeya* villages colonised by Brahmins supporting him were created in the area.

Skandasishya, the rival of Pallavamalla, placed on the Pallava throne by Vikramaditya II, should have commenced his rule in A.D. 733 or 734, the date of the Western Chalukya expedition in to the Pallava country. It is even possible that, not recognising the claim or the interlude of Nandivarman, Skandasishya could have counted the commencement of his reign from the death of Pallavadi-araiyar in the battle field on the outskirts of Kanchi before the coronation of Nandivarman. Anyway the difference will not be much. His Rāyakōṭa Plates dated in the fourteenth year of his reign should have been issued in A.D. 746-47. Then we have to take that he was ruling over the Pallava kingdom almost through out the reign of the Western Chalukyas monarch Vikramaditya II, and it was only after the death of the latter and the accession of Kirtivarman II on the Western Chalukya throne when the disintegration of the Chalukya kingdom set in that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was able to regain his throne.

If all the possibilities are accepted the question naturally arises as to what Pallavamalla himself was doing all the years, say from A.D. 733 to 746-47. Considering the prevailing political condition in south India and the Deccan during the period, it would have been very difficult for Nandivarman to get any good support in his own kingdom. The subsequent events only prove it.

The Udayēdiram Plates mention that Nandivarman obtained victories over the Śabara king Udayana, the Nishāda chief called Prithivivāgra of the north who tried to perform an *āsvamedha* to celebrate his might, conquered Vishnuraja and annexed his kingdom to his own in addition to inflicting a crushing defeat on the princes of the Dramiḷa country.¹⁸ All these are said to have happened in the first twenty years of his reign. It has been seen earlier that for nearly fifteen years after his coronation he had to live practically outside the Pallava kingdom and was not able even to set foot in it.¹⁹ During this period he appears to have had the support and backing of some foreign power and this could have been none other than the Rashtrakutas who were just then emerging into political power in the Deccan and were within the next few years able to overthrow the Western Chalukyas (the common enemy both of themselves and the Pallavas) and occupy their country. It is known that Dantidurga, the first king of the Rashtrakuta dynasty also gained a victory over Udayana, who could be no other than the Śabara chief conquered by Nandivarman. This Pallava prince married the Rashtrakuta princess Reva, who was presumable a daughter of Dantidurga; and it was their son

18. *SI*, Vol. II, p. 368 and 372.

19. This would show that there was also a powerful section of the people in the kingdom who were strongly opposed to him.

Dantivarman that succeeded Nandivarman on the Pallava throne. The Rashtrakuta Danti is credited in the Begumara Plates of Govinda III with having reduced first the lower most (i.e. the southern) country, then turned his attention to Madhyadeśa and finally conquered the city of Kanchi.²⁰ The presence of Vairamegha who is again no other than Dantidurga along with Nandivarman according to the Kadaba Plates²¹ is also alluded to by the Vaishnava saint Tirumangai Ālvār in his hymns on the deity of the Ashṭa bhujā temple.²² The relationship of the Rashtrakutas with Nandivarman throughout his long reign appears to have been cordial. We may not, therefore, be wrong if we surmise that when Nandivarman immediately after his coronation was put to flight by Vikramaditya II, he repaired to the court of the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga where he lived for some years probably receiving training in statecraft and military sciences and later regained the Pallava throne with the Rashtrakuta help. During the period Skandasishya appears to have been in occupation of the Pallava throne and kingdom with the help of Chalukya Vikramaditya II, though there could have been some internal opposition to him.

20. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 24 v. 6.

21. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 334.

22. *Mānavan topḍaiyar kou vaṅṅum nīn nuḍi nālai vayiramegaṅ*—*Periya Tirumōi*, II, §. 10.

The Nolamba Pallavas : Their Origin

The Nolambas who figure largely in the inscriptions of south India of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. played, like the Bāṇas, a very important, though subordinate role in the history of the period. They claim descent from the Pallavas of Kanchi; but the area over which they ruled does not lie in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam or the Pallava dominion proper in the Tamil country. They ruled over the Kannada region near the border-land where the three languages of Kannada, Tamil and Telugu meet. This area known later on variously as Noḷambapāḍi, Noḷambarāshtra, Nuḷambavāḍi, etc., a thirty-two thousand country, comprised portions of the Anantapur District of the Andhra Pradesh and of the Chitradruga and Tumkur Districts of the Karnataka State. This area gradually expanded so as to include a major portion of the Bellary, Bangalore and Kolar Districts also. Portions of the Salem and North Arcot Districts of Tamil Nadu also appear to have been for some time under the rule of the Noḷambas. But originally the Noḷambas appear to have started with a small tract of land known as Noḷambāḷge, a thousand country, situated in the modern Challakere taluk of the Chitradruga District, on the borders of the Rashtrakuta and Ganga territories. Like the other names, Gangavāḍi, Raṭṭapāḍi etc., this area also appears to have got its name Noḷambāḷge and Noḷambapāḍi later on, as the country ruled over by the Noḷambas. But how the rulers who claimed descent from the Pallavas came to be known as the Noḷambas is not clear. The origin of the name itself, which was variously written as Noḷamba, Noṇamba, Nuḷamba, etc., is still a matter of conjecture and speculation.

One of the inscriptions¹ recovered from Hemavati in the Sira taluk of the Tumkur District in the Karnataka State dated in Śaka 864 (A.D. 942) in the reign of the Noḷamba ruler Diliparasa contains the genealogy of the rulers of his family. They are described therein as belonging to the Iśvara *vamśa* and as descended from Trinayana from whom was born Pallava, the king of Kanchi.²

1. *EC.*, Vol. XII., Si. 28.

2. Trinayana (lit. he with three eyes) is synonymous with Trilochana or Mukkanṭi, the mythical Pallava king, figuring in many Telugu inscriptions. But the Iśvara-*vamśa* to which Trinayana Pallava belonged is not mentioned elsewhere. One record from Nandalur (*ARSIE*; No. 580 of 1907) actually traces Mukkanṭi-Kāduveṭṭi to the third eye of Siva (Iśvara). The Pallavas of Kanchi traced their descent from Vishnu, through Brahma and other puranic sages and personages like Bhāradvaja, Drona, the *Mahābhārata* hero Aśvaṭhama; etc,

The first king of this family who is named therein as Maṅgala or Noḷambādhiraġa is said to be a worshipper of the Goddess Chandika and to have conquered a Kirata king, thus earning the praise of the Karnatas. No other details are known about him. He was the sixth ancestor (great-grand-father's great-grand-father) of Diliparasa to whose time the inscription belongs. Working backwards from the known date of Dilipa, the first king Maṅgala may be assigned to the second half of the eighth century A.D. No record has so far been recovered either on stone or copper which can definitely be attributed to king Maṅgala. But records of his son and grandson who figure in the inscriptions of the Western Gangas and Rashtrakutas are available.

The Hemavati inscription referred to above mentions Simhapota as the son and successor of Maṅgala Noḷambādhiraġa. A herostone³ from Dodda Ulvarte in the Chalakere taluk of the Chitradruga District records that when Permmnadigaḷ was ruling a new kingdom (*navarājyem*) Duggamara rose up and suddenly established himself by force, on which Permmnadigaḷ ordered Śingapota Kali Noḷambādhiraśa to fight with him (Duggamara), and that in the battle which ensued a hero in the army of Śingapota fell. Apparently Śingapota Kali Noḷambādhiraśa of the record is the same Śingapota mentioned as the son of Maṅgala in the Hemavati record, and Duggamara is the same as Duggamara Ereyappa, one of the sons of the Western Ganga ruler Śripurusha. Even during his father's time Duggamara was ruling as governor under his father over Kuvalala nāḍ Three hundred, Gangarusasira (Ganga six Thousand), Belattur nāḍ, Pulavakināḍ Thousand, etc. in the eastern part of the Ganga territory.⁴

The identity of Perumanadigaḷ on whose behalf and under whose orders Śingapota fought with Duggamara has not been satisfactorily settled. He is generally taken as Śivamara II, surnamed Saigotta, another son of Śripurusha, who seems to have succeeded his father on the Ganga throne as may be inferred on the authority of a stone record⁵ from Humcha which states that Śripurusha slew the valiant *Kāḍuweiṭṭi* of Kanchi and appropriated to himself, from the Pallavas, the title *Permmānaḍi*. It is generally considered that this title was from this time onwards exclusively used to denote the Ganga kings and that the use of this title after the time of Śripurusha invariably denoted the Ganga kings.⁶

The term *Perumānadigaḷ* is an honorific title applied to the Divine Being especially to Śiva both in literature⁷ and epigraphy⁸ (*Tiruvaḍigal* being a similar title applied to Vishnu). In inscriptions the term is also used to denote kings. This term was used by the Pallavas;⁹ and the Cholas also were referred to in their inscriptions as

3. *EC.*, Vol. XI, Ck. 8.

4. *Ibid.*, VI, Kadur 145; Srinivāsapur, 65, 57, etc.

5. *Ibid.*, VIII, Nagar 35.

6. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 110 and n. 3, and p. 112.

7. *Tēvāram*, Sambandhar, *Tirukkāḍāvūr Māyānam* (II^o 80-1); *Pēriya vidaimēl varuvāravarem Perumānaḍigalē*. See also commentary on the *Takkayāga-p-parani*, verse 323.

8. *SII*, Vol. III, No. 44; *Vallattu-t-tiruttikkālī-p-Perumānaḍigalukku*.

9. *ARSIE*, 17 of 1899; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 453.

Śoḷapperumānaḍigaḷ.¹⁰ The Humcha stone record stating that the Western Ganga king Śripurusha snatched this title from the Pallavas is a very late one, nearly three centuries later than the date of that ruler and contains many wrong statements. While many other statements made in it are not accepted as correct for want of reliable evidence in support of them, the statement regarding the appropriation of this title by him has, however, been accepted without such evidence to support it. On the other hand there is sufficient evidence to show that the title continued to be borne by the Pallavas even after the days of Śripurusha. Paṭṭattāḷmangalam Plates¹¹ dated in the sixty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*circa* A.D. 794-95) bear clear evidence of the title having been used by him then.

There is also one other valid objection to identify the Perumanadigaḷ of the Dodda Ulvarte record, the suzerain of the Nolamba chief Śingapota, with the Western Ganga king Śivamara Saigotta. The Manne¹² and Alūr¹³ Plates of Mārasimha I, the son of Śivamara Saigotta issued while he was *yuvaraja*, state that his father Śivamara was invested with the crown by the two crowned kings, Pallava Nandivarman and Rashtrakuta Govinda. The Pallava king was Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Rashtrakuta king was Govinda II, the latter of whom ascended the throne after his father Krishna I, immediately after 772 A.D. and was reigning till he was set aside and superseded by his younger brother Dhruva about 780 A.D. Thus the coronation of the Western Ganga Śivamāra II by the Pallava and Rashtrakuta kings should have been performed between 772 and 780 A.D. Thus event would show that the Ganga ruler owed some sort of allegiance to both of them. It has been seen earlier that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was using the title even after such coronation. It is very doubtful if he would have allowed one who was his subordinate to use the title, said to have been exclusively used by him earlier and was snatched from him in the meantime by the father of the present subordinate. The Dodda Ulvarte record mentions the ruler merely by the title *Permmānaḍigaḷ* which may be taken as signifying simply His Majesty, without the addition of his name.¹⁴

A record from Hemmige¹⁵ in the T. Narasipur Taluk of the Mysore District registers a grant made during the period when Konguṇi-Mārājar (who has been identified with Śripurusha) was ruling the world (*prithuvīrājyam keye*) and Permmānaḍigaḷ was governing at Pemoge (i.e. Pemmoge or Hemmige). This would show that Permmānaḍigaḷ was different from Śripurusha and that he was his (Śripurusha's) subordinate. Another fragmentary record¹⁶ found in the Pāṭaleśvara temple at Talakad in the same

10. *SII*, Vol. III, No. 96.

11. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 121, ll. 27-28.

12. *EC*, Vol. IX, Nl. 60.

13. *MAR*, 1924. "By the ornaments of the Pallava and the Rāshtrakūṭa, the crowned kings named Govindarāja and Nandivarma was his head wound round with a white piccc of cloth (a symbol of coronation) with their own hands".

14. Some later rules of the Ganga family are known to have borne the title along with their official names like *Satyavākya Permmānadi*. This title corrupted as Permadi and even as Paramadi was also borne by some later rulers of the Kannada country, like Vikramaditya VI of Kalyana, etc.

15. *EC*, Vol. XIV., Tn. 234; also *MAR*, 1912, p. 36.

16. *Ibid.*, Tn. 202.

taluk inscribed in old Kannada characters makes one think that Permmnadi was the name or title of Noḷambadhiraja. Since the Noḷambas also claimed Pallava descent it is possible that they also were entitled to the use of the title *Permmnadigal*.

Further the Dodda Ulvarte inscriptions states that Permmnadigaḷ in whose time it was issued was ruling the *navarājyaṃ*. The term *navarājyaṃ* would ordinarily mean a new kingdom. It would not be appropriate if the ruler is identified with Śivamara Saigotta who is said to have succeeded his father on the Ganga throne. It may also be that the term can only mean the rule of a person over an area which originally did not form part of his kingdom or the rule of one who was not entitled to such a distinction, but got it by force of circumstances.

One other instance of the use of this expression in inscriptions is known. A short Kannada record¹⁷ of four lines, of which the first three lines are highly damaged found engraved in the temple locally known as the Ravana temple near the Brahmanical cave at Aihole in the Bijapur district contains in the fourth line the expression *Śrī Amoghavarsham navarājyaṃ geye*. This was originally translated by Fleet as "when the illustrious Amoghavarsha was ruling again". The concluding verse of the work *Praśnottararatna-nāḷā* or *Ratnamālikā*, the authorship¹⁸ of which has been ascribed to the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha I says "that he laid aside the sovereignty through discrimination" i.e. abdicated the throne and kingdom. It is well-known that Amoghavarsha, who succeeded his father, when he was only a boy, had a very hard time in the early part of his reign in which he lost both his crown and country, and that he was able to regain his throne only after the lapse of some time.¹⁹ The Rashtrakuta records say that he reconquered his kingdom which had fallen off or tottered.²⁰

These historical events would show that Fleet's rendering of the expression *navarājyaṃ geye* as 'ruling again' (after reconquest) suits the context.²¹

Under the circumstances the expression *navarājyaṃ geye* occurring in the Dodda Ulvarte record would mean "ruling over the new kingdom" or "ruling over the king-

17. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 113-14.

18. On the authorship of the book see *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXII, pp. 80ff.

19. Altekar A.S., *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, pp. 72-73.

20. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

21. But subsequently on reconsideration he gave it up and revised his interpretation; see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 403, n. 3. He thought that the term *navarājyaṃ* might be the same as *nava-khanda-prithivi* i.e. the earth as composed of nine parts. But he was not sure what the nine parts were. He was doubtful whether they could be 'the eight principal points of the compass and the *madhyama khanda* or central division, but was more inclined to take it as "referring to some nine kingdoms, which it was customary to group together" even though he was not able to determine what those nine kingdoms were. Anyway he was inclined to take the expression *navarājyaṃ geya* as simply equivalent to the ordinary expression *prithivīrājyaṃ geya* though he realised at the same time that the expression in this meaning would be an exceptional one. B. V. Krishna Rao equates *nava-khanda-rājya* or simply *navarājya* with the Konkan, cf. *Early Dynasties of Audhradesa*, p. 171.

dom again". Either way it is appropriate only to the contemporary Pallava ruler, Nandivarman II and not to the Western Ganga Śivamara II²². This is further proved by the Udayendiram Plates dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla which gave a graphic account of his long and difficult campaign against his enemies and the services rendered to him by his general Udayachandra, the lord of Vilvalapura. The Plates say that Udayachandra slew with his sharp sword the Pallava king Chitaramaya and others, defeated the hostile army on the battle field and "thus bestowed the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava", proving thereby that the rule of Nandivarman II was eclipsed for a time in the early part of his reign. But after he was firmly established on the throne, he seems to have taken revenge on his erstwhile enemies and expanded his kingdom and thus increased his reputation. The Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates²³ dated in his fifty-eighth regnal year state that he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ganga king and took from him a neck ornament which contained in it a gem called *ugrodaya*. It has been seen earlier that Śivamara II was a protegee of the Pallava. As such the Ganga king conquered by Nandivarman II could only be Śripurusha, father of Śivamara. Śripurusha, who came to the Ganga throne earlier than Nandivarman II and also had a very long reign, is known to have fought with the Pallavas and gained victory in the early part of the reign of Nandivarman. But the incident mentioned in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates should have taken place later. It is very likely that at the end of the battle Śripurusha had, in addition to acknowledging the suzerainty of the Pallavas, also to cede to the Pallava king a portion of his territory in the eastern province and contiguous to the western part of the Pallava dominion. This was probably how the Pallava might have come to rule over a portion of the Ganga country.

This would show that Śingapota Kali Noḷambadhiraja was a subordinate of the Pallava ruler Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. This surmise is strengthened and corroborated by some other pieces of epigraphical evidence. Śingapota is mentioned in an inscription²⁴ found on a stone pillar at Chikkamadhure in the Challakere taluk dated in the reign of the Rashtrakuta king Prabhutavarsha Jagattunga Pratapavaloka. Both Govinda II and Govinda III had the title Prabhutavarsha; but since another inscription²⁵ mentions the Rashtrakuta as the son of Akala (varsha) Prithivivallabha (i.e.) Krishna I we have to identify the Prabhutavarsha Jagattunga of these records with Govinda II as we know that Govinda III was the son of Dharavarsha Dhruva. This is quite in keeping with the known information that Rashtrakuta Govinda II and Pallava Nandivarman II were friends and both of them joined together and crowned Ganga Śivamara II Saigotta. The two Chikkamadhure records register gifts to a Śiva temple constructed by the queen of Śingapota, one by Parameśvara Pallavadhiraḷa, the son of Śingapota and the other by Pallavamalla, the son of the above Parameśvara Pallavadhiraḷa and grandson of Śingapota. The records mention the prince as ruling over some provinces or districts as governor. Noḷambalige Thousand and Nurgunda Three Hundred were under the rule of Pallavadhiraḷa.

22. *SI*, Vol. II, pt. III, No. 74.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pt. V. No. 99.

24. *EC*, Vol. XI, Ck. 33.

25. *Ibid.*, Cl. 34. The actual words used are : *Anūla.....prithivivallabha.....Śarasya putreṇa.*

The historical inscription²⁶ explaining the sculptured panels in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Kanchipuram depicting the coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla mentions Parameśvara as the personal name of Nandivarman II who had also the distinguishing epithet of Pallavamalla. The son and grandson of Śingapota bearing the names of Parameśvara and Pallavamalla respectively testify that they owed allegiance to the Pallava king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. Again the undated Ganjam Plates²⁷ of the time of Śri Marasimha-ereyappa-Lokatrinetra, son of Śivamara II Saigotta which has been assigned to circa 800 A.D. registers the grant of the village of Tipperur to a Brahmana by the Nolamba ruler Kali Nolambadhiraja Kolliaraśa along with his son who is named therein as a true Rama and a Nayadhira. It is well-known that *Nayadhira* was one of the titles of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Kaśākkudi Plates²⁸ dated in his twenty-second regnal year mentions *nayadhira* as one of his titles and the Pullur Plates²⁹ dated in his thirty-third regnal year register the grant to one hundred and eight Brahmanas of four villages clubbed together and renamed Nayadhiramangalam after his own name. It will be evident that the son of the Nolamba ruler Kali Nolamba Kolliaraśa was named Nayadhira after the Pallava ruler Nandivarman II.

The Chikkamadhure inscriptions referred to above show that Śingapota had then a grandson old enough to be in administrative charge and was ruling over a portion of the territory as governor, and also a daughter who was the mother of the queen of Perma-manadigaḷ (i.e., one of his daughter's daughter, grand-daughter). So Śingapota should have been an aged man by that time. It may therefore be presumed that Mangala Nolambadhiraja, the father of Śingapota and the first ruler of the Nolamba Pallava line should have begun his rule round about 750 A.D.

These Pallava princes of the Nolamba line bearing the name and titles of Pallavamalla of the main line could not be regarded as due to mere family connection between them but due to their subordination to, and acknowledgement of, the suzerainty of Pallavamalla also.

When we hear of the Nolamba Pallavas for the first time, the ruler of the main line of the Pallavas at Kanchipuram was Nandivarman II. He was not the direct heir to his immediate predecessor Parameśvaravarman II but belonged to a collateral branch and was six generations removed from him. He was chosen king by an influential section of the people and at that time he was only twelve years of age. According to the label inscriptions in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple mentioned above he was then living in a place far away from Kanchi and came to the capital for his installation as king, passing through on the way many mountains, rivers and thick forests. It is not even known whether the place where this junior branch of the Pallava line was residing

26. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 135; Minakshi, *Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuntaperumal temple, Kanchi*, MASI No. 63, by C. Minakshi, Ap. I, pp. 54-55.

27. *EC*, Vol. IV, Sr. 160.

28. *SII*, Vol. II, No. 73.

29. *ARSIE*, C.P. No. 9 of 1939-40; *Rep.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43 para 50.

was within the Pallava kingdom itself or outside it. Any way it could not have been the Noḷamba country, as the Noḷambas appear to have come into existence and begun the rule over the territory only in the reign of Nandivarman II.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla was the youngest of the four sons Hiranyavarman, the three brothers elder to him being Śrīmalla, Ranamalla and Sangramamalla. According to the Vaikuntha Perumal temple inscriptions each of the three brothers excused himself when the father offered to them the Pallava crown on behalf of the visiting representatives of the kingdom and when the youngest of them Parameśvaravarman was crowned Pallava king as Nandivarman. It is not known what happened to the father and the brothers though it is possible that the father also could have followed his son and ruled over it obviously as regent during his minority as may be surmised from the tenor of the Pattattālmangalam Plates. Any way the Noḷambas do not appear to have been in any manner directly related to them by blood, for in such a case they would not have traced their genealogy from Mangala, or their first ruler, but would have carried it back by at least a few more generations and would have tried to link it up with Nandivarman Pallavamalla or his father Hiranyavarman. Nor can it be taken that Mangala was a son or grandson of one of the three brothers of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. If that be so, Pallavamalla figuring in the Chikkamadhure inscription of the time of Rashtrakuta Govinda II referred to earlier as the grandson Śingapōta would have to be taken as the grandson's grandson of a brother of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. This cannot be possible, for in that case, it would create chronological difficulties. The other statement contained in those inscriptions that the daughter's daughter of Śingapota was a queen of Permmadiga] has been referred to above. This also would be impossible in such a case.

Besides, the position of Nandivarman Pallavamalla in the early years of his reign has also to be taken into account. He had much difficulty in maintaining his position against heavy odds, being opposed both within his kingdom as also from outside; and he seems to have lost his hold on the kingdom for some time. The Western Chalukyas of Vatapi were the inveterate enemies of Nandivarman and opposed him from the very beginning of his reign. Kirttivarman II who, even as *Yuvārāja* conducted an expedition against Kanēhi and drove out Pallavamalla was on the Chalukya throne. Under such circumstances the Pallava king would not have made aggressions on the neighbouring kingdoms, appropriated a portion of their territory and appointed a protege of his to rule over the area.

On the other hand, Mangala the first Noḷamba king is said to have conquered a Kirata king and earned the praise of the Karnātas. This would show that he was a subordinate of the Karnatas, who were obviously the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi, and was made ruler of the area by them. This establishment of a small principality under a branch of the Pallavas on the outskirts of the Pallava kingdom by the Karnatakas was apparently made only as a countermove and in rivalry to the accession and rule of Nandivarman Pallavamalla at Kanēhi.

One of the label inscriptions in the Vaikunthaperumal temple states that a Pallava] Araiyan opposed with a large army Pallavamalla while on his way to Kanēhipura]

for his coronation, and in the course of the fight on the outskirts of the capital he died, after killing many elephants.³⁰ Evidently he was already in the occupation of a portion, if not the whole of the Pallava kingdom and possibly also of its capital. On hearing of the victory and coronation of Pallavamalla the Western Chalukya Vikramaditya II, who had just then succeeded his father on the throne, immediately invaded Kanchi to avenge the death of his protege, captured it and forced Pallavamalla to flee the capital. Chitramaya, another Pallava prince became king, probably installed on the throne by the Western Chalukya king; but later while besieging Pallavamalla in the fort of Nandipura was killed by the Pallava general Udayachandra. These two Pallava princes who apparently belonged to the main line of Simhavishnu, were probably grandsons of Rajasimha II and thus natural claimants to the throne. The existence of some princes of the Pallava lineage is evident from the Hellegere grant dated Śaka 635 (713—14 A.D.) corresponding to the thirty-fourth regnal year of the Western Ganga King Śivamara I which mentions two Princes Jaya Pallavadhiraja and Vriddhi Pallavadhiraja, the two dear sons of Pallava *Yūvarāja*.³¹ The Pallava king of the time was Narasimha, and the *Yūvarāja* mentioned in the inscription was obviously one of his two sons, Mahendrarman III and Paramēśvaravarman II.

Again the Devarahalli Plates dated in Śaka 698 (A.D. 766) and in the fiftieth year of Śripurusha registers a grant for a Jaina temple erected by a Kandachchi, granddaughter of Pallavadhiraja and wife of Paramagula, the Nirggundaraja who appears to have belonged to a junior branch of the Gangas.³² From these it becomes evident that there were a few Pallava princes outside the Pallava kingdom itself and were designated Pallavadhirajas. They were friendly with the Western Gangas, and through them with the Western Chalukyas. They appear to have had the sympathy and support of the Western Chalukyas as against the Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Foiled in their attempt to prevent the accession of Nandivarman they apparently retired to the Karnataka area to bide their time.

Mention has been made earlier that according to the Tanḍantōṭṭam Plates Nandivarman Pallavamalla defeated the Ganga king who was obviously Śripurusha and took from him a neck ornament which contained in it the gem called *Ugrodāya*. Śripurusha would then, besides acknowledging the supremacy of the Pallava king have ceded to him a portion of the eastern part of his empire which was probably ruled over by the Nolambas; and the Nolamba ruler became a subordinate of the Pallava king. Singapota the Nolamba feudatory of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, began to owe allegiance to his new master and in proof of that named his son and grandson after his master. It was probably under such conditions that the Nolamba Pallavas in whose vein was running Pallava blood originated as a dynasty of rulers.

30. *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 135.

31. *EC*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

32. *Ibid.*, IV, No. 85.

Problems in Later Pallava Chronology and Genealogy

The period between the exit of Parameśvaravarman II of the main line of the Pallavas from the political scene and the accession of Chola Parantaka in the ninth century, running roughly to about two hundred and twenty-five years, witnessed the spectacle of a relatively little known collateral branch of the Pallavas attempting to uphold the hegemony of the main branch and continue their work in war and peace. Apart from the coming to power of this family in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the period also saw the ushering in of a new political climate in the whole of south India. It was during this period that the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi disappeared from the scene yielding place to the emerging Rashtrakutas. It was again during this period that the Pandyas of the first empire rose into prominence in the extreme south of the peninsula and the Nolambas who claimed descent from the Pallava family established themselves in parts of the present Karnataka State. The rise of such new powers with the common ambition of expansion among them inevitably necessitated frequent wars in which they were amply assisted by their feudatories and subordinates. In such enterprises the Pallavas of Kanchi naturally played a conspicuous part not only because they occupied a central position in the geography of the Peninsula but they had also a hoary tradition and a great part which they had to uphold and continue. The history of the later Pallavas is thus really a story of challenges and responses and they, barring a few occasional phases of showdowns, have to their credit a commendable work. The first among the later Pallavas, Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, revived the practice of giving regnal years in inscriptions, a practice that had been given up by his immediate predecessors and this helps considerably in working out their chronology; and yet their chronology is still not finally settled. An attempt is made here to examine the later Pallava chronology and genealogy against the background of which the political and cultural achievements of the dynasty alone can be appreciably recounted.

Till the discovery of the Ulcāla Stone Inscription¹ dated in the thirty-fifth regnal year of the Chalukya ruler Vijayaditya corresponding to 730-31 A.D. testifying to the

1. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 54,

defeat of the Pallava ruler Parameśvaravarman II at the hands of the former, the date of the accession of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla was unsettled.² The above inscription makes it obvious that the earliest possible date for Nandivarman's accession is 731 A.D. The Narwan Plates³ dated in Śaka 664 (expired) and the eighth regnal year of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya II corresponding to A.D. 741-42 and thereby indicating that he ascended the throne in 733-34 A.D. aver that immediately on his coronation, being resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy (*prakṛtyamitra* i.e., the Pallava) he invaded the Tuṅḍakaviśhaya and defeated the opposing Pallava king Nandipottavarman. The same details are referred to in the Vakkaleri⁴ and Kendur⁵ Plates of his successor Kirtivarman II. It is thus clear from these pieces of Chalukya evidence that the Pallava king in 733-34 A.D. was Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. The upper and lower limits for the date of the accession of Nandivarman II, i.e. between 731 and 733-34 A.D. is thus clearly obtained. As the exact reign period of Parameśvaravarman II is unknown and as no inscription bearing a date later than his third regnal year has so far been found it does not seem to be unreasonable to take that 731 A.D., the year of his subjugation by the Chalukyas, was his last year and in the same year Nandivarman II succeeded him.⁶ That his reign extended to at least sixty-five years is evident from his Mamallapuram inscription⁷ and in the absence of any of his records beyond that it is generally taken that his reign terminated in 796 A.D.

His son Dantivarman who succeeded him in the same year has inscriptions dated up to his fifty-first year⁸, thus yielding 846 A.D. as the probable last year of that ruler and the initial year of his successor Nandivarman III. The last regnal year of Nandivarman III, in the absence of any positive evidence has to be determined by the date of the accession of his son and successor, Nripatunga. An inscription from Tiruchchinampundi in the Thanjavur district dated in the twenty-second year of Nripatunga mentions some astronomical details, viz., *Dhanus*, *Jyestha* and *Friday*⁹ the equivalent of which has been found by the editor of the inscription to be 867 A.D. yielding 845 A.D. as the date of Nripatunga's accession.¹⁰ But subsequent studies have proved that in 845 A.D.

2. J. Dubreuil, after considering various factors and known events concluded that his accession must have taken place in 717 A.D. (*The Pallavas*, pp. 60-66); Gopalan thought that it was in 710 A.D. (*The Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 119); N. Venkatramanayya felt that it could not have been earlier than 725 A.D. (*JOR*, 1934, p. 1); M.S. Sarma suggested 727 A.D. (*Ibid.*, IX, p. 219); K.V. Subramania Aiyar pushed it back to 695 A.D. (*Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*); and R. Satyanathair gives 710 A.D. for his accession. (*History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, *The Classical Age*, p. 282).
3. *Epi. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 125 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 200 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 200-207.
6. *ARSIE*, 666 of 1922.
7. On the authority of his interpretation of the Mallam inscription of Nandipottarasar, D.C. Sircar fixes the date of the accession of Nandivarman II in 730 A.D. (*History and Culture of the Indian People*, *The Classical Age*, Vol. III, p. 282). But his interpretation of the contents of the inscription requires revision; also *TASSI*, 1959-60, pp. 17-27.
8. *ARSIE*, 262 of 1940; *SII*, XII, No. 43.
9. *SII*, VII, No. 528.
10. *Ibid.*, *Introduction*

the Pallava ruler was Dantivarman and therefore Nripatunga must have succeeded to the throne only later. Recently K.R. Srinivasan has suggested that as the astronomical details mentioned above also work out correctly to 881 A.D. the year 859 A.D. must be the date of his accession.¹¹ Srinivasan's scheme of chronology depends on his scheme of genealogy for he believes that Nandivarman III, son and successor of Dantivarman was different from Tellārrerinda Nandivarman, hero of the Tamil work *Nandikkalambakam* and this latter must be a Nandivarman IV and flourished in the tenth century.¹² This could not have been so and Nandivarman III and Tellārrerinda Nandivarman must be identical. As we have seen above Nandivarman II must have started his reign in 846 A.D. and hence Srinivasan's contention that his successor Nripatunga ascended the throne in 859 A.D. is untenable because the regnal years furnished in the inscriptions of Nandivarman III (Tellārrerinda Nandi) indicate that he should have reigned at least upto 869 A.D. It is interesting to note that the astronomical details given in the Tiruchchinnampundi inscription work out correctly also to 891 A.D. yielding 869 A.D. as the date of Nripatunga's accession. As 869 A.D. is also the last known year of Nandivarman III it is quite probable that he died in that year and was succeeded by Nripatunga.

The problem of the chronology of the last three Pallava rulers—Nripatunga, Aparajita and Kampavarman—is a vexed and knotty one. From the Bahur Plates of Nripatunga it is clear that he was the son of Nandivarman III while two lithic records, one from Solavaram¹³ and the other from Pallikoṇḍa¹⁴ in the North Arcot district respectively mention Nandikampeśvara and Nandikampachaturvedimangalam from which it is possible to infer that Kampavarman was also a son of Nandivarman III (The analogy of Danti-Nandi¹⁵ and Arinjaya-Pirantaka¹⁶ may be recalled here¹⁷). While Nripatunga appears to have succeeded Nandivarman III at his death Kampavarman had probably a sort of joint suzerainty over the kingdom. Aparajitavarman whose inscriptions range till his eighteenth regnal year was probably a step brother of Nripatunga and born to Nandivarman by his queen Marambavai who is mentioned as the wife of Nandivarman Kadupattigal in more than one inscription. He appears to have struck at the reigning king by about 895 A.D. in the battle of Sripurambiyam and brought the kingdom under himself with Ganga and possibly also Chola help. Nothing is heard of Nripatunga after this battle until his forty-first year.

Among other things the Bahur Plates refer to Nripatunga's triumph over the confederation of enemies on the banks of the river Arichit. This river is identified with

11. *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, p. 13.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12 and 18.

13. *ARSIE*, 423 of 1902.

14. *Ibid.*, 463 and 473 of 1925.

15. *Ibid.*, 88 of 1910 and 529 of 1905; *SII*, XII, No. 48.

16. *Ibid.*, 572 of 1920.

17. *Epi. Ind.*, XX, pp. 148-49. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has even postulated that Nandivarman III might have married a daughter of Kambha (*Stambha*), the eldest son of Rashtrakuta Dhruva and that the name Kampavarman might have been derived from *Kambha*, the maternal grand-father of Kampavarman, as in the case of Nripatunga who was named after his maternal grand-father.

Arisil, a branch of the Kaveri which enters the sea near Karaikkal. The enemies whom Nripatunga faced on its banks could only have been the Cholas because the battle field was in the heart of the Chola country and other powers in south India were on amicable terms with him. The Chola ruler could only have been Vijayalaya or Aditya. Epigraphs of Nripatunga dated in his second year at Lalgudi¹⁸ and seventh year at Narttamalai¹⁹ indicate that his sway extended as far south as the Pudukkottai area in 876 A.D. It is not unlikely that the Cholas were subjugated by the Pallavas and Pandyas allied together and that their country was occupied by both. Inscriptions of Maranjadayian identifiable with Varaguna II have been found at Aduturai²⁰ (870 A.D.) Kumbakonam²¹ (870 A.D.), Tiruchchirrambalam²² (878 A.D.), etc. pointing to this. It is, however, noteworthy that no inscription of Nripatunga ranging between his seventh and twenty-first years have been found in the Chola country. It is, therefore, likely that after 878 A.D., the date of the Tiruchchirrambalam inscription of Varaguna II, Aditya might have recovered and slowly become powerful.

The years immediately following 890 A.D. formed a crucial epoch in the history of both the Pallava and Chola dynasties. Inscriptions of Nripatunga dated in his twenty-first year at Kandiyur²³, twenty-second year at Tiruchchinnampundi,²⁴ twenty-third year at Lalgudi²⁵ and twenty-second and twenty-fourth years at Tirukkodikkaval²⁶ have been found and these reveal his renewed sway over the Chola country after an interval of about fourteen years. Surprisingly an inscription refers to the presence of Aditya in the Pallava kingdom during the same period. A record of Uttamachola from Tirumalpuram in the North Arcot district mentions a grant made in the twenty-first year of Tondaimanarruttunjina Udaiyar, i.e. Aditya²⁷. The date of the accession of Aditya has been unequivocally fixed at 871 A.D. on the basis of the astronomical details provided in an inscription from Takkolam dated in the twenty-fourth year of Aditya²⁸. Hence the twenty-first year of Aditya must be 892 A.D. Again another inscription from Takkolam dated in the twenty-first year of Aditya, i.e. 892 A.D. calls that place Aparajitachaturvedimangalam²⁹ and this may be taken to indicate that Aparajita has also become powerful by this time and probably allied himself with Aditya in his bid for the Pallava throne. But inscriptions of Nripatunga are to be found till 894 A.D. in the Chola country and 895 A.D. in Tondaimandalam. This clearly indicates that the times were not quite peaceful and that there were frequent incursions by both the Pallavas and Cholas in each other's territories.

18. *ARSIE*, 122 of 1928-29; *SII*, XII, No. 61.

19. *Ibid.*, 365 of 1904; *SII*, XII, No. 63.

20. *Ibid.*, 358 of 1907.

21. *Ibid.*, 413 of 1908.

22. *Ibid.*, 185 of 1926.

23. *SII*, V, No. 572.

24. *Ibid.*, VII, Nos. 521 and 522.

25. *Ibid.*, IV, Nos. 531.

26. *Ibid.*, XII, Nos. 74 and 76.

27. *Ibid.*, III, No. 142.

28. *Ibid.*, V, No. 1368; also *Epi. Ind.*, XIX, p. 85.

29. *Ibid.*, XIII, No. 294.

Two herostone inscriptions from Ambur in the North Arcot district dated in the twenty-sixth year of Nripatunga (i c. 895 A.D.) refer to a Noḷamba attack on that place³⁰ in which a Prithivigangaraiyai³¹ fought on the side of the Pallava. The Noḷamba attack on the Pallava kingdom in the last year of Nripatunga prior to his re-emergence in about his forty-first year seems to be significant. It is known that the Noḷambas aided the Gangas in their attack on the Pallava kingdom during the reign of Nandivarman III and a Noḷamba chief claims to have extended his conquest as far as Kanchipuram.³² It is quite probable that the Noḷamba disturbance was not an isolated event and they aided Aparajita along with the Cholas in his attempt to obtain the crown. That the Gangas were also on the side of Aparajita is clear from the Udayēndiram Plates of Prithivipati II.³³ A verse in the *praṣasti* portion of the Plates states that 'At the head of the great battle of Śripurambiyam, this hero (i.e., Prithivipati I) quickly defeated Varaguna, the Lord of the Pandyas; and having, at the expense of his own life secured that his friend was Aparajita (unconquered) in fact as in name he ascended to heaven.'³⁴

The first regnal year of Aparajita must be the very year in which the battle of Śripurambiyam was fought. It must have been fought only during the year 895 A.D. as we know from the Ambur inscriptions that in that year Nripatunga was the reigning king and not Aparajita. An inscription of Prithivipati II, the grandson of Prithivipati I, from Takkolam is dated in the twenty-fourth year of Aditya corresponding to 895 A.D. and this points to the fact that Prithivipati I was no more then and Prithivipati II was the reigning king. It is, therefore, certain that the battle of Śripurambiyam in which Prithivipati I died took place in 895 A.D.

From the Udayēndiram Plates it is clear that Aparajita and Prithivipati I fought against Pandya Varaguna. Varaguna was always in league with Nripatunga and his defeat at Śripurambiyam by Aparajita make us infer that the very battle was fought to dethrone Nripatunga who was naturally assisted by Varaguna or more likely Nripatunga was dethroned in 895 A.D. and this was resisted by Varaguna who was vanquished in the battle. Much about this battle is not known and it is mentioned only in the Udayēndiram Plates of Prithivipati II. Nothing is known of Nripatunga after the battle till his forty-first year. Probably he was taking shelter under a favourable king or had reconciled himself to the position of a subordinate to Aparajita.

Aparajita, who must have become the master of the Pallava kingdom in 895 A.D. ruled for at least eighteen years, i.e., till 913 A.D. But his sway does not appear to have

30. *Epi. Ind.*, IV, pp. 180 ff.

31. The Prithivigangaraiyar who is said in the Ambur records to have fought on the side of the Pallava is generally identified with Prithivipati I, a Ganga ruler of a collateral branch. Recent studies have shown that the Prithivigangaraiyar was borne by all the chiefs of Pangalanadu in succession (See *Epi. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp 23-26). Pangalanadu comprised parts of the modern North Arcot district and inscriptions found in this area mentioning Prithivigangaraiyars may be taken to be those of the chiefs of Pangalanadu rather than Prithivipatis of the Ganga line.

32. *ARSIE*, 588 of 1912.

33. *SII*, II, pp. 375 ff.

34. *ARSIE*, 337 of 1912; also *SII*, No. 76, v. 18.

extended beyond the southern fringes of Tondaimandalam as his inscriptions are found mostly only in the northern parts of the Chingleput district. That the Chola power and influence were considerable in Tondaimandalam during the reign of Aparajita is apparent from several inscriptions of Aditya dated in his own regnal years.

The Kanyakumari inscription of Virarajendra³⁵ states that the Chola king Aditya killed a Pallava ruler in battle and the Tiruvalangadu Plates of Rajendra Chola³⁶ state that Aditya fought against Aparajita. These two statements have been reconciled by scholars holding that Aditya killed Aparajita in battle. There is no evidence to the last year of Aditya except the fact that the initial year of his successor Parantaka was 907 A.D.³⁷ This, however, does not necessarily mean that Aditya must have died in that year. In Chola history joint rule by father and son are not infrequent. The gilding of the Chidambaram temple, the conquest of the Kongu country, the success over the Pallava king are some of the achievements claimed for both Aditya and Parantaka both in epigraphy and literature. It is, therefore, not unlikely that they ruled together for sometime and that Aditya's last year might not have been before 913 A.D., the last year of Aparajita who is said to have been killed by him.

Nripatunga probably took advantage of the difficulties of Aparajita in his last years and started slowly gaining power again. His Mathavalam inscription³⁸ points to his presence in 910 A.D. But he must have died soon after as he was already old and nothing about him is known further.

Inscriptions of Kampavarman range from his second to thirty-second years and it has been seen above that he was one of the sons of Nandivarman III and a brother of Nripatunga. Obviously, therefore, he must have flourished only in the later half of the ninth century. A recent writer, however, has attempted to show that he ascended the throne in 948 A.D. and his reign extended till 980 A.D.³⁹ This would make him a contemporary of the Chola rulers from Parantaka to Uttama Chola and it is very doubtful whether the Pallavas continued to rule till late in the tenth century. The basic arguments on which the whole theory that Kampavarman ascended the throne in 948 A.D. stands may be stated before being examined.

The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Chola dated in his sixteenth year equivalent to 984-85 A.D. mention a gift made in the ninth year of Kampavarman and this is preceded by the mention of another gift made in the twenty-second year of Parakesarivarman identified with Parantaka⁴⁰. It has been taken that these are in chronological order and hence held that the ninth year of Kampavarman should be after

35. *Epi. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 42, v. 49.

36. *SI*, III, No. 205, v. 49.

37. *Epi. Ind.*, VIII, p. 260.

38. *ARSIE*, 138 of 1943-44.

39. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part-I, pp. lxxxvi to lxxxix.

40. *SI*, III, No. 128.

the twenty-second year of Parantaka, viz., 928-29 A.D. This would mean that the accession of Kampavarman must have taken place after 928-29 A.D. and before the date of the issue of the Madras Museum Plates, viz., 984-85 A.D. This has been narrowed further by a study of a few inscription from Solavaram. An inscription from that place dated in the eighth year of Kampavarman mentions the construction of a Śiva temple and sepulchral shring by Rajaditya Mahadeva as a memorial to his father Prithivigangaraiyar.⁴¹ The mutilated Sanskrit portion of this inscription gives the genealogy of this family and mentions an Attivarman. Another inscription from the same place dated Śaka 871 (949 A.D.) mentions the construction of a tank in memory of a certain Kalli-Nangai, daughter of Attimalla alias Kannaradeva Prithivigangaraiyar, son of Vayiri Adigan of Pangalanadu.⁴² It has been taken that Attivarman and Attimalla referred to in the above two inscriptions are identical. Another record from the same place reveals that Attimalla alias Prithivigangaraiyar was alive at least till 933 A.D. As he was dead by the eighth year of Kampavarman as is evident from Rajaditya Mahadeva's construction of a *Paḷlipaḍai* for him it may be inferred that the accession of Kampavarman must have taken place between 945 A.D. and 953 A.D. The inscription from Solavaram dated Śaka 871 (949 A.D.) referred to above is also dated in the second year of an unspecified king. This unspecified king was probably Kampavarman as the date of the other contemporary kings do not tally with this. Consequently he must have ascended the throne in 948 A.D.⁴³

This date for Kampavarman arrived at by a painstaking study of several inscriptions is however unsatisfactory because we know that he was the son of Nandivarman and no Nandivarman is heard of in the first half of the tenth century. Therefore he must have been only the son of Nandivarman III, the victor at Tellaru. Further the above arguments suggesting 948 A.D. as the date of his accession are also not very convincing. In the first place the transactions mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Chola are "confusing and it is difficult to take them in chronological order". Again the identification of Attivarman who is simply mentioned as born in the line of Madhava with Attimalla the son of Vayiri Adigan and a subordinate of Kannaradeva on which the whole theory is based is very doubtful.

Mention may be made in this connection of an inscription from Tippiasamudram in the Vellore taluk of the North Arcot district dated in the seventeenth year of Kampavarman mentioning the digging of a channel called Vilupperaraiyan at Valivalakkamangalam by Prithivigangaraiyar who is called *innāḍuḍaiya* meaning the 'chief of this *nāḍu*'.⁴⁴ This *nāḍu* could only refer to the *nāḍu* in which findspot of the inscription was. The modern Polur and Vellore taluks of the North Arcot District are referred to in several inscriptions as Pangalanadu and therefore Prithivigangaraiyar of the Tippiasamudram inscription could only the chief of Pangaḷanāḍu.

41. *Epi. Ind.*, VII, p. 193.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

43. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, III, Pt. I, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxix.

44. *ARSIE*, 174 of 1939-40; *Epi. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 23-26.

We have seen above that one of the inscriptions from Solavaram dated in the eighth year of Kampavarman mentions the construction of a Śiva temple and a sepulchral shrine by Rajaditya Mahadeva in memory of his father. Hultzch who edited this inscription has taken Rajaditya to be the name of the person and Mahadeva to mean 'the great king'. But instances like Danti-Nandi, Nandi-Kampa, Arinjigai-Pirantakadeva, etc., indicating that the son prefixed his father's name to that of his own warrant the conclusion that Mahadeva who built the sepulchral shrine for his father was the son of Rajadityan who is called Prithivigangaraiyan. The chief in the Tippasamudram inscription is also called Prithivigangaraiyar and considering the fact that there was only a short interval of nine years between the dates of the Solavaram and Tippasamudram inscriptions, both dated in the years of Kampavarman, it is possible to identify Mahadeva of the Solavaram record with Prithivigangaraiyar of the Tippasamudram record.⁴⁵ Prithivigangaraiyar of the Tippasamudram record could not be Rajaditya who was already dead in the eighth year of Kampavarman. It then follows that Prithivigangaraiyar was a dynastic title and was borne by all the members of the family. This is proved by a few other inscriptions also.

An inscription from Tiruppallanam in the Thanjavur district dated in the twenty-second year of a Rajakesarivarman identified with Aditya mentions a Mahadeva as the father of Gangamarttandar alias Sembian Prithivigangaraiyar.⁴⁶ Another inscription from Mappalur in the North Arcot district dated in the eighth year of Parakesarivarman identified with Parantaka refers to one Kamadigal the son of Madevar of Pangalanadu.⁴⁷ Yet another record from Tiruppallanam dated in Parantaka's eleventh year, another son of Mahadeva is mentioned as Prithivigangaraiyar.⁴⁸ This Mahadeva who is explicitly called the chief of Pangalanadu must therefore be identical with Mahadeva, son of Rajaditya of the Solavaram inscription and Prithivigangaraiyar of Tippasamudram record. It then follows that Kampavarman who was the overlord of Mahadeva was a predecessor or at least an elder contemporary of Aditya and could not be assigned to the middle of the tenth century.

It will be of interest to note in this connection three inscriptions engraved on a slab at Tiruvorriyur.⁴⁹ These are engraved in continuation of one another. The name of the king in the first record is lost while the second is dated in the seventh year of Kampavarman and the third in the sixth year of Aparajita. It is possible to infer from this that the seventh year of Kampavarman must have preceded the sixth year of Aparajita. Again in an inscription of Kampavarman dated in his fifteenth year an Aparajita Perumanadigaḷ figures as donor and it is tempting to identify him with Aparajita Pallava.⁵⁰ These stray evidences unanimously indicate that Kampavarman must have reigned only in the second half of the ninth century.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

46. *ARSIE*, 177 of 1928; *SIJ*, XIII, No. 319.

47. *Ibid.*, 283 of 1938-39.

48. *Ibid.*, 139 of 1928.

49. *Ibid.*, 189 and 190 of 1912; also *SIJ*, XIII, Nos. 90 and 99.

50. *Ibid.*, 42 of 1898; also *SIJ*, VI, No. 325.

If that be so, he might have ruled the kingdom jointly first with Nripatunga and later with Aparajita. The policy pursued by him *vis-a-vis* Nripatunga-Aparajita clash is indeterminable. Probably he was content to have joint suzerainty, with no other designs and was prepared to rule with either of his brothers. An inscription of his has been found in Mallam in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district and this may be taken to indicate the northern limit of the area under his control.⁵¹

51. *ARSIE*, 498 of 1908; *SII*, XII, No. 106,

An Interregnum in Pallava History

There are two interesting inscriptions, one in Sanskrit written in Pallava grantha script, and the other in the Tamil language and script incised on the tier of the base of the central shrine in the Vaikuntha Perumaḷ temple at Kanchipuram. They were copied more than seventy years ago in 1888 and their texts made available more than thirty-eight years ago, having been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume IV (Nos. 130 and 131). But they have not received due attention from scholars all these years.

Both the records are damaged, having gaps at the most crucial points; but still their contents may be understood from the available portions. Both of them seem to be related to each other, probably referring to the same transaction viz., the gift of some gold to the temple by a Pallava named Abhimana Siddhi. The texts of the two as published are as follows :—

No. 130

1. *Svasti Śrīḥ[II] . . . takāḥ . . . yutārbluddam pratito*
Guṇa būshaṇa ityadhīpa [ḥ] Paramēśvara
Vishnu grahe hā
2. *rati, dayaḥ tasya . . . pranade [na]*
dadau Manodhirasyāya [o] śloka[ḥ]

No. 131

āyul śrīppa [ra] meśvara viṇṇagarattavark-
korāyircam pon palittālam padinucnukuḍuttāneura niimingale I
āyiram senupon . . . yirappatterumānap pon Abinānasidhiyāyi[na]
Pallavaurā [ne] II.

From the Sanskrit record, which is in verse it is learnt that a ruler (*adhipati*), whose name cannot be made out, gave or presented something, the nature of which is not clear, to the Parameśvara Vishnugriha and that the verse was composed by a poet, a certain Manodhira, which name, as is evident, he probably got from his patron.

The Tamil record also seems to be in verse. But its exact form cannot be made out. Very likely, the beginning of both the lines in it has been lost. It states that a certain Abhimana Siddhi who was a Pallava gave one thousand *pon* for a golden plate for offering *bali* and also for an image. The wording of the record would suggest that the donor Abhimana Siddhi was a ruling king and that he was also a Pallava. His name is not known otherwise and it does not find a place in Pallava history.

There is a third inscription written on the same tier by the side of the two records and dated in the seventeenth regnal year of the Pallava king, Dantivarman, registering the gift of some gold to the temple, by Avanichandra, presumably the son of Udayachandra, the chief of Villivalam and the famous general of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.¹ All these three records are incised in the same script,² probably by the same hand. Thus all the three would belong to the same period and may be taken to be more or less contemporary.

The Vaikuntha Perumal temple, known as Paramēśvara Viṅṅgaram in olden days, owes its origin to Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, whose personal name was Parameśvaravarman. The events leading to his coronation are portrayed in sculptures with explanatory labels on the walls of the central shrine in this temple. There are a number of sculptured panels both before and after the above and they are without explanatory labels. They trace the history of the dynasty from Vishnu and portray some of the leading events of Nandivarman II's reign and round off with recording the construction of the temple by him. But they cannot be satisfactorily explained since the political activities of the king in this period are not fully known.

Nandivarman II was crowned as the Pallava king in c. 733 A.D. when he was twelve years old. The first fifteen or twenty years of his reign witnessed several reverses and his position in the kingdom was stabilised only with the downfall of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi and the emergence of the Rashtrakutas in their place, which events must be placed in the period c. 750-760 A.D. Nandivarman could have constructed the temple only after that and the date of its construction might be taken as c. 750 A.D. This date furnishes the earlier limit for the inscriptions of Abhimana Siddhi. Nandivarman II ruled for sixty-five years i.e. till c. 798 A.D.; when he was succeeded by his

1. Avanichandra was the *yuvaraja* in the thirty-third regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla when the Pullur Plates were issued. The interval between these two records, i.e., the Pullur grant and the Vaikuntha Perumal temple inscription would be 49 years.
2. The position on stone of the two related records of Abhimana Siddhi to that of the time of Dantivarman would indicate that the first two are earlier in time than the third. Then Abhimana Siddhi has to be assigned to the period after the construction of the temple and before the seventeenth regnal year of Dantivarman.

son Dantivarman. The seventeenth regnal year of the latter, when his record in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple was issued, would be c. 815 A.D. Then Abhimana Siddhi would have to be assigned to some date after 760 A.D., probably in the beginning of the ninth century. The palaeography of the records also supports this date. As such he cannot be placed towards the end of the Pallava rule, when the country was overrun by the Chola of the Vijayalaya line.

The name Abhimana Siddhi is not known to Pallava history and is not found in any Pallava inscription. But the two component parts, *Abhimāna* and *Siddhi*, of which the name is made up, are found used by some other kings.

The Pandya king Rajasimha III, the donor of the Larger Sinnamanūr Plates is known to have borne the surname *Abhimāna mēru*³. Rajendra Chola I also appears to have had that name.⁴ A record of Vikrama Chola mentions a donor named Abhimana meru Pallavaraiyan.⁵ It is also known that one of the early kings of the Telugu Cholas of Renadu had borne the name Abhimana Chola.

The names Tammu Siddhi, Nalla Siddhi, Manma Siddhi, Erasiddhi and the like borne by members of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are well-known. The names are sometimes written with the suffix in the form of *siddha*, but *siddhi* seems to be the correct form. The kings are generally referred to in inscriptions as the *Siddhiyaraiyar* of Nelluru⁶ and also as Madurantaka Pottapi-Chola *alias* Siddhi.⁷ The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi are also known to have borne titles ending in *siddhi*. Of the eight kings who ruled over Vengi prior to the downfall of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi, with the exception of Indra Bhattaraka who ruled only for a period of seven days, all the other seven are known to have borne such names. Each of the three Vishnuvardhanas had the title Vishmasiddhi and the two Jayasimhas had each the title Sarvasiddhi, while Mangili and his son Kokkili had the surname Vijayasiddhi. With the downfall of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi and emergence of the Rashtrakutas in their stead, the eastern Chalukyas of Vengi dropped off their *siddhi* surnames and began to assume imperial titles like *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* which were conspicuous by their absence in the case of the earlier members of the dynasty. The first king to bear such high-sounding titles was Vijayaditya I whose date of accession is placed in 753 A.D. His predecessor Vishnuvardhana III, who had the surname Vishmasiddhi was known according to the Udayendiram Grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla to have been conquered by the Pallava general Udayachandra and the Vengi kingdom annexed to that of the Pallavas. This completely deprived them of their hold on the Telugu Chola dominion which they held previously and therefore the Eastern Chalukyas had to confine their rule to the coastal regions of the Sircars.

3. *SII*, III, pp. 443 and 459; also *Epi. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 241 and 250 where another chief is mentioned with the title.
4. *SII*, III, p. 428.
5. *ARSIE*, 1933, No. 33; pt. ii, para 24.
6. *ARSIE*, 105 of 1922.
7. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, *Nellor. inscriptions*, Part II, No. 40 of Nellore Taluk, pp. 807-8.

Earlier still, we know of a Śiva temple called Siddhīsvaram. The temple at Tirumariyur in the Thanjavur district is referred to by that name even in the *Devāraṃ* of Sambandha. It is one of the seventy temples of the type of *Māḍakkōyil*, i.e., temple at the top of artificial hillocks, constructed by the Chola king Śenganṇan (one with the beautiful eye) or Koehchhengannan. It would thus appear that the term *siddhi* was borne as a title by the Cholas, more particularly by the Telugu Chola branch.

From the above it will be evident that the name Abhimana Siddhi borne by the donor of the above records sounds very much like that of Chola. But from the Tamil record it is clearly seen that he was a Pallava. From this it may be surmised that he was a Pallava ruling over Kanchi with the help of or under the aegis of the Cholas in the early ninth century.

From the recently discovered Daḷavāyupuram Copper Plate grant of the Pandya king Parantaka Viranarayana, the younger brother of Varaguna II and the son of Śrīmāra Śrī Vallabha, issued in the forty-fifth year of his reign, it is seen that his mother was Akkalanimmati, the daughter of Śrī Kantha, the Chola ruler of the Pottapi line. The actual passage is as follows :

Aravaiśan paltuḷi āyiranā yiruttalaiyāl
peritaritū porukkūṇṇa perun porai man magalai ttan
toḍittōḷil inrutāṅgiya toṇḍiyarkōn tuḷakkilḷi
vēḍippaḍai māyābharayan tirumagan mayilaiyar kōu
Pottappi kulachōlan puḡaḷtarnsiri Kaṇḍarājan
mattamā malai vālāl māyimaḡaḷakkḷaṇimmiḍi
tiruvayiru karuvuyirtta Śrī Parāntakamaḡārājan

From this we learn that Śrī Kantha Chola of the Pottappi line who gave his daughter Akkalanimmiti in marriage to Śrī Mūra Śrīvallabha was himself a nephew (sister's son) of the Pandya Manabharana and that he was also a ruler of the Toṇḍaināḍu (*Toṇḍaiyar kōn*). The titles *Toṇḍaiyarkōn* and *Māyilaiyar kōu*, which are characteristic ones of the Pallava kings would indicate that he was occupying the place of the Pallavas or was ruling the country as their deputy.

The passage mentions that he bore lightly on his (bejewelled) shoulders adorned with bracelets the goddess of earth whose heavy burden had been borne on the thousand heads of the king of serpents i.e. Ādiśeṣha. He is also described as *Mattamūmalaiḡaḷavan*, the leader of great elephants. These point to the fact that Śrī Kantha Chola of the Pottappi line was ruling over Tondai country or the Pallava territory as an independent king. The use of the word *tāṅgiya* in the past tense clearly points out that Śrī Kantha was not then living, but dead. The tenor of the whole passage occurring incidentally not in Chola grant, but in Pandya grant, while describing the donor who was the daughter of this Śrī Kantha, leaves the impression that he was an important king. The very fact that the Pandya Parantaka Viranarayana, himself a great king, takes pride in describing himself as the daughter's son of this Śrī Kantha only confirms this surmise.

The only ruler of the Telugu Choḍa branch with the name of Śrī Kantha known to us so far is the donor of the Madras Museum Plates. That grant, however, does not specifically mention the achievements of the donor, particularly his conquest of or rule over Toṇḍaināḍu. It is only helpful in tracing the genealogy of the donor to Simhaviṣṇu, one of the three sons of Chola Nandivarman. It has to be noted also that the Madras Museum Plates describe the donor Śrī Kantha as the Cholāḍhiraja (the *adhirāja* of the Cholas), which position he is credited to have obtained with the strength of his arm.

The Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola, the earliest of the available copper plate grants of the Cholas of Thanjavur giving the genealogy of the family, mentions Śrī Kantha among the predecessors of Vijayalaya, the founder of the line. In that record Śrī Kantha is said to have been the great-great-grandfather of the donor. After mentioning Śenkaṇṇān (Ko-chchengaṇṇān) and his son Nallaḍikkōn the grant has the following verse :—

Śrīkanṭha-graha [na]rudha kuṅkuṅnāmka-blujāntaraḥ [1]*
 Śrīkanṭha iti-rājendras tat-kuli sam-ājayata ||⁸

In his family was born the chief of kings called Śrī Kantha on whose chest were impressed marks of saffron from Lakṣmī (Śrī)'s embracing his neck.

It will be evident from this that Śrī Kantha was not the immediate successor of Nallaḍikkōn, but was a descendant of his, born in the family long after. The next verse introduces Vijayalaya, the founder of the Thanjavur line. But the relationship he bore to Śrī Kantha mentioned in the immediately preceding verse is not clearly stated. It will be tempting from the wording of the record to treat Vijayalaya as the son and successor of Śrī Kantha. But all the subsequent grants of the family and historical poems as well like the *Kalingattupparaṇī*, *Vikramacholan ulā*, *Kulottunga Cholan ulā* and *Rājarājacholan ulā* trace the genealogy only from Vijayalaya, and do not mention Śrī Kantha; probably this was due to the fact Śrī Kantha was not a direct ancestor of Vijayalaya, and the first ruler of the line of the Thanjavur Cholas was Vijayalāya. Also there was some interval between the periods of the two. However the fact that Śrī Kantha is mentioned in the Anbil Plates referred to above would show that he was a great ruler.⁹

8. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 60, v. 15.

9. The possibility that Vijayalaya also belonged to the Pottappi line of Cholas may be surmised from another source. A fragmentary Tamil inscription from Kudalur in the Bangalore District (Karnataka State) consisting of a single line, without either the beginning or the end, mentions a Chola king Vijayalaya. It is learnt from the inscription that "he had long arms and sword worthy of (?) *Pattinipparanūdan* and resided in the city of Kūdal. Though it is more than half a century since this inscription was discovered neither its text nor its impression has been published so far. It has however, been ascribed by R. Narasimhachar to Vijayalaya of Thanjavur, (*Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1909, p. 17, para 68; also T. N. Subrahmanyam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* Vol. III, pt. i, Historical Survey, P. LXII). Probably he based his conclusion on the support of the

As the reign of Vijayalaya is usually placed in the period between 850 and 870 A.D., the reign of Śrī Kantha has to be placed earlier, say in the first half of the ninth century, when Dantivarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla was ruling over the Pallava dominion. Pallavamalla who became king in *circa* 733 A.D. is known to have reigned for at least sixty-five years i.e. till 797 or 798 A.D. after which his son Dantivarman became king. In the early part of his reign Dantivarman had to face an encounter with the Rashtrakuta king, Govind III. The British Museum Plates of his, dated Thursday the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of *Vaiśākha* of the year *Subhānu Śaka* 726 expired, corresponding to 4th April 804 A.D. registering a grant by the king to a Śaiva priest when the king was staying at the Rameśvara Tirtha on the banks of the River Tungabhadra mention that Govinda had conquered Dantiga, the ruler of Kanchi and levied tribute from him. Evidently he was then returning from his victorious campaign in the south. Then the date of his victory over the Pallava may be taken as 803 A.D. It appears that this was the reprisal for the help given by Dantivarman to Sthambha or Kamba, the elder brother of Govinda III in his bid for gaining the Rashtrakuta throne.¹⁰ An inscription on a pillar set up at Hulividu in the Alur taluk of the former Bellary district (now in the Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh) dated in the fourth year records the death of a hero, Siriguppa when he opposed the army of Danti which attacked the village of Chikurambravi.¹¹ The region at the time was under the Raṭṭas, the subordinates of the Rashtrakutas. It will be tempting to identify this Danti with the Pallava Dantivarman whose fourth regnal year would be 801 or 802 A.D. This well supports the view that the conflict between the Rashtrakutas and the Pallavas was raging at that time.

According to the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha, the son and successor of Govinda III, it appears that Govinda III had again to lead an expedition on the Pallava dominion in the latter part of his reign. This was directed against the *Drāviḍa* kings who had formed themselves into a confederation. . . "He terrified the Kerala, Pāṇḍya and Chaulikya kings; caused the sprouting Pallava to wither; was the afflictor who caused the Kalinga and the Magadha to sit and fast themselves to death". He is also said to have made his camp ground free of dirt through the lords *maṇḍalas* by compensating them, if they were friendly and by subjecting them to forced labour if they were otherwise.¹² This will imply that his victory over the Pallavas was complete and that the Pallava dominion was, for sometime at least, a part of the Rashtrakuta Empire. This is confirmed in a way by other evidences.

palaeography of the record The epithet *Pattinappara-nādan* ascribed to Vijayalaya in the record has been given with a question mark. Probably the reading was doubtful. Very likely, it may be *Pottappinādan*. In that case Vijayalaya also must belong to the Pottappi line. Then the mention of Śrī Kantha in the Anbil Plates as a predecessor of his is significant and it can refer only to Śrī Kantha, the maternal grand-father of the Pandya Parantaka Vira Narayana of the Daḷavāyapuram Plates and also the same as the donor of the Madras Museum Plates.

10. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XI, pp. 125 ff.

11. *ARSIE*, 1915, No. 562.

12. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

The Manne Plates of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III¹³ dated the full moon *tithi* of the month of *Pausha* in Śaka 732 which was his eighteenth regnal year (810 A.D.) show that the king granted, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse under the asterism *pushya* at the request of Dantivarman along with Chakiraja, the village of Sangami as a *brahmadeya* to one Damodara who was proficient in the Vedas and Vedangas and who was an ornament of the Padangili Bhāravi family. The petitioner Dantivarman is introduced in the grant as *Svasti Samādhiyata Pañchamahāsabda mahāsāmatādhipati Srimad Dantivarman*, i.e. the obtainer of the band of five great musical instruments and *mahāsāmantādhipati*. He is also said to have had another name *Kandarppagidiga* (*Kandarppagidig āparanamadhiyenal*) while Chakiraja is introduced as the possessor of liberality, self respect, truth, purity, good conduct and character, the renowned Chakiraja (*tyāgābhīmāna satya sañchārasīla sampanna, mahāvīkhyatā kīrttigandha sampūrṇa śrīmat chikirājendra sahītena*). It is known from the Kadada Plates¹⁴ that this Chakiraja was the ruler of the entire Ganga territory in 812 A.D., when at his request king Govinda III made a grant to a Jaina temple. It may be surmised that he was the Viceroy under Govinda ruling over the Ganga province in A.D. 810. Prior to that we know that Sthambha was ruling over the area even during the days of Prabhutavarsha Śrīvallabha i.e. his father Dhruva¹⁵. He seems to have continued in that position even after the accession of Govinda III. A copper plate grant from the Nelamangala taluk, Mysore dated in 802 A.D.,¹⁶ mentions Ranavāloka Sancha Kambadeva as the elder brother of Prithivivallabha Prabhutavarasha Govindarajadeva and registers a grant made by Sthambha with the permission of his brother, Govinda. Still later we find him in 807 A.D. encamped at Talakad and making a grant to a Jaina temple at the place at the request of his son, Sankaraganna.¹⁷ Then Chakiraja must have been made Governor over Gangavadi, replacing Sthambha either on his death or removal otherwise sometime between 807 A.D and 810, exactly the period of the second expedition of Govinda against the Pallava and the Dravida kings.

Judging from the titles attributed to both Dantivarman and Chakiraja in the plates, it will be seen that the former should have occupied a higher status and position and that he was also a member of a royal family. This can be no other than Dantivarman, the Pallava king. This may be surmised in a way from the details about the donee given in the grant. He was Damodara of the Padangili Bhāravi family, a student of the Rig Veda and of the Bharadvaja *gotra*, and a son of Śvamikuara and grandson of Damodara.

*Dāmōdara iti khyāto Dāmōdara sandyutiḥ dvijeśvādhipaḥ
Śrīmān Bhāravi vamsatō abhavat
Vedanūrttis dvijaṛḥ sevyāḥ saptimān Sivasambhavaḥ*

13. *QJMS*, Vol. XIV, p. 81. Also *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1924.

14. *Epi. Ind.*, IV, pp. 332 ff; also *EC*, XII, Gh. 61.

15. *EC*, IV, Hg. 93.

16. *Ibid.*, IX, Nl. 61.

17. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1920, p. 31.

From the names, Damodara and Bhāravi, one may even conclude Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjunīya*.¹⁸ Probably it was this association that made the Pallava king Dantivarman make the grant of Damodara. His being described as a *mahāsāman-tādhipati* clearly indicates that he was a subordinate, a lord of *maḍḍala* under Govinda III.

The Plates mention that the request for the gift was made by Dantivarman along with Chakiraja which implies that the latter was in a privileged position and perhaps acted as the intermediary between Dantivarman and Govinda. This might have become necessary as the gift village was situated in the Ganga territory over which Chakiraja was ruling and thus stood more or less in the position of *ājñapti* or executor. But it looks more likely that he stood in the position of a peace maker introducing an erstwhile adversary since turned subordinate to the permanent ruler. Any way the record indicates that the annexation of the Pallava kingdom to the Rashtrakuta Empire was complete and that Dantivarman had in a way reconciled himself to that position.

But this state of affairs did not continue for a long time. Soon after the death of Govinda sometime early in 814 A.D. his son Amoghavarsha who was a mere boy succeeded to the throne. This was the signal for all the recalcitrant elements to revolt and break away from the central administration. Many parts of the Rashtrakuta Empire which had been previously subjugated forcibly threw off the yoke and declared their independence. It appears that Amoghavarsha even lost his crown for a short time. The setting of the Rashtrakuta sun (Amoghavarsha) and then his subsequent rise are well described in the Sanjan Plates.¹⁹ The Surat Plates of Karka of the Gujarat branch of the Rashtrakutas who appears to have acted as the guardian and regent of the boy king dated in 821 A.D. describe the restoration of Amoghavarsha to the throne. The rebellion should have occurred sometime between 816 A.D. and 821 and lasted probably for three or four years since the description given thereof by the Sanjan record makes it clear that it was a very serious and prolonged affair.²⁰ The Pallavas also should have obtained their release during that period; but this is nowhere mentioned.

All these are obtained from the Rashtrakuta side. Let us see what evidence is available on the Pallava side. Inscriptions of Dantivarman have been recorded so far as follows:

18. R. Narasimhacharya took the name Damodara and another name of Bharavi basing himself on the publication of M. Ramakrishna Kavi and thought that the fact that Bharavi was of the *Kauśika gotra* and the donee of the Bharadvaja *gotra* militates against this conclusion. But the printed texts of the prose work *Avanatisundari Katha* in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and of the poetical summary *Avanatisundari Kathā sūtra* published in the *Journal of Oriental Research* clearly mention Damodara as a friend of Bharavi and it was Damodara who belonged to the *Kauśika gotra*. We do not know the *gotra* of Bharavi. As such it does not militate. Most probably Bharavi was of the Bharadvaja *gotra*.

19. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 254-55; vv. 40 and 41.

20. Altekar, A.S., *Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 74.

- 2nd year—Vayalaikkavur near Uttiramerur.²¹
 5th year—Tiruvellarai near Tiruchchirapalli.²²
 5th year—Kunnandar Koyil (Pudukkottai).²³
 6th year—Tondur near Gingee.²⁴
 7th year—Uttiramerur.²⁵
 9th year—Uttiramerur.²⁶
 10th year—Uttiramerur.²⁷
 12th year—Triplicane Madras.²⁸
 12th year—Kuram.²⁹
 16th year—Malaiyaḍipatti Pudukkottai,³⁰ (Muttaraiyar).
 17th year—Vaikuntha Perumāl temple, Kanchipuram.³¹
 21st year—Uttiramerur.³²
 49th year—Gudimallam.³³
 51st year—Tiruchchanur.³⁴

As Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out "it is in fact very remarkable that there is no inscription dated between the 21st and the 49th years of the reign".³⁵ From the fact that the inscriptions of Dantivarman from the sixteenth year to the very end of his reign do not occur in any of the monuments in the Kaveri region while a dozen inscriptions of the Pandya king Māran Śaḍaiyan are found in the same region, he concludes that Dantivarman had lost a portion of his kingdom in the south owing to the incursions of the Pandyas.³⁶ According to him the Pandya was Varaguna Maharaja. But he does not explain the absence of Pandya inscriptions in the entire Pallava kingdom for a period of about 27 or 28 years from the 21st to the 49th year of Dantivarman's reign. Even the two inscriptions of the 49th and 51st year recovered are on the borders

21. *ARSIE*, 256 of 1922.
 22. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 154-58.
 23. *ARSIE*, 348 of 1914; *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 17.
 24. *Ibid.*, 283 of 1916.
 25. *Ibid.*, 80 of 1898; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 365.
 26. *Ibid.*, 74 of 1898; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 359.
 27. *Ibid.*, 51 of 1898; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 334.
 28. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 290 ff.
 29. *ARSIE*, 35 of 1900; *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 36.
 30. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 18.
 31. *ARSIE*, 34 of 1888; *SII*, IV, No. 132.
 32. *Ibid.*, 61 of 1898; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 344.
 33. *Ibid.*, 226 of 1903; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 225.
 34. *Ibid.*, 262 to 1904.
 35. Gopalan, *The Pallavas*, p. 76.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

of the kingdom. The Velurpalaiyam Plates of Nandivarman III, his son and successor, issued in the sixth year of his reign mention that the donor had to obtain his kingdom with the prowess of his arms killing many enemies in the battle field. In the picturesque words of the record, "This (Nandivarman) puffed up with the prowess of his arms acquired the prosperity of the (Pallava) kingdom not easy for others to obtain by killing (his) enemies on the battle field which was laughing (as it were) with the pearls dropping from the frontal globes of elephants slain by (his) unsheathed sword".³⁷ It will thus be clear that the Pallava kingdom was in alien hands at least for sometime immediately before the accession of Nandivarman III who had to wrest his ancestral kingdom from them by waging war and killing the enemies in the battlefield. Very likely, this took place in the closing years of the reign of Dantivarman who was very old then and that his son Nandivarman was the principal figure in the bid for recovery. This alien occupation of the Pallava kingdom in this period was perhaps the reason for the absence of the inscriptions of Dantivarman. This foreign occupation of the Pallava kingdom in this period was perhaps none other than that of Śri Kantha Chola of the Pottapi line.

This occupation could not have been that of the Rashtrakutas. It has been seen earlier that during the latter part of the reign of Govinda III, he had won a victory over Dantivarman and annexed the Pallava kingdom to the Rashtrakuta empire. But the Pallava was allowed to rule as before. This is well borne out by the inscriptions of Danti in the Toṇḍai country during that period. But the absence of his records in the Tamil country during the 27 years between his 21st and 49th regnal years would suggest that he was away from his kingdom then. If the Rashtrakutas had been in the occupation of the Pallava territory during this period, we should have found at least a few of their inscriptions in the region. The absence of Danti could not have been similar to that of the western Ganga ruler Śivamara from his kingdom. The latter's absence was due to his imprisonment. If Dantivarman had also been imprisoned, the Rashtrakutas would have mentioned the same; but no such mention is made by them. Under the circumstance the occupation of the Pallava kingdom should have been by somebody else. Very likely it was by Śri Kantha Chola of the Pottapi line. This is supported by a record from Tillaisthanam in the Thanjavur District.³⁸ It registers the gifts of one hundred sheep for burning perpetual lamp in front of the God Tiruneyttānamuḍaiya Mahādeva by Kadambamadevi, wife of Vikki-Aṅṅan, on whom was bestowed the hereditary title *Śembiyan Tamilavēl* with other marks of dignity by the Chola. This is described in the inscription as "*Toṇḍaināḍu pāvina (paravina?) Śōlan Palyānaik-ko-kandan āyina Rajakesari varman*. This Chola king Rajakesari varman is usually identified with Aditya I. Here the Chola is called Kaṇḍan or Kantha i.e. Śri Kantha. It is not known if Aditya I ever bore the name of Kantha or Śri Kantha. At least there is no specific evidence to show that. As such the word Kaṇḍan of this record has been taken as the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *Gauḍa* meaning a warrior and the expression *palyānai-k-ko-kaṇḍāu* translated as "the warrior who conquered many kings possessing elephants". The language of the record clearly shows that the name of the king was

37. *SHI*, II, p. 511.

38. *Ibid.*

Kandan *alias* Rajakesarivarman having the attributes *Toṇḍaināḍu pāviṭṭa* (who spread or stabilised the *Toṇḍaināḍu*) and *palyānaikkō* (possessor of many elephants). These very attributes are given to Śrī Kantha (the illustrious Kantha) in the Dalavāyapuram Plates mentioned earlier. That a certain Śrī Kantha had ruled in the Kaveri delta is clearly borne by some of the records of Rajakesarivarman found at Tiruverumbur in the Tiruchirappalli District wherein the place is referred to as Śrī Kantha chaturvēḍimangalam.³⁹ This shows that the village was named after Śrī Kantha who could have been only this monarch.

The daughter of Śrī Kantha of the Pottapi line who was married to the Pandya king Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha was named Aggalanimmati. This name is very peculiar. It is Kannada in form. Such names ending with *ninimati* were in use in the Karnataka region in those days, e.g. the daughter of Amoghavarsha III and elder sister of Krishna III who was married to the Western Chalukya ruler Bhutuga II had the name Revakanimmati. It might be that Aggalanimmati, the daughter of Śrī Kantha, was named after her grandmother, paternal or maternal thus indicating that either the wife or mother of Śrī Kantha Chola should have hailed from the Karnataka country. It is known that the queen of Pallava Danti bore the same name. Verse eighteen of the Velurpalaiyam plates states that she was the daughter of the Kadamba king, the crest jewel of the Kadamba family, whose name, however, is not given. In the Tillaisthanam record, the wife of Vikkiannan, who was the recipient of honours from the Chola and Chera kings is referred to as Kadambamadevi. From this it may be surmised that she was a Kadamba queen and that Vikkiannan was a Kadamba.

It will be rather tempting to suggest that Aggalanimmati, the daughter of Śrī Kantha, got her name from the queen of Pallava Danti and thus was her granddaughter. It cannot be said that this is impossible; but the conditions of the times and the course of events would make us hesitate in accepting the suggestion. Therefore, it would be better to leave the question open for the present. But one thing is clear. She had connections in the Karnataka country and particularly with the Kadambas. Then it is likely that the Vikkiannan, the Kadamba chief on whom was bestowed the hereditary title *Śēmbiyan Tamilavēl* was related to Śrī Kantha apparently as brother-in-law. Probably he was placed by the Chola to be in charge of the Chola country as the title would indicate. From the above discussion it will be seen that Śrī Kantha had also the epithet Rajakesari Varman and that his sway extended not only over the *Toṇḍaināḍu* but also over the Kaveri delta, the traditional home of the Cholas. Then it is very likely that some of the inscriptions of Rajakesari Varman in the archaic script found in the areas really belong to Śrī Kantha.

In the temple of Bhaktavatsala at Tirukkaḷukunram there is an inscription of Rajakesarivarman dated in the 27th year of his reign. It states on being petitioned by Puttan, son of Kunavan, the king renewed a gift of land to Tirukkaḷukunram Śrī Mūlasthānattu perumānaḍiḡaḷ, originally made by Skandasishya and continued by

39. *ARSIE*, 103, 114, 123, 127, 130 and 131 of 1914; also *SII*, Vol. IV; No. 549.

Vātāvikoṇḍa Narasinga Pōttaraiyar.⁴⁰ This record is usually assigned to the Chola king Aditya I, as he was the earliest of the Chola kings, then known to have had the title Rajakesari and nothing was then known of Śrī Kantha. Venkayya who edited this record pointed out that its script was older than that of the inscriptions of Kannaradeva, but later than that of the Kaśākuḍi Plates. The plate of the record given along with the article shows that the script closely resembles that of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It is possible that Rajakesarivarman of this record is this Śrī Kantha Chola.

This record is taken as an illustration of a conqueror reissuing the grants of the former rulers. Such instances became necessary only where the grant lands had been expropriated previously. The conquest of Toṇḍaināḍu by Aditya from the Pallavas had been rather smooth. There would not have been any occasion for any expropriation by the State especially of the lands given to a Śiva temple. As such, there would not have been any need for Aditya to reissue the grant. In the case of Śrī Kantha the situation was quite different. The Rashtrakutas in whose empire the Pallava kingdom was included for a short period were ardent Jains. Amoghavarsha was a zealous follower of that faith and his court was also filled with persons of the same faith. It is possible that during the short period of their control over the Pallava country some lands of the Hindu temples might have been taken away by them; and thus probably arose the necessity for the conquering Hindu king to reissue the same.

According to ancient Hindu tradition kings in ancient times embarked on extensive conquests more as a *digvijaya* in the course of which the rulers of the conquered countries were reinstated in their original position on the acceptance of the over-lordship of the conqueror and promise of tribute. In mediæval times too this tradition generally continued; and even when the conqueror appointed his own viceroy over the conquered country, he exercised only general supervision, the actual administration being left in the hands of the local chiefs as before. In some cases, even if the local ruler was dislodged for some reason or other, some other member of the family, more submissive and dependable was made to take his place. The intervention of the Rashtrakuta kings Dhruva and Govinda III in the affairs of the Western Ganga kingdom, the imprisonment of Śivamara II and his removal for the Ganga territory when Vijayaditya, brother of the deposed ruler, ruled over the kingdom may be cited as an example.

From the inscription in the Vaikuntha Perumaḷ temple mentioned above it is seen that a Pallava hitherto unknown, whose position in the family is not clear and whose name indicates close association with the Cholas probably of the Telugu country was ruling in the area during the period. It may be that he assumed the name to express his subordination to the Cholas. This may have been due to the subordinate bearing the name of his suzerian. It is not known whether he belonged to the line of Simhavishnu which had been displaced nearly a century earlier or to the line of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, of whose sons we know only the name of Danti. We have also an

40. 167 of 1894; *Epi. Ind.*, III, p. 279.

inscription containing two Tamil verses in the *veṅba* metre at Tandalam near Arkonam dated in the 10th year of a Pallava Satti. There are indications that the two verses may belong to this period.⁴¹ From the Śrī Pundi Plates of the Eastern Chalukya Taila II in the middle of the 10th century it is seen that some of the descendants of Pallavamalla (*Pallavamalla āmṣaya*) had by that time sought service under the neighbouring kings, and that one of them Kuppanayya, the son of *Mahāsmātāmātya* Makariyaraja and grandson of Kalivarman, received a grant of a village.⁴² It is possible that Abhimana Siddhi was one such member.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, the course of events relating to the occupation of Toṇḍaināḍu by Śrī Kantha Chola may be reconstructed as follows: On the accession of the boy king Amoghavarsha to the Rashtrakuta throne, several of his feudatories, taking advantage of his tender age rebelled against his authority and asserted their independence. In the south the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the Western Gangas acted likewise. Nothing is known of the Pallavas. Probably Dantivarman was involved in the palace intrigues at Malkhed, trying to get an upper hand against Marka of the Gujarat branch of the Rashtrakutas, and probably even assisted Amoghavarsha in firmly establishing his authority. This was resented in the Pallava country. Śrī Kantha Chola of the Pottappi line thought it best to intervene and establish the glory and independence of Toṇḍaināḍu. He assumed the government of the country, setting aside Dantivarman and appointing his own nominee Abhimana Siddhi, probably a junior member of the Pallava family on the throne at Kanchi. Danti who could not brook this came with the Rashtrakuta army to re-establish his authority. But the Rashtrakuta army was defeated by Śrī Kantha with the help of his grandson, the Pandya king Vira Narayana. Pallava Danti did not take this meekly. He gathered his forces and with the help of his son Nandivarman III came against the Toṇḍaināḍu at the suitable time, probably after the death of Śrī Kantha and occupied it once more. This should have taken place during the closing years of the reign of Dantivarman.

41. *Epi. Ind.*, VII, p. 25.

42. Veṅkataramanayya, N., *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*; p. 189; *Epi. Ind.*, XIX, p. 148.

Aditya and Vikramaditya

The kingdom of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi was at the height of its power and glory under Pulakeśin II (A.D. 609-642). Even Harshavardhana of Kanyakubja who had subjugated practically the whole of north India to deserve the title of *Uttarapathesvara* had to suffer defeat at his hands. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang who visited the Chalukya kingdom and its capital during the reign of this monarch has recorded the prosperous conditions that prevailed in it.

But the reign of this great king ended in a terrible disaster. Narasimhavarman I otherwise known as Mamalla, the Pallava king of Kanchipuram invaded the Chalukya territory, defeated in battle Pulakeśin II and captured his kingdom. Even the capital city of Vatapi was occupied by the Pallavas as may be seen from an inscription in beautiful Pallava grantha characters found at the place.¹

This event seems to have taken place in *circa* A.D. 642.² It also appears that the Chalukya kingdom was under the occupation of the Pallavas for some time thereafter till the Chalukya power was restored by Vikramaditya I, a son of Pulakeśin II.

Vikramaditya counts the commencement of his reign from Ś. 577 equivalent to A.D. 655, as is evident from the Gadval Plates³ dated in the twentieth year of his reign

1. *SI*, Vol. XI, Bombay-Karnatak, No. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 1.

3. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 101. The actual date has been calculated as Tuesday, 25th April 674 A.D. The Sāvūr Plates issued on the same day, full-moon *tithi* in the month of *Vaiśākha* in the twentieth regnal year from the same camp at Urugapura in the *Cholika vishaya*, gives the corresponding Śaka year as 597, (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 20), where it is taken as the 'current' one while the year quoted in the Gadval Plates is taken as the 'expired' one. But it is to be noted that both these documents were written by the same person. The Talamanchi Plates (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 98, 102) dated in Vikramaditya's sixth regnal year, without, however quoting the corresponding Śaka year registers a gift of land made at the time of a solar eclipse in the month of *Śravaṇa*. The date has been calculated to the 13th of July, A.D. 660.

corresponding to Śaka 596. This inscription and his Sāvṇūr Plates⁴ dated in the same year, the undated Hyderabad Plates⁵ as also the spurious Kurta koṭi Plates⁶ mention that he defeated the three successive Pallava kings, Narasimhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Parameśvaravarman I. The last named king Parameśvaravarman I was the Pallava adversary of Vikramaditya I in his southern expedition in the course of which he was encamped at Magapura in the Chola country in A.D. 674. It will be seen therefrom that he had to fight hard with the Pallavas over a fairly long period.

He was not the eldest son of Pulakeśin II. He had at least two brothers Chandraditya and Ranaraghavarman elder to him. This becomes clear from the Nerur and Kochre Plates of Vijayamahadevi, his queen. Both of them relate to the time after the restoration of Chalukya rule by Vikramaditya I. The Nerur grant⁷ registers the gift of some land to a Brahmana by Vijaya Bhaṭṭāraka, the *priyamahishi* of Chandraditya. In the geneological portion, after Pulakeśin II, his dear son (*priyatanaṃ*) Vikramaditya is introduced and referred to in connection with his re-establishment of Chalukya rule. Then his elder brother *Śrī Chandraditya-Prithivī-Vallabha-Maharāja* is mentioned, as also his queen who made the grant in her own regnal year (*sva-rājyavarshē*). The other, the Kochre grant,⁸ which follows closely the Nerur grant in other respects, registers a land gift made by her to a Brahmana on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of *Vaiśakha* in her region. The year or the other astronomical details with which the corresponding date in the Christian era can be calculated are not given. In this inscription Chandraditya is given the title *Prithivīvallabha Maharajadhiraja*, while his queen is called Śrī Vijaya Mahadevi.

The Honnūr Plates of the sixteenth year of Vikramaditya⁹ mention another elder brother of his, by name Ranaraghavaraman, whose daughter dear to him as life (*prāya samadhitā*) was the wife of the Ganga Prince Madhava who was the *Vigñāpti* for the grant recorded in the Plates.

Vikramaditya had also a brother called Jayasimha, younger to him. This is clear from the Navsari Copper Plate grant of Jayasimha¹⁰ dated in the (Kalachuri) year 421 corresponding to A.D. 671. It registers the grant of a village to some Brahmanas by his son Yuvaraja Śiladitya. The geneological portion of the grant begins with Pulakeśin II of the Chalukya family, mentions another son of Pulakeśin, named Dharaśraya Jayasimhavarman "whose (dignity or) prosperity was augmented (or brought about) by his elder brother Vikramāditya (*Jyāyasā bhrātrā samabhi vaddhita vibhūtiḥ*). In the reign of this Jayasimha his son Srayaśraya Śiladitya Yuvaraja made the grant.

4. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 20.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 76 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 219 ff.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 163.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

9. *MAR*, 1939, No. 30.

10. *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 1.

We thus come to know of four sons of Pulakeśin II, Chandraditya, Ranaraghavarman, Vikramaditya and Jayasimha in the order of their birth. A copper plate grant¹¹ obtained in the Kurnool District mentions an Adityavarman as a son of Pulakeśin II. It records a gift of land made to a Brahmana in the first year of his reign on the full moonday in the month of *Karttika* at the great festival of *Paitāmahī* and *Hiranyagarbha*. The Śaka year is not given in the inscription; nor does it contain other astronomical details with the help of which the equivalent date in Christian era could be determined. The inscription does not mention Vikramaditya. And there is no information in it to show his order of birth among the sons of Pulakeśin.

This Adityavarman is not mentioned in the other records. But he is described in this inscription as "possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth which had been overcome by the strength of his arm and prowess" (*śva bhujabala-parākkraṇ-ākṣānta sakāla-matīmanḍal=ādhiñjyaḥ*) and also having the title *prithivī-vallabha-mahārājādhiāja-paramēśvaraḥ*. So he has to be assigned to the period after the restoration of sovereignty by the Chalukyas. But there is no indication whether the recovery of the Chalukyas under Adityavarman took place before or after its restoration by Vikramaditya.

Dr. Fleet¹² was inclined to think that "Adityavarman was the eldest son of Pulakeśin II" and that he endeavoured to wrest succession from his younger brother "after the Chalukya restoration by Vikramaditya". The omission of the name of Adityavarman in all the subsequent records of the family was the main reason which led him to that conclusion. The wording in the grant of Adityavarman would show, according to Dr. Fleet, either that he made the first attempt to restore the sovereignty and failed, or else that, after restoration by Vikramaditya I, he endeavoured to wrest the succession from his younger brother'. He however felt that the former supposition was less probable than the latter one.

The Kantheru grant of A.D. 1009¹³ issued more than three and a half centuries later after the restoration by Tailapa II of the later Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani as also a few other records that follow the same draft introduces two generations in the genealogy between Pulakeśin II and Vikramaditya I, thus making the latter the great-grandson of the former instead of his son. It mentions one Nedamari as the son of Pulakeśin, and an Adityavarman as Nedamari's son. Vikramaditya has been made the son of Adityavarman. Fleet thinks that the name of Adityavarman as the supposed father of Vikramaditya I very possibly owed its existence to his really having had a brother of that name.¹⁴ But it should be noted that this late record contains also some misstatements based on imperfect tradition, and as such too much reliance cannot be placed on such late records.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 233. Also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 66.

12. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 367.

13. *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 17.

14. *Bombay Gazetteer*, *op. cit.*, p. 361, n. 3.

A comparison of the record of Adityavarman with those of Vikramaditya would show that there are some common features in the contents and phraseology among them.

The grant of Adityavarman describes the royal donor and records the issue of his order in the following words: *sva-bhujabala-parākramā-krānta-sakala mahīmaṇḍalādhirājyaḥ Śrīmad-Ādityavarman-prithivi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ kṛśāli sarvān-ājñāpayati* (ll. 12-14). The Gadval Plates after narrating the victories of Vikramaditya mention the issue of the order by him in the following words: *sa parākram ākkrānta sakala mahīmaṇḍala-adhirājyo Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivīvalabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvaro-sarvān-evam ajñāpayati* (ll. 22-23).

Adityavarman is said to have made the grant for the merit of his mother and father and also of himself: *mātāpitṛr-ātmanaschapuṇya āvāptaye udakapūrvam dattam* (l. 18). The specific mention in the grant of the mother and father as the persons for whose merit also the gift was made is rather exceptional and not usually found in the inscriptions of this dynasty. But this is found in many of the copper plates of Vikramaditya e.g., his Kurnool Plates of the third year¹⁵ as also the undated Kurnool Plates of his.¹⁶ In the Navsāri Plates of the Gujarat Chalukya Jayasimha referred to earlier Vikramaditya is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father and another Nagavardhana (*mātāpitṛ Śrī Nāgavardhana pādānudhyāta*).¹⁷ Similar expressions are not found elsewhere.

While editing the "Five copper-plate grants of the Western Chalukya dynasty from the Kurnul District" Fleet opines that the Kurnul grants of Vikramaditya I (Nos. II and III) and the Nerur and Kochre grants of Chandraditya's wife give some indication of being amplified in their concluding portions from the version of the Kurnul grant of Adityavarman (No. I) which he considers as the standard draft.¹⁸

All the grants of Vikramaditya as also those of others like Chandraditya of the family issued after the restoration of the Chalukya sovereignty by him contain a verse describing how he obtained the paramount power.

*raja-sirasi ripu narendran-disi disi
jitva sva-vamsajam Lakshman
prāpyacha Paramēśvaratan-Anivārita Vikramādityah.*

"Anivārita Vikramāditya, who, having recovered at the head of battle the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' *Paramēśvarāḥ*".¹⁹

15. *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 237 (No. II), line 21.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 239 (No. III), line 19.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 2, line 7.

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 181-82, fn.

19. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 103, verse 2.

The title *Paramēśvara* which Vikramaditya is said to have acquired in this manner is found applied to Adityavarman in his grant.

The expression *Anivārita-Vikramāditya* occurring in this verse is generally taken as the name of the ruler. It is true *anivārita* was borne as a title by Vikramaditya II,²⁰ as will be evident from the names of some of his officers, e.g. *Anivāritachāri*²¹ *Anivārita-puṅyavallabha*,²² etc. It is likely that it was also a title of Vikramaditya I. But it is also to be taken in the literal or true sense of the word as will be evident from the expression *sarvānivārit-ājña*, "whose orders as unopposed by all men", occurring in verse 10 of the Gadval Plates. Thus the expression *Anivāritavikramaditya* is better translated as "Aditya of unopposed (or unrepulsed) valour (or prowess)."

This would make Aditya as the original name and Vikramaditya or Aditya of (unequal) valour as the title, thus making it possible that Adityavarman was the same as Vikramaditya. It is not therefore necessary to take Adityavarman as another son of Pulakeśin II different from Vikramaditya. They may be taken as the names of one and the same person. Adityavarman was perhaps the original name and when he became renowned on account of his victories, by gaining for himself the estate of his father which had been hidden (or obstructed) by three kings (who were probably Chandraditya Ranaraghavarman and Narasimhavarman Pallava) he assumed the title of Vikramaditya. The analogy of Kulottunga I the Chola Emperor of a later period may be cited as an example. In the early years of his reign he was known only as Rajendra, but only later as Kulottunga, which name he is known to have assumed in his fourth regnal year.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 15, p. 101, fn. 4.

21. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

22. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

Bana Nandivarman

From the *Yāpparunkalavirutti*

A stray verse in Tamil contains important and interesting information about the Bāna king, Nandivarman. It has not, however, received the attention it deserves, at the hands of scholars who have worked on the history of south India.

The commentary on the *Yāpparunkalam*, a work on Tamil prosody, cites the following verse as an illustration :

vaṇḍivaru malarveṭchi mālai mārpan
 māl veṇḍa maṇṇalitta maḷitōl vaḷḷal
 ṅaṇḍivarun taṇpaḍappai ṅāḷai mūdūr
 narapatikku vānkoḍutta nagaivē nandi
 taṇḍivarun taḍavaraittōḷ Chayantan vāḍach
 chaṭumukanaic chayañ cheyda Chāṅkapālan
 teṇḍiraivāyt tīrumagaḷōḍamirtaṇ koḍḍāṇ
 chīrparavach cheṇṇakaluñ chella rāne¹

‘He whose chest is adorned with a garland of *veṭchi* flowers wherein bees crawl; [he is] the benevolent person with broad shoulders who bestowed [the earth] land on Vishnu (*Māl*) at his request ; [he is] Nandi with brilliant [or resplendent] spear, who gave heaven to [i.e. killed] the ruler [*narapati*] of the ancient town of Nāḷal on the cool foreshore of which crabs crawl; [he is] Śāṅkhaḷā who gained a victory over chaturmukha, [thus making] Jayanta with broad rock-like shoulders whereon the club [or mace] rolls wither; [he who has] obtained the Goddess Śrī [i.e. Lakshmi] and ambrosia

1. *Yāpparunkalam*, commentary on *Sūtra* 53.

(*amrita*) by churning [the sea of] high and rolling waves; if [his] qualities [eulogies] are praised all the difficulties [or hardships] will themselves disappear [or vanish].⁷

The verse is full of puzzles. The names of places and kings and the events mentioned are not easy of identification. The first three lines of the verse compare the hero with each of the Gods of the Hindu Trinity, and make him superior to each one of them. The first line says that he gave earth to Vishnu who appeared before him in supplication; in the second line he is said to have killed the king of the ancient place Nāḷal which means *kouṟai* or a variety of it, the flowers of which are considered sacred and dear to the God Śiva; while in the third line he is said to have conquered Chaturmukha or Brahma.

The verse indicates that the hero, named Nandi, belonged to the family of Mahabali who gave earth to Vishnu. Hence he must have belonged to the *Bāṇa* line of kings. He is referred to as Śankhapāla. This may be the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *Saṅghapālā* or *Śaṅkhapāla*. The former name is known to have been borne by some of the Buddhist teachers. If this name was intended, it should have been his personal name. But the verse shows that his name was Nandi.² If the other form *Śaṅkhapāla* were intended, it must refer to one of the eight great Nāgas, the other seven being Ananta, Vasuki, Takshaka, Kārkkōṭa, Kuḷika, Padma and Mahāpadma. Then the Nandi mentioned in the verse must have been a king of the Nāga family, claiming descent from Śankhapāla. This would indicate that the Bāṇas also were of Nāga origin.

The story of the Trivikramavatāra is well-known. Vishnu in his Vamanavatara supplicated Mahābali, the asura king, for three feet of earth to be measured by his feet, and when the request was granted Vishnu grew to gigantic stature, measured the earth and heaven with two steps, and wanted Mahabali to show him the space for the third. The asura king recognized him as God and offered him his head, on which Vishnu stepped with his foot pushing him to the nether world, where Bali and his descendants ruled ever after. Bāṇa was his grandson. According to Puranic accounts he ruled over the Nāgas in the nether world with Śonitapura as his capital. This also supports the surmise that the Bāṇas who ruled in south India claiming descent from Mahābali were also Nāgas.

The verse quoted above claims three victories for Nandi: (a) killing the king of the old city of Nāḷal on the sea-coast; (b) victory over Chaturmukha who was a friend and ally of Jayanta and (c) victory in a naval war which resulted in his obtaining a wife comparable to Lakshmi and a kingdom. It is very difficult to interpret the three achievements of the ruler. As said above the word *Nāḷal* in Tamil means *kouṟai*, a flower considered very sacred to God Śiva. It is not clear which place in the Tamil country is referred to here as having that name. The *Devāram* hymns mention the Siva

2. M. Raghava Aiyangar has, however, taken this as the personal name of the chief as may be inferred from his classification of the verse in the *Peruntogai*.

temple at Viḷanagar on the banks of the R. Ariśil (in the Nannilam taluk of the Thanjavur District) as Nāḷakkōyil. But this could not have been the place referred to in the verse, as Viḷanagar is not known to have been the seat of a king and only the temple at the place is called Nāḷakkōyil. The Śiva of the temple at Tiruppadirippuliyur (the modern Cuddalore New Town, the headquarters of the South Arcot District) is referred to in inscriptions as *tirukkaḍai-iñāḷal uḍaiya perumāl*, *tirukkaḍai jñāḷal ālvār*, etc. This place is also of great antiquity and the Jaina monastery which was presided over by Appar before his reconversion to Śaivism was known to have been situated there. From the *Periyapurāṇam* it appears that the ruling chief of that area was living close to it. It was included in those days in the Tirumunaippadināḍu, the chieftain of which place was usually known as Muṇaiyataraiyan. It continued to be the seat of local chiefs in the mediæval period also. Besides, the place is on the sea-coast. From these pieces of evidence it is possible to conclude that Nāḷal on the coast mentioned in the verse was Tiruppadirippuliyur, and the ruler of the city killed by Nandi was a Muṇaiyataraiya chief.

The second victory is really more important. Nandi is said to have conquered a certain Chaturmukha who was a friend of Jayanta. Evidently the poet is punning upon the word Chaturmukha which means Brahma. The word also refers to a king having that name. It is known that Hiranyagarbha is one of the names of Brahma. It may be that a king called Hiranya is referred to here. This surmise is supported by some other verses quoted in the same commentary. There are four such verses in the *kāḷippā* metre in praise of Nandi

*karai porunīrk kaḍal kalangak kariwaraimat tatuvāgat
tirai poruṉ puḍai peyarat tiṇḍōḷār kaḍaintāiyē
muṅil poru tuḍal kalanga muḷavuttōḷ puḍai peyāra
yaḷaviṣuṇbi namararkku māramudan paḍaittanaiyē
varai periya mattāga vālaravaṇ kayirāgat
tiraiyiriyak kaḍal kaḍaindu Tirumagaḷaip paḍaittanaiyē³*

These *tāḷisai-s* make the same reference to Nandi churning the ocean and obtaining therefrom the *amṛita* (ambrosia) and Śri Lakshmi and thus compare him to Vishnu.

In another verse we have the following *taravū* :

*keḍalaru māmunivar kiḷarnduḍan roḷudettak
kaḍal keḷi kanai suḍāriṅ kalantōḷirum vāruḷai i
yaḷalviri suḷal senka narimāvāi mālaināyāit
tāroḍa muḍipidirat tamaiyap poḍi ponga*

vārpumali niḷkuruḍi ḷagaliḍa miḍananaippak
*ḷūruḷiān niāḷpidaḍa ḷolai māli taḍakḷaiyōy.*⁴

In this the king is compared to Vishnu who in his incarnation as Narasimha killed the asura Hiranyakaśipu.

The next section of the *tāḷisai* has the following as the first verse :

nuraśatira viyaumatirai muḷwatū ni talaipaniḷppar,
puraitoḍi tirāḷuḷōḷi pōrmalaḷiḍa maraḷmallar
aḷiyōḷi muḷiyirupḷḷi ḷayarntava niḷōḷcēḷap
*poḷiyēḷa vengalattup puḍantadu niḷ puḷāḷāḷm*⁵

In this section the king is compared to Krishna who vanquished the *mallar* (wrestlers) in the court of Kamsa at Mathura. In the third verse of this section he is compared to the same Krishna who vanquished the bull. It will be clear from these verses that the comparisons are only veiled references in *double entendre* to the victory of the Bāṇa chief over the Pallavas. The *mallar* were the Pallavas and the bull was their emblem. Likewise the victory over Hiranya must be taken as that of Bāṇa over Hiranya, i.e., Hiranyavarman, the father of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam Plates of Pallavamalla and the Vēḷūrpāḷaiyaḷ Plates mention Hiranyavarman, father of Pallavamalla, as a king and he must have reigned over the Pallava kingdom during the minority of his son, the boy-king. As such the reference in the above verse to Chaturmukha (i.e. Brahma or Hiranyagarbha) having been conquered by the Bāṇa may be taken to be a reference to Hiranyavarman.

It is not possible to discuss in this short paper all the new information brought to light by the Tamil verse. But one thing may be said here. Recent discoveries have given us information about a Pandya king named Jayanta, who can be assigned to this period.

It is well-known that the Bāṇas who played a minor role earlier revived their power in the eighth century A.D. and since then ruled semi-independently for nearly eight generations over the tract of land to the north of Toṇḍaimaṅḷalam, comprising portions of the present-day districts of North Arcot, Chittoor, Cuddappa and Nellore. The first ruler who revived the past glories of the family is variously named Nandivarman or Jaya-Nandivarman. The Gudimallam Plates of the Bāṇa ruler Vikramaditya II describe this Nandivarman as follows⁶ :

tasyāḷwayē sanuḍbhūtaḷ pṛithivi(vi)ḷpālasattamaḷ
Nandivarmā itī ḷhyātaḷ praśamsita-mahābalaḷ (v. 10)

4. *Ibid*, Sūtra 83.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Epi. Ind*, XVII, pp. 4 and 6,

In his [Bai's lineage] was born the best of kings, called Nandivarman, whose great power was praised.

*jayati sa Nandīvarmanā
narapatimaṇi-makuṭā-li(lī)ḍha-pāda-yugaḥ
tena nīrākṛta-kalinā
samprati rājanvatī(tī) prithivī (v. 11)*

'Victorious is that Nandivarman, whose pair of feet was kissed by the diadems (set) with jewels of princes. Through him, who drove away (the sins of) the Kali (age) the earth is now (!) provided with a just king.'

The expression *rājanvatī* used in this record to indicate the Bāṇa kingdom under the rule of Nandivarman is rather strange. Panini has given a special rule to explain the significance of this term. It indicates a kingdom having a just and valorous ruler protecting his subjects properly according to the *Śāstras*.⁷

It makes an exception to the general rule about the elision of the final *n* before the consonant in the word, *rājanvān*, in the sense of 'having a good king', the ordinary form *rājanvān* meaning only 'having a king'.

The Bāṇa chief referred to in the above verse is evidently this ruler. While studying the Rayakotta Plates of Skandaśishya II it was pointed out by me that Māvālivāṇarāyar who figured in that record was a subordinate of the donor Skandaśishya II and that he was inimical to Pallavamalla.⁸ That surmise is well supported by this verse. Obviously he joined hands with the Chalukyas of the north and the Pandyas of the south in opposing Nandivarman Pallavamalla and he was successful for a time.

7. *rājanvān saurājya* (Panini, VIII. 2. 14)

8. *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1957-58, pp. 56-67,

A Bana Chieftain of the Thirteenth Century

Among the important feudatory dynasties which ruled over different parts of the Tamil country under the Imperial Cholas, mention may be made of the Bāṇas, a family of chieftains who ruled after the 10th century over Magadai *maṇḍalam* covered by parts of the South Arcot, Salem and North Arcot Districts.¹ The most distinguished among them was a Rajarajamagadai nāḍālvān, a contemporary of the Chola emperor Kulotunga III. He was usually known as *Magadēśan* (Lord of the Magadha country) and *Ponparappinān* on account of his having gilded the temple at Tiruvannmalai. In this paper an attempt is made to describe his relations with the Cholas and the Pandyas.

In the early years of his reign he was a loyal feudatory of his suzerain overlord, and helped him in his war against the Pandyan king by serving as the Chola general. If the contents of a Sanskrit inscription at Tiruvannamalai may be believed the Bāṇa chieftain captured from the Pandyas as six crowns. It says; "Oh ! King of the Bāṇas ! Previously five and now one (thus six) crowns did you capture in battle from the Pandya who was intolerant of the pride of the devas ; of these, one you gave away to the Chola king and now the rest have been offered to the great hill shrine of Aruṇāchala; what is there to be given by you to the supplicant ?"² We are not concerned here with all the wars that the Bāṇa chieftain waged with the Pandyan king, but only with the one after which he is said to have given the Pandyan crown to the Chola king. Kulottunga III the overlord of the Bāṇa chieftain himself waged wars against the Pandyas. The first of

1. For a connected history of the Bāṇas see my monograph on them published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXIX, parts i and ii.
2. *Pūrvan pañchakamādhiya chaikannarakhām pūlagarvadi uhaḥ
Pāṇḍyān (t) samyatā samhritāni makutānyeteslu Bāṇeśvā aḥ
Yekam cholakṛite vitirnamaparānya ehyārunākhiya te
Saitendrāya samirpitāni bhavātā kīṃ vārtiṇe dasyate*]

them was in 1182 when he installed Vikrama Pandya on the Pandyan throne after driving Vira Pandya into exile. The exiled ruler attempted to get back his power, but was defeated at Neṭṭūr after which he submitted to the Chola emperor in an open *darbar* at Madurai in 1189. On the death of Vikrama Pandya in 1190 Jatavarma Kulaśekhara succeeded to the Pandyan throne, and a few years thereafter he became not only insubordinate to the Chola king, but also hostile to him, as may be seen from his elaborate *prasastis*. Hence after his *viṣayābhisheka* in Karuvur Kulottunga started on an expedition again against the Madurai country and defeated the Pandyan ruler at Maṭṭiyūr and Kalikkōṭṭai with all his large army consisting of the Maravas and the Eḷagappaḍai. Then when Kulaśekhara fled into the forests Kulottunga marched into Madurai, demolished the Pandyan coronation-hall in the palace, and sowed castor seeds in the place. To commemorate his victory he took the title of *Śōla-Pāṇḍya*, performed his *vīrābhisheka* and planted a pillar of victory.³ Since by that time Kulottunga III had made himself the lord of the three kingdoms, Chola, Chera and Pandya, he called himself *Tribhuvanavīra* also.⁴ This final Chola conquest of Madurai must have taken place just before the twenty-fourth year of Kulottunga III, the inscription which mentions him with the above title being dated in that year (1202 A.D.).

In his conquest of the Pandyan country Kulottunga III was ably helped by the Bāṇa chieftain about whom this paper deals; and hence in recognition of his services the Chola king gave him the name *Pāṇḍya*, and crowned him as the ruler of the conquered country.⁵ This incident is further supported by an account we have of the Bāṇa chieftain. He had a court minstrel whom he patronised much. One night he went to the minstrel's house and tapped the front door; and when accosted as to who he was; without giving out his own name, he gave out some other name. But the minstrel who was able to recognize his voice pleased his master saying that he was his patron.⁶ From the above references it is possible to infer that the Bāṇa chieftain helped Kulottunga III in his successful war against the Pandya king Kulaśekhara and in recognition of that he was honoured by his master by placing the Pandyan crown over his head. Subsequently he must have returned the crown to the Chola king who on submission of the defeated Pandyan king, gave it back to him. What is said in the Sanskrit inscription at Tiruvannamalai above mentioned is apparently a reference to this incident.

It is interesting to note that a number of other inscriptions also mention the Bāṇa chieftain as having defeated the Pandyan king and struck terror in his mind. One of them says that when *Magadar Kōman* got angry the Pandya king was driven out of his kingdom. Another mentions some statues presented to the Pandya by the king of Ceylon which the Magadan wanted to be handed over to him with the threat that if it was not done so immediately, the Chola monarch would order his head to be crushed.

3. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, Nos. 166, 169, 176 and 178.

4. *ARSIE*, 554 of 1904.

5. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 163.

6. *Pandiyanaip per marrip pūnar Karasaṭṭha Andakai yenṇunai yariyēno—mundelunda kūr marṇru chengai katakari vūṇvīmathu pēr marṇru varutho pēṣu* (Perantogai, 1188).

under the feet of elephants. A third one refers to the deputation of the Bāṇa chieftain to the Pandyan ruler from the Chola court for the collection of tribute from him and his fear on that account. A fourth inscription says that the Pandyas were afraid of the very name Bāṇa. A fifth says that the prestige gained by the Pandya by inscribing the fish emblem on the Meru, defeating the sea and chaining the clouds were all lost on account of his defeat at the hands of Magadeśan. A still another inscription mentions the shame of the Pandya, who, though worshipped by others, was then prostrating himself at the feet of the Bāṇa Magadeśan.⁷

But such a loyal feudatory appears to have turned against his master Kulottunga III, soon after the conquest of Madurai by the latter. Probably he took advantage of the growing power and influence of the Kāḍavarāyas and himself to defy imperial authority. Hence to counteract his new policy some eleven chieftains formed a confederacy among themselves in 1205 under the leadership of a Cheḍirāyan. They decided to refrain from having any communication with Magadaināḍaivān *alias* Vāṇa Kovaraiyan and Kulottunga Chola Vāṇa Kōvaraiyan either by sending men or letters to them. They further decided that if the two Bāṇa chieftains and the Kāḍavarāya chieftain should do anything the members of the confederacy would march against them, and took the vow that if they did not act so they would bear the sandals of the Vāṇa Kovaraiyan.⁸ Thus it is evident that the attitude of the Bāṇa chieftain towards the Chola emperor became hostile about 1205. An undated verse inscription records the conquest of the Kāḍava, Magadha and Ganga by one Viḍugāḍaḷaḷiya Perumāl.⁹ Obviously Magadha in the inscription is the same as the Magadai territory over which the Bāṇas were ruling.

Towards the close of his reign Kulottunga III had to taste the bitter fruits of his policy against the Pāṇḍyas. On the death of Jatavarman Kulaśekhara in 1216 his brother Maravarman Sundara Pandya succeeded to the Pandyan throne; and immediately thereafter he invaded the Chola country to take revenge on the Chola emperor for the excesses he had committed in his kingdom during the reign of his predecessor, set fire to the Chola cities of Uraiur and Thanjavur, pulled down a number of buildings, performed his *virābhishekam* in the Chola *abhisheka maṇḍapa* at Āyirattaḷi and after worshipping Lord Ponnambalanātha at Tillai (Chidambaram) way staying at Pon Amaravati. Then, when Rajaraja III who had been deprived of his kingdom appealed to Maravarman Sundara Pandya to return back to him his kingdom he restored it to him.¹⁰ Two inscriptions mention that the Pandya king restored the Chola country to Kulottunga III.¹¹ The inscription of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I mentioned above says that before performing his own *virābhisheka* in the anointing hall at Āyirattaḷi he

7. *Virar Vaḍimbalamba niṇṇān malarḍiḷal Chori vaḍimbalambach chūlnde—viradaran vindū śanikoṅkan vēlvāṇan māḡadarkōn chendāmaraikaḷ chivvappa.*

8. *ARSIE*, 516 of 1902; *SII*, VIII, No. 106.

9. *Ibid.*, 552 of 1906.

10. *Ibid.*, 140 of 1894; *Epi. Ind.*, XXII, p. 42; also *ARSIE*, 549 of 1926; *Ibid.*, 322 of 1927-28; *Ibid.*, 47 of 1937-38; para 44 and *Epi. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 161.

11. *ARSIE*, 72 of 1924; *Ibid.*, 9 of 1926.

bestowed the golden crown of the Cholas on a Bāṇa.¹² Doubt has been expressed regarding the meaning of the term *bāṇan* as it may refer to both a bard and a Bāṇa chieftain.¹³ But there is nothing improbable in the crown having been placed on the head of the Bāṇa chieftain. There is every possibility of the Bāṇa ruler who had taken up a hostile attitude against Kulottunga III, having gone over to the side of the Pandya king by 1216. What was left to our guess in the Tirunelveli inscription of Sundara Pandya I regarding the Bāṇa has been made explicit in two other inscriptions, both of them from Jambukeśvaram. One of them records the gift of the Chola country by Sundara Pandya to the Bāṇa king (*Bāṇapati*). The other is in praise of the Bāṇa ruler evidently called *Vīra Māgadun* as indicated by the single Tamil line at the top of the inscription.¹⁴ The possibility of Bāṇa help to Sundara Pandya is definitely borne out by an inscription of a Bāṇa chieftain in which he claims credit for the Pandyan success against the Chola emperor in 1216.¹⁵ It was this anti-Chola policy of his that drew upon him all the anger of Hoysala Narasimha II who even before playing his part in the restoration of Chola authority punished the Bāṇa ruler for his contumacy and imprudence.¹⁶

12. *Epi. Ind*, XXII, pp. 46 and 51.

13. *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 51, n. 6.

14. *ARSIE.*, 481 and 482 of 1908.

15. *Ibid.*, 507 of 1902; also *SII*, VIII, No. 97.

16. For an account of the Hoysala activity against the Bāṇa ruler, see *JIH*, XXIX, pp. 296-298.

The Battle of Uratti

One of the major factors that contributed to the decline and disruption of many kingdoms that flourished in the ancient and medieval periods in India was the existence of a number of over-grown feudatories, who, taking advantage of the growing weakness of the central government, tried to increase their power and influence not only by indulging in local quarrels among themselves, but also by raising their banner of revolt against their suzerains. One such feudatory family in south India which was to a large extent responsible for weakening of the Chola empire in the thirteenth century was the Kāḍavarāya dynasty which grew from humble beginnings to a great political power and influence. The most famous of this dynasty was one Kopperunjingadeva who revolted against his master Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-1257), defeating him at Teḷḷārū in A.D. 1230, captured and kept him prisoner at his own capital Śēdamangalam in the South Arcot district, till his release was secured through the intervention of the Hoysala King Vira Narasimha II in A.D. 1231. But before A.D. 1229-30 the Kāḍavarāyas had just increased their power and influence in the north, by bringing under their control territories which appear to have been ruled by another feudatory family, the Yādavarāyas.

In the eastern portions of the Chola empire there were two feudatory families, the Kāḍavarāyas who ruled over what is now the South Arcot district from their headquarters at Śēdamangalam near modern Cuddalore, and the Yādavarāyas who ruled from Kalahasti roughly over the Tondamandalam region now comprising parts of the districts of North Arcot, Chingleput, Chittoor and Nellore. There was one striking difference between the two. While the Kāḍavarāya chieftains aimed at their own independence at the expense of the waning power of the Cholas, the Yādavarāyas remained loyal to their overlords and tried to curb the growing power of the Kāḍavas.

The Kāḍavarāyas progressed into an important political power during the days of Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III. A member of the family was one Arasanarayanan

Āḷappirandān Viraśēkaran alias Kāḍavarāyan who is credited with the destruction of Kūḍal which belonged to a chieftain called Karkaḍamārāyan and thence his successors took the title of Kūḍal Āḷappirandān.¹ The growing political importance of the Kāḍavarāya chieftain is further borne out by the fact that a compact was made between him and one Sengēṇi Vira Śōlan Attimallan alias Kulottunga Śōla Sambūvarayan, whereby both swore to protect the interests of one another.²

This Kūḍal Āḷappirandān alias Kāḍavarāyan had a distinguished son called Pallavāṇḍār alias Kāḍavarāyan or Vīravīran Kāḍavarāyan. From inscriptional evidence we come to know that he followed the policy of his father, waged wars with his neighbours in the north and became the lord of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam country.³

The fifth and sixth years of the reign of Rajaraja III were years of great troubles in the Chola empire, which are characterised as *duritanga!* (troubles) and *kshobham* (agitation).⁴ Though it is not possible to get any clear idea of the nature of the troubles and agitation that prevailed in the empire it is clear that taking advantage of the general disorder, the Kāḍavarāya chieftain engaged himself in local wars and extended his power over the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. According to the inscriptions he killed a very large number of his enemies at Śevur and created "mountains of dead bodies and swelling rivers of blood". The place of battle may probably be identified with Mēlsevur in the Tindivanam taluk in the South Arcot district. Probably as a result of his successful war against the ruler of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam he became the master of the Peṇṇai nāḍu and the Vaḍa-Vēṅgaḍa hills (Tirupati), and the Protector of Mallai.⁵

But we are not able to know from the Kāḍavarāya inscriptions who the ruler of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam who was defeated by the Kāḍava ruler. The clue is however, supplied by a cryptic statement contained in a Yādavarāya inscription. The inscription which is found at Yogi Mallavaram near Tirupati refers to a fight that took place at Uratti (modern Oratti) near Madurantakam in the Chingleput district between Vira Narasiṅgadeva Yādavarāya and the Kāḍavarāya in which a soldier called Narayaṇa Pillai died and mentions that in order to commemorate his heroism a grant was made in favour of Uḍaiyar Tiruppaḷāḍiśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyanār of Tiruchukanūr in the Tirukkaḍavūr nāḍu in the district of Tiruvēnkaṭakōṭṭam in the Jayankonḍa śōlamaṇḍalam.⁶

1. *ARSIE*, 588 of 1908. The identification of Kūḍal has puzzled many scholars. It was once thought that it might be modern Cuddalore (*ARSIE*, 1913, para 66). But since the chief is said to have proceeded westwards and captured Kūḍal after which he conquered the land of Adhigaman identifiable with the area round about Dharmapuri, it is reasonable to assume that Kūḍal was on the way to the Salem district from Sendamangalam. Probably it may be identified with the place called Kūḍal or Kūḍalūr in the Kil Amur nāḍu (*ARSIE*, 73 of 1918) comprising of parts of the Kallakurichchi and Tirukkoyilur taluks of the South Arcot Dist.
2. *Ibid.*, 254 of 1919; Rep. para 21.
3. *Ibid.*, Monijonai inscription, *Ibid.*, 178 of 1921, also *Ibid.*, 296 of 1912, Atti Prasasti and 187 of 1932-33 Tirukkalukunram inscription.
4. *Ibid.*, 141 of 1926; 213 of 1925; 309 of 1927.
5. *Ibid.*, 1913, Rep. para 66.
6. *Ibid.*, 271 of 1904; also *Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, No. 35,

Thus the ruler of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam area during the time was the Yādavarāya chieftain Vira Narasingadēva. From the provenance of his inscriptions it appears that he ruled over parts of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam which included important religious centres like Kālahasti, Tirupati, Tiruvorriyur, and Tiruppasur. He was a feudal vassal of the Chola King Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III owing allegiance to them. He appears to have enjoyed large administrative powers and therefore he was called a Mahamaṇḍaleśvara and one inscription credits him with the title of Tribhuvanachakravartin.⁷ His distinction in war is commemorated by his title *Taniniru venran* (one who conquered unaided) a term by which he is referred to in a few inscriptions.⁸ He is said to have conquered his enemies in war, extended his fame, wedded the goddess of prosperity and bore the insignia of royalty namely a garlanded elephant, a white umbrella. He is also reported to have performed a *tulābhāra* ceremony, and to have presented gold for the gilding of the *vimāna* of the temple of Venkateśvara. Though he was in the enjoyment of large political powers he continued to be loyal to his overlord. This is well-borne out by the evidence of the above-mentioned inscription at Yogi Mallavaram which mentions Tribhuvana Chakravartin Śrī Rajarajadevar.

The Kāḍava chieftain Vira-Vīran Kāḍavarāyar, apparently thought that before establishing his independence he must become master of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam country, whose ruler was a strong supporter of the Chola power. Therefore, he invaded the country and fought its ruler Vira Narasingadeva Yādavarāya in various battles, the most important of which was Ścuvr, probably on account of which it finds mention in the Kāḍavarāya inscription. Though the battle of Uraṭṭi is not mentioned in the Kāḍavarāya epigraphs it may be assumed as one of those which enabled Kāḍavarāyar to become master over the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. But in the nature of the things that obtained then, the Kāḍavarāya-Yādavarāya conflict may be taken only localized one for Rājārāja III did not have anything to do with it directly, because if the war had been directed against the imperial authority either the Chola King himself or any of his commanders would have tried to resist the military activities of the rebel vassal. But Kāḍava's success in different battles in the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and his ultimate conquest of the region was a necessary preliminary step in the aggressively forward progress of the dynasty.

But the defeat of the Yādavarāyas was definite and the death of Narayana Piḷḷai a brother-in-law of Vira Narasingadeva, was a distinct loss to them. He was the son of Paṇḍyadaraiyar, the manager and treasurer of the Śiva temple of Tippaḷādiśvaram Uḍaiyar Mahādēvar in Tiruchchānūr, and father-in-law of the Yādavarāja ruler Vira Narasingadēva. When Narayana Piḷḷai lost his life in the battle of Uraṭṭi it was naturally thought by Paṇḍyadaraiyar that religious services should be instituted in the temple of Tippaḷādiśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyanār of Tiruchhanūr for the spiritual benefit of Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷai, his own son, and hence the grant.

7. *Ibid.*, 710 of 1889.

8. *Ibid.*, 640 of 1904; 96 of 1922.

An Odda Invasion of South India

The closing years of the reign of the Chola King Kulottunga III and the early years of the reign of his son and successor Rajaraja III constituted a stirring and trying period in the history of the Chola country marked by internal troubles and external aggressions. The political condition of the region during the period A.D. 1216 to 1225 was as follows. On the death of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara Pandya in 1216 his son Maravarman Sundara Pandya succeeded to the Pandyan Kingdom and inaugurated a period of revival and expansion. In the Chola country Kulottunga III who had become worn out with age and a long period of active life began to associate his son, the ill-starred Rajaraja III with the administration from A.D. 1216; and the latter ruled over the Chola empire in his individual capacity after the death of his father in A.D. 1218. In the Hoysala Kingdom Narasimha II who had been associated with the administration of his father Ballala II succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1218 after the death of the latter. To the north of the Chola empire lay the Kakatiya kingdom with Ganapati as its king. Further north was the Eastern Ganga Kingdom in the Kalinga country with Ananga Bhima (A.D. 1211-1238) as its king. Within the Chola empire itself, there were a number of overgrown feudatory families which were trying to increase their power at the expense of the Central Government. Among them were the Kāḍavarāyas in the present South Arcot District and the Bāṇas ruling in the Magadaimaṇḍalam covered by parts of the South Arcot, Salem and North Arcot Districts. According to a few Pandyan inscriptions, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, immediately after his accession, conquered the Chola country, apparently as a measure of vengeance on Kulottunga III for the many excesses he had committed in the Pandyan Kingdom during the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara, set fire to the Chola capitals of Uraiyur and Thanjavur, razed to the ground a number of buildings there performed his *virābhishekam* in the Chola *abhishekamaṇḍapa* at Āyirattaḷi and after worshipping Lord Ponnambalanāthan at Til'ai (Chidambaram) was staying at Pon Amaravati. At that time he invited the Chola king to his court and returned back the Chola Kingdom to him and his son with a *tirumugaṇ*.

and the title of *Cholapati*.¹ Though the above account gives the impression that the Chola Kingdom was returned to Kulottunga III by the Pandyan king as a matter of grace, the evidence of a few Hoysala inscriptions bears out that it was done a result of intervention of Hoysala Narasimha II. An inscription in the Nagamangala Taluk in Mysore dated A.D. 1218 refers to Ballala II as *Chōlarājya pratishṭhāpanāchārya* (establisher of the Chola Kingdom), *Pāṇḍyagaja kēsari* (the lion to the elephant Pandya) and to Narasimha II as *Chōla Kulaikarakshaka* (the sole protector of the Chola family).² Another inscription of the same year while recording the achievements of Narasimha II mentions him as *Kāūchikāūchana Kāḍavar kulāntaka*, *Magararājya uirūūlana*, *Chōlarājya pratishṭhāchārya*, *Pāṇḍyarājya kōlāhala*, *Kāḍavarāya diṣapaṭṭa*. etc.³ From these inscriptions it is clear that in A. D. 1216 or 1217 the Hoysalas interfered in the politics of the Tamil country, defeated the Pandyan king and restored the Chola Kingdom to Kulottunga III, probably at his request. There is nothing improbable in it for one of the queens of Ballala II was a Chola princess, and there existed good political relationship between the Hoysalas and the Cholas.

But Kulottunga III did not live long to rule over his restored empire. He died in A.D. 1218 and was succeeded by his son Rajaraja III. The early years of the rule of Rajaraja were marked by great internal troubles. The fifth year was particularly so. Three inscriptions in the Thanjavur district bear evidence to that. As a result of the troubles, a temple had to be temporarily deserted, the images and movable property in it had to be carried elsewhere for safety, the records and title deeds of two villages were permanently destroyed and fresh records had to be supplied to them after due enquiry. An inscription of the seventeenth year of the king at Tiruvilakkudi records the re-consecration of a few images in the local temple by a Śvetavanapperumānār *alias* Toṇḍaimānār who instituted a search for them and found out that they had been carried away and deposited in the temple of Tiruchcharimurram by the followers of the chief Vānakovaraiyar in troubled times in the fifth year of the King. He redeemed the images by payment of money, and after consecration made provision for offerings and worship.⁴ An inscription at Talaichchangadu in the nineteenth year of the same king registers the renewal of the title deeds (*ambhogaparalagu*) through the village assembly

1. The above details are contained in an inscription of Maravarman Sundara Pandya (*ARSIE*, 49 of 1890; *Ibid.*, 140 of 1894; *Ibid.*, 362 of 1926; *Ibid.*, para 32; *Ibid.*, 322 of 1928; and para 18). In a recent publication of the Annamalai University in Tamil on the history of the Cholas Sadasiva Pandarathar doubts very much if Kulottunga III would have sustained any defeat at the hands of Maravarman Sundara Pandya. He gives two reasons for it: (1) Kulottunga was too great and experienced a king to have been defeated by the young Pandyan king; (2) The Pandya does not mention his restoration of the Chola kingdom to Kulottunga III in any of his inscription except in one of the 15th year of his reign (*ARSIE*, 9 of 1926). But the defeat of the old Chola king at the hands of the Pandyas is borne out not only by the above inscription which says that he gave back to Kulottunga III his crown and Mudikondaḷolapuram but also by the details contained in the inscription mentioned earlier. It is obvious that the Chola king and his son Rajaraja III were both defeated by Sundara Pandya immediately after his succession.

2. *EC*, IV; Ng. 29.

3. *Ibid.*, IX. Kn. 87.

4. *ARSIE*, 141 of 1926.

to all the residents who had been in the enjoyment of lands in several hamlets of the villages upto the eighteenth year of the king by two persons, who were apparently officers of the king as the old registers (*pottagam*) and document (*koṣam*) had been lost in the disturbed state in the country (*duritauga!*) in the fifth, eleventh and seventeenth years of the King.⁵ An inscription of the fifth year again of the same king says that as certain documents of the temple were lost on account of some mishap fresh ones were made.⁶

The circumstances under which the disturbances took place in the fifth year of Chola Rajaraja III have not so far received proper appreciation. On the other hand it has been said of them : "These disturbances might have been purely local; at any rate there is no clear evidence of their being due to war or foreign invasion"⁷. But really the disturbances appear to have taken place on account of the unsettled conditions created in the area closely following foreign invasions of the region. Probably these disturbances synchronised with the invasion of the Tamil country as far as Srirangam by the Oḍḍas, who were no other than the Eastern Gangas of the period, ruling over the Kalinga country followed by the invasion of the same region by Hoysala Narasimha II, probably to save the region from the northern invaders. These events are suggested by a few inscriptions of the period. One of them found in the Srirangam temple belongs to Maravarman Sundara Pandya and is dated in his ninth regnal year i.e. A.D. 1225. It says :

"By order of Māvarman Sundara Paṇḍva 'who was pleased to present the Chola country', in his ninth regnal year, we, Jiyar Narayana Dāśar, Aḷagiya Śōḷa Brahmaṛāyar in charge of the temple and its surrounding region, Periya Tiruppati Śrīvaishṇavas, the temple servants, *Bhāgavata nambis*, members of the *sabhā* of Tiruvarangam, the *Viṇṇāppam Śeyvār*, *Śrīpādam tāngum nambinār*, the various *nimattakāras*, the *Āryas*, the *Bhaṭṭas* the devotees of Emberumānār or Ramanuja and the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the eighteen *maṇḍalas* who had come to witness the great festival met together in the *Rāja Mahēndran* enclosure and came to the following settlement :

"The ten persons (the heads of the ten groups of temple servants) who were governing the temple from ancient times joined with Oḍḍas and collected *Oḍḍakāsu* from the temple and the *nimantakāras*. They also gave the Oḍḍas paddy from the temple lands and in various other ways destroyed the property of the temple. Consequently temple worship suffered for about 300 days in the last two years. The ten persons took to themselves the temple lands and shared the yield and income from them with the Oḍḍas. Consequently there were loud complaints and protests. Now the regime of the Oḍḍas has come to an end and our *sāmantauār* have taken possession of temple as belonging to the rightful government. The landed properties were all restored and all services in the temple were regularly conducted. The persons responsible for the above

5. *Ibid*, 213 of 1925.

6. *Ibid.*, 309 of 1927.

7. Sastri, Nilankanta K.A., *The Colas II*, pp. 176-77.

wrongs were dismissed from the temple. Now the temple servants belonging to different groups (*Tiruppati Koṭṭu*) are to be chosen by lot. At the close of each year they are to be replaced by election."⁸

The above inscription clearly shows that some two years before its date the Srirangam area was in the hands of the Oḍḍas. So they must have invaded the Tamil country about A.D. 1222. This is further supported by two Hoysala inscriptions one from the Chikmagalur and the other from the Chennarayapatnam taluks dated respectively in A.D. 1222 and 1223. The former of the two says that Hoysala Narasimha II marched in A.D. 1222 to Srirangam⁹. The view has been expressed that this march had nothing to do with the disturbances in the Thanjavur district mentioned above "which might have been the result of a Pandyan invasion", and that "if that was so it is some what strange that we hear nothing more of this invasion from either the Chōla or the Pāṇḍyan side"¹⁰ But really the Hoysala march to Srirangam appears to have had something to do with the Oḍḍa invasion of the Tamil country as is borne out by the inscription from the Chennarayapatnam taluk mentioned above. Referring to Hoysala Narasimha II it says : "His forcible capture of Adiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kāḍavas, why should I describe how he lifted up Chola, brought under his order the land as far as Setu, and pursuing after the *Trikalinga King* their trend of elephants displaying unequalled valour."¹¹ The inscription is of particular significance on account of its mention of the pursuit of the *Trikalinga King* by the Hoysala king. In view of the mention of this pursuit and the statement that he brought under his order all the land as far as Setu (though the latter may be too tall a claim for him) it may be presumed that when the Kalinga King invaded the Tamil country in A.D. 1222 Hoysala Narasimha opposed him on the way. It is certain that he did not undertake an invasion of the Kalinga country for in that case the inscription may be expected to say so. It only mentions Narasimha's pursuit of the Kalinga army in the south. It is difficult to find out the real reason for the Eastern Kalinga King's invasion of the distant Tamil country which provoked opposition from Narasimha. After all he might have wanted to take advantage of the political confusion in the Chola country and make the best out of it.

It is interesting to find that this invasion of the Tamil country by the Oḍḍas and their occupation of Srirangam is mentioned in the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, a work dealing with the history of the temple of Srirangam. According to it the Oḍḍas invaded the country during the period of Uyyakaṇḍār and Maṇakkāl Nambi (10th century ?) and that the God was taken for safety to *Tirunālirūṅṅōlai* (Aḷagarkoil near Madurai) and kept there for a year. During the period *Vaikhānasa* priests had taken over worship in temple and non-Vaishṇavas began to live in large numbers at Srirangam. Later *Āḷavandār* expelled the non-Vaishṇavas and restored the proper administration of the temple¹².

8. *SII*, IV, No. 500.

9. *EC*, VI, Cm. 56. Once it was thought that the inscription could be assigned to A.D. 1217 (*JIH*, VI, p. 205). But as Hultzsch has pointed out it is really dated in A.D. 1222, *EI*, VII, p. 162.

10. Sastri, Nilakantha K.A., *op. cit.*, p. 177, fn. 15.

11. *EC*, V, Cn. 203.

12. Rao, V.N. Hari, (Ed.) *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, p. 39.

Though the Oddas were driven away from the Tamil country by about A.D. 1225 by Maravarman Sundara Pandya we find them once again in the Tamil country by about A.D. 1235-36, this time near Kanchi as may be seen from two Eastern Ganga inscriptions at the place belonging to the nineteenth and twentieth years of the Chola king Rajaraja. The Kanchipuram area was then a cockpit of the contemporary powers of south India and the Deccan and we find the inscriptions of many dynasties there during that period. The political events of south India during the period were as follows. About A.D. 1230 Rajaraja withheld payment of tribute to Maravarman Sundara Pandya and so he was defeated in battle and driven out of his kingdom. When the fugitive king proceeded to seek the support of Hoysala Narasimha II he was defeated by his overgrown Kāḍava feudatory Kopperunjinga at the battle of Teḷḷāru and imprisoned at Śēṇdamangalam, his own capital. When Narasimha II came to know of the incidents, he marched to Srirangam and defeated Sundara Pandya at Mahendramangalam on the banks of the Kaveri. Another army sent by him marched to Sendamangalam devastating the country on the way and laid siege to the fortress. Kopperunjinga submitted and liberated Rajaraja III and Sundara Pandya restored to him his kingdom. As a result of this the influence of Narasimha II in the Chola country increased as may be seen from the provenance of Hoysala inscriptions in Kanchi. According to an inscription he is said to have stationed there a body of *Bherundas* (probably a regiment of soldiers)¹³. Besides there are a few inscriptions at Kanchi which record gifts made by certain important *mahāpradhānas* and *sāmantaś* of the contemporary Hoysala Narasimha II and dated in the regnal years of Chola Rajaraja III.¹⁴

As said above there are also two Eastern Ganga inscriptions at Kanchi dated in the nineteenth and twentieth years of Rajaraja III. The former of the two mentions Śrīmat Ananthavarma Raluttadeva of the Ganga family as camping at Abhinavavāraṇāśi (Kanchi) and records the grant of a village by Somaladevi Mahadevi apparently his wife for offerings and worship to the God in the temple.¹⁵ The latter records the gift of 128 cows and 4 bulls by Kalingesvara Aniyāṅga Bhimadeva Rāhutta for four perpetual lamps in the temple.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the second inscription mentions that the gift was made in the twentieth year of Chola Rajaraja III. Since the first inscription says that the Kalinga king was camping at Abhinavavāraṇāśi at the time of the gift of his wife and the second inscription mentions Rajaraja III as the reigning King it may be taken that there was no hostility between the Cholas and the Kalingas then, and that the visit of the Kalingas king, and queen to Kanchi had nothing more than a religious significance. They could have undertaken a pilgrimage tour to the city.

13. *EC*, V, n. 211 a; also *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 9-10.

14. *ARSIE*, 408, 611, 612, 615 and 617 of 1919 and *Ibid.*, 39 of 1920.

15. *Ibid.*, 444 of 1919.

16. *Ibid.*, 445 of 1919.

Village Communities in South India

The foundation of any state edifice in Indian Administration must necessarily be the village not merely on account of its great antiquity but also because of the fact that people living there are known to one another intimately and have interests which converge on well-recognised objects. Even so late as the early nineteenth century British administrators in our country were so much impressed with the vitality and usefulness of the Indian village communities that they have showered encomiums on them. Elphinstone thought that the secret of the good things achieved in India in the past is to be sought in the stability and continuity of the Indian village life and organization. Sir Charles Metcalfe observes in one of his letters that, "The village communities are village republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty crumbles down. Revolution succeeds revolution..... (But) the union of village communities—each one forming a separate state—by itself—has I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."¹

Therefore, it is no surprise that the subject of the Indian village communities has attracted a number of scholars particularly after the publication in 1871 by Sir Henry Maine of his stimulating lectures on "Village Communities East and West." Scholars like Baden Powell, Mookerjee, Altcar and Ghoshal, to mention only a few, have made suggestive contributions on the subject. The value of a study of the subject can hardly be exaggerated, for in many cases the foundations of the political and administrative institutions of later times have been traced to the ancient village communities. Even

1. Kaye, John William, *The Life and Correspondence of Lord Charles Metcalfe*, II, p. 191.

the idea of the corporate personality of a group of people is considered to be a development from them. The word community is the same as the French word *commune* which is derived from the Latin word *communalis* or *communis*. The Latin term itself is a compound made up of two words *com* (together) *munis* (bound) i.e., bound together. The word community signifies a fellowship or joint personality i.e., a body of persons organised for political, economic, social, religious and professional purpose. The village community was, therefore, not distinct from the village organization which existed in some form from very early times. Though such institutions were not peculiar to south India, yet they had certain characteristics with regard to their comprehensiveness and functions on account of which they may be considered unique. They formed a definite part of the administrative machinery in the country and each of them had a homogeneous, individual and continuous personality. But it must be admitted that an integrated study of this fascinating subject has not so far received the attention it deserves, though we are indebted to scholars like Venkayya, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. Appadorai who have approached the subject from specific points of view.

The village communities in south India belonged to a general pattern, bore some common characteristics and served some common purposes and ends. Maine's description of the English township "as an organised self acting group of Teutonic families exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land, its mark, cultivating its domain on a common system and sustaining itself by the produce" may be taken to be equally applicable to the village communities in south India in its early stages. It was an organism born out of the consciousness among its members of a kinship among them. Its growth was gradual, slow and spontaneous; the community often adapting itself to changing conditions. There were three types of such village organizations namely the *ūr*, *sabhā*, and the *nāḍu* which were essentially agrarian units.

The humble and often unnoticed origins of even the mighty institutions are generally shrouded in mystery; those of the village community of south India are no exception.

We get glimpses of rural administration in the Tamil country from the literature of the Sangam Age where we get reference to two terms. *marnam* and *podiyil*. The *marnam* has been explained to by Nachchinārkiniyār as the open place in the centre of the village where people met together. It was the common or public place also called *podiyil* or *poduvil*, usually with the tree of the region or the banyan in the centre. Social festivities and sacrifices to the Gods were conducted there. It was also used for discussion of public affairs, and transaction of public business like administration of justice, etc. In spite of its wide prevalence and popularity we do not know its exact relationship with the village community. But it is from some early inscriptions of south India that we came to know something about the rise of a community feeling in the region. Some of the early inscriptions of the Eastern Gangas and the Pallavas indicate the existence of a feeling of collective recognition of their common interests by residents in villages, the necessary basis for the rise of a community feeling among them and the evolution of a

township. Each village was a community of land-holders and land was the primary factor that made the people connected with it to come together for common purposes. Lands were usually held under three distinct types of tenure; (1) directly from the State; (2) under service tenure by the servants of the government or persons charged with the specific duties, like the recitation of the *Bhārata* in the temple or the maintenance of an *ambalam*; and (3) under eleemosynary tenure by groups of people or an institution like the temple. To the last group belonged for instance the Brahmanas who were granted the *miyāchi* rights over land or the right of the overlordship of a share of produce. The tenure under which land were held by groups of persons was known as *ganabhogam* as distinct from *ekabhogam* by which term severality-tenure was known. The co-sharers of land in a joint village where they enjoyed all the eight rights of possessions were the absolute owners of land. Such ownership rights consisted "in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the powers of the soil in perpetuity, together with the right to alter or destroy the soil itself where such an operation is possible. These privileges combined, form the abstract idea of 'property' which does not represent any substance distinct from these elements. Where they are found united there is property, and nowhere else." Even in the severality-villages ownership of land appears to have rested only with the citizens unless the lands were unoccupied and the states' share of the income from land was due to the protection it gave to the people. Wilson's description of the limitations of the titles of the king over land is classical and deserves reproduction. He says that the king is not lord of the 'soil'; he is lord of the earth, of the whole earth or kingdom; not of any parcel or allotment of it; he may punish a cultivator for neglect of the crop; and when he gives away lands and villages, he gives away the share of the revenue. No donee would ever think of following such a donation by actual occupancy, he would be resisted if he did. The truth is that the rights of the king are a theory, an abstraction. Poetically and politically speaking he is the lord, the master, the protector of the earth, *prithivīpati bhūmīśvara, bhūmīpa* just as he is the lord, the master, the protector of the earth (*narapati, nareśvara and nrīpa*). Such is the common title of a king, but he is no more the actual proprietor of the soil than he is of his subjects; they need not have his permission to buy or sell it or to give it away and would be much surprised and grieved if the king or his officers were to buy or sell or give away the ground which they cultivated." The recognition of private ownership of property in south India is borne out by both literary and epigraphical evidence of a contemporary nature. *Vijñāneśvara* in his celebrated work, the *Mitāśhara* observes that, "It is settled, that ownership in the father's or grandfather's estate is by birth...the father is subject to the control of his sons and the rest in regard to the immovable estate; whether acquired by himself or inherited from his father or other predecessor, and thereby suggests that for the disposal of lands son's consent was necessary. This condition need not have been insisted upon if private ownership of land had not been recognised. With regard to the King's control over it the same authority says that, "True it is that this man first got it by gift and also was in possession, but the king gave this very field to me after purchasing from this very man or this man gave it to me after having obtained by gift, etc.," thereby suggesting that the king, if he wanted to acquire land, had to purchase it as any other private individual. The views of Madhavacharya on this interesting question may also be referred to here. Commenting on the text of the

Jaiminīyā Nyāyamālā *vistara* regarding "the *mahābhūmi*, the public land, (which) is an object of gift.....the king may give it away because he possesses it; the kingdom is the king's only for the sake of protection, and hence it should not be given away", Madhavacharya observes: "But doubts may arise. When an all-powerful king gives away everything he possesses at the commencement of the *Viśvajit* sacrifice, is he to give away the *mahābhūmi* which is inclusive of paths for cattle, highways and tanks? (The doubt arises because the earth is wealth *vide* the *smṛiti* which says: 'The king may claim the property of all except that of the Brahmanas.')

"We reply: *smṛitis* enjoin that the king's sovereignty is meant to punish the wicked and to protect the good. No, the earth is not the king's property. But it is the common property of all the living beings for them to enjoy the fruit of their labour. Therefore, though he (the king) has right to give away that portion of the land that is not common (public - *asādharma*), he cannot give away the *mahābhūmi*". Thus ownership of land rested only with the people. This is further supported by inscriptional evidence according to which in a number of cases, lands which were in the enjoyment of private individuals were purchased by the king and granted to others. The recognition of private property is further indicated by the use of the term *Kāniyāchi* to indicate it. It means hereditary right to land or property and is synonymous with the Sanskrit term *ksheṭrasāmya*. Private ownership of property could not rest either in the individuals or in a group of people, jointly. In the *brahmadeya* or *agrahāra* or *chaturvedmangalam* villages the owners of lands held them jointly and created the necessary basis for the evolution of the village organization on the community basis.

As a predominantly agricultural community enjoying their lands under a joint tenure the residents of the *brahmadeya* village looked to the cultivation in common. In this operation three different types appear to have been adopted: (1) The members of the village community cultivated and in common and shared the profits among themselves in proportion to the number of shares (*vrittis*) each possessed, (2) a particular portion of the village could have been enjoyed individually by the shareholders for cultivation purposes, the rest being held by them jointly as under the first type; and (3) lands could have been divided into different grades in accordance with their fertility and every individual member of the joint community given a portion of each of the three classes of lands for a definite period, and after the expiry of that period the lands could be redistributed among the members. This system of periodical distribution of land was for instance known in the present Thanjavur district as the *karaiyādu*. An important feature of the organization of the joint villages was the extreme exclusiveness of the village communities in them, and their anxiety not to allow outsiders to get any right or share in such villages either by purchase or gift.

For discussing and deciding upon matters connected with agriculture and their obligations to the government the landholders in the joint village had to meet on certain occasions, though in a very informal way. But with advance of time and growing complexity of the social and economic organization of the village, the meeting became frequent leading to the gradual development of custom and precedent in the dealings.

With further passage of time such customs and procedures crystalised themselves in such a way that the organization looking after the affairs of the village community became so natural and strong that it was almost impossible to think of a place without a well-recognised and active organization with a well-established and growing tradition behind it. It was such an organization that developed into the perfected self-governing institution during the days of the Pallavas and the Cholas in south India. The institution came to be variously called, the *sabhā*, the *mahāsabhā*, *mahāsabhaiyōm*, *mahājanas*, *kuri*, *perunguri*, etc.

By the days of the Pallavas in the north and the Pandyas in the south the organization in the *brahmadeya* villages had taken a definite shape and was known usually as the *sabhā*. Its emergence as a perfected institution is seen first in the *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam* area in the days of the Pallavas. It appears that it functioned at least in twenty different places in the area in the eighth and ninth centuries. However, details regarding their constitution and working are not available. Almost simultaneously the *sabhā*, had developed in, the Pandyan country also, as may be gleaned from an inscription of *Mārañjadaiyan* at *Mānūr*. At a general body meeting of the *mahāsabhaiyār* of the village summoned by beat of drum rules were made fixing the qualifications of property and learning besides the high character required of its members to participate in the proceedings of the assembly, and particularly in its executive work. Failure to observe the new rules and wilful obstruction to the work of the *sabhā* were made punishable.

But more details are available about the constitution and working of the *sabhā* at *Uttiramerūr*, which has become justly famous in the history of local self-government in south India. Though the two inscriptions relating to the constitution and working of the *sabhā* at the place dated 919 and 921 respectively are considered important on account of the lurid light they throw on its organization and working, it had a long anterior history going back to the days of the Pallavas when it discharged many executive functions through its individual officers or groups of officers known as *vāriyans*. From a study of the inscriptions bearing on the subject it is seen that the *vāriyam* system was an important feature of the *sabhā* organization. But its origin and history are not clearly known nor the import of the word. Some scholars think that the word is derived from the Tamil word *vāraṁ* which means a share or *paugu*, and hence the term *vāriyar* means shareholder; and *vāriyam* a committee of *vāriyars*. Since the *vāriyam* discharged the executive functions of the *sabhā* it may be taken to be its committee. There were different such committees, each of which was entrusted with a specified branch of work. A second suggestion made is that the word may be derived from the Sanskrit word *vara* which means a collection (*saṁūha*) or group (*gaṇa*). A third suggestion is that it may be derived from *vāra* (meaning income in Tamil and rigorous demand in Kannada). A fourth suggestion and probably the most acceptable is that it is the Tamilized form of the Sanskrit word *varya* meaning 'selected' or 'chosen' [*vṛu* (*var*) to select or choose]. This interpretation is supported by a Tamil inscription of the twelfth year of *Kulottunga III* in which the expressions *varaṇam seydaḷ* for the act of choosing and *varaṇam* for the executive body of the *sabhā* are used. The term *vāriyar* would therefore mean a person or a body of persons employed to do a specific work. The *Mānūr*

inscription referred to above shows that even so early as the ninth century high qualification and integrity were expected of the *vāriyars*. But in the early phases of the history of the institution, it appears that the *vāriyam* was only a temporarily constituted *ad hoc* body or committee for the discharge of some specific duties. In course of time, apparently on account of its usefulness in local administration the *vāriyam* became a regular and integral part of the *sabhā*. Though it is possible that the method of the appointment of the *vāriyam* could have been the same everywhere our knowledge of it is meagre. But from the two celebrated Uttaramerūr inscriptions it may be presumed that each *sabhā* could change the method of the appointment to the *vāriyam* probably taking into account local conditions and requirements. The *sabhā* of Uttaramerūr which had a long history going back to the Pallava period adopted a resolution in 919 with regard to the method of appointment to its executive committees. But for some reason it did not work well, and so two years later, the method of election to the committee underwent another change. According to the second reform the *Kuḍumbus* came to be directly represented on the committees. Each of the thirty *kuḍumbus* into which the village was divided was to nominate for the selection to the committees persons possessing the prescribed qualifications relating to learning, property age and character. Persons who had served on the committees for the previous three years, those who had served on the committee, but had failed to submit accounts as also their specified relations and men of bad character were excluded from the committees. From among the persons duly nominated one was to be chosen from each *kuḍumbu* by the *kuḍa olai* or lot system in the prescribed manner. Apart from the qualifications specified in the above inscription for membership in the different committees the real importance of the record lies in the fact that the lot system was adopted by the *sabhā* for purposes of election to the standing committees. The system was not however new. In direct democracies worked in ancient Athens for instance, the lot system was employed. It was quite popular though there was a chance in it for any person getting elected irrespective of his fitness and qualification. But the Uttiramerūr inscription by fixing a minimum qualification for the *vāriyam* avoided the pitfalls of the lot system.

The committee system which had grown gradually in the course of the previous centuries reached its highest watermark during the period. The Uttiramerūr inscription of 921 mentions five distinct *vāriyams* namely the *toṭṭavāriyam* in charge of gardens and public places, the *ērivāriyam* in charge of tanks and other irrigation sources, the *samvatsara vāriyam* or the annual committee of twelve members membership in which required not only experience in the first two committees mentioned above but also pre-eminence in learning and age, the *panchavāra vāriyam* connected apparently with the assessment and collection of the tax and the *ponvāriyam* obviously engaged in examining the fineness and weight of the gold that was invested with the *sabhā* for specific purposes. All the *vāriyams* except the *samvatsaravāriyam* consisted of six persons. In 922 the *sabhā* at Uttiramerūr brought into existence by a resolution a new committee consisting of nine persons for the purpose of assaying gold. Probably without supplanting the old *ponvāriyam* it was intended to help it in its work.

Many other *sabhās* in south India also adopted the *vāriyam* system, but the number of committees under them appear to have differed from place to place, depending probably

on local needs. Among the other committees mentioned in inscriptions were the *kuṭṭunbu vāriyam* (wards committee), *kaḷaṇi vāriyam* (fields committee), *kaṇakkuvāriyam* (accounts committee), *kaḷiṅgu vāriyam* (sluice committee), the *udāsīna vāriyam* (committee in charge of foreigners?) *dharma vāriyam* (committee in charge of religious endowments), etc. Probably there were a few others also, of which, however, we have no idea now. The method of election to the *vāriyam*, the number of such *vāriyams*, the qualifications of their members and such other details must have been decided by the local *sabhās* themselves without interference by the Central Government. Even when the assembly of Uttaramerūr made changes in 919 and 921 with regard to the electoral procedure to be followed by it, it did so of its own accord, and the presence of the royal official on both the occasions appears to have been only for enabling the members of the *sabhā* to settle their constitution and electoral procedure amicably. But interference of the government was not impossible if the working of the village assemblies was not satisfactory. According to an inscription at Talaināyar in the Thanjavur district a royal letter was addressed to the *sabhā* and collector (*taṇṇiṅgān*) of the place at the instance of two officers of King Kulottunga III. The document which was written by the *Tirumandira ṭalai* and attested by nine others, all officers of government, contained rules for the election of the executive body (*kūṭṭam*) of the assembly of the village sanctioned by the king. The new rules said that only those Brāhmaṇas who had not been in the assembly during the ten years previous to the year in which the election was held were eligible, the candidates were to be above forty years of age, learned (*vidvān*) and impartial (*samar*). Certain classes of persons were disqualified from serving on the executive of the assembly, for instance those that were guilty of wicked deeds, had defaulted in the payment of land revenue, oppressed docile brahmaṇas and respectable tenants, accepted bribes, and had done such other questionable things. Probably all was not well with the working of the *sabhā* at the place, its work was hampered by the rise of a factious spirit among its members and hence the government's interference and insistence. In another place it was ordered by the Government that only persons above forty years of age and who had not served on the executive for the previous ten years were alone eligible for service. Similar rules regarding age and interval between two periods of service were made also at Ayyampettai in the Thanjavur district in 1190. In such cases the age limit of forty must have obviously served as a check against inexperienced and young men getting into the assembly. The interval of ten years between the period of the first election of a member and his second election was probably intended to give an opportunity for all adults in the village to take part in local administration. However, when the village assemblies were not able to decide about such important matters they were referred to any other local body like the *mūlapariśat* of the temple of the place, particularly when the rules were not respected and fresh persons who did not possess the requisite qualifications entered the assembly. Actually such an incident is recorded to have taken place at a village in the reign of Rajaraja III and hence when the matter was referred to *mūlapariśat* of the temple of the place it made certain rules with regard to the elections and tenure of the members of the executive, as for instance that members should be elected every year and those who tried to extend their tenure of office for longer periods were liable to punishment as *grāmadrōhins* and those who in violation of the rules got into the assembly by some covert means in collusion with the officers of government or by any other

means, were to be treated as traitors and all their property confiscated. But it must be said that on the whole the village assemblies carried on their work in the Chola period without interference either by the central government or by any other agency. The *sabhās* continued to function in the Vijayanagara period also. Some of them consisted of a very large number of members, even 4,000 and were known as *mahāsābhā* or *mahājanas*.

Another body that functioned simultaneously with the *sabhā* was the *ūr*. It appears to have been prevalent only in the *non-brahmadeya* villages in which the proprietors of land were not exclusively Brahmanas, though instances are not wanting to show that it functioned along side of the *sabhā* either by itself or jointly with it according to the nature of the work to be done. The *ūr* probably consisted of all persons who belonged to the village including agriculturists and professionals, and there is no clear evidence to support the suggestion that "it is not unlikely that all the conditions pertaining to membership in the Brahmanical *sabhās* prevailed except probably knowledge of the Vedas". If there were two religious groups in a village it appears that there were two *ūrs* at the places, probably one representing each of them. From such expressions as *ūrāga isainda ūrōṃ* it may be assumed that all the people in the village made the *ūr*. What the *vāriyam* was in the *sabhā*, the *gaṇam*, also called *āḷuṅgaṇam* and *nīyāḷuṅgaṇam*, *ūrāḷuṅgaṇam* seems to have been in the *ūr*. It appears to have been a general executive committee of the severality village in which members belonging to different communities could serve. The *gaṇam* had under it officers like the *ṭaṇḍal* (tax collector) and the *niyāyattār* (Judge). Another type of territorial assembly was the *nāḍu* which functioned in the territorial unit known by the same name. It is not clearly known how it was constituted. The expression used to denote the *nāḍu* is *nāḍāga isainda nāṭṭom* or *nāṭṭavarōṃ*, but obviously all the residents in a *nāḍu* could not have been its members. The larger Leyden grant seems to suggest that the villages were represented on the *nāḍu* on some principles.

The agricultural community in the country known as the Vellālas formed themselves into a corporation called *chitramēli* (*mēli* in Tamil meaning ploughshare). They were also known as *bhūmiputtirar* and *nāttumakka*, apparently on account of their dependence on land. Groups of villages under this organization were called *chitramēli periyāṇḍu*, while some individual villages had the suffix *chitramēlinallūr*, *chitramēlivitankar* and *chitramēlichaturvedimangalam*. A number of professionals were attached to them like the goldsmiths, dancing girls etc. Very probably the *chitramēli* organization had control over the production and distribution of the produce from land. It was patronised by the rulers of the time and hence themselves were known by the name of *chitramēli*.

Though the members of these different bodies acted jointly still it appears that none of the rural organizations was a corporate body having a single individual personality, but it constituted only a collective body. This is borne out by the evidence of two inscriptions. According to one of them the members of the *sabhā* of a village received an investment of 120 *kāsas* from a Varaguna Maharaja and promised to measure out to the local temple ghee from the interest from the amount. If they failed to do so they undertook to pay individually and as a body double the quantity in default besides a fine

to the royal officers. Likewise the *sabhā* of another village undertook to supply ghee to the temple in lieu of interest on money received. If it failed to do so, the *Pannāhēśvaras* of the temple could ask for a double sum of the dues besides a fine from the *sabhāiyār* both as a body and as individual persons.

The important functions discharged by these assemblies may now be reviewed in brief. The first among them was the control and regulation of land holdings, for as has been said above the members of the village community were a body of land holders either jointly or severally. It was equally interested in the creation and maintenance of facilities for irrigation. This is well-borne out by the organization of the *ērivāriyam* or tank committee working under the *sabhā*. It had much to do with the taxation system in the country. Taxes were of two kinds, one levied and collected by the local organizations themselves apparently for being spent on local purposes and the other levied by the government. With regard to the former the local assembly which had absolute control over it had the right of granting remissions of them without any reference to the Government. This is by the assignment in perpetuity made by a *sabhā* to the local temple of the proceeds from a local cess on shops (*angāḍikūli*) in lieu of the interest on a loan which it had taken from the temple. In another case the *sabhā* of a chaturvedimangalam decided not to levy any kind of dues on the properties of the temple. Normally the village community could not remit the taxes payable by it to the government, for if it did so it would be a loser to the extent to which the remission was made, for the Government would not accept any reduction in the amount of tax payable to it by the assembly. Hence if such remissions were made on particular pieces of land, the loss was sought to be made good by the distribution of the amount on other lands in the village. But the assembly at times made remission of taxes in consideration of money received (*kāśukolla iraiyili*) which was the capital sum and the tax money (*vilai porul* and *inai porul*) and thereby made good their obligations to the central government. Such arrangements were made when for instance individuals made provision for charities by setting apart rent-free land and the lands so exempted from the payment of taxes were known as *ūr kīl iraiyili*. The *iraidravyam* was really in the nature of a trust fund for the periodical payment of the *irai* which the local bodies usually directed towards some productive capital expenditure, like the provision of irrigation facilities.

A natural right which it enjoyed related to the sale of lands of the people in the village who defaulted in the payment of the taxes. It could decide upon the nature of the land on which taxes were to be levied. Lands for which there was no claimants and hence were not cultivated escheated to the assembly and the taxes *kaḍamai* and *kuḍimai* levied on such lands by the government were paid by it. The *sabhā* could also sell or transfer its right of collection of taxes to a body like a temple. The village organization also influenced the taxation policy of the Government by suggesting what lands could be taxed and probably also what lands could not be taxed.

Apart from its rights relating to lands and their management and taxation it discharged certain other important, ministrant functions. One of them was the supervision

of all charitable endowments in the village; and in some places the committee called the *dharmā vāriyam* appears to have been in charge of it. On some occasions it exercised control over the administration of temples as well. It provided for the maintenance of peace in the area under its jurisdiction as also administered civil and criminal justice. It also co-operated with the government in the punishment of criminals as for instance by confiscating and selling in public lands that belonged to traitors. Besides it served as a deposit bank and took deposits from people on specified rates of interest. It also patronised scholars by granting them land to be enjoyed by them.

The assembly had under its employ a number of people each of whom was charged with a specific function associated with the administrations of the village. Among them were the *kaṛaṇattān* or *kaṇakkān* (accountant), and the *madhyastha* who noted down the proceedings of the *sabhā*. They were appointed either annually or for definite longer periods and remunerated by either gift of land or payment in kind like paddy.

The numerous village communities and their organization which flourished in south India and worked with great success from about 700 A.D. to 1400 A.D. showed signs of decay and disruption in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and finally disappeared by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Though references to the local organizations like the *sabhā* and the *ūr* are found in the late Vijayanagara period these bodies appear to have lost by that time much of their vitality and capacity for initiative. The type of local administrative institutions in south India that attracted the attention of the Anglo-Indian administrators of the last century were entirely different from the type that obtained earlier in the area.

It is not however so easy to enumerate the factors that were responsible for the decline of the old organizations. Probably the most potent cause for it was the growing consciousness among the people of the individual's right as opposed to that of the community. Sir Henry Maine shrewdly observes "If I had to state what for the moment is the greatest change which has come over the people of India and the change which has added most seriously to the difficulty of governing them. I should say it was the growth on all sides of the sense of individual legal right; of a right not vested in the total group but in the particular number of it aggrieved, who has become conscious that he may call in the arm of the state to force his neighbours to obey the ascertained rule." In the course of the fifteenth century the old community feeling among the group of people in a village which was really at the basis of the active functioning of the village assemblies in south India began to decline. Since much of the feeling was due to the joint ownership of land by the community it was its natural anxiety to prevent its own disintegration and hence made rules for preventing for instance the sale of lands of outsiders or the gift of land to women as *strīdhana*. Local troubles and factions developed to such an extent that those who created such difficulties were branded as *grāmadrōhins* and *grāma kaṇṭakans*. But still the conflict between the individual and the

community appears to have developed in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries resulting ultimately however in the success of the latter. The irksome interference of the royal officials in their activities and the bad influence exercised by them could also have partly contributed to the decline of village assemblies. Again the local organizations failed to receive much encouragement at the hands of the Vijayanagara kings, the administration under whom was based partly on feudal and partly on military principles. The paternal solicitude of the earlier rulers was now replaced by the various forces which was spontaneously working in the village communities. Thus conditions in the country were not conducive to the active functioning of the old village republics. Further the evolution of the *āyagar* system, according to which a number of hereditary functionaries came to look after the administration of the villages and supplied the needs of the people in them brought about the gradual disintegration of the ancient village communities in south India.

The Chitrameli Periyannattar

Among the many guild organisations that existed in medieval south India particularly in the rural areas about which, however, not much is known was the organisation known as the *Chitramēliperiyanāṭṭār*. They are referred to at times in inscriptions simply as *Periyanāṭṭāvar* or *Periyanādu*.¹ The members of this organisation appear to have comprised mainly of agriculturists as may be understood from the term *mēli* which is an integral part of their name. The terms *mēli* (*mēḍi* in Telugu) meaning plough and *chittiramēli* meaning beautiful plough would suggest that their origin may be associated with the plough and that, therefore, the members of this organisation were essentially agriculturists probably known as Vellalas. Their connection with land and villages is further borne out by a few other names by which they were known, such as *Bhūmiputtirar* and *Nāṭṭumakkaḷ*. It is of interest to note that some of the slabs or stones or plates on which their inscriptions are inscribed contain the sketches of the plough along with other figures such as the bull, serpent, drum, *pūṛṇakumbha*, etc.² Besides, some villages also came to be named either after the plough or the *Chitramēli* organisation itself. For instance, the village of Medikurti is referred to as Medikuru in Tamil as also in Telugu.³

The fact that it was essentially a rural organisation which depended on land and its production is further borne out by a few inscriptions which give their *praśasti*. For instance, a *praśasti* in verse relating to this organisation in the Tamil country runs as follows :

Śrīmatām Bhūmī—putrāṇām śrīmad—go-kshīra-jīvinām
sarvaloka-hitam-nyāyām chitramēḷaya śāsanam
jīyatām jogatām etat pālanam rāshtra poshaṇam
śāsanam bhūmi putrāṇām chāturvarṇa-kul-odbhavam

1. I have said in my book *South Indian Policy* (p. 386) that groups of villages under this organisation were known as *Chitrameli Periyanādu*. Probably the term was used to denote the corporate body of the *Chitrameli* organisation itself or its members.
2. *ARIE*, 1953-54, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, also No. 6, 18 and *ARIE*, 26 of 1953-54,

Jiyatām jagatām etat
 pālanam rāshṭra poṣhaṇam
 śāsanam bhūmi putrāṇa[m] ṅ
 chatur(r)vvarṇṇa kulotbhavam⁴
 Śrīmat bhūmisuptrasya
 chāturvarṇya kulotbhavam
 sarva loka hitārthāya
 chitramēļasya śāsanam,⁵
 Śrī Bhūmidevi putrāṇam
 kshārakshiroda pūrvinām
 jayanti chitralōkānām
 rajyaparipālakānām
 sarva loka hitārthāya
 chitramēļiśa śāsanam⁶
 Śrīmat, Bhūdevi putrasya
 chāturvarṇa kulotbhāva
 sarvaloka hitārthāya
 chitramēļiśya śāsanam.⁷

The Tamil inscription from Tirukkoyilur which contains their *prastāvi* in Tamil reads as follows :

1. Hari [:] Svasti Sri [i*] Śrīmatāmbhūmiputrāṇam Śrīmad gokshīraṇi [vi] nām sarvalokahitanyāyam chitrameļā(m) sya śāsanam [i*] [ji] yatām jagat-āmetad pālanam rashtrapoṣhaṇa
2. m [i*] śāsanam bhūmiputrāṇa(m) nchaturvarṇhakulotbhavam Śrī Bhūmi-devikku makkaļāgi niḡaļach cheṇtamiļ a vaḍa-kalai tēriṇduṇṇṇṇu nidi kēttu nipuṇarāki narumalar vādada ti
3. rumagaļ pudalvar ettisaikkum viļakkaka insolla linidaļittu vaṇsollal māranka-dindu ichchahadussāgara [pari] māṇḍalaṭtu chāṇḍraḍiṭṭa vārai inittōṅga-vādarāsan Kārra
4. saippa varuṇarāsan nirreļippa devarāsan tisaiviļakka eṭtisi makaliru minidu virriruppat tengum paļāvum teṇṇanjolaiyūm vāļaiyūmkamugum vaļarkoḍi.

4. *SH*, Vol. VII, No. 129.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 291.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 442.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 496.

5. mullaiyum[pū]vaiyun k[i]lai]yum polivoḍun' kelumi vāṭṭaminrikkūṭṭam perugi yaram vaḷara kali meliya puḡaḷ perugi pu [rai]. paṇiyattisaiyanaittun] [e] viḍupaḍā
6. maḷ sengōle munnākavun] chitra[ta] meliya deivamā[k]avun]je[m] porp pasumpaiya veliyakavum kshmaiyinoḍun karuṇai echidich chamaiyā' taṇma minidu nadātti kaḷārnin
7. ra uttamanidi yuyarperunk kīrti muttamiḷ mālai muḷuvadu muṇārnda chitrameḷipperian[a]ḷtom vaittukuḍutta parisāvadu milāḍakiya Jananatha vaḷanaṭṭukkurukkai
8. Ku[r]rattu Tirukkovalū[r] eḷupattonpadunāṭṭup padineṇbhūmich chitrameḷi-viṇṇagarāna Tiruiviḍaikaḷiniruḷinaperumāḷ koḷ anādiyāga melit tirutto[ra]-ṇamum sribhūmidevi
9. yum pratishṭhepaṇṇi munbe nām dh [arṇama] māip podugaiyil innāyanārkkumunbu nām vaittakoḍutta vaiṇṇun] chamippun] cheḍiyum mukhamum] chādanamum rashṭreksh(o)ghanagaḷi
10. le laidappugaiyil munbū vaittūkoḍuttapaḍiye āṭṭaikku erukku padakku nellum āḷukkuk kuṇṇi nellum verrā ḷutapaḍap pēra vaittukuḍuttom eḷupa

Besides having its own distinctive emblem and other paraphernalia as befitting its position and influence it had a *praśasti* or *meykīrti* of its own, particularly from the days of the Chola king Kulottunga III. Some of their inscriptions open with the expression *puyalvāyttu* and then begin their regular inscriptions. Two examples, both found in the temple of Jayangoḍanatha at Mannarkudi in the Thanjavur district and belonging to the period of the Paṇḍya King Tribhuvana Chakravartigaḷ Jatavarman Sundarapandya may be cited here. The first of them reads as follows :⁹

1. Svasti Sri [/**] puyalvā]ttu [/**] suva—
2. sti sri [/**] samsta sāgara param (e) ṇa—
3. lattu kshamaivinoḍum karu—
4. ṇai eiyidich chamaiyatanmai
5. yinidu nadātti niḡaḷāṇinra sāri—
6. kaikkotṭaiyil Bhuvaneka —
7. vīranmadikaiyil nagarattomum
8. [nā] ngutisaip padineṇ vishaya—
9. ttomum suddvallivaḷanāttut
10. tainyūr Irājjidhirājachaturvedīma—
11. ngala yār Jayankō

8. *ARSIE*, 117 of 1900: *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 129.

9. *SII*, Vol VI, No. 40.

13. pattu niraivara niraindu kurai vark kū
14. ḍi srikochhadapan marānā Tribhubana chchak
15. kravartikaḷ sri Sundarapāṇḍya de—
16. varku yāṇḍu panniraṇḍāvadu kan
17. ni [n] ā yarru pūrvapakshatti trayodasiyum
18. [ve] ḷḷikiḷamaiyum perra sodināḷ amaya[p]
19. pe [si] yisaiyach cheida tansamaya kāriya—
20. māvadu [u] ḍaiyār Jayankōṇḍa cho—
21. ḷiśvaramu [ḍa] yārku ichchārigaik k oṭ.
22. ṭaiyil [p] [pu] kudum miḷakupodikkup
23. podi yonrukku uḷakku miḷakum puḍa
24. vaikaṭ [ṭu] onrukku paṇa mākāṇiyum
25. ippadiyāl uḷḷadu eduttuk kariyamudukku
26. veṇḍuvadkōṇḍu nikkiuḷ [ḷa] du tiruppa—
27. ṇikku uḍalāvudaḱavm uḷḷuppukāde pura—
28. vaḷi pomavaiyum ippaḍi koḷḷakkaḍava
29. dākavum ippaḍi chandra (ḍitya) vaṭ sellakkaḍa—
30. vudakach chammadittu Tirimalaiyile kalve
31. [ṭ] ṭik koduttom nānkidīsai padineṇ—
32.

It is of interest to note that the *meykīrtis* of King Kulottunga III begin with the expression *puyalvayttu*¹¹ which is the same as the *puyalvālttu* of the inscriptions mentioned above. K.V. Subramanya Aiyar while discussing these records says, “the significance of this is not apparent : perhaps it was intended to incise an inscription of Kulottunga III and was given up”¹². His suggestions, it may be pointed out, might have been possible if the occurrence is noticed in a stray case. Even then the latter record would not have been incised in continuation of what might have been written more than half-a-century earlier. The normal thing would have been to leave that line blank and begin the new inscription separately. It may be noted further that the succeeding record on the wall has also a similar beginning. This will make it clear that the *Clūtramēḷi* organisation claimed proprietary right for using the expression *puyalvālttu* or *puyalvāyttu*. It is generally found that if owing to the exigencies of space or otherwise it was not possible to incise the *meykīrti* in full only its opening words are written or it is simply said *śrimeykīrtikkū mēḷi* i.e. after the illustrious *meykīrti*, An inscription at Kovilveṇṇi in the Thanjavur District dated in the ninth regnal year of Kulottunga III begins with the expression *puyalvayttu tiruwaykkelvi eḷudi Tribhuvana Chakravartigaḷ, etc.*¹³

Therefore it may be presumed that the *meykīrti* commencing with the words *puyalvayttu* or *puyalvāyttu* was later adopted by the *Clūtramēḷi* organisation as their own. It shows really that the organisation received much encouragement at the hands of Kulottunga III.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 86.

12. *QJMS*, Vol. 45, p. 34.

13. *SH*, Vol. VII, No. 1031.

Hoysala Vira Narasimha II and the Magara Kingdom

Kulottunga III (1178—1218) was the last great ruler of the line of the Imperial Cholas ; and even during the closing years of his vigorous and eventful reign, signs of weakness and decay became visible in the Chola empire. The growing weakness of the central government was seen in a two-fold way from the beginning of the thirteenth century. One was the increasing intervention and frequent invasion of the Chola country by the rising powers like the Pandyas, Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas respectively from the south, west and north of the Chola empire. The other was the coming into prominence of hereditary feudatories like the Kādarāyas who ruled over parts of the South Arcot and North Arcot districts, the Śambuvarayas who ruled over parts of the North Arcot, Chittoor and Chingleput districts, the Yādavarayas who ruled over parts of the Chittoor and Chingleput districts and the Telugu Cholas who ruled over the Nellore and Cuddapah districts and extended their power over parts of the Chittoor and Chingleput districts. Some of them became so over-grown in power and influence that not only did they openly defy the imperial authority of the Cholas, but also created conditions for the invasion of the country by outside powers.

One of such overgrown feudatory principalities was the Magararajya to which we get reference in some of the inscriptions of the Hoysalas. We do not know really why the Chola inscription or those of any contemporary dynasty of rulers in the Tamil country have not made any prominent reference to the kingdom. Nor do we know exactly what the term Magara indicates, whether a people, a territory or a city. The very location of the kingdom is a great problem.

A number of Hoysala inscriptions mention the destruction of the Magara rajya by Hoysala Narasimha II (1216—1236) along with three other achievements of his, namely the destruction of the Kadavarayas and the Pandyas and the re-establishment or restoration of the Chola kingdom ; and such records as mention these range between

1218 and 1237.¹ Naturally the question as to where exactly the Magara kingdom lay arises. Its identification, however, is a problem. Two facts must be remembered in this connection : (1) The Magara kingdom must have been situated outside the Hoysala territories on the eastern side as indicated by an inscription of Narasimha II which says that he "first went to the east, and being surrounded, uprooted the Magara kingdom"²; (2) It was most probably a friendly neighbour of the Kāḍavas and very likely was in full sympathy with Maravarman Sundara Pandya who invaded the Chola empire towards the closing years of the reign of Kulottunga III and hence all the three had to be defeated by the Hoysala king before he could restore the Chola to his empire. Since the Magara kingdom lay on the way into the Tamil country from the Hoysala territory it had to be dealt with first and then only the Kāḍava chieftain. This geographical contiguity of the Magara kingdom to that of the Kāḍavas has led scholars to locate it either to the west or the north of that of the Kāḍavas. Lewis Rice identifies the Magara kingdom with the Maharajavadi.³ His conclusions are based on the following piece of evidence. Hoysala Narasimha when marching against Magara encamped at Chudavadi and held a festival on adding to his necklace an emerald given by Munivaraditya.⁴ Chudavadi has been sought to be identified by him with Chudagrama (Mudiyanur in Mulbagal taluq) and it is suggested by him that the word Munivaraditya was an old title belonging apparently to a landed chief in Melai (western) Marayapadi.⁵ On the evidence of the Tiruvendipuram inscription of Rajaraja III which mentions the conquest of the Magara kingdom by Hoysala Narasimha II before his generals secured the release of the Chola emperor from imprisonment at Sendmangalam by the Kāḍava chieftain, Hultzsch has sought to locate the Magara kingdom either in the Coimbatore or the Salem district. He says "Pachchur where he (Narasimha II) halted on his expedition against Kōpperinjinga is perhaps identical with a village of that name in the Trichinopoly taluka opposite to the island of Śrīrangam two miles north of the Coleroon river and 9-1/2 miles (15 Km.) west by south of Kannanur, the southern capital of Narasimha's successor, Somēśvara. If this identification of Pachchur is correct it would follow that Narasimha II left his dominions by way of the Gajalhatti pass and that the Mahara (Makara or Magara) kingdom has to be looked for in the Coimbatore or the Salem district".⁶ Venkayya has expressed the view that the Magara kingdom could have been the same as the Magadai mandalam mentioned in inscriptions. It has been located by him the South Arcot district and by Dr. S.K. Aiyengar in the Attur division of the Salem district.⁷ After examining the question at some length H. Krishna Sastri came to the conclusion that "it is very likely therefore that Magara comprised part of the old Maharajavadi district as Mr. Rice suggests and portions also of the modern Salem and South Arcot districts."⁸

1. *EC*, IV Ng 29, IX Kn. 87; XI Dv. 25; VII Cl. 72, V Cn 197 and 203; XII Ck. 42; V BI. 151; Ak. 150; Ag. 6; III Nj. 36; *MAR*, 1916 para 82, *EC*, Cn. 211a; XII Gb. 45, III Md. 121; *MAR*, 1910 para 80; *EC*, IV Ng. 98.
2. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 211a.
3. Lewis, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 104.
4. *EC*, V, Cn 203.
5. *Ibid.*, VII, C. 162.
6. *Epi. Ind.*, VII, p 161.
7. *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 47.
8. *QJMS*, II, pp. 121-22 n.

During the period under study the Kakatiyas were an independent power ruling over a considerable part of the Telugu country; and in the region to the south of the Kakatiya kingdom there was then ruling a dynasty of chieftains known as the Telugu Chodas or the Pottappi Chodas. The territory over which they ruled covered the present districts of Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittoor and a part of the Chingleput, and Salem districts, besides at times a part of the Kolar district of the Mysore State. This chieftaincy lay to the east of the Hoysala kingdom and the north and northwest of the Kāḍava principality, and therefore on the route to the latter from the Hoysala country. According to a Hoysala inscription of 1228 the Hoysala kingdom covered a wide area and had for its boundaries the Nangali ghat in the east (leading into the present North Arcot District) Kongu in the south, Alvakheda in the west and the Peddore (the big river i.e. Krishna) in the north.⁹ Another Hoysala inscription which is however dated eight years earlier says that King Narasimha marched from his capital without stopping for 100 *gavudās* (200 miles?—320 km) overthrew formidable enemies in the east, captured the 100 elephants with which the Magara came against him and brought them in with his horses.¹⁰ Geographically a good slice of the Telugu Choda kingdom lay to the east of the Hoysala kingdom. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the Magara kingdom was the same as the Telugu Choda kingdom. The Telugu Chodas appear to have been in the occupation of Kanchipuram for sometime and owed allegiance to the Chola kings (though it was only nominal) as is borne out by a number of their inscription¹¹ which make reference to the Chola kings like Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III.

But it is difficult to explain why or how the Telugu Choda kingdom or at least the southern part of it came to be called the Magara kingdom in the Hoysala inscriptions. In the *Madhuravijayam* of Gangādevi Kanchipuram is described as Marakatanagara or the city of gold or gems. We have again a description of a city called Marhatpuri or Barmatpuri with many rich temples, a city that was occupied by Malik Naib the general of 'Alā-ud-din Khalji who undertook an invasion of south India. It has been suggested that the Marhatpuri was the same as the Marakatanagara of Gangādevi or Kanchipuram.¹² Probably the term Magara is a corruption of the term Marakatanagara. Most likely the southern part of the Telugu Choda kingdom was an administrative unit by itself with Marakatanagara as the administrative headquarters. It is probably on account of that it was called the Magararajya.^{12a} The imperial instincts of the Hoysalas

9. *EC*, V, Cn. 204.

10. *Ibid.*, VII, CI 72.

11. *ARSIE*, 578 of 1907; *Ibid.*, 35 of 1893; *Epi. Ind.*, VII, pp. 119 and 151; *ARSIE*, 8 of 1893; *Ibid.*, 363 of 1919; *Nellore Inscriptions*, R. 38 etc.

12. *JAHRS*, XIII, p. 15.

12a. It is probable that the Bānas who were one of the rebellious elements in the Chola empire were in co-operation with the Kāḍavarayās and the Telugu Chodas. They owed allegiance to the Chola emperors till the commencement of the thirteenth century but from about that time they appear to have shown themselves to be disloyal to the imperial house by throwing in their lot with the Pandyan king and the Kāḍavaraya chieftain, as is indicated by the fact that in 1205 some eleven chieftains loyal to Kulottunga III swore allegiance to the Chola emperor and undertook to have no communication with the Bāna and Kāḍava chiefs (*ARSIE*, 516 of 1902, *SII*, VIII, No. 106). It was possibly on account of the reason that the Bāna chieftain had come over to the side of the Pandyas that when Maravarman Sundara Pandya I defeated Kulottunga III and conquered the Chola empire he first offered the Chola crown to the Bāna and later performed his own anointment at Āyirattaḷi (See *Epi. Ind.*, XXII, p. 42; *ARSIE*, 47 of 1937-38; *Ibid.*, para 44; also *Epi. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 161). Though the

would have made them desire the addition of the Kanchipuram area to their empire. Added to it the political condition of the region from about 1190 must have encouraged them to undertake the invasions and conquest of the territory.

The Telugu Chodas who were the feudatories of the Cholas appear to have taken advantage of the pre-occupations of the Chola kings, Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III and acted in an independent capacity in certain periods of their history ignoring all feudal obligations to their overlords. In fact a few inscriptions of the Telugu Chodas suggest that a hostile attitude was taken by some of the chieftains of the line against Kulottunga III and later against Rajaraja III. For instance a Kanarese record of Ś. 1114 (A.D. 1192-93) says that one Bhujabalavira Nallasiddanadeva Chola maharaja was ruling from Vallurapura (situated near Cuddapah and the capital of the Maharajapadi-7000) as levying tribute from Kanchi.¹³ Again an inscription of Ś. 1.05 (1105?) of a Telugu Choda king contains the expression *Kappam Konna*, apparently a reference to the achievement of the king mentioned above.¹⁴ It was probably to make the Telugu Choda ruler realise his subordinate position that Kulottunga III is said, in an inscription of his 19th year, to have "despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the north, entered Kachchi with (his) anger abated and levied tribute from the whole northern region."¹⁵ Obviously the reference is to the bringing under subjection the whole of the Telugu Choda kingdom. As a natural result of it, the overlordship of Kulottunga III appears to have been once again accepted by the Telugu Choda chieftain as is borne out by some records of the latter which are dated in the regnal years of the Chola king. But two inscriptions of later dates, namely A.D. 1214 and 1217, suggest the taking up once again of a hostile attitude by the Telugu Chodas against the Chola empire. They mention the levying of tribute from Kanchi by the chieftain.¹⁶ It appears that the Telugu Choda chieftain received some help at that time from the Kakatiyas as is suggested by an inscription which mentions a Prola Bhima Nayudu, the *Mahapradhana* of Ganapatideva as Kanchipura kara.¹⁷ It was a stirring and trying period in Chola history, when apparently owing to the weakness of the central government, the Chola empire witnessed interference and invasion from different outside powers, and internal rebellions, particularly those of the Kāḍavaraya chieftain and the ruler of the Magara country.

The general course of events in the Chola kingdom during the period under study appears to have been as follows. Towards the closing years of the reign of Kulottunga III

Bānas were originally ruling over the Magadaimandalam they appear to have become associated in later times with the North Arcot and Chingleput districts, and worked in subordinate co-operation with the Telugu Chodas. In that light the rulers of Kanchipuram might have been called the Magaras (a corruption of the word Magadas) and the Kanchipuram territory itself as the Magara *rajya*.

13. *ARSIE*, 483 of 1906.

14. *Nellore Inscriptions*, G. 1; See also *Epi. Ind.*, VII, p. 150.

15. *ARSIE*, 66 of 1892; *SI*, III, 88.

16. *Nellore Inscriptions*, KV, 13 and R. 36.

17. *ARSIE*, 47 of 1929-30; Pt. II, para 29.

the Pandyan king Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (1216-1238) who wanted to take vengeance on the Chola emperor for the excesses he committed in the Pandyan kingdom during the rule of his predecessor Jatavarman Kulaśekhara, conquered the Chola country, set fire to the Chola cities of Uraiyur and Thanjavur, razed to the ground a number of buildings, performed *rābhishekam* in the Chola *abhishhekamaṅṅapa* at Āyirattali and after worshipping Lord Pōnṅambalanatha at Tillai (Chidambaram) was staying in Pon Amaravati. According to the Pandyan inscription which gives the above details Rajaraja (the successor of Kulottunga III) who had been deprived of his kingdom appeared before Maravarman Sundara Pandya and requested that his kingdom might be returned to him and was given back his territories¹⁸ But the details contained in the Hoysala inscriptions about the restoration of Rajaraja III to the Chola throne makes one suspect the truth of every statement made in the Pandyan inscription referred to above. They also throw some light on the otherwise little known Magara kingdom. According to them the Hoysala king Narasimha II who had just then succeeded to the throne after the retirement of Ballala II invaded the Chola country, destroyed the Magararajya, dispersed the Kāḍavas, served as the lion to the elephant of the Pandyas and restored the Chola power.¹⁹ This would show that Maravarman Sundara Pandya I who had penetrated into the Chola kingdom and driven out Rajaraja III was himself defeated by Narasimha II and therefore Rajaraja III was not restored to his throne by Sundara Pandya on the former's request to him but the Chola kingdom was wrested from Maravarman Sundara Pandya and given over to the Chola king. We do not know however if Vira Narasimha interfered in Chola politics of his own accord or did so on appeal by the fugitive emperor for help. Whatever that may be, on account of his successful intervention the importance of Narasimha in the politics of the Tamil country increased enormously as also the dependence of the Chola on the Hoysala king. It was at the time when the Hoysala king invaded the Tamil country to effect the restoration of Rajaraja to the throne that we hear of the Magara kingdom, for the first time. Probably taking advantage of the political confusion in the Chola empire the Telugu Choda chieftain Nallasiddha withheld his tribute to Kuloṅtunga. Not only that; he was probably in full sympathy with Maravarman Sundara Pandya when he invaded the Chola empire. It was under those circumstances that the Magara kingdom was invaded and destroyed for the first time. But the Hoysala invasion of the Magara kingdom in 1218 was not an end in itself though it was a necessary preliminary to the success of the arms of Narasimha II in the Tamil country.

A study of the Hoysala inscriptions relating to the Magara kingdom makes us think that it was invaded and conquered at least thrice by Narasimha II within a period of about 13 or 14 years. Of these three the first and third formed part of the general invasion of the Tamil country by the Hoysala king while the second was an invasion of the Magara country alone. An inscription of 1218 which describes the achievements of

18 *ARSIE*, 49 of 1890; *Ibid.*, 140 of 1894; *Ibid.*, 362 of 1906; *Ibid.*, 99 of 1926; *Ibid.*, *Rep.* para 32; *Ibid.*, 322 of 1928; *Ibid.*, *Rep.* para 18.

19. *EC*, IV, Ng. 29.

Narasimha in the Tamil country mentions him as *Kāñchikānana*, *Kāḍavarāyakulāntaka*, *magararājyanirmūlana*, *chaḥarājya pratishthāchārya*, *pāṇḍyarājya kolāhala*, etc.²⁰ while another dated two years later says that overthrowing formidable enemies in the east he captured the 100 elephants with which Magara came against him and brought them with his horses.²¹

The second expedition appears to have been undertaken by Narasimha solely against the Magara king. Reference has been made earlier to a lithic record of 1223 which says that king Narasimha marching upon Magara stopped at Chudavaditya Koppa and held a festival adding to his necklace an emerald which came from Munivaraditya.²² Another inscription of the same year credits Nārasimha with having pursued after the Trikalanga kings, penetrated their train of elephants and displayed unequalled valour, obviously a reference to the driving away of the Telugu choda chief from the Kanchi region. Since there is no mention in the above two inscriptions of the invasion of any other region or territory, it is reasonable to take the view that the invasion was undertaken only against the Magara kingdom; and as a result of that successful expedition to the east he was in "the enjoyment of a wealth of elephants, horses, jewels and articles never before acquired."²³ Probably as a result of that invasion the Magararajya was incorporated within the Hoysala kingdom and one Keśava Dandanayaka was appointed its governor. From an epigraph of A.D. 1226-27 we learn that when ruling over the Magara 300 in peace and wisdom he made the grant of a village "having gained the favour of Narasimha."²⁴ But very probably the Hoysala king lost hold over the Magararajya in or just before A.D. 1228 for according to an inscription of that year mentioned earlier, the Nangali ghat (leading into the North Arcot district) served as the eastern boundary of the Hoysala kingdom.²⁵ Having apparently regained his hold over that region the Magara or the Telugu Choda ruler seems to have co-operated with the Kāḍavarāya chieftain in bringing about the imprisonment of the Chola king Rajaraja III. It was to punish both of them and effect the release of the Chola king from imprisonment that Narasimha II undertook an expedition against the Chola country, a graphic account of which is given in the unique Tiruvendipuram inscription. According to it when Narasimha II heard of the imprisonment of the Chola king and the excesses committed by Kopperunjinga he said "this trumpet shall not be blown unless (I shall) have maintained (my) reputation of being the establisher of the Chola country", he started from Dorasamudra, uprooted the Maha (ga) ra kingdom, seized him (the Magara king), his women and treasures and halting at Pāchchūr, he ordered the destruction of the country of Kopperunjinga and the liberation of the Chola emperor.²⁶ Narasimha's achievement of the destruction of the Magara kingdom on this occasion is contained

20. *Ibid.*, IX, Kn. 87.

21. *Ibid.*, VII, Cl. 72.

22. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 203.

23. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 197.

24. *Ibid.*, XII, Ck. 42.

25. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 204.

26. *Epi. Ind.*, VII, p. 161.

also in a Hoysala inscription of 1230. It says : "first he (Narasimha) went to the east and being surrounded uprooted the Magara king, set up the Chola king, who sought refuge with him and having seen the God Alalanatha stationed there a body of Bherundas²⁷ to uproot the evil, returned and entering the Ratnakuta capital was at peace. Then the body of Bherundas according to his order remained for some time in Kanchipura."²⁸ It is evident that Kanchipuram was an important and strategical place in the Magararajya and hence an army was stationed by Narasimha at that place. But we do not know how long the region continued to be within the Hoysala kingdom. Probably a few years after 1230 even during the life time of Narasimha it regained its independence and hence his successor Vira Sōmeśvara had to reconquer it within a short time after his accession to the throne in 1236; for referring to the military achievements of the new Hoysala king an inscription says ; "Bounded in the east by Kanchi west by the shining Velavura, north by the Peddore (R. Krishna) south by the beautiful Bayalnad, within these limits the whole land did he bring under his control".

27. Probably it was the name of a regiment.

28. *EC*, V, Cn. 211a.

Vijayanagara and Ceylon

Vijayanagara, the last of the great Hindu empires in south India, was from the point of view of its size, the biggest of the many that south India had seen. Among the foreign countries with which it came into close contact and at least parts of which it actually brought under its subjection was Ceylon.¹ This pear-shaped island which is rightly called "the pearl-drop on the brow of India" has a continuous history of political, cultural and social contact with India in general and more particularly south India ever since very early times.

Vijayanagara's relations with Ceylon began subsequent to this period. The Ceylonese ruler at the time was Bhuvanaika Bahu V (1372-1406). According to Ferishta who gives a descriptive account of the kingdom of Vijayanagara about A.D. 1378, the ruler of Ceylon, besides others kept ambassadors at the Vijayanagara court and sent rich presents to the king annually.² This is evidently a reference to the friendly embassies sent by the Ceylonese ruler to the Vijayanagara sovereign.

After the death of Kampana the Vijayanagara Viceroy in south India, the area seems to have got out of control. Hence Virupaksha the son of Harihara II reconquered the Tundira, Chola and Pandya countries and settled down as the Viceroy of the area. He led an expedition even to Ceylon portions of which he appears to have conquered. In the *Narayani Vilasam* he claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Ceylon.³ The Alampundi Plates of Virupaksha refer not only to his conquest of the Tundira, Chola and Pandya countries, but also mention that he conquered the people of Ceylon and brought booty to his father which were in the shape of the crystals and other jewels.⁴

1. Since renamed Sri Lanka.
2. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 46.
3. Aiyangar, S.K., *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 53.
4. *Epi. Ind.*, III, p. 228.

The conquest of parts of Ceylon during the days of Harihara II is also mentioned by Nuniz. Referring to one "Ajarao," which appears to be a corrupt form of the full name Virupaksha Raya (II) he says that "he took Goa, and Chaul, and Dabull, and Ceillao, and all the country of Charamamdell, which had also rebelled after the first destruction of this kingdom."⁵ Ceillao is a reference to Ceylon. It appears however that the conquest of Ceylon by the Vijayanagara king was largely an exaggerated account of the conquest of the small kingdom of Jaffna, which abets on the northern part of Ceylon, for in the next century we notice that this kingdom was one of the tributaries of the Vijayanagara Empire.⁶ The assumption of such grandiloquent titles such as *Purvapashchimadakhshinasamudrādisvara* (lord of the western, eastern and southern ocean) by Harihara II also indicates that the Vijayanagara Empire had during his time reached the natural frontiers of south India, and perhaps included parts of Ceylon also.

About the revenues of the Vijayanagara Empire during the time of Deva Raya II, Nuniz says: "In his (Deva Raya's) time the king of Coullao (Quilon), and Ceyllao, and Paleacate (Pulicat), and Peguu, and Tanacary (Tenasserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him." According to Abdur Razak the *Danaik* of Vijayanagara went on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon and was away from the capital between November 1442 and April 1443, and hence he was recalled by Deva Raya II.⁷ This *Danaik* has been identified with Lakshmana Dandanayaka the *Mahapradhani* of Deva Raya II. The visit of Lakkanna to the frontier of Ceylon was in all probability in connection with the reconquest of parts of Ceylon which had been conquered by Virupaksha II in 1385, but had apparently gone out of control subsequent to his days. Besides an inscription at Nagar in the Chingleput district credits Deva Raya with having levied tribute from Ceylon (*Ilam tirai kondū*)⁸ The ruling king of the island at that time was Parakrama Bahu II (1412-68) of the Kotte dynasty. Contemporary poems speak of the people of Jaffna as Kanarese; and this is corroborated by the evidence of Valentyn who refers to an invasion of Ceylon by the Kanarese.⁹ Since Abdur Razak mentions that the *Danaik's* voyage was to the 'frontier' of Ceylon it is possible that he reconquered only Jaffna and parts of the north of Ceylon and did not go into the heart of the island; perhaps the call from the imperial headquarters prevented him from pursuing his successes into the interior. But there can be no doubt about the statement of Nuniz that tribute was levied by the Vijayanagara king from Ceylon. It is interesting to note that Valentyn mentions a Ceylonese expedition to Adirampet (Adhirampattinam) in south India, since a Ceylon ship laden with cinnamon had been captured by the south Indians.¹⁰ It is not apparent, however, if the invasion of Ceylon by Lakkanna Dandanayaka was a result of the Ceylonese expedition to south India.

5. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 301; the suggestion of Sewell that by 'Ajarao' Nuniz means two kings, Bukka II and his successor Deva Raya I is a mistake. See *Ibid.*, 51.

6. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 84-85.

7. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 74; *ARSIE*, 1904-05, para 58.

8. *ARSIE*, 144 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 60.

9. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

During the close of the reign of Deva Raya II the Vijayanagara Empire "extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Gulburga and from Bengal to Malabar, a space of more than 1000 *parasangs*."¹¹

We do not know if Ceylon continued to be under the control of Vijayanagara subsequent to the days of Deva Raya II. It is possible that distant Ceylon must have asserted its independence and stopped paying tribute to Vijayanagara during the period covered by the reigns of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha.

In the next century Ceylon itself was passing through political vicissitudes. About the beginning of the sixteenth century the dynasty of Jayavardhanapurakotte slowly rose into prominence, and continued in power for about two centuries. About 1521 Vijaya Bahu VII (1509-21), the ruler of Ceylon, was at war with the Portuguese, who were giving the people much trouble. "The report of their iron was louder than thunder when it burst upon the rock Yugandhara. Their cannon balls flew many a mile and shattered fortresses of granite." Hence he enlisted the support of the Zamorin of Calicut who was a tributary of Vijayanagara.¹² The war, however, ended in what is known as the 'sucking of Vijaya Bahu' by his sons, and his dethronement. His three sons divided the realm into three kingdoms. The eldest was Bhuvanaika Bahu (1521-50) who ruled from Kotte as the suzerain. Among the other two one was at Rayigama and the other at Sitawaka. The last brother at Sitawaka who wanted to deprive the eldest at Kotte of his suzerainty of the island was very frequently at war with him.

According to Lungi Barthema, the whole of Ceylon or at least some little part of it acknowledged the sovereignty of Vijayanagara.¹³ But two inscriptions of Krishnadeva Raya mention his conquest of Ilam (Ceylon). An epigraph at Maniambalam in the Pudukkottai State (now a separate district Tamilnadu) S. 1433 states that Srimat Narasingarayar Kittanarayar 'was pleased to take Ilam and all countries'. An epigraph at Piranmalai in the Ramanathapuram district dated A.D. 1522-23 claims for Krishnadeva Raya the conquest of Ceylon.¹⁴ It is difficult to say if the two inscriptions ascribing the feat to Krishnadeva Raya are historically quite reliable. It may be doubted if Krishnadeva Raya could have found time to march to the southern extremity of the empire at that time. It was not unusual in those days for the kings to take credit for the achievements of one of their subordinates. In 1521 one of the brothers of Vijaya Bahu of Ceylon requested the Zamorin of Calicut for help, which was apparently given. Evidently the help given by the ruler of Calicut to the Ceylonese prince was considered to be the help given by Krishnadeva Raya himself.

Similarly Achyuta Raya has been credited with the conquest of Ceylon. An epigraph A.D. 1539 refers to his conquest of Ilam.¹⁵ Further a record at Ennayiram

11. Elliot and Dawson, *History of India as told by Her own Historians*, IV, p. 105.

12. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

13. Heras, *Aravindu Dynasty*, I, p. 57 n.

14. *ARSIE*, 146 of 1903; *Rep.*, para 23.

15. *Ibid.*, 40 of 1897; *Ibid.*, 222 of 1924, *Rep.*, para 49.

in the south Arcot district dated in the same year states that he exacted tribute from Ceylon.¹⁶ Since Achyuta Raya invaded the Travancore country it is considered that this alleged conquest of Ceylon by the Vijayanagara emperor "cannot be absolutely false." The war between the two brothers one at Kotte and the other at Sitawaka in Ceylon went on unabated, the Zamorin of Calicut espousing the cause of the younger brother. From the different references by contemporary inscriptions it is not unlikely that Achyuta Raya might have helped one of the parties. Such a possibility is supported by the fact that he invaded the Travancore country a little prior to the date of the epigraph.

According to Nagam Aiyah the ruler of Ceylon was a subordinate of Bhutala Sri Vira Udaya Marthanda Varma (1494-1535) and paid tribute to him.¹⁷ It appears that he stopped sending his usual tribute. Hence Ramaraja Vithala after his conquest of the Travancore country appears to have sent an expedition into Ceylon and levied tribute from its ruler.¹⁸ It is doubtful if he actually went to Ceylon, but in all likelihood he sent his army to Kandy. Probably it is this event which is referred to in a letter of 6th December, 1546 which the Governor of Goa Joao de Castro wrote to king Joas III wherein it is stated that the Nayaka of Madurai, Visvanatha, waged a war against the king of Conde (Kandy). Castro helped the Ceylonese ruler by sending 40 soldiers to protect the ruler.¹⁹

About A.D. 1565 Ceylon appears to have been invaded by Krishnappa Nayaka of Madurai for the reason that the king of Kandy failed to pay his annual tribute to the Vijayanagara king. According to the account contained in the *Singla Dvipa Katha* Krishnappa Nayaka invaded Ceylon with an army of 20,000 soldiers, and defeated the recalcitrant ruler at Puttalam. In spite of the advice of his ministers to the contrary the Kandian ruler gathered an army of 60,000 Ceylonese and 10,000 Kattars (Portuguese?) and gave battle to the invaders. Not only was his army defeated, but he himself was slain in the battle. The family of the deceased king was sent to Aurangam the old capital of Ceylon, and treated with respect and consideration. Krishnappa Nayaka himself remained in Ceylon for three days and returned to head-quarters after appointing his brother-in-law Vijaya Gopala Nayaka as the Viceroy in Ceylon and making arrangements for the regular remittance of tribute.²⁰ This is confirmed by independent epigraphical evidence, though of an indirect nature. Credit for such a conquest is taken by the Vijayanagara emperor Sadasiva Raya since Krishnappa Nayaka undertook the expedition perhaps only as a Vijayanagara Governor. An inscription at Tiruttani dated in 1564-65 *Raktakshi* credits Sadasiva with having looted Ceylon.²¹ Then an epigraph at Taramangalam dated in 1567 refers to a Vira Vasanta

16. *Ibid.*, 331 of 1917; *Ibid.*, *Rep.*, 1918, para 73.

17. *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 297.

18. *Ibid.*, 129 of 1905; *Ibid.*, *Rep.*, para 60; the date 1536 given for the epigraph is evidently a mistake.

19. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 169 and 170, *fn.*

20. Aiyar, R. Satyanatha, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 70-72; Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-71. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne of Mackenzie Mss.*, III, pp. 183-86.

21. *ARSIE*, 451 of 1905; *Rep.*, 1906, para 49,

Raya who conquered Ceylon, and records the grant of Ilamsamudra (Ilam is Ceylon) to the Kailasam and Ilamisvara temples named apparently after Lanka.²² The triumphs of Sadasiva in the extreme south appear to have been so complete and thorough that the Vellangudi Plates of Venkata II credit Sadasiva with the overlordship of the south.²³ Sadasiva was therefore able to summon all his dependents and rajas from the banks of the Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon for the battle of Rakshas Tangdi.²⁴

The appointment of Vijaya Gopala Nayaka as the Viceroy in Ceylon appears to have been only a temporary arrangement for we do not hear of any subsequent Viceroynalty of Ceylon. Perhaps his appointment was only to receive and remit the tribute due from Ceylon.

Ceylon appears to have stopped the regular payment during the time of Sriranga II.²⁵ Hence tribute was again forced to be paid by the king of that island. Sriranga II claims to have levied tribute from Ceylon.²⁵ An epigraph at Tindivanam states that he levied tribute from all countries and from Ilam.²⁶ But it appears he was too busy in the north to have found time to lead an expedition to distant Ceylon. During the period of his rule Venkata who was in charge of the Chandragiri Viceroynalty also claims credit for the conquest of Ceylon. Evidently it was this invasion and conquest of Venkata that is meant by Sriranga's boast in which he takes that credit to himself as many other sovereigns of Vijayanagara did earlier.

A good deal of the subsequent relations of Ceylon with Vijayanagar is shrouded in mystery. As the central government weakened the Nayaks of Ginji, Thanjavur and Madurai not to speak of the Odeyars of Mysore grew into prominence and power. Among them the Nayaks of Thanjavur continued to be loyal to the imperial house till very late in its own history, while Madurai perhaps on account of its comparative distance from the head-quarters rebelled as often as it could, sided as many times as possible with the rebels and enemies of Vijayanagara and gave immense trouble to the royal house. All the while the Thanjavur Nayaks claimed suzerainty over Ceylon. The coming of the Portuguese to south India and Ceylon and their settlement in them proved a source of trouble to the country. They interfered as often as they could in the civil wars in south India siding generally with the Nayaks of Thanjavur. Likewise they interfered in the confused politics of Ceylon and Jaffna supporting one or other of the rival claimants to the suzerainty of the island. According to the *Sahityaratnakaram* of Yajnanarayana Dikshita the Portuguese had to be dislodged from Negapatnam during the time of Achyutappa Nayaka of Thanjavur and as a result of that they went away to Jaffna and Ceylan. They interfered in the politics of Jaffna, supported a rival to the throne and after driving away the ruler of the island occupied it themselves. The dethroned ruler reached Thanjavur and represented his woeful plight to Achyutappa who promised him help. But we do not know if any assistance was given then.²⁷

22. *Ibid.*, 19 of 1900; *Rep.*, p. 82.

23. *Epi. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320.

24. *Ferishta*, III, p. 413.

25. *ARSIE*, 1905, para 35.

26. *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1911-12, p. 183.

27. Aiyangar, S K., *op. cit.*, p. 271; see also Danverse, *The Portuguese in India*, II, ch. vii.

In 1591 the Portuguese undertook an invasion of Jaffna on hearing that the christians were being persecuted both by the rulers of Kandy and Jaffna. Andrew Fustado the Commander occupied Jaffna after killing the king and his eldest son. The younger son Pararajasekhara Pandara a minor was placed on the throne with an uncle of his as regent till he should come of age. The regent himself died in 1617 leaving a young son and a regent, the latter of whom was killed by one Sangili Kumara who usurped the throne subsequently. His pretensions to the throne were not recognised by the people and hence he was driven away.

But with the help of Raghunatha Nayaka of Thanjavur he got himself reinstated on the throne and the Portuguese recognised him as king. But they soon dethroned him and occupied the island. Sangili Kumara was therefore obliged to flee to Thanjavur to seek refuge at the court of Raghunatha. According to the *Raghunathabhayudayam* of Ramabhadramba Raghunatha crossed over to the island with his army after constructing a bridge of boats over the sea, and offered battle to the Portuguese, who however fled through the sea leaving behind them what all they had. Raghunatha having come out victorious reinstated Sangili Kumara on the throne of Jaffna and left a garrison for his support.²⁸ The Portuguese again interfered, reduced the kingdom of Jaffna to subjection, deposed the native dynasty and at last captured Sangili Kumara and sent him to Goa, where he was tried and executed.²⁹

Local disputes continued to exist in Jaffna and at the request of one Arehe Dom Liz Raghunatha again interfered in its affairs and tried to take possession of it. The first invasion under Khen Nayak proved futile ; but the next and a more elaborate one met with no better result ; the prince who was opposed to Sangili Kumara himself embraced Christianity in 1620 and made over his kingdom to the Portuguese.³⁰

From the available evidence we hear of an embassy from Ceylon during the time of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madurai. It was by the king of Ceylon who made a proposal for a matrimonial alliance between the two families. Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha being a conservative in religious and social matters turned down the proposal with scant courtesy, since the Ceylonese ruler was considered to be of an inferior caste.³¹

28. Aiyangar S.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 287 and 289; Danvers, *op. cit.*, Ch. viii.

29. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

30. Danvers, *op. cit.*, II, ch. viii.

31. Aiyar, Satyanatha, *op. cit.*, pp. 230 and 256; Taylor, *Or. Hist. Mss.* II, Appendix, pp. 46-47.

Tirumalaideva Maharaya

Though from the points of view of the expansion of the empire and the systematisation of the administration, the reign of Krishnadeva Raya, the great Vijayanagara emperor was one of dazzling brilliance, yet his domestic life like that of Akbar, the great Mughal emperor, was not happy. According to the Portuguese chronicler Paes, Krishnadeva Raya had twelve lawful wives. Of them, four appear to have been the principal ones, namely Tirumaladevi, Chinnadevi, Jaganmohini and Annapurnadevi. It is difficult to say who among them was the chief queen. If however, the inscriptions can give us any definite idea about that question, it was probably Tirumaladevi who was the chief queen for an epigraph specifically mentions that Krishnadeva Raya ascended the Karnataka throne with his queen Tirumalambika.¹

Though Krishna Raya had so many wives, he had no issue till very late in his reign, and this fact was not only the cause of anxiety to the emperor himself but also was the cause of concern for many in the kingdom. In 1517 Rayasam Kondamarasayya, one of the trusted lieutenants of Krishna Raya made a gift to the temple of Chowdesvari at Cholasamudram (Anantapur) "in order that the king may be blessed with children."² It appears that the prayers of the Raysam were heard and Krishna Raya was blessed with a child in the next year by his queen Tirumaladevi. We have to infer this from the details contained in a record dated Saturday, *Kartika* 12, *Bahudhanya* (expired) Śaka 1440 (A.D. 1519) coming from Kamalapuram, near modern Hospet. The inscription registers a gift of land made by the king and the queen Tirumaladevi to the God Tiruvengalanatha of Anjanagiri (Tirumalai at Tirupati) for the merit of Tirumadairaya Maharaya.³ If a conjecture is possible the gift was perhaps made on the day on which Tirumala Raya

1. *ARSIE*, 1912, p. 55. See also 87 of 1912.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *ARSIE*, 697 of 1923.

completed his first year. But it is difficult to explain how the prince came to be called a *Maharaya* even in 1519. Perhaps the epigraph was inscribed on the walls of the temple some five years later when he came to be called a *Maharaya* and was associated with the administration of the empire.

After 1519 for about 5 years we do not hear of prince Tirumalai Raya. But he comes into prominence in 1524 both in the epigraphs of the year and the account of Nuniz the Portuguese chronicler who came to Vijayanagara during the time of Achyutaraya Maharaya. The Portuguese chronicler says: "The King (Krishnadeva Raya) perceiving that he was already advanced in years desiring to rest in his old age and wishing his son to become king when he died, he determined to make him king during his life time the boy being six years old and the king not knowing what would happen after his death wherefore he abdicated his throne and all his power and name and gave it all to his son and himself became his minister."⁴ Though Nuniz does not give the name of the prince who was six years old in A.D. 1524 it was evidently Tirumala who according to the epigraphs was aged exactly so many years then. According to Nuniz the reason for the so-called abdication of Krishnadeva Raya and the installation of his son on the throne was the fact that he was afraid that there might be a dispute as to the succession to the throne after his own death which fear after all turned out to be well-founded.

It is worth examining here if this literary evidence afforded by the chronicle of Nuniz is supported by the evidence of epigraphy. The inscriptions do not refer to the abdication of the father in favour of his son. The inscriptions of Tirumalaideva Maharaya which are about thirteen in number and are all dated Ś 1446 (A.D. 1524-25) mention him as ruling over the empire with all imperial titles and are scattered throughout the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. The following is the list of the inscriptions of the prince:

Reference.	Date.	King.	Details.
<i>E. C. IV</i>	<i>Tārana</i>	Tirumalai Raya	His minister...
Hs. 58	<i>Vaiśāka</i>		Dannayaka made a grant.
	<i>Sud.</i>		
	8. Friday		
<i>EC. IX</i>	<i>Tārana</i>	Do	Timmanna Dannayaka made a grant far the merit of the king.
Mg. 6	<i>Vaiśāka</i>		
	<i>Sud.</i> 13		

4. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 359.

Reference,	Date.	King.	Details.
<i>ARSIE</i> , 683 of 1923. <i>Rep. Para</i> 79 Anantaśayana- gudi, (Hospet Taluk.)	<i>Tārana</i> , <i>Jyestha</i> <i>Sud. 7</i> Sunday	Tirumalaideva Maharaya.	Krishna granted a number of villages to the temple of Anantapadmanabha at Sale Tirumala Maharayyura founded in the name of his son.
<i>Ibid.</i> , 261 of 1929—30. Śrirangam, (Tiruchirappalli)	Ś. 1446, <i>Tārana</i> <i>Simhā</i> <i>Sud.</i> <i>Dvitiyā</i> <i>Uttaram</i> , Wednesday	Do,	Records certain grants to the temple.
<i>Ibid.</i> , 115 of 1918 Kugaiyur, (Salem)	Ś. 1446 <i>Tārana</i> , <i>Til</i> <i>Bahula</i> , <i>Di</i> , <i>Hasta</i> , Monday	Do.	
<i>Ibid.</i> , 139 of 1896 <i>SII</i> , V, 1004 Damal (Chingleput)	Ś. 1446 <i>Tārana</i> , <i>Kārtika</i> <i>Su. Di. 12</i> Monday, <i>Uttānadvādaśi</i> <i>Chitrai</i>	Do.	
<i>ARSIE</i> , 1 of 1913 Gorahtla (Andhra Pradesh)	Ś. 1446 <i>Tārana</i> <i>Kārt. Śu Di 12</i> Monday <i>Uttānadvādaśi</i> (7-11-1524)	Virapratapa Tirumalaideva Raya Maharaya.	
<i>Ibid.</i> , 605 of 1929—30. Matpadi (South Kanara)	Ś. 1446 <i>Vyaya</i> <i>Kāriika</i> <i>Su. Tuesday</i>	Tirumalaideva	

Reference.	Date.	King.	Details.
<i>Ibid.</i> , 116 of 1918 Kugaiyur (South Arcot)	Ś. 1446 <i>Tārana, Dhanas Sud. Di Pur- nima Ārdra, Sunday</i>	Do.	
<i>Ibid.</i> , 117 of 1918. Kugaiyur (South Arcot)	Ś 1446 <i>Tārana, Dhanas Sud. Di. 1 Ārdra, Sunday.</i>	Do.	
EC. IX. Ma. 82	Ś. 1446 <i>Tārana Mārga Su. 2</i>	Tirumalaideva Maharaya 'The moon to the ocean of Krishna Raya'.	Timmanna Dannyāka makes a grant
ARSIE., 91 of 1912, 1912, P. 55 Lepākshi (Andhra Pradesh)	Ś. 1446 <i>Tārana</i>	Virapratapa Tirumalaideva Maharaya	

Not even one of the above records refers to the abdication of Krishnadeva Raya and the installation of Tirumala as the Maharaya. It was the custom in the Hindu courts for the reigning sovereigns to nominate their heirs apparent and bequeath their empire to them; and that was generally done to avoid unnecessary disputes on the question of succession to the throne after their own death. It was in accordance with that practice that Krishnadeva appears to have crowned young Tirumala as the *Yivaraja* so that he could succeed to the throne on his own death and avoid unnecessary palace feuds. This was misunderstood by Nuniz as the regular coronation of the son and the abdication of the father. The fact that Krishnadeva Raya did not abdicate his throne in favour of his son is proved by a large number of epigraphs of Krishna bearing the dates from Śāka 1446 *Tārana, Vaiśaka* to *Mārga* of the same year, which are found scattered throughout the empire. Further much reliance cannot be placed on the evidence of Nuniz for it is contradictory in nature. The Portuguese chronicler says that one of the reasons why Krishnadeva abdicated his throne in favour of his son and became his minister was that he wanted to take rest in his old age. In an earlier connection, the same chronicler says that Krishna was a little over 20 when he ascended the throne in 1509, and if there can be any truth in that it is incredible to believe that within a period of some 15 years he would have become "too old" to rule efficiently and hence was anxious to retire. Even granting that Krishna became old and hence wanted retirement, it is doubtful if he could have had any rest if, as Nuniz says, he had become the minister of his son who was only six years old and therefore could not be expected to bear the

burden of the administration of the empire. Besides we have a large number of inscriptions belonging to Krishnadeva Raya bearing the dates between 1525 and 1530 and these clearly show that he continued to rule over the empire till five or six years after the installation of Tirumala as the *Yuvaraja*. It should have been a very inopportune time for Krishnadeva Raya to have thought of abdicating his throne in favour of his son when the empire was just beginning to enjoy the fruits of peace after a hard period of strenuous warfare with the refractory feudatories on the one hand, the Gajapati ruler on another, and the ever troublesome Muhammadan Sultans on the third. It was barely three years since Vijayanagara came out successful from the battle of Raichur and Krishnadeva would not have thought of retiring at that time.

But Tirumala does not appear to have reigned long. We do not hear of him in the epigraphs after Śaka 1446 (A. D. 1525), He died a premature death. Nuniz is specific on the point and says that the "great festivals (connected with the installation of Tirumala as *Yuvaraja*) lasted 8 months during which time the son of the king fell sick of a disease of which he died." Thus according to him Tirumala died about the middle of 1525. We find the earliest inscription of Achyutaraya in 1526 which states that he was ruling from Vijayanagara. This indicates that he was anointed crown prince after the death of Tirumala and hence he appeared with all regal titles since then.

According to the Portuguese chronicler Tirumala died under suspicious circumstances ; and hence Krishnadeva learning that his son had died by poison given him by Timmanna Dannayaka, the son of Saluva Timma sent for his minister, his brother and two sons and put them into prison. Timmanna Dannayaka however escaped from the prison, but was defeated and brought back. Subsequently, all the four were ordered to be blinded and cast into prison where Timmanna died. The description of Nuniz is too graphic and full of details to be cast aside. But it is extremely doubtful if Saluva Timma who was on very cordial terms with his royal master was the *Dharanivaraha* of the empire and "Krishnadeva Raya's own body" could have been punished in that manner by the king, though it might have been, if there can be any truth in the charge, due to the fact that he was subject to certain fits as observed by Paes.⁵

Towards the close of his reign the heart-broken Krishnadeva Raya was blessed with another son. He was barely 18 months old when Krishna died in 1530 and hence not "of fit age to ascend the throne." Therefore, Krishna at the time of his death nominated his half-brother Achyutadeva Raya to succeed him.

5. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

The Administrative value of the Amaktamalyada

The victories of peace are greater than the victories of war, and it is only periods of peace that are marked by an outburst of religious and literary activity. Under the benevolent administration of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagara prosperity and plenty reigned and a host of religious leaders and literary celebrities flourished in the land. Among the scholars of his court were Allasani Peddanna, Mukku Timmanna, Dhurjati, Suranna, Tenali Ramakrishna and others, while among the religious teachers who lived during the period were Vyasaraya, Vallabhacharya and Krishnachaitanya.

But Krishnadeva Raya is justly famous as a man of letters, besides being a patron of letters. He was a finished Sanskrit and Telugu scholar. Among his Sanskrit works, according to his own statement, were the *Madalasacharitam*, *Satyavadhuprenanam*, *Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraham*, *Suktinaiṇi*, *juanachintamani* and the *Rasamanjari*. The *Jāmbavatikalyanam* was a Sanskrit drama written by him and it was enacted before the people assembled to witness the *Chaitra* (Spring) festival of God Virupaksha at Vijayanagara.¹ But his *magnum opus* was the *Āmuktamalyada*, one of the *mahakavyas* in the Telugu literature. It narrates the story of Periyalvar or Vishnuchitta the sixth Alvar, who is said to have converted the Madurai king to the Sri Vaishnava faith. Besides, it gives an account of the marriage of Sudikkodḍṭta, the adopted daughter of Vishnuchitta, with God Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam. Intertwined with this main theme is the story of Yamunacharya, 'a Brahmana who after converting the Pandya king to the Sri Vaishnava faith and marrying his daughter, ruled over a part of the kingdom that was placed under his charge. He was then so much immersed in mundane pleasures that Ramamisra, a disciple of Pundarikaksha who himself was a disciple of Nathamuni, the grandfather of Yamunacharya, had to rescue him from the worldly *grihastha's* life. Yamunacharya renounced his kingdom and the life of a house-holder, became a *sannyasin* and spent the remaining portion of his life in the service of God Ranganatha and the Sri Vaishnava faith. The dramatic introduction

1. Aiyangar, S.K., *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 142.

of the story of Yamunacharya marrying a Pandya princess and then donning the yellow robes after some years, in the *Anukramalyada*, can be justified by the occasion it afforded to Krishnadeva Raya to express his political maxims when he makes Yamunacharya instruct his son on politics and administration. In the fourth canto of the work there are about eighty-five verses in which Krishnadeva Raya gives expression to his views on such a subject.

The question has often been asked if the views expressed on politics and administration by Krishnadeva Raya in his *Anukramalyada* are those of a great king with good experience in administration and contain "practical hints and information most important to a reigning prince" or those copied from earlier works on *Arthashastra*, *Dharmashastra* and *Rajaniti* as by a learned Pandit. While it has been maintained by some that the maxims are practical hints to good administration based on the experience of Krishnadeva Raya it has been argued by some others that the principles enunciated by the emperor were not his own, but were taken from earlier works on *Rajaniti*. It has been pointed out for instance that, of the eighty verses devoted to an exposition of the principles of administration, the ideas of seven of them have been borrowed from previous works. But one is tempted to ask if references to episodes of classical times made in the *Anukramalyada* will make the work unoriginal, and indicate that it has been based on previous works. Such seeming similarities between the political maxims enunciated by Krishnadeva Raya in his work and those contained in ancient Indian *Rajaniti* literature cannot warrant the conclusion that the emperor-poet was in any way wholly indebted to previous works on *Rajaniti* for he was substantially original in his ideas. If the ideas of any age have any relation to the conditions of the period, then the political maxims of the emperor show that they were particularly intended for and suited to the conditions of his day. They are comprehensive in nature, dealing with politics as a normal science and giving practical advice on governmental organisation. "It is neither a Gazetteer nor *darsana* (political philosophy); ...It gives a blend of theory and practice which appeared soundest" to Krishnadeva Raya, and best illustrates the brilliant sparks of salesmanship of the great emperor-poet of Vijayanagara.

The political maxims of Krishnadeva Raya, as enunciated in the *Anukramalyada*, may be grouped under certain broad heads among which are *Dharma*, ministers, system of espionage, management of public endowments poor relief, treatment of foreign merchants. An examination of the emperor's views on the above subjects and their practical application to practical questions will definitely show that Krishnadeva Raya was not only a talking theory, but also a silent practice.

The *Anukramalyada* is orthodox in outlook, wherein stress is laid on the protection of *Dharma*. The author says:—"Manu, Dandadhara and others became known as persons imbued with *Dharma* only by finding out the mistakes of the subjects and punishing them for the same. The anointed king, who is equal to God and who is created by God (Prajapati) in various forms for the purpose of ruling the subjects, is known by various terms which are sanctioned by the Vedas, as *Virat* and *Sāmrāt* and should put up with the trouble and relieve the sufferings of the world." As to why a

king should rule according to *Dharma*, he says: "In the *kṛitayuga* the king Sahasrabahu, the son of Kritavirya, who was ruling the kingdom was able to make his authority felt throughout the world in all countries, islands and provinces by means of his many weapons. It is possible to rule the country like that in this last *yuga* where the power of kings is limited...With great care and according to your power you should attend to the work of protecting the good and punishing the wicked without neglecting anything that you see or hear. In the case of impossibilities, you should throw the burden on God Narayana and do your work without pride. Your endeavours will meet with success. A king should do everything with an eye towards *Dharma*. The births of Varuna, Kubera, Agni, Dhananjaya, Indra and other gods are the result of their actions done in their previous births. The various worlds as the *Bhu*, *Bhuvah* and *Sivah* owe their positions to *Dharma*. So by performing your *Dharma* you pay off your three-fold debt, to the *Rishis*, the Gods and the *Manes*, and attain celebrity among your equals."² The emperor feels that to enforce the observance of *svadharmā* by the people the ruler must not desist from using *daṇḍa*, and he says: "the wife's attachment to her husband, the proper relations between men and women the ascetic subduing his *indriyas*, the lower castes showing deference to the higher, the servant looking carefully to the interests of the master—all these are brought about by the fear of the king's punishment." The titles *Vaidīkamārgapratisthāpanācharya* and *Vedamārgapratisthāpanācharya* taken by Krishnadeva Raya as by many other Vijayanagara kings and the appointment of *śamayācharyas* or censors of morals by them prove that the king as many others sought to translate his ideal into practice.

Krishnadeva Raya feels that much care must be taken in the choice of ministers. He wants that the king must choose as his minister a Brahmana who is a scholar with knowledge of *Rajaniti*, is aged between 50 and 70 and physically healthy and had been serving the king from previous generations, and remarks that if one had such a minister the seven limbs of the government would be strengthened. As for the appointment of governors of forts he wants well disposed Brahmana to be selected for them, and strongly discourages the appointment of Kshatriyas for them lest they should attempt to subvert the king himself.³ In the Vijayanagara history we have abundant evidence of Brahmana ministers having served under successive kings.⁴ It seems though Krishnadeva Raya was describing the qualities of his minister, Saluva Timma, when he specifies the characteristics to be expected of the ministers. The emperor warns against the choice of bad ministers who would be a source of danger to the kingdom.

Krishnadeva Raya lays great emphasis on the organisation of an efficient system of espionage and says that spies must be employed to watch the movements of the enemies, of the ministers and others in the kingdom lest they should get conceited with their position and advise the king to launch on unnecessary enterprises. He lays down that the spy must reside in the capital, be conversant with languages, be acquainted

2. *Amuktamalyada*, Canto IV, pp. 284-85.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

4. Mahalingam, T.V., *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, p. 241.

with the spies of other countries, be without special marks and be amply paid. Great value was attached to the words of the spies and this is shown by the words of the royal author who says : "Do not spur away an informer at the very outset. Ponder over and over again about what he says. If what he reported proves to be false, then dispense with him, but see that he is in no way disgraced." By these words the emperor has described what actually happened in the empire for we know that espionage under Vijayanagara was very efficient.

Krishnadeva Raya says in his *Amuktamalyada*: "Do not entrust the temples of your kingdom to an officer who is intent upon amassing wealth, lest, he should, in his avarice divert the money of the temples to make up for the losses sustained by his province. So it is necessary that a separate officer should be appointed to administer them, for even if he misappropriated the property of the temple he alone would suffer for it and the king would have nothing to do with it." To avoid misapplication of one fund from another, Krishnadeva Raya appears to have actually separated the administration of religious and public charities from the administration of the ordinary revenue.⁵ Till about the time of Krishnadeva Raya, the *Parupatyagar* who was a local official in those days exercised some control over the administration of the temple. But the emperor ruled with regard to the management of a temple as follows : "All grants are to be taken care of by Allappa, the agent of the temple of the god. He will take possession of them, and, appointing such temple servants, as he wishes, will continue the temple services from time to time; the *Parupatyagar* has no authority to enquire into the affairs of the temple. Allappa will be the agent of the temple and no one else."⁶ We do not know for certain if this order of Krishnadeva Raya was a single case of such a policy or if it is the only known example of his new policy. But in the light of his views on the subject contained in the *Amuktamalyada*, it may be taken that this offers an illustration of the new policy of the emperor with regard to the administration of temple properties and other philanthropic endowments.

Krishnadeva Raya says in his *Amuktamalyada*, that the prosperity of a kingdom depends largely on its size but if the state should be small, the tanks, channels and other irrigation facilities in it should be increased and the poor cultivators helped with concessions so that they could develop their resources and help the augmentation of the prosperity and wealth of the State; the king will never be prosperous though he may conquer the seven *dvipas* if there are officers in his employ who do not call back the subjects that leave his state on account of suffering, but would, like the jackal in the battlefield, say that their cattle and grain might be taken over, and the materials in their houses used as fuel."⁷ The emperor improved the irrigation facilities in the State. He constructed a big lake near Nagalapura, afforded irrigation facilities to the people; and fixed graded rates of assessment on the cultivators. Nuniz says that, by means of that water the people made many improvements in the city and "in order that they might improve their lands he

5. *Amuktamalyada*, Canto IV, pp. 21f.

6. *EC*, IV, Cn 99.

7. *Amuktamalyada*, IV, pp. 236-37.

(Krishnadeva Raya) gave the people lands which are irrigated by this water free for nine years until they had made their improvements, so that the revenue already amounts to 20000 *pardaos*.”⁸ The history of the Vijayanagara empire is replete with instances of the oppressive taxation policy of the governors, the consequent migrations of the people to places where taxation was less heavy, and the interference of the central government to restore confidence in them and call them back. At the beginning of the sixteenth century taxation in the South Arcot district was so heavy that one Trinetrantla Kachchirayar who was then the local governor, had to revise the rates of taxes. But since the new arrangements also pressed heavily on the people who began to leave the place in consequence, the rates of assessment were again revised favourable to the cultivators. Thus the emperor noted down as the political maxims of kings only what were being done by the government of the day.⁹

The emperor's views regarding forest tribes appear to be based on his practical experience with many such in the empire, like the Kurumbar. He suggests that the control over wild tribes inhabiting hills and forests must be entrusted to such chiefs as had been driven away from their strongholds and consequently had immigrated into this kingdom and that the aboriginals lest they should give trouble must be brought under control by allaying their fear, because, being uncultivated people, their trust or distrust and friendship or enmity might be aroused by very trivial causes. The emperor suggests that the friendship of such wild forest tribes might be secured by truthfulness, and says that by attaching them to himself by kind words and charity, he would be able to enlist their support in his invasions against foreign territory.

With regard to the encouragement of trade and foreign merchants, Krishnadeva Raya expresses certain views in his *Amuktamalyada* which he actually translated into practice. He says that the king should rule the empire in such a way that the harbours in it are improved to facilitate the expansion of trade in horses, elephants, precious stones, sandal wood besides sweet smelling substances, pearls and other articles. He should afford protection to those immigrating into his kingdom on account of famine, pestilence and war in other countries and that in a manner suitable to their nationalities.¹⁰ The king must honour foreign merchants trading in valuable elephants and horses by providing them with villages in the kingdom and dwelling-houses in the city so that they might settle at the capital and wait in attendance on the king. He adds that by so doing and by offering them presents and allowing them good profits, the king would be able to see that the elephants and horses do not reach the enemy and that the merchants would remain fast friends of the king.¹¹ In these words Krishnadeva Raya doubtless reflects his policy with regard to the Portuguese merchants who supplied him horses, rather than to the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. In fact the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa promised to send to Krishnadeva Raya all the horses available at Goa

8. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 365.

9. *ARSIE*, 246 of 1916, para 66.

10. *Amuktamalyada*, IV, p. 245.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

in preference to others.¹² The policy was pursued by Achyuta Raya who purchased thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz every year.¹³ Sadasiva concluded a treaty with the Portuguese according to which the Governor of Goa "agreed to allow Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the king of Vijayanagara, none being permitted to be sent to Bijapur, nor to any of its parts; and the king of Vijayanagara will be bound to purchase all those that were brought to his ports in quick and proper payment"¹⁴ Krishnadeva Raya induced the merchants from other cities to settle at Nagalapura.

Though the views of Krishnadeva Raya on government and administration were eminently practical and wise he could not think of a polity which could stand the test of time. An important department of administration about which he makes no mention at all is the naval department. Though he says that the harbours must be improved, and Abdur Razaak vouchsafes that there were in the Vijayanagara empire more than 300 ports, many of them were minor ones for commercial purposes than for serving as naval bases. This was a very weak point which the Vijayanagara kings did not care to make up to their own advantage. As a result of this policy piracy became rampant in the coastal regions and the Portuguese were able to settle in the country and give the people immense trouble.

Before concluding, it may be of interest to note that, though Krishnadeva Raya's views on politics and administration were in many respects substantially original, comprehensive and practical, there are certain features in it which in a remote manner echo the Kautaliyan principles of administration. Though we cannot say on this account that the Vijayanagara emperor borrowed his ideas from the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya yet the similarity of the ideas is striking. Among such ideas are the following :—

1. Kings should forment the jealousies among the lords and warriors under them so that they would not prove treacherous to the king.
2. Kings must keep a watch over the actions of the councillors through their spies.
3. If you think that the holder of a foreign fortress on your frontier can be easily worsted then it is better he is overcome.

12. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 59.

13. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

14. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 62

Social Legislation in Medieval South India

In the modern day with the growing complexity of society the State takes upon itself legislation of a social character in the interests of the citizens. Such legislation covers a wide field, socio-religious, social and economic and affects to some extent even the private life of the citizen. In medieval south India, as in other parts of the country and other periods of its history, the ultimate end of the State was what Hegel would call *sittlichkeit* (morality) though the proximate end was the promotion of the material and moral well-being of the citizens. The State insisted and enforced on the people the observance of *svadharma* (one's duty) based on immemorial custom and the authority of the Hindu scriptures. The kings took such titles as the maintainers of the castes and the upholders of the religion of the country. With a view to enforce the proper observance of *svadharma* by the different communities in the kingdom, they appointed *samayācharyas* or censors of morals who kept a watch over the activities of the people. Particularly the Vijayanagara empire, the object of the foundation of which was the preservation of Hindu religion, *dharma* and traditions, very rigidly enforced *svadharma* on the different communities. As a recent writer said: 'It is a recognised element of national psychology that where a society is on the defence it cherishes every inherited tradition and holds fast to all things good and bad which it has inherited. Conservatism becomes a national virtue; the maintenance of what has been, a point of national honour. That is not the time for reforms for the *raison d'être* of the State is defence of what exists. The orthodoxy of the kings became therefore, the central point in the State. Hence it is that the great States which stood out the Mohammedan influence—like Vijayanagara—became the citadels of orthodoxy, places where customs which in a free India never had universal acceptance, came to be considered orthodox and unchangeable.'

The kings who were anxious to preserve the social solidarity of the empire strove to maintain the good relations among the different communities and avoid any breach of peace. Though equality never became a political necessity then, ample room was found

for co-operation and progress. A composite social structure, with all its cultural or occupational differences not to be easily obliterated, was all they could look to and strove for.

When questions affecting the different religious communities in the empire assumed such serious proportions as warranted or necessitated the interference of the Government, they did so to maintain peace in the realm. In 1368, for instance, a serious dispute arose in the modern state of Mysore (now Karnataka) between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas regarding the right of the latter to use the five great musical instruments and the carrying of the holy water-pot (*kalasa*) during ceremonial processions and on ceremonial occasions. The question became so serious that the matter was taken up to Vijayanagara from where Bukka I was ruling the Empire. The King convened a conference of the leading Jainas and Vaishnavas from important places in the empire, investigated into the matter, and having made them agree, declared that there were no differences between the Jaina and the Vaishnava *darsanas*. He said: 'The Jaina creed is as before entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalasa* or vase. If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina creed through the Vaishnavas the latter will kindly deem it as loss or advancement to their own creed—for as long as the sun and moon endure the Vaishnava creed will continue to protect the Jaina creed. Vaishnavas and Jainas are one body. They must not be viewed as different'. It was declared that he who transgressed the decree was a traitor to the king, the *sangha* and the *samudaya*.

The problem of marriage reform is neither new nor peculiar to the modern day. Marriages in India have very often been associated with some price paid either for the bride or for the bride-groom. At times this practice assumed such protean forms that the people suffered much. In medieval south India this system was widely prevalent and compulsory in character, on account of which many families felt it as a great burden. It was not unusual for the parents of the middle-class girls to sell a part or the whole of their property to meet the expense. In a particular case a certain individual who was at his wit's end on account of this problem decided that under any circumstance he would not part with his land as *stridhana* (bride price). We have an interesting instance in the days of Deva Raya II, the Vijayanagara emperor, as to how the members of a few communities in parts of the modern North Arcot District, which were then known as the Padaividu Rajya, decided to overcome the economic difficulties created by the compulsory character of this pernicious system by making among themselves an agreement which bears the stamp of a piece of social legislation. The inscription which records this agreement states as follows: The great men of all branches of studies of the kingdom of Padaividu drew up in the presence of the God Gopinatha of Arka Pushkarani a document which contains an agreement fixing the sacred law. According to this document if the Brahmans of Padaividu, that is Kannadigas, Tamils, Telugus, and Latas (Gujaratis) of all *gotras*, *sūtras* and *sakhas*, conclude a marriage they shall from this day do it by *Kanyadanam*. Those who do not adopt *Kanyadanam*, that is, both those who give a girl after receiving gold or those who conclude a marriage after having given gold shall be liable to punishment by the king.

and to excommunication'. Thus this was a voluntary agreement which the Brahmana of the locality arrived at after due deliberation and which the government sanctioned and enforced. Likewise, in the Mysore country, the *Settis* (merchants) made some regulations with regard to women who lapsed from marriage. But unfortunately the epigraph which mentions it is so fragmentary that we are not able to make much out of it. But these instances show that the initiative for such reforms generally came from the people themselves, and the government did not enforce any legislation on an unwilling community. This must have very much facilitated the smooth working of the legislation.

Though, in order to save and preserve the religion of the land, the medieval State was obliged to enforce the strict observance of *svadharna* by the people, the period was marked by some social unrest on account of the anxiety of the different communities to rise in the social scale. The humbler among the people who constituted the majority of the population clamoured for certain small privileges or honours, often customary in nature but which were made much of by them. The government were, therefore, not very infrequently called upon to interfere and adjust such social differences.

In the reign of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola Deva (Kulottunga Chola I), there arose the question of what profession the *anuloma* class called the *Rathakaras* must follow. Such a question as this assumed great importance in an age when labour conditions were not fluid and freedom of movement was comparatively limited. The religious tests such as those of Yajnavalkya, Gautama, Kautalya, Baudhayana and other authorities were examined by the learned Brahmanas of the locality and it was defined that a *Mahishya* was born of a *Kshatriya* father by a *Vaisya* mother; a *Karani* was a daughter of a *Vaisya* father and a *Sudra* mother; a *Rathakara* was a son of a *Mahishya* father and a *Karani* mother and therefore was an *anuloma* to the second degree.

It was further laid down that they were to adopt the following professions; (1) architecture (2) building coaches and chariots (3) erecting *gopuras* of temples with images on them, (4) preparation of instruments required by the Brahmanas in their sacrificial ceremonies such as the ladle, etc., and (5) building of *mandapas* and making of jewels for kings such as diadems, bracelets, etc....

Inter alia it was also stated that this *anuloma* sect of *Rathakaras* was superior in point of caste and dignity to the *pratiloma* sect (those born of a *Karani* father and a *Mahishya* mother). Among the authorities quoted, one permitted them to perform *upanayana* and sacrifices and receive sacred fire. But according to another authority these *anulomas*, though entitled to *upanayana*, are prohibited from the perpetual keeping of the sacred fire (*agnihotra*), the worship of the fire thus kindled (*aupasana*), the five sacred methods of worship prescribed for the Brahmanas namely (1) *deva yajña* (ceremonial worship of gods), (2) *pitri yajña* (ceremonial worship of manes), (3) *brahmayajña* (ceremonial worship of the *rishtis*), (4) *bhuta yajña* (ceremonial worship of living creatures other than men), (5) *manushya yajña* (ceremonial worship of men), and

(6) *adhyayana* (chanting of Vedas). It may be of interest to note here that the last authority quoted above also lays down that the *upanayna* referred to in respect of the *Rathakaras* must not be performed by them by quoting the *mantras* (sacred hymns). This interesting decision with regard to the rights of the *Rathakaras* affords a good illustration of the procedure adopted to decide such doubtful cases affecting the socio-religious practices of the people. The decisions were based only on the sacred texts themselves but also on their interpretation by jurists or renown.

The method by which social questions were decided is also indicated by an inscription of A.D. 1379. It states that if a caste dispute arose, the rulers or the *nayakas* and *gaudas* would summon the parties between them and advise them and as they had the power of punishment, the parties must act according to the given advice, generally the proceedings being free of cost. It was not unusual, however, that at times the elders of different communities also decided social questions.

Many of the humbler classes in the empire were grouped under two organisations, the *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes or the Right-hand and Left-hand classes. According to traditional belief each such division contained some ninety-eight sects. Though we meet very frequent references to such groups, we are not able to know their exact origin. There were frequent quarrels among these groups with regard to certain social rights and privileges. As the Abbe Dubois aptly puts it, 'Perhaps the sole cause of the contest is the right to wear slippers or to ride through the streets in a palanquin or on horseback during marriage festivals. Sometimes it is the privilege of being escorted on certain occasions by armed retainers, sometimes that of having a trumpet in front of a procession, or of being accompanied by native musicians at public ceremonies. Perhaps it is simply the particular kind of musical instrument suitable for such occasions that is in dispute ; or it may be the right of carrying flags of certain colours or of certain devices during these ceremonies'. Such quarrels between the two groups were pretty frequent in medieval south India, and each of them was tried to be settled amicably. For instance the relations between the two groups reached at a time such a high pitch on the northern bank of the river Kaveri that an agreement had to be made as regards the social conduct among them.

The *Kaikkolas* or the weavers were, like other communities, anxious to secure social privileges. In the middle of the fifteenth century, those among them that lived at Kanchipuram and Virinchipuram enjoyed the privileges of the palanquin and the conch. In 1485-86 the same privileges were extended to the *Kaikkolas* of the Valudilambattu Rajya by one Aramvalartta Nayanar, the local chief. It was specified that those who objected were liable to be punished. A few years later the same privilege was extended to other places in the empire.

Likewise, frequent quarrels between the *Panchalas* (artisans) and the cultivators were settled by the Government. About the middle of the sixteenth century for instance, there arose a quarrel which was decided by the local chief with the help of eighty-eight Sri Vaishnava Brahmanas : boundaries were fixed for the two parties

within which they were allowed to erect rows of houses, carry on their caste observances, make jewellery, and enjoy in the local temple the same privileges and positions which were granted to and enjoyed by the *Panchalas* at the car festival at Vidyanağara. It is interesting to note here that this decision was based on a previous one. In the middle of the sixteenth century, certain regulations were made by a local chief in the modern Udayagiri Taluk in the Nellore Taluk, according to which when the car of the local temple was passing along the streets with the *nattaras* and servants inside it, a member of the artisan community, wearing a cloth round the head and another loosely round the waist and having only a sandal mark between the eye-brows and not chewing betel, should go round the car with a chisel, a mallet, a nail, and a sickle in his hands.

The Government were anxious that there must be no breach of such social privileges; hence for instance in the third decade of the seventeenth century, the *Nattar* of the village of Tiruvamattur, in the present South Arcot District, gave an undertaking that they would not ill-treat or deprive the artisans of their privileges and promised to grant them the privileges enjoyed by their community in a few other places. In another case when it was found that the artisans of a few places enjoyed certain privileges over and above those enjoyed by their community elsewhere, such privileges were withdrawn so that all the artisans might enjoy the same privileges.

Differences among the artisans assumed such a serious magnitude, at Kalladakurichchi in the modern Tirunelveli District, during the days of Virappa Nayaka of Madurai, that the ruler thought it necessary to interfere, perhaps on the representation of the leaders. Virappa Nayaka issued a writ to the five sub-sects of the community facilitating their separation from each other and consequent dismemberment of the community.

The expansion of the Vijayanagara empire and the consequent colonisation of Tamil India by the Karnatakas and Telugus brought in their train certain social problems which occasionally grew extremely serious. As in the modern day, so in the Vijayanagara period, there was much communal bitterness between the *Vellalas* and *Vellai-nadars* who appear to have been respectively Tamils and Telugus. The relations became at times so strained that occasions were not lost to ostracize the members of the *Vellai-nadar* community. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, on the charge that a few *Vellai-nadars* had committed some unspecified offences in their capacity as accountants, agents, etc., of the *Vellālas*, the leading members of the latter community resolved after due deliberations not to employ the *Vellai-nadar* even for menial service and to kill three specified offenders. Some years later, the regulations against them were made still more stringent. They were not to take Tamil girls in marriage; neither could they take up service in the Tamil country, not even enter Tamil districts. Some twenty-three specified offenders of the community were to be killed when detected. It is evident that the Government sanctioned such persecutions possibly owing to the serious nature of the offences.

Then again, in Madurai, the *Saurashtras* who had settled in large numbers, tried to rise in the social scale by assuming Brahmana caste names and performing the

brahmanical ceremony *upākarma* or the annual renewal of sacred thread. They spread certain legends to show that they were originally Brahmanas, but had degenerated. They had frequent quarrels with Brahmanas and, during the regency of Queen Mangammal of Madurai, as many as eighteen *Saurashtras* were arrested by the Governor of the city for performing the *upākarma*. The Queen took cognizance of the situation and convened a conference of men learned in the *Sastras* to investigate the right of the *Saurashtras* to such ceremonies. The learned men considered the question in detail and declared in favour of the practice; Queen Mangammal gave the *Saurashtras* a palm leaf award authorising them to practise the *upākarma* rites.

An interesting feature of village life in medieval south India was the anxiety of the villagers to safeguard the exclusiveness of their villages. The residents of Mangadu, a village in the Chingleput District, made an agreement that they would not sell their lands to an outsider or even give them as *stridhana* (bride price) to an outsider. At a certain place in the modern Karnataka State, the people agreed among themselves that the share-holders in the village, who were in all probability Brahmanas, must not mortgage their lands to *Sudras* and that, if any one among them violated the agreement, he was to be put out of the Brahmana community. Likewise certain disabilities were placed in the way of outside cultivators seeking lands in the village.

These instances clearly show that where legislation of a social character was made by the Government, it was more in the nature of an official sanction to certain changes that were inevitably coming over the religious, social and economic life of the people. The initiative generally came from the people themselves and the Government did not force legislation upon them. If they ever interfered of their own accord in such matters, it was more a diplomatic move on the part of the rulers for bringing about compromises between rival creeds and religions, as was done by Bukka I in 1368 when effecting a compromise between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas in the modern Karnataka State.

Rural Problems in Vijayanagara

Rural development is very much in the air to-day. But India being a predominantly agricultural country, work in the direction of rural welfare cannot be considered a new activity : though not altogether in the present form, it has been an important function of the State in India through the ages. The Vijayanagara Empire, for instance, did much for its rural population. Its services in this direction deserve serious study, especially in relation to the present efforts at rural development.

A very important responsibility of a State is to enhance the economic well-being of its people. This was realized by the Vijayanagara rulers. Since major proportion of their subjects depended largely upon agriculture (as they do even now), they strained every nerve to improve agricultural conditions ; and they adopted two means towards this end. One was to bring fresh lands under cultivation by forming new villages in places where there were none and by encouraging rehabilitation and reclamation of old villages ; the other was to improve irrigation, thereby making it possible for the ryots to grow larger quantities of agricultural produce on the old lands.

In a few cases the State cleared forests, formed new villages, brought fresh lands under cultivation, and thereby increased the gross yield from the land. Though the formation of such new settlements in uninhabited places was prompted by religious motives—for many such villages were formed and presented to Brahmanas as *sarvaman-yam* in order to attain merit—it contributed towards the improvement of the economic condition of the people. In a large number of cases the State encouraged reclamation and cultivation of land. To these newly colonized lands, concessions, either partial or full, in the amount of taxes payable to the Government were granted. The colonizers of such lands were at times exempted from taxes for a specified period. In some instances graded rates of assessment were fixed : this was a means of encouraging the people to reclaim land and form new settlements. For instance, early in the fifteenth century, when lands in parts of the present district of Thanjavur were submerged by floods of the Cauvery, people were induced to bring them again under cultivation through concessions granted to them in the payment of taxes. The State also granted land free of taxes in consideration of the trouble people had taken in reclamation work.

But even more essential is the provision of irrigation facilities, and the Vijayanagara sovereigns understood the value of this work. Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest of them, has expressed his views on this subject in his *Amuktamalyada*, one of the best works in Telugu. He says that if the empire of a ruler is too small for expansion, the tanks and other sources of irrigation in the State should be improved, so that its prosperity may increase; and this can be ensured only when tanks and canals are constructed and concessions are granted to the poor cultivators in regard to taxes and services.

The Vijayanagara emperors undertook a large number of irrigation schemes, especially in areas which largely depended upon a precarious rainfall. In 1368, for instance, a large tank with sluices was constructed in the modern Cuddapah district, one of the famine-stricken areas of the Madras Presidency (presently part of Andhra Pradesh). In the last quarter of the 15th century, an extensive valley in the Anantapur district was converted into a tank and named Narasambudhi after the ruling sovereign. Krishnadeva Raya himself constructed a tank near his capital for irrigation and to supply water to the new city of Nagalapuram which he had built. Since this tank was between two valleys, much rain water collected in it. The king also provided it with sluices and pipes to regulate its supply. He gave his subjects lands irrigated from this tank free of taxes for nine years.

Neither was private effort lacking in this field. The temples and village assemblies also constructed tanks and provided irrigation works, though these were on a small scale and for a small locality. The State encouraged such effort by the grant of lands on what is known as *dasavanda* tenure. Provision was also made for the maintenance and repair of such works. Discussing the system of irrigation in Vijayanagara, Crole, the author of the *Chingleput District Gazetteer* says, that, "Many of them (irrigation works) now abandoned or in ruins evince the solicitude of those ancient monarchs for the extension of cultivation even in tracts not favoured by natural position or the quality of the soil. Almost every catchment basin, however small, still bears traces of having been bunded across, and in many instances this was done in order to secure a crop of paddy on a few acres of stony ungenerous soil to which all the fostering care of the British administration has failed to induce cultivation to return. Large and more expensive projects were not neglected. Even some of them bear witness to the enlightenment of those Hindu Kings, while the absence of scientific instruments in those remote times compels the astonishment... of the beholder."

In regard to taxation, too, the interests of the agriculturists were cared for by the State. Where the monsoon was unfavourable or unforeseen circumstances affected the normal yield of the land, the cultivators were granted concessions or relief from the burden of assessment. It sometimes happened that when the ryots felt that taxes were heavy they abandoned their lands and migrated to other places. The Government was anxious to remove the cause of their suffering and mitigate their grievances. Krishnadeva Raya observes, in the work already referred to, that the king cannot be prosperous if he has an officer who even though he may conquer that the seven *dvipas* does not call the subjects back when they leave the State on account of suffering. In

such cases of migration—which were, however, of a local character—the rulers interfered, removed the grievances of the people, and persuaded them to settle down again on their lands. At times, when the people of a locality found the taxes excessive, the State even went so far as to cancel the taxes or to revise the rates of taxes in a way which satisfied the subjects. Then, again, in the methods of assessment the rulers considered the interests of the ryots and adopted a system of measuring lands which would satisfy the people. In 1447, for instance, when the ryots of Magadaimandalam (in South Arcot district) felt that the length of the rod for measuring wet and dry lands for assessment was too small and hence caused much inconvenience to them, the Viceroy introduced the necessary reforms in the measuring rod.

It is said that the best manure for land is the personal supervision of the landlord. And one of the main questions connected with the movement for rural uplift to-day is absentee-landlordism. But in earlier times such a problem did not exist in India. In the fifteenth century, for instance, the people of the village of Mangadu in the Chingleput district made an agreement among themselves that any owner of land in that village who desired to sell his land should do so only to a landowner within that village and not to an outsider. They also decided that they should not give their lands away to any outsider even as a dowry. They were equally anxious to see that ownership of property should not pass from one community to another; the Brahmana landlords of Malavalli in the Mysore district made an agreement among themselves in the fifteenth century that they should not mortgage or sell their lands to *sudras* either as a whole or in shares, and that those who did so should be put out of the Brahmana community and such mortgaged or sold land should be considered as not forming part of the village, so that it would lose its right to water and other common benefits.

Nor was this all. It was difficult for an outsider to get land of permission to cultivate in a village, for then local cultivators would not get land to cultivate, and this would lead to agricultural unemployment. Hence certain difficulties were placed by the villagers in the way of outsiders taking up cultivation in their villages. Even the State indirectly discouraged outsiders from taking up lands for cultivation in other villages by discriminating between the local tenant and the outside cultivator in the matter of taxation. The people in Vijayanagara days were thus anxious to avoid the dangers of absentee-landlordism.

Another fact which was realized then is that good livestock is essential for agricultural prosperity. The sanctity attached to the lives of cows and bulls explains this to some extent; pasture lands and grazing fields were set apart in each village for the use of cattle; there is evidence to show that stud-bulls were reared. Contemporary writers, prominent among them being Madhava, speak of the livestock in those days and particularly mention the studs to which they attach great importance. Certain breeds appear to have been available in certain parts of the empire just as they are at the present day.

The ryots were able to obtain rural credit. The temple, which played an important part in the economic life of the rural population, had a treasury of its own, and

gave credit to the people on easy terms. Such loans were granted on personal security. The temples at times purchased land from people who were forced to sell them either to pay taxes to the Government or to meet other expenses. Thereby it not only helped the sellers with ready money in time of need but also saw that the lands did not pass into the hands of outsiders.

For any scheme of rural uplift work local self-government is essential. This existed in Vijayanagara days. Though the village assemblies which had flourished under the Cholas slowly decayed under the Vijayanagara Empire, their place was taken by a body of village functionaries who were responsible for the administration of the village, and were known by the collective name of *ayagars*, and consisted of the Village *Munsif*, the *Karnam*, the *Talayari*, the *Thotti* and a few other professional men who supplied the needs of rural folk. With these officers and professionals each village formed a separate community or republic. Local affairs were settled locally and very rarely went to headquarters. Each village was generally a self-sufficient economic unit, and contentment prevailed among its inhabitants.

Sangama Dynasty and Ceylon

The luxuriant and beautiful island of Ceylon, "the pearl-drop on the brow of India," has not been a mere appendage of India through the ages. It has a history of its own, though it is one of the most unfortunate countries whose independence has ever been at stake owing to frequent foreign invasions. On account of its proximity to the mainland of India it has had a continuous history of political, cultural and social contact with the latter in general and more particularly with south India from very early times. From the days of the Sangama period, the south Indian powers, the Cholas and the Pandyas as well as the Cheras interfered with the affairs of Ceylon. It was not infrequently that the Ceylonese Kings invited trouble to themselves by siding with one or other of the south Indian powers who were frequently quarrelling among themselves. Tamilian settlements were founded in Ceylon; south Indian systems of Government influenced the administrative institutions of the island; south Indian style of architecture was introduced and thus the northern part of the island was practically Tamilized.

In the early years of the second half of the fourteenth century Kumara Kampana, the son of Bukka I conquered a good part of south India for the newly founded kingdom of Vijayanagara. After taking the Sambuvaraya country in A.D. 1361-62, he defeated the Muslims at Kannanur near Tiruchirappalli, came into conflict with Quarbat Hasan Kāngw, the Sultan of Madurai, defeated and killed him in battle in 1371, captured the fort of Madurai, incorporated that region with the Vijayanagara dominions and thereby put an end to the independent Sultanate of Madurai which lasted for about 48 years, having been founded in 1334. After the conquest of the Madurai country Kampana ruled the area from Madurai itself, he being "pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne."¹ On his death in 1374² he seems to have been

1. *ARSIE*, 18 of 1899.
2. *Ibid.*, 573 of 1902.

succeeded to the provincial governorship by his son Jammana Udaiyar, also known as Empana and Yammana and himself by a nephew of his Porkasudaiyar.³ Of the two, however, the former alone is known to epigraphy. Harihara II's (1376-1404) supremacy was recognized in south India. But about A.D. 1383 south India appears to have got out of the control of Vijayanagara. Hence Virupaksha, a son of Harihara II, again brought the Tundira, Chola and Pandaya countries under the control of Vijayanagara and ruled over them.⁴ But we do not know the exact circumstances and the course of the reconquest of south India by the Vijayanagara prince.

It was about this time that Vijayanagara came into close contact with Ceylon, whose ruler was then Bhuvanaika Bahu (1372-1406). While giving a descriptive account of Vijayanagara the Muslim historian Ferishta observes that "The Rajas of Malabar, Ceylon and other countries kept ambassadors at his court and sent annually rich presents"⁵. But this statement cannot be interpreted as indicating the subordination of Ceylon to the supremacy of Vijayanagara for, firstly, the maintenance of permanent ambassadors by one court in another was not known in ancient and medieval India,⁶ and secondly there is no literary or epigraphical evidence to show that Ceylon had actually been conquered by Vijayanagara by that time. Therefore, it could have been only a friendly embassy, as the one sent in 1374 by Bukka I of Vijayanagara to the court of Taitsu, the King-Emperor of China with tributes and large presents.⁷

But the first actual invasion of Ceylon on behalf of Vijayanagara was undertaken by Virupaksha the son of Harihara II in 1385. The Alampundi Plates of Virupaksha mention that besides conquering the Chola, and Pandyan countries, he conquered the people of Ceylon and brought booty to his father which were in the shape of crystals and other jewels.⁸

This is corroborated by literary evidence. Prince Virupaksha, in his drama *Nārāyaṇī Vilāsam*, claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Simhala (Ceylon)⁹.

Nuniz also refers to the conquest. Referring to one "Ajarao", probably a corruption of the full name Virupaksha Raya, he says that he took "Goa, and Chaul, and

3. Nelson, *Madurai Country*, III, p. 82.

4. *Epi. Ind.*, III, p. 228; *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 298-306; *Alampūṇḍi* and *Soraikkāvūr Plates*.

5. Briggs, *Ferishta*, II, pp. 377-78.

6. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar* (Madras University), p. 172.

7. Bretachnedier, *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 211; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 140.

8. *Epi. Ind.*, III, p. 228.

9. Ayyangar, S K, *Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras University), p. 53.

Dabull and Ceillao, and all the country of Charmandell, which had also rebelled after the first of destruction of this kingdom"¹⁰.

Ceillao is certainly a reference to Ceylon. It may be noted, however, that the mention of the conquest of Ceylon by the Vijayanagara King is only an exaggerated account of the conquest of the small island of Jaffna lying close to the northern part of Ceylon. But the island does not seem to have been retained by the Vijayanagara sovereign. The Nallur grant of Harihara II of 1399 which credits him with such imperial titles as *Pūrvapaśchimadakshina samudrādihīśvara* does not make any reference to Ceylon. This gives an indication of the possibility of the island conquered in 1385 having gone out of the control of Vijayanagara by that time. Evidently the conquest of Virupaksha was only a short-lived affair.

We do not hear of the relations between Vijayanagara and Ceylon again till we come to the days of Devaraya II. According to Nuniz "in his (Deva Raya's) time the king of Coullao (Quilon) and Ceylao (Ceylon) and Paleacate (Pulicat) and Pegu and Tenacary (Tenasserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him"¹¹. When exactly Ceylon was reconquered for Vijayanagara is difficult to explain unless we correlate such an achievement claimed by Vijayanagara with a similar claim made simultaneously by the Pandyan ruler of the period Arikesari Parakrama Pandya.

The then Ceylon King was Parakrama Bahu VI (1412-1468) of the Kotte dynasty. An inscription of Ś 1357 (A.D. 1435) states that Lakkanna Dannayaka Udaiyar one of the ministers of Deva Raya II fitted out a cavalry force for destroying Jyalpanam, Napatamanam (Napattanam) and Iḷam and for the success of same an endowment was made as *Samudrayātrādāna*.¹² The expedition seems to have met with success for we find that in A.D. 1438 Lakkanna assumed the title of *Dakṣiṇa Samudrādhipati*¹³ and Deva Raya II himself took the title of *Iḷam Tirai Koḷḷa*, (one who took tribute from Ceylon).¹⁴ Further contemporary Ceylonese poems refer to the people of Jaffna as Kanarese, and this is corroborated by the evidence of Valentyen who mentions an invasion of Ceylon by the Kanarese.¹⁵

The history of the later Pandyas is not clearly known, particularly after their retirement to Tvwnnelveli. "The history of the later Pandyas of Tinnevely is the story of a more or less steady decline, punctuated by a few feeble attempts at revival ending in the final disappearance of the dynasty towards the close of the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century."¹⁶

10. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 301; the suggestion of Sewell that by "Aja Rao" Nuniz means two kings, Bukka II and his brother Deva Raya I appears to be a mistake. See *ibid.*, p. 51.

11. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

12. *SII*, VII, No. 778.

13. *ARSIE*, 141 of 1903; *SII*, VIII, No. 427.

14. *ARSIE*, 144 of 1916; see also 128 of 1901.

15. Cordrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 92.

16. Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 248.

But there appeared among them certain able rulers who in their linked sphere distinguished themselves in war and peace. Among them Arikešari Parakrama Pandya (1422-63) was one. He ruled over the modern Tirunelveli district and some parts of the Travancore State. He is credited with several victories over his enemies at various battlefields. An inscription of his in the Viśvanathasvami temple at Tenkasi says that he saw "the backs of his enemies (in the battles fought) at Śingai, Anurai, Jrāśai, Śeṅbai, Vindai, Mudalai, Virai and Vaippāru.¹⁷

According to another epigraph of his he is said to have come out successful in the battle at Vindai.¹⁸

Śeṅbai appears to have been a scene of action against the Chera ruler.¹⁹

Codrington identifies the two places Śingai and Arunai with the capitals of Jaffna and Ceylon.²⁰ Thus Arikešari Parakrama seems to have been successful both against the Kerala and Ceylonese rulers.

Such a claim to the conquest of the island made by two contemporary rulers cannot have any significance unless we are able to correlate the relationship that existed at the time between the Vijayanagara house and the crippled Pandyan dynasty. Though some scholars think that the claim made by Arikesari Parakrama Pandya to success in various battles is too boastful to be believed.²¹ Yet there appears to be some truth in it. After the conquest of Madura by Kumara Kampana the territory appears to have continued to be ruled by the weakened Pandyas who recognised the supremacy of and owed allegiance to the imperial house of Vijayanagara. We get only conflicting accounts of a traditional nature about the reason for and the manner of the restoration of the Pandyas to the rulership of the Madurai country. In spite of apparent contradictions we may believe that the Pandyas were restored to their position subject of their acceptance of the supremacy of Vijayanagara. The most powerful of the Pandyan rulers of the 15th century was Arikešari Parakrama Pandya, who appears to have taken part in the Ceylonese campaigns of Lakkanna Dannayaka as a loyal feudatory of the Vijayanagara house. Hence it is that he also records his achievements in battles in Ceylon.

But the success of Vijayanagara over Ceylon gained about A.D. 1435 appears, like the previous ones, to have been only a short-lived affair. It was probably after the assertion of independence by the Ceylonese that, according to Valentyn, an expedition was undertaken by the Ceylonese to Adirampet (Adhirampattinam, Thanjavur district) apparently in retaliation of the capture by south Indians of Ceylonese ships laden with

17. *TAS*, SI, Vol. II; *ARSIE*, 4 of 1912.

18. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 95-98.

19. *Ibid.*, XI, V, 10.

20. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

21. Rasanayagam, C., *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 367.

cinnamon.²² Therefore, in order to assert the supremacy of Vijayanagara over Ceylon, another expedition was called for, towards the close of the reign of Deva Raya II. Abdur Razzak who visited Vijayanagara in 1442-43 says that the Danaik (Lakkanna Dandanayaka) had gone on a voyage to the frontiers of Ceylon.²³ It is possible that, since Lakkanna Dannayaka is said to have gone on a voyage to the frontiers of Ceylon, he could have recognised only the small island of Jaffna and the northern portions of Ceylon. Perhaps before he could pursue his success into the interior he was called back to the imperial headquarters. Describing the extent of the empire of Deva Rāya II, in 1442-43 Abdur Razzak says that it extended "from the borders of Saraṇḍi to those of Gulburga and from Bengal to Malabar a space of more than 1,000 parasangs."²⁴

From this description it does not follow that during the time of Abdur Razzak's visit to the court of Deva Raya II Ceylon formed part of the Vijayanagara Empire. But there can be no doubt about the fact that Deva Raya II collected tribute from the ruler of Ceylon at least for sometime during his reign.

We do not know anything about the relations that existed between Vijayanagara and Ceylon during the weak rule of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha. It is quite possible that Ceylon continued to be independent of Vijayanagara during the period and paid no tribute to her,

22. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p 84

23. Elliot and Dawson, *History of India as told by her own Historians*, IV, p 105; *ARSIE*, 1904-5, para 58; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 74

24. Elliot and Dawson, *op. cit.*, p 105.

Irrigation under the Vijayanagara Kings

One of the important duties of a State is to enhance the economic prosperity of its people. In an agricultural country like India this can be done by helping the people to increase their agricultural resources ; and that in its turn can be achieved by two methods; one by deforestation and forming new villages in which virgin lands could be brought under cultivation, and the other by affording greater facilities for increase production in existing villages.

The Vijayanagara sovereigns realised the importance of improving irrigation facilities for agricultural improvement, Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest of the Vijayanagara Kings, says in his Telugu work, the *Āmuktamālyāda*, that, if the empire of a ruler is too small to be, expanded, tanks and other irrigation works within the State should be improved so that prosperity could increase.¹ Such an improvement would also cause an increase in the yield from the land. The construction of great irrigation works was generally undertaken by the Government. The Government also encouraged private initiative, and at times gave concessions and remissions in the matter of taxation on the lands so irrigated.

Inscriptions of Vijayanagara kings are replete with instances of the in anxiety to give irrigational facilities to the people. According to an epigraph of 1368 A.D. Bhaskara Bavadura, a prince of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, constructed a huge tank with many sluices in the modern Cuddapah district ; one of the famine-stricken areas of the present Andhra Pradesh. The inscription describes the way in which it was constructed. It says that a thousand men were employed in the work, a hundred carts were used for getting stones for the walls which formed part of the masonry work, and that it took two years to finish the work. The dam was 5000 *rēkha daṇḍas* long, eight

1. *Āmuktamālyāda*-Canto , 4, st 236.

rēkha-danḍas wide, and seven high.² The tank remains even to this day in sufficiently good order and use and speaks well of the labour and money spent on it. In 1388, under the orders of Bukka II, the Hydraulic Engineer (*Jalasūtra*) Singa Bhatta by name led the river Henne through a channel to the Siruvara tank apparently for affording irrigation facilities.³

The Vijayanagara sovereigns realized the value of converting valleys into tanks for irrigation purposes. Thus during the time of Narasingaraya Maharaya a valley in the Anantapur district was converted into a tank and named Narasambudhi⁴. Similarly, in A.D. 1533 a big tank was formed from the river Arkavati, and it will be interesting to note that this tank is now the source of water supply to Bangalore.⁵

When Paes visited Vijayanagara, Krishnadeva Raya was constructing a big tank near his capital to provide irrigation to the fields and to supply water to the new city of Nagalapura. The chronicler describes⁶ that, "the King made a tank there which, as it seems to me, has the width of a falcon shot and it is at the mouth of two hills so that all the water that comes from either one side or the other collects there; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice fields. In order to make this tank the said King broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been 15 or 20,000 men looking like ants so that you cannot see the ground on which they walked so many there were: this tank the King portioned out among his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work and that the tank was finished and brought to completion". Nuniz also mentions the construction of the tank, and says that Krishna Raya was assisted in the work by Paoa della Ponte, a great Portuguese worker in stone⁷. He made many sluices in connection with the tank, and constructed many pipes by which water was let out when necessary. Nuniz further says that by means of this water he made many improvements in the city and many channels by which they irrigated rice fields and gardens. Krishnadeva Raya also gave them lands free for a term of nine years in the portions irrigated by that tank, so that they could make improvements⁸ on them.

2. *Epi. Ind.*, XIV, p. 99.

3. *EC*, X, G. D. 6.

4. *ARSIE*, 710 of 1917.

5. *EC*, IX, N.L. 31.

6. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 244-45.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 364-65; He says that Krishna Raya did not first succeed in his attempt and since he was told by a few people that his failure was due to the fact that the Gods were not pleased with him and suggested that he should appease them by offering sacrifices to them, he offered a sacrifice of those prisoners in his empire who, he thought, deserved death.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 365.

The State also encouraged private initiative in such irrigation works. This encouragement generally took the form of *Dasavanda* grants to such public-spirited men.⁹

Thus when one Harinideva Vodayar constructed a tank in a particular place in the Mysore district, he received a grant from Deva Raya, and when subsequently he extended the tank, he was granted another village.¹⁰ In 1513, one Sovarya received a *Dasavanda* grant in consideration of his having constructed a tank.¹¹ Similarly, the *Mahajanas* of Bhupa-samudra made a *kodege* grant of wet land to a certain person for his having executed some work in connexion with the big tank of the village.¹²

The small common channels in the villages, however, appear to have been dug by the local people themselves. In 1486-87, for instance, the residents in and around Tiruvamattur (North Arcot) sold portions of their lands to the local Temple Treasury for the purpose of digging a channel from the river leading to the irrigation tank of the village.¹³

Maintenance and repair of irrigation works are as important as their construction, and great attention was paid by the Vijayanagara rulers to such works. The common method of providing for them was the provision of servants and necessary materials for such works. In 1567 provision was made in the following way for the maintenance of a tank in the Arasikere Taluk. A man with his buffalo and cart was appointed for it, and it was ordered that for oil, wheel, grease, crow-bar, pick-axe, etc.; for every cart-load, the original tenants had to pay two *tāra* and every load of areca-nut, betel and oranges was to pay also two *tāras*.¹⁴ In certain cases whole villages were granted for the maintenance of tanks. When for instance in 1513 two tanks in the Chennapatna Taluka of the Bangalore district went into disrepair; a village was granted for the maintenance of these tanks, and it was ordered that six carts were to be kept for their maintenance, four for one and two for the other, that earth should be put on the bunds every year and the tanks kept in good condition.¹⁵ The State at times helped the people in maintaining such irrigation works in proper condition, remitting certain taxes payable to the palace, such as *Vibhūti-kāṇikai*, *Jōdi*, and *Śūla-vari*.¹⁶ Concessions were also shown to the people in the matter of taxation when they suffered from unforeseen mishaps as from the effects of a devastating flood. Thus in 1402-03 A.D. when some villages near Valuvur were lying fallow since the time the river Cauveri overflowing its banks had washed away the demarcation bounds, silted up the irrigation channels

9. For an interpretation of the term *Dasabanda* in the different periods of Indian history see an article by V. R. R. Dikshitar in *J.I.H.* 1934.

10. *EC*, III, My. 77.

11. *ARSIE*, 398 of 1896.

12. *Ibid.*, 782 of 1917.

13. *Ibid.*, 7 of 1922.

14. *EC*, V, A. K. 115.

15. *Ibid.*, IX, C.P. 156; See also *MAR*, 1915, p. 93.

16. *ARSIE*, 8 of 1922, Rep. p. 49.

and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields, the Government restored the channels, repaired the boundary banks, and rehabilitated the villages with tenants on certain favourable conditions and fixed graded rates of assessment.¹⁷ At times the income from the tanks was utilised for their maintenance. Thus the income from the lease of the fishery from the tank at Kodungalur (North Arcot) was given away by Dalavay Sevappa Nayakar for deepening the tank at the place.¹⁸ In certain cases, Local Bodies like the Village Assemblies consented to maintain a cart driver who was to look after the upkeep of a tank.¹⁹ They also acted as the trustees of the endowments made for the maintenance of the tanks and met the expenses of the same perhaps from the interest on the capital.²⁰

The importance of maintaining tanks with drinking water was well realised especially in areas depending on rain water only. In 1518 for instance a grant of land was made for the maintenance of an *uram* at Maravamadurai in the modern Pudukkottai State.²¹

Tanks and other irrigation works were repaired whenever necessary. In 1396-97, when an irrigation channel came to be blocked up it was soon restored under the orders of Mallappa Vodayar.²² In 1424 A.D., when the dam constructed across the river Haridra by Bukka Raja gave way, Naganna Vodayar, the great minister of Deva Raya, got the necessary money from Kama Nripala, the commander-in-chief of the army, and reconstructed the dam.²³ In 1450 A.D. when three tanks in the village of Kiliyanur (South Arcot) had breached owing to a severe storm, a local chief repaired them and built a sluice.²⁴

Private effort was not, however, lacking in the repair of irrigation works; and in such cases also the Government, in recognition of such large-hearted private effort made grants to the citizens undertaking such repairs. In 1541 A.D. the tank at the village of Timmadihalli (Andhra Pradesh) breached in three places and the residents of the village, that is, Chennagauda and Timma Gauda, repaired the breaches at their own cost. They were granted one *Kanduga* of *Kattukodege* by the local chieftain.²⁵ In 1636 A.D. when the Lingannavadu breached, Mekala Bomma repaired it and got one-fourth part of the wet lands near the breaches as *Dafavanda*.²⁶ But it appears that private individuals would not repair such tanks unless they received some benefit from the

17. *Ibid.*, 422 of 1912; (Rep 1913, p. 52); Tj. 710 in Madras Topographical List of Inscris., where the author draws attention to the fiscal importance of the Record.

18. *ARSIE*, 145 of 1924; see also 424 of 1922, 118, 133 and 194 of 1921.

19. *EC*, IV, N.G. 39.

20. *ARSIE*, 474 of 1925.

21. *PSI*, 725.

22. *Ibid.*, 66 of 1912.

23. *EC*, XI, D.V. 29.

24. *ARSIE*, 154 of 1919.

25. *Ibid.*, 49 of 1917.

26. *EC*, X, B.G. 71.

Government. It was perhaps under such circumstances that, when a tank near Sidalayanakote breached in 1554 A D. the Godas, Senabovas and subjects of the village made petition to the Mahanayakacharya and offered to have the tank built if the lands under the sluice were granted to them.²⁷

Irrigation disputes as regards the portion and turn of water supply to the ryots of neighbouring villages do not appear to have been rare in the Vijayanagara days. When a channel was dug near Tirumalai by the authorities, the residents of the locality raised a serious objection to its completion on the ground that it was detrimental to the best interest of the village. The locality in question was therefore inspected by the *Sthanattar* and *Adhikari*, *Yajñarasar*, and the work was stopped on finding that the objections were legitimate.²⁸ In 1406-07 there arose an irrigation dispute between the villagers of Alattur, a hamlet of Uttaramerur, and Attiparru, another village nearby, regarding the supply of water from the local tank. It was settled among themselves in the presence of *Mahapradhani*, *Arasar* (Tipparasar).²⁹ According to another record at Chellur belonging to the time of Viranarasingayya Maharaya, an agreement was made among the residents of the three villages, Madaiivilagam, Silaiyur (Chellur) and Kandidu, regarding the right of irrigation from the channel called Sadaśivakona.³⁰ Thus such disputes appear to have been decided amicably by the local residents themselves.

27. EC, XI, HR. 22.

28. TTDI, 224.

29. ARSIE, 357 of 1923.

30. *Ibid.*, 419 of 1525

Randaula Khan and the Karnatak

The Vijayanagara Empire received a rude shock at the battle of Raksas Tangadi in 1565 as a result of its defeat at the hands of the Muslim allies ; but it survived and continued for another century with a fresh lease of life. However, the rulers of the Vijayanagara dynasty removed their capital first to Penugonda and later to Chandragiri and Vellore. In the course of the seventeenth century the hold of the Vijayanagara kings over the outlying parts of the Empire weakened with the growing power of the provincial governors who were generally called *nayakas*. About 1640 the chief among them were Virabhadra Nayaka of Ikkeri (Shimoga district in the Karnataka State), Kanthirava Narasa Odeyar of Śrirangapattanam, Kengu Nayaka in the Kongu or Coimbatore country, Vijayaraghava Nayaka in Thanjavur and Tirumalai Nayaka in distant Madurai. The growing weakness of the central organisation in the Empire was taken advantage of by the Muslim Courts of Bijapur and Golkonda which wanted to bring under their control as much of the Vijayanagara territories as possible to compensate their territorial losses in the north on account of the pressure exerted by the Mughals. In fact the two Muslim States made an agreement among themselves with regard to the conquest of the Karnataka according to which the western portion of the conquered region was to go to Bijapur and the eastern portion to Golkonda. The attempts of the Vijayanagara emperors Venkatapati and Śriranga to organise united resistance to the Muslim invaders did not prove successful on account of the mutual jealousy and general disunity among the Nayakas. In fact some of the southern Nayakas are said to have rebelled against Venkata III in 1637 and fought against him.¹ But details about it are lacking. Without realising the need for unity and concerted action among them to save the country from Muslim aggression some of them actually sought the Muslim help to settle their internal disputes. In this paper an account is given of the course of the conquest of the Western Karnataka between 1637 and 1640 by the Bijapur general Randaula Khan ably assisted by Shahji the father of Sivaji.

1. Macleod, *De Oost Indische Compagnie*, II, p. 170

Randaula Khan appears to have carried out his conquest of the Karnataka in different stages. But before the Muslim general undertook his expedition against Western Karnataka he played the role of a diplomat to strengthen his position. He thought that since the semi-independent chieftains in the area were technically subordinate to the Vijayanagara emperor Venkata III, his attack of any one of them might involve him in a war against Venkata and therefore, he proposed an alliance with the emperor to subjugate the recalcitrant chiefs of the Karnataka. According to the proposal Randaula Khan was to have no territorial gains, but only the available movable properties in the course of his invasion of their territories. Venkata apparently in a moment of weakness agreed to the proposal, but soon realising the underlying motives of the Muslim general, he declined to abide by the terms of the agreement. Finding that his plan was frustrated Randaula Khan made an alliance with Śriranga, a nephew of the emperor. Randaula Khan instigated him to rebel against the emperor.²

After making such preparations Randaula Khan turned his attention to the conquest of the Karnataka. The first kingdom to be conquered by him was Ikkeri. The causes for the invasion are not so easy to find. According to the accounts of Govinda Vaidya and Tirumalaryya Kenge Hanuma who was on terms of enmity with Virabhadra Nayaka of Ikkeri (his master) requested the Sultan of Bijapur to invade Ikkeri with a view to annihilate it and promised him large presents. But according to Linganna, one Sadaśivayya, a brother-in-law of Virabhadra Nayaka made a futile attempt with the help of the chieftains of Sode (Sudhapura) and Bilige to oust Virabhadra Nayaka from the throne. Sadaśivayya soon died, and the ruler of Ikkeri conquered the principalities of Sode and Bilige. The chiefs appealed to the Sultan of Bijapur for help and an army was sent to help them to recover their lost principalities. In the meantime Virabhadra Nayaka also sent his secretary to the Bijapur court, to explain to the Sultan his own position *vis-a-vis* Sadaśivayya. As a result of that, Virabhadra Nayaka was recognised as ruler of Ikkeri but he was required to restore the principalities of Sode and Bilige to their respective rulers. But soon one Venkatappah of Tarekere apparently another recalcitrant feudatory of the ruler of Ikkeri, appears to have induced the Sultan of Bijapur to invade Ikkeri. Taking advantage of the new situation the Sultan sent Randaula Khan for the conquest of the kingdom. The city of Ikkeri was soon attacked by the Muslim general. Virabhadra Nayaka offered resistance for sometime, but finding that his position was growing weak, he retired to the fortress of Bhuvanagiri along with his family. Randaula Khan assisted by Kenge Hanumappa Nayaka attacked Bhuvanagiri with a large army of 40,000 horse, 100,000 foot and 40 elephants. Finding further resistance impossible, Virabhadra Nayaka sued for peace, and according to the treaty that was concluded the ruler of Ikkeri gave up his claims to the conquered forts; and he was allowed to rule over the remaining part of his kingdom on terms of subordination.³ According to Linganna Ikkeri fell in 1560 *Isvara Pushya Bahula dasami* corresponding to 30th December, 1637.

2. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, and Venkataramanayya, D.N. *Further sources of Vijayanagar History* I, pp. 341-42.

3. *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVI, pp. 341-42.

Early in 1638 Randaula Khan turned his attention to the other portions of Western Karnataka. The Bijapur general's invasion of the region synchronised in point of time with the rebellion of Śrīranga, the nephew of the emperor. Venkata immediately marched with an army of 25,000 to the place where his nephew revolted, but when he heard that the western Karnataka was being invaded by the Bijapur general with an army of 90,000 and that Bangalore had been reached by him, Venkata returned back to his capital Vellore and appealed to his Nayakas for help against the Muslim invader.⁴ But Randaula Khan continued his march to Bangalore. On the way he took Sira and appointed Shahji as governor of the place. Then he besieged the fort of Śrīrangapattanam for a month, but however raised it on receipt of an indemnity of 5 lakhs of *hons* from Kanthirava Narasa, its ruler and returned back to Bijapur.

Kenge Hanumappa who was till then loyal to the Sultan of Bijapur and had helped Randaula Khan in his expeditions into the Karnataka revolted, and, therefore, to punish him the Muslim general once again marched into the Karnataka. According to Singanna, however, Virabhadra Nayaka of Ikkeri wanted the help of Bijapur for bringing back under his control the chiefs of Tarekere and Basavapattanam and sent one Ramakrishnappa, a *niyogi* in his service to carry on negotiations with the Sultan for the purpose. The Sultan agreed to the suggestion and again sent down Randaula Khan to help the chief. The combined Ikkeri-Bijapur forces attacked Tarekere and Basavapattanam.⁵

The brothers of Kenge Hanumappa were taken prisoners by Afzal Khan a lieutenant of Randaula Khan. Finding further resistance hopeless Kenge Hanuma offered to Randaula Khan a large indemnity, surrendered his city and sued for peace. In the meanwhile Shahji marched on Bangalore and captured the fort from Kempe Gauda who was in charge of it. The Maratha lieutenant made the newly conquered city his headquarters from where he controlled the southern territories. During his stay at Bangalore he reduced Śrīrangapattanam to obedience.⁶

The appeal that was made to his subordinates by the Vijayanagara Emperor Venkata III to check the aggressions of the Sultan of Bijapur in the Karnataka met with some response : Venkata was able to have an army of 13000 men with him early in 1639 and with that he invaded the Karnataka region that had been taken by the Muslims in the previous year. But he was not successful in his attempt, and therefore, returned back to Vellore after promising the enemy 27 tons of gold, elephants, horses, jewels, etc. of which four lakhs had to be paid immediately. Towards the end of the year once again he marched to the Karnataka with an army of 20,000 to recapture Bangalore but had to retrace his steps when he heard that Randaula Khan was then in the Karnataka and had taken Basavapattanam.⁷ But the loss of a part of his empire still rankled in

4. Macleod, *op. cit.*, Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, II, p. 173.

5. *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVI, p. 51; also Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 345.

6. Sardesai, G., *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 72.

7. Macleod, *op. cit.*, II, p. 173.

Venkata's mind and with the help of the army supplied by his southern *nayakas* he again marched to the Karnataka in May 1640. He was however obliged to return to Vellore in August, before rains set in.

But in April next year, Randaula Khan with the support of Venkata's nephew Śrīranga captured some places in Venkata's empire, and came within twelve miles of Vellore. It was a trying period in the history of the empire, and the Nayakas Thanjavur, Madurai and Ginji rallied to the emperor's standard. The combined forces resisted the Muslim advance to Vellore and saved the capital and the Empire.⁸ It is apparently this service rendered by the Nayak of Madurai that is described in the ballad *Ramappayyan Ammānai* which deals with the achievements of Ramappayya, the *dalavay* of Tirumalai Nayaka. According to it Ramappayya, while conducting his campaigns against the Setupati of Ramanathapuram, received a message from Tirumalai Nayaka asking him to proceed north to help the emperor against the Muslims who had penetrated into the empire as far as Vellore and from there to Bangalore where after taking instructions from the emperor, he defeated the enemy for which he was duly honoured by the emperor.⁹

8. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

9. But Ramappayya's march to and success at Bangalore are not supported by other pieces of evidence. Probably he was one of those that fought on the side of the emperor in 1641 against the Bijapuris on the outskirts of Vellore, and contributed much to the emperor's success.

Lessons of Vijayanagara History :

Glories of a Great National Movement

“La histoire ne sert rein” (History never serves), so said a writer. A few critics hold that one has nothing to learn from a study of history, and the time and energy spent over a study of the subject can be due to nothing except misdirected enthusiasm. But such a hasty and onesided conclusion is due to the fact that the question has been considered from a wrong angle of vision and with the specific object of culling out something from the history of a country or a nation. For Man's progress and development, memory is very important; what applies to an individual applies to a nation and the memory of a nation or a country is nothing but its previous history.

History cannot be the chronicle of kings and queens, their wars and campaigns, court intrigues and palace feuds only, but a study of the manners and customs of a people, their everyday life and activities and their social and economic problems and solutions. None can deny that special problems have arisen in different periods which taxed the energies of statesmen and thinkers and demanded their solution for the betterment of the community and the progress of the country. History has got lessons to teach us, but it is difficult to catalogue them in any specific order. By a study of the history of a nation or country we can get ideas which may aid us in the solution of many of the problems that confront us to-day. But application of old methods in every detail to solve modern problems may not be quite appropriate; for changes and developments in environment demand their turn a change in methods. But what one should aim at is to adapt time-honoured institutions to changing circumstances. The spirit of history, the broad lessons it holds in store, cannot be lost sight of by a discerning student. As one truly observed, the lessons of history are to be read in “a mood of pious agnosticism”.

In one sense the history of the World is the history of Empires ; each of them has left behind permanent traces of its existenc. India has been the scene of huge

Empires, and among these, the Vijayanagara Empire strikes us as the one which attained to a very high and remarkable pitch of glory during its hey days, and has left lasting traces of its existence, especially in the fields of literature and art. Surely there was nothing which Vijayanagara did not influence for some good, for, "there was nothing which it touched but did not adorn".

Origin of Vijayanagara

The Vijayanagara Empire rose by force of circumstances not anticipated. South India, the bedrock of conservative orthodoxy, was an object of attack by the Muhammadans since the days of Allauddin Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi. It was he who began to cast his covetous glance on the rich and fertile plains of south India. His policy was persistently and successfully followed by Muhammad Ibn Tughlak. He frequently attacked the rulers of Dvarasamudra and Warangal and created terror in the minds of the people of south India. The Sultan, of Madurai, Ghiyaz Uddin, 'was a fiend in human shape'. The *Hindu temples of south India suffered much at the hands of the Muhammadans, especially those of Chidambaram and Srirangam*. The frequent invasions of the Muslims over south India resulted in her cultural and economic ruin. This intense suffering of the Hindus for well nigh over a generation at the hands of the determined invaders made them realize the need for co-operative effort to save themselves from the impending ruin and for establishing their power and glory once again in south India. Thus, there lay before them a double task : one to stem the surging tide of Islamic aggression, and the other to consolidate the discordant elements of militant Hinduism against the onslaughts of the aggressive foreign faith and give an impetus to and effect a renaissance in the Hindu religion and soul. The situation gave rise to a national movement fired by religious zeal and enthusiasm. The movement resulted in the foundation of the great Vijayanagara Empire which enjoyed a glorious life for over 300 years. The study of the history of this last great Hindu Empire of south India is one of more than absorbing interest, for it stood as a splendid symbol of a vigorous national movement and regeneration.

The Empire was founded in 1336, exactly 600 years ago, with its nucleus at Vijayanagara, the modern Hampi in the Bellary district. Scholars hold different views as to its origin; some attributing to the Karnatakas and others to the Telinganas. But it appears many of them lose sight of the forest while counting the trees, for the Empire was the intense symbolic self-expression of a widespread national movement in which the Karnataka and the Telugu alike took part. It was founded by a small band of five enthusiastic brothers, the "Pancha Paṇḍavas" of medieval south India. Vidyaranya, the pontifical head of the Sringeri *Matha* in Karnataka, helped them in the task they had undertaken, and within a generation of its birth, during the period of Harihara and Bukka, the first two rulers of the dynasty, the Empire grew from a small principality into a vast Empire extending over the whole of south India.

Though the Vijayanagara Empire is now a thing of the past, the influence it exerted on the institutions of south India and the services it rendered for the cause of Hindu

religion and *Dharma* are still realized in a great measure. And it is no exaggeration to say that south India is to-day what it is only because of that Empire. It will be interesting to examine now what lessons that Empire had to give us at the present moment when many problems demand solution.

In the political horizon of to-day dictatorships loom large. Dictatorships, though efficient and beneficial to the country, are too much dependent upon the personality of the dictator for the time being, and one is not able to know what would become of the country if the dictator's powerful hands should be removed. Vijayanagara provides ample illustrations of the merits and defects of the administration depending to a large extent on the personality of the sovereign. Under strong rulers there was peace and order in the country, and contentment and progress prevailed, and there was an active pursuit of the general good of the land. But under weak ones court intrigues, palace feuds and rebellions became frequent, there was no order or peace in the kingdom and confusion and chaos prevailed. In personal administrations there is often no element of self-criticism and no sense of moderation or proportion and hence no stability of durability. Influential provincial governors gained upper hand, usurped the royal authority, and tried to effect a revolution in the royal dynasty at a favourable opportunity. The character of the constitution of an empire should be such as would survive dynastic revolutions.

Excessive Provincialisation

The provincial administration in the Vijayanagara Empire has its lessons. One historian observed that the history of India is mainly that of provincial governments of feudatory vassals rising in importance and growing in strength generally at the expense of the Central Government when signs of weakness were visible in the latter. There is much truth and sense in that remark. An important feature of the administrative organisation of the empires in India is the enjoyment of autonomous powers by the provinces. The division of the Empire into such provinces was due more to historical accidents rather than to any deliberate policy on the part of the rulers. Generally, old ruling chiefs, if conquered by the Emperor, retained their possessions as subordinate rulers owing allegiance to the invader. The conqueror did not so much aim at the amalgamation of the conquered territory and the annihilation of the ruling dynasty as at the recognition of his authority and the periodical payment of tribute. In the Vijayanagara Empire there were a large number of such provinces which owed allegiance to the imperial yoke, and the degree of autonomy enjoyed by them was not the same, since there were marked differences between them. Under a weak ruler the provincial rulers took the earliest to free themselves from all imperial authority and control. Such instances are the Nayaks of Thanjavur, Madurai and Mysore, who were the feudatories of Vijayanagara that gradually and steadily enhanced their power, importance and prestige till, in the end, they became separate States. By an irony of fate the Emperors of Vijayanagara had by force of circumstances, sometimes, had to take shelter under them. The provincial rulers took sides in palace disputes on many occasions, more often to strengthen their position, than to fight for the right cause. For instance; on

the death of Venkata in 1614, there was a widespread civil war in the country on the question of succession to the throne. Thus the rise and fall of the Empire impresses upon us the dangers of excessive provincialisation to the detriment of the Central Government.

The Dowry System

In the modern day, with the growing complexity of society, the States consider it their duty to undertake social legislation in the interest of the community. In this direction also the Vijayanagara Empire offers us guidance. The lessons to be learnt may not be copied in detail, but surely they can be used with advantage.

The problem of marriage reform is neither new nor peculiar. In the Vijayanagara period the problem of *varasulka* or bride's price was a serious and important one which called for solution. The dowry system was prevalent in the Vijayanagara days and the system being compulsory in character was a great burden on many families. Lands and property had to be sold to meet the demand and at one time the people of a village grew so anxious about this question that they decided not to part with land as *Stridhana*. This evil was so prevalent in the Tamil districts in the 15th century that, during the time of Devaraya II, the influential Brahmins of the Padaividu Kingdom (modern North Arcot District) belonging to various sub-communities made an agreement among themselves that bears the character of a social legislation. The inscription recording this agreement states that, the great men of all branches of sacred studies of the kingdom of Padaividu drew up in the presence of the God Gopinatha of Arka Pushkarni a document which contains an agreement fixing the sacred law. According to this document if the Brahmins of Padaividu, that is Kannadigas, Tamils, Telugus and Latas (Gujaratis) of all *gotras*, *sutras* and *sakas* conclude a marriage they shall from this day do it by *Kanyadana*. Those who do not adopt *Kanyadana*, that is both those who give a girl after receiving gold, or those who conclude a marriage after having given gold shall be liable to punishment by the King and to excommunication.

An important point to be noted is the fact that this piece of social legislation was the result of an agreement made by the Brahmins of the locality. It was not initiated by the State and forced on the people, but it was only a voluntary agreement which Government sanctioned and enforced. Since the State was called upon only to give effect to the agreement, it could not have found it difficult to enforce it. Unless the time is ripe and the ground is prepared for a thing it may not be possible to enforce any legislation.

Initiative For Social Legislation :

When there were grave circumstances of social and religious unrest, the Vijayanagara rulers tried to examine the problem and decide the issue taking due care to consider the *Sastraic* basis of doubtful cases demanding settlement. In Madurai for instance, the *Sourashtras*, who had settled there in large numbers, tried to raise

themselves in the social scale by assuming Brahmin caste names and performing the Brahmanical ceremony of *upākarma*, or the annual renewal of the sacred thread. There was a great agitation over this practice and the Governor of Madurai arrested 18 members of the *sourashtra* community for performing such acts. Mangammal who was then ruling in Madurai, took cognizance of the situation and convened a meeting of men learned in the *sastras* to investigate into the question of the right of the *Pattumilkarans* to perform this ceremony. This assembly, after going into the details of the subject, declared in favour of the practice, and on their advice Queen Mangamma granted a *sasanam* authorising the *Pattumilkarans* to follow the rights prescribed for Brahmins in regard to *upākarma*. A few years earlier Virappa Nayaka of Madurai proclaimed that the five divisions of the *Kamaḷans* (artisans) should not intermingle. This order was issued by the ruler to facilitate the separation of the communities from one another in their own interests and because a regulation was needed from the Government. In all these cases the *sastraic* sanctions were examined in all their details, and only if there was sufficient sanction for legislation in social and religious matters and the people were prepared to receive the slight innovations cheerfully and without demur, did the State interfere in such matters. The initiative in such matters came more from within than from without.

Settlement of Communal and Religious Disputes :

On questions which demanded tact and diplomacy on the part of the rulers for effecting compromises between rival creeds or religions, the Vijayanagara sovereigns took personal interest and solved them successfully. In 1368, a great dispute arose in the modern State of Karnataka between the Vaishnavas and the Jains; the question at issue being whether the Jains were entitled to the use of the five great musical instruments and the *kalasa* (holy water pot) on ceremonial occasions and processions. The question went up to the headquarters where Bukka I was ruling. He called the leaders of both the sects, investigated the question with their help and issued a proclamation that there was no difference between the *Darsana* of both of them, and taking the hands of the Jains placed them in the hands of the Vaishnavas, as if placing them under the protection of the latter. He declared that the Jains were entitled to the five great drums and that they should not consider each other as different. He also appointed a special Officer to carry out his order and made him responsible for it. Thus such communal and religious questions which were the cause of much discord in the Empire were decided amicably.

Improvement of Economic Conditions :

The duties of the State in any age are something more than those of the policeman and the soldier, though these constitute the elementary functions of a State. The most important of its duties is to improve the economic well-being of the community by actively helping the people in the better production and distribution of wealth. This point was well-understood by the Vijayanagara sovereigns who tried their best to improve the economic condition of the country.

India, in that period as it continues to be now, was an agricultural country and considerable attention was paid by the Government to improve the condition of agriculture. The necessity for adequate irrigation facilities was realised by the rulers who undertook important schemes especially in areas which depended largely on precarious rainfall. Thus, in 1368 the government of Vijayanagara constructed a large tank in the modern Anantapur district. The State often granted lands in uncultivated wastes on easy terms of assessment and brought new lands under cultivation. For such lands graded rates of assessment were fixed; for the first few years the tax was nominal, but it was gradually raised in subsequent years. When there were unforeseen calamities, such as droughts or devastating floods, the State reduced, and in a large number of cases did not demand, taxes till normal conditions were restored.

Gaining from the lead of Vijayanagara, modern governments can try to relieve unemployment among the middle classes to some extent by granting *dhar kast* lands to them on favourable rates of assessment, which move would surely be welcomed by all. A few Provincial Governments in India have already begun to try this experiment, and it would be desirable that the others also follow the lead, including the States where there may be scope for such improvement.

Such a careful study of the history and activities of Vijayanagara has valuable lessons to give us and we would surely be better by a study of its institutions, for the practical experience of that Empire in different spheres of activity surely will be able to give us a lead in the solution of many of our problems.

Saluva Tirumalaideva Maharaya

The establishment and growth and later the maintenance of vast empires in India as elsewhere in medieval times have depended very largely on the loyal co-operation of a number of chieftains in them. Some of them were members of the ruling family itself, while others were official nobles in the empire who rose to power and influence by virtue of their ability and loyalty to the government. In the displacement of Ruling Houses, and the establishment of new ones the feudal chieftains played a considerable part in medieval south India and hence it was once observed by a scholar that "Indian History is mainly the story of feudatory families rising into power when the time was opportune."¹ In the history of the Vijayanagara Empire, for instance, the Sangama dynasty which was responsible for its foundation was abruptly brought to an end in 1485 by the Saluva chieftain and General Narasimha. Further, the feudatory chieftains played a large part in the history of local regions.

During the days of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha, the last two members of the Sangama dynasty, the family of Saluva Narasimha like that of Godwin in pre-Norman England rose to great political and dynastic influence. The early members of the family had played a considerable part in the expansion of the Vijayanagara Empire over the Tamil country. The earliest known chieftain of the family was one Vangideva. His son Gunda is said to have ruled from Kalyani and captured Ramadurga, the stronghold of a Sabara chieftain.² According to the *Ramabhyudaya* he had six sons of whom Saluva Mangi was the most distinguished.³ He was a contemporary of Kumara Kampana and greatly assisted him in the conquest of the Sambuvaraya kingdom and the Madurai country; the latter was then in the hands of Muslims. He was father of six sons, one of whom Gauta II appears to have had three sons, of whom Gunda III and

1. *ASIAR*, 1907-08, p. 235.

2. Iyengar, S.K., *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 32.

3. *ARSIE*, 52 of 1905; *Report*, para 44.

Reference	Date	King	Details
<i>ARSIE.</i> , 238 of 1916, Śrimushnam (S.Arcot)	<i>Viśvavasu. Parabhava. Ani</i> , 20 (17-6-1447)	Immadi Tirumalai deva Maharaya.	Records that Nagaiah Nayaka, one of the servants of the king assigned for the merit of the latter the taxes due from the village of Nedunjeri situated in the district given to him for military service for worship and repairs to the temple of Tirumuttamudaiyan, Nayanar.
<i>Ibid.</i> , 264 of 1927	Ś. 1372 <i>Prajapati, Karkataka, Śu. Paurṇima</i> , Tuesday, <i>Tiruvonam</i> , Lunar eclipse (11-11-1451)	Virapratapa Devaraya.	Registers a gift by M. M. Tirumalayyadeva Maharaya of the village of Ellur in Tirunariyurparru for the expenses of the worship, offerings, etc., to the God Tiruchattivanapperumal at Tiruchattimurram.
<i>Ibid.</i> , 448 of 1922, Papanasam (Thanjavur)	Ś. 1370 (wrong), <i>Prajapati</i> , (exp.) <i>Angirasa, Rishabha, Śu</i> , 12, Sunday, <i>Hasta, Vaikāsi 4</i> (May 1452)	Mallikarjunadeva Maharaya	Registers the gift of Rajakeśariparru <i>alias</i> Papanasam with all the taxes levied on the village for offerings, worship twilight lamps, etc., and for conducting the festivals instituted in the temple of Papanasapperumal by Saluva Tirumalaideva Maharaya on the occasion of the re-consecration of the temple. The chief bears a number of <i>birudas</i> such as <i>gaṇḍaragīli</i> , Śambhuvarya, etc.
SII, VIII; <i>ARSIE.</i> , 67 of 1903; <i>Ibid.</i> , 342, Jambukeśvaram (Tiruchirappali)	Ś. 1375— <i>Śrimukha, Makara, Apara Paksha</i> , 13, Friday, <i>Mulam</i> , Sat. (26-1-1454)	Saluva Tirumalai Raja son of Goparaja	Gift of a <i>padakkam</i> by the ruler to Nachiyar Akhilan- deśvari Nayakiar.

Reference	Date	King	Details
SII. II, No. 23. Thanjavur.	Ś 1377 (exp.) <i>Yīva</i> , <i>Chitrai</i> , 17 (A.D. 1455)	M.M. Tirumalai- deva.	Remission by the ruler of taxes like <i>Pradhani Joḍi</i> <i>Karaṅṅikka Joḍi</i> , <i>Talaiyārik-</i> <i>kammavaḍai</i> , <i>maravaḍai</i> , etc.
ARSIE., 452 of 1922, Papanasam (Tj.)	Ś 1379, <i>Isvara</i> , <i>Makara</i> , ba, <i>Amavasya</i> , <i>ardha</i> <i>udaya</i> Sunday, <i>Sravana</i> , <i>Tai</i> 19 (Jan. 1457)	Vira Praudadeva Raya Maharaja, son of Vira Pra- tapadeva Raya who instituted the elephant hunt.	Gift of the village of Vasu- devanallur bordering on Rajakeśaripparru in Nit- tavinodavaḷanadu in Tir- uchirapalli Uśavadi on the south bank of the river Cauveri in the Chola coun- try to the temple of Papanasam Perumal for worship, offerings and repairs by Saluva Tiruma- laideva Maharaya.
<i>Ibid.</i> , 55 of 1897, SII, VII. No. 4 Tirukkattuppalli (Tj.)	Ś. 1382. <i>Vikrama</i> <i>Margali</i> , 17 Sun- day, 14-12-1460	M.M. Tirumalai- deva Maharaya.	Gift of taxes to the <i>sthānat-</i> <i>tār</i> of the Tirukattupalli temple for worship and repairs.
ARSIE, 378 of 1906 Kudumiya- malai (Pd.)	<i>Vikrama</i> —A. D. 1460-61	Tirumalaideva Maharaya.	Inaccessible in the middle on account of the temple door.
<i>Ibid.</i> , 249 of 1904	Ś. 1385. <i>Subhanu</i> , A.D. 1463-64	Tirumalaideva Ma- haraya Udaiyar son of Gundaraja Udaiyār.	Gift for the merit of Nara- singaraja Udaiyar.
<i>Ibid.</i> , 59 of 1892 SII. IV. No. 506 Srirangam (TP)	Ś. 1385, <i>Subhānu</i> , <i>Makara Amavasya</i> , <i>Uttirada</i> -Sunday (8-1-1464)	Saluva Tirumalai- deva Maharaya (Gopa Timma)	The ruler with various titles made a gift of income to the Śrirangam temple.
ARSIE., 535 of 1922 Tirukkan- napuram (Tj.)	Ś. 1397. <i>Manmatha</i> <i>Karttigai</i> , 16 (Nov. 1475)	Tirumalaideva Maharaya.	Remission of certain taxes accruing from Kallanainadus belonging to the temple for the repairs of the temple including the <i>gopura</i> and for conducting worship and offerings in the temple. Mentions a certain officer called Vikramadittar.

From the above list may be seen the fact that though he owed some nominal allegiance to the ruling house at Vijayanagara, Tirumalaidevamaharaya appears to have been in the enjoyment of a considerable measure of autonomy within his area.

As one ruling over the Tiruchirappalli area he naturally took interest in the temples at Srirangam and Jambukesvaram. The *Koyilolugu*⁶ which contains an account of the temple at Srirangam gives some interesting details about Tirumalairaya's services to the temple. According to the work one Kulittandal Kamparaja came to Tiruchirappalli apparently as an agent of the Vijayanagara king bearing the *rayamudra*. Tirumalairaya thought that his jurisdiction was being interfered with and therefore insisted on the territories being left to his own control. But since that did not happen conflict between the two arose, as a result of which in Ś. 1381, *Pramathin, Purattasi* (September 1459) all the residents of the northern and southern banks of the river including the members of the *sabhu* and the *nadu* deserted their villages and lived for 12 years in thousand pillared *maṅṭapa* and other places. At the end of the period however in Ś. 1383 *Kara* (A.D. 1471) the region passed under the jurisdiction of Tirumalairaya, peace was restored and the cultivators returned to their respective villages. Immediately, thereafter Tirumalairaja reconstructed the north *gopura* and gateway of the *Alinadan* enclosure and made a passage by piercing the *Alinadan* wall. The new passage was intended to have a direct approach to the thousand pillared hall through what was called the *veḷialagiyan* or *maṅṭaveḷi*. From that time onwards the procession of the God from the sanctum to the thousand pillared *maṅṭapa* on the occasion of the *Tiruvāymolittirunāl* was taken through a new gateway. Tirumalairaya is also credited with the creation of a *maṅṭapa* called *Aḷaḷiyamaṅṭavāḷay tiru-maṅṭapa* a dais of sandal wood adorned with three gilded copper pots and the fixing upon the dais a *Chapra* and a couch made of ivory for the enjoyment of the God.⁷

It appears that since the old seaport town of Kaverippumpattinam had declined in importance Tirumalairaya found a new city a little farther south which came to be called, Tirumalairajnpattinam after himself. It was an ideal locality situated between two rivers the Tirumalairajanar excavated by him to the north of the new town and the Puravudaiyan in the south and girt by the ocean on the east. The new city consisted of three parts, outer (*puranagar*), the middle (*iḍainagar*) and the central (*aganagar*). In the outer quarter of the new city stood the military training ground and residential quarters for the soldiers. In the middle portion of the city were the palace for the ruler and numerous temples. The site now called *Kōttaimēḍu* (Palace mound) and *mannan tiruvāśal tiḍal* on the northern bank of the R. Puravudaiyan appears to have been the place where the palace (*kovilagam*) existed. Probably Polagam, a small suburb lying on the north of the river was the *Puhal-agam* or entrance to the fort, and the name of the present suburb is probably derived from that word *Villaḍimēṭṭuttiḍal* and *Ambuttiḍal* very near the village. Agarakondagai served as the military training ground. Vanjiyur now marks

6. *Koyilolugu*, p. 139.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

the southern limit of the city and in that village stands the deserted temple of Viśvanatha facing the west ; and the whole space is now covered by high mounds pointing to the fact that residential quarters must have stood in the area.

Saluva Tirumalayadeva was a patron of Tamil and he has been praised by his contemporary Tamil scholars. One of them, poet Kalamegam went to his court to obtain the present of a pearl jacket, probably because the coast nearby abounded in pearls. The court poets headed by Adimadhurakavi subjected him to a severe test, which he successfully withstood. But he could not get the wished for present from the king and hence Kalamegam is said to have cursed the destruction of the city immediately which bore fruit. Thereafter, the king appears to have constructed a new palace for himself at a short distance to the north. Among the other poets patronised by him were the poets Madusuryar and Ilanjuryar called usually the Irattaiyar or the Twins.⁸

7.

8. *ARSIE*, 1925, pt. II, p. 31; Pillai, Purnalingam : *History of Tamil Literature*, pp. 274-75.

Virappa Nayaka and Vijayanagara

Virappa Nayaka of Madurai (1573-1595), the son and successor of Krishnappa Nayaka was the contemporary of three successive kings of Vijayanagara, namely, Tirumala (1570-1578), Śriranga I (1578-1586) and Venkata II (1586-1614). Like his predecessors in the Madurai Nayakship, he began his rule as a loyal feudatory of the Vijayanagara house. He also appears to have been regular in the payment of the annual tribute to the Imperial House in the early years of his rule like the Nayaks of Thanjavur and Ginji. His subordination to Vijayanagara is borne out by some of his early inscriptions. An epigraph of 1577 at Krishnapuram records that during the days of Śrirangadeva Maharaya Virappa Nayaka made a gift of land to the temple of Tiruvengadanathadeva at the place for the merit of his father Krishnappa Nayaka.¹ In the next year, Virappa Nayaka who calls himself an agent of the king made a gift of land to a temple at Sermadevi for conducting certain festivals.² Another inscription of the same year belonging to Śriranga specifically mentions Viśvanatha Krishnappa Virappa Nayaka as a feudatory of the Emperor.³ A Telugu inscription of A.D. 1582 at Srimushnam (South Arcot District) records the remission of some taxes by one Kondama Nayiningaru, the son of Krishnappa Nayiningaru during the reign of Vira Pratapa Vira Śrirangadeva Maharaya "who was ruling from Penugonda."⁴ Obviously the chieftain was a brother of Virappa Nayaka of Madurai and was serving the Vijayanagara Emperor as a feudatory in the South Arcot District.

But for some unknown reason the relations between Śrirangadeva and Virappa Nayaka appear to have become strained by A.D. 1583, and a conflict arose between Venkata, the brother of Śriranga and the Vijayanagara viceroy at Chandragiri and the Nayak of Madurai. As Rev. Fr. Heras suggests, it is just possible that Virappa Nayaka

1. *ARSIE*, 16 of 1912.
2. *Ibid.*, 663 of 1916.
3. *Ibid.*, 185 of 1895.
4. *Ibid.*, 266 of 1916.

might have become recalcitrant in the payment of tribute to the Imperial government after his success against the Mahabali Vanadaraya chieftains in the south which might have made him think of his independence.⁵ Whatever might have been the cause, the definite change in the attitude of Madurai towards Vijayanagara is indicated by the Pudukkottai Plates of Śri Vallabha and Varatungarama of the Pandyan line of rulers at Tenkasi. The Plates give a short account of the rulers of that line and record the grant of the village of Pudukkottai (in the Tirunelveli District) to a number of Brahmanas at the request of one Tirumalairaja who is described as the right hand of Virappa Kshonipala (Virappa Nayaka of Madurai), and with the permission of the Madurai ruler. It further states that in the battle of Vallamprakara fought between Venkatapati, the Viceroy at Chandragiri, and Tirumalairaja, the armies, of Viraraja were destroyed, Achyuta Raya fled from the battle-field and Tirumalairaja collected all the horses from the place.⁶

The circumstances under which this battle of Vallamprakara was fought are not however clearly known. In fact there is no reference to it in any other inscription or literary work of the period. Venkatapati, the nephew of Śriranga of Vijayanagara was the Viceroy of the southern parts of the Vijayanagara Empire with his headquarters at Chandragiri, when Śriranga as Emperor was ruling from Penugonda. Obviously when Virappa Nayaka stopped the payment of tribute to the Vijayanagara House Venkatadeva, in order to reduce the rebel Nayaka to submission and exact the tribute payable by him marched against him with an army in which there were two generals, Basavaraja⁷ and Viraraja. In this invasion he was supported by his loyal feudatory Achyutappa Nayaka of Thanjavur. The army of Virappa Nayaka was led by his general Tirumalairaja. A battle was fought at Vallam near Thanjavur early in 1583. When Tirumalairaja saw Basavaraja in the army of Venkatadeva he killed him forthwith, and Achyutappa Nayaka (of Thanjavur) was made to flee from the battlefield. In this battle Tirumalairaja is said to have "employed.....against his enemies iron guns which he charged with leaden shots." At the end he collected all the horses from the battlefield. Thus according to the Pudukkottai Plates the battle of Vallamprakara ended in the complete defeat of the Imperialists and the success of the Nayaka of Madurai. While relying on the evidence of the Plates for the battle Rev. Fr. Heras asserts that "the defeat of Venkata's troops is a figment of the imagination" and says that "these plates are all a panegyric of Tirumalairaja at whose request the Pāṇḍya sovereigns made the grant of Pudukkottai."⁸ Thus quite against the categorical statement contained in the inscription he feels sure that Venkata obtained a victory over his enemies in the battle. The reason for this conclusion seems to be the fact that Virappa Nayaka acknowledged the authority of the Vijayanagara Emperor after the battle. But it is really difficult to discredit completely the statement made in the record regarding the success of Tirumalairaja

5. Heras, *Aravindu Dynasty*, I, p. 286.

6. *TASS*, I, pp. 79 and 84; also *ARSIE*, 1905-1906 p. ii, para 79.

7. After the death of Ramaraja in the battle of Rakshasa Tangadi in 1565 he had taken refuge under Tirumalairaja (Nayaka), against his enemies Payati and Rachaviti, and was restored to his native place. *Ibid.*, vv. 161-163.

8. *Ibid.*

However in view of the subsequent loyalty of the Nayaka of Madurai to the Imperial House it may be doubted if the claims made by Tirumalairaja were not really too large. Very possibly the battle did not end in the complete defeat of the Imperial army, and by an agreement made between the two, the *status quo ante* was restored and Virappa Nayaka promised to continue the payment of tribute to the Vijayanagara House.⁹

In 1584-85 Emperor Sriranga I died and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Venkatapati Deva II, who, as said above, was previously viceroy over the southern part of the Empire with his capital at Chandragiri. Virappa Nayaka appears to have continued his loyalty to the Vijayanagara House under the new Emperor also. This is indicated by a few inscriptions. The Dalavay Agraharam Plates of Emperor Venkatapati II say that in Ś 1508 (A.D. 1586) the Emperor made a gift of the village of Virabhupāsamudra at the request of Virabhupa (Virappa Nayaka) who was "living gloriously" : and had the title *Dakshinasamudradhipati*.¹⁰ The existence of an inscription of the Emperor dated two years later (A.D. 1588) at Piranmalai (Ramanathapuram district) shows that his overlordship over Madurai was accepted in that area in the year of the record.¹¹ An inscription of Virappa Nayaka at Erode dated Ś 1501 (apparently a mistake for Ś 1510) expired, *Sarvadhari* (A.D. 1588) mentions the Emperor as Vira Venkatapati Raya and thereby bears evidence to the loyalty of the Nayak of Madurai to the Imperial House.¹² Two years later Emperor Venkatapati made from Kumbakonam a grant of some villages in the Tirunelveli district to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of one Krishna Das.¹³ Again in 1592 the Emperor made a grant to a temple at Tirukkarangudi in the same district.¹⁴ The above pieces of evidence point to the fact the Madurai country continued to be loyal to the Imperial House till at least the date of the last mentioned record.

9. Prof. Satyanathier feels no doubt about the loyalty of Virappa Nayaka of the Vijayanagara House throughout his reign and is inclined to think that the Pudukkottai Plates must belong to Muttu Virappa Nayaka, a later member of the dynasty (1609-1623). In discussing the question however he remarks: "If this is a reference to the war of succession, fought in the south in 1616, the date of the inscription will have to be revised. But there was no Venkata at that time and Achyutappa Nayaka had already abdicated. Perhaps the expression "armies of Venkatarāja and Achyutarāja" was loosely used for the forces of the loyalist party and of Raghunātha Nayaka. If the date 1583 is correct, it is difficult to explain such a combination of contending parties in 1583 or before." But he concludes the discussion with the statement that "nothing definite can be said about the value of this inscription in relation to the war of succession of 1616." (of *Nayaks of Madurai* pp. 81, 101, 102 and 101 n.). But Dr. S. K. Aiyangar asserts that "it is clear . . . that the battle of Vallampārā-kara referred to in the Pudukkottai Plates (of date 1582-83) cannot be taken to be the battle of Toppur" (*Ibid.*, p. 103 n), meaning thereby that the battle must have been over by 1583. In the same breath he says that the invasion of Madurai by Venkatapati Raya must have been taken place soon after 1586 (*Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 102). One does not see how it is possible to take the incidents mentioned in the Pudukkottai Plates of 1583 to a date three years later.

10. *Epi. Ind.*, XII, pp. 161 and 187.

11. Rangachary, V., *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, p. 1189, No. 223.

12. *ARSIE*, 13 of 1891; *Ibid.*, 1892, p. 9.

13. Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, II, p. 3.

14. *Ibid.*, I, p. 315.

But by 1595 Virappa Nayaka appears to have once revolted against the Imperial control. The *Chikkadevarāya vamsāvali* says that Venkatapati Raya, who apparently became displeased with his vassal at Madurai declared war on Virappa Nayaka and laid siege to his capital with a large army.¹⁵ Anquetil du Perron, however says that before the year 1595 the Nayaka of Madurai refused to pay homage to the Vijayanagara Emperor "on the ground that the latter had murdered his legitimate sovereign."¹⁶ Though it may be true that Venkatapati Raya declared war on Virappa Nayaka for the latter's stopping of the payment of tribute, the suggestion of the foreign authority that the action of Virappa was due to Venkata's murder of "his legitimate sovereign" cannot be accepted for the Nayaka had continued to be loyal to the Imperial House for at least ten years after the "murderer's" accession. Whatever the real reason for Virappa Nayaka's rebellion may be, he was soon forced to submit to the Imperial House, obviously having been defeated. This is borne out by the fact that Krishnappa Nayaka II who succeeded Virappa Nayaka in that year itself (1595) accepted the overlordship of the Vijayanagara House.

The *Chikkadevarāya vamsāvali* contains certain interesting details about this war. According to it Venkatapati Raya declared war against Virappa Nayaka of Madurai and laid siege to the fort at Madurai with a large army. But the Nayak of the place managed to bribe the several generals of the Emperor's army. One of them was Tirumalai Raya, a nephew of the Emperor. He is said to have accepted the bribe and returned home without continuing the siege of Madurai.¹⁷ Rev. Fr. Heras discredits the value of the account contained in the work, and thinks that Tirumalai Raya could not have been one of the generals in the army of the Emperor. He says: "neither can we believe that Prince Tirumala was one of the generals of the army; for he would have been too young for such a task. The whole passage seems to be a poet's concoction for justifying Rāja Voḍeyar's capture of Seringapatam ... Now the poet speaks of this capture of Seringapatam as immediately following Tirumala's supposed treason of Madurai. Fourteen years separate these two events."¹⁸ But it is difficult to decry the value of the historical work simply because the details contained in it do not seem to have much cogency. With regard to the age of Tirumala the Father thinks that he could have been about forty years in 1610.¹⁹ This surmise is acceptable for we have the inscriptions of Tirumalai in the Seringapatam area spread over a period of about 25 years from 1585 to 1610. If he was forty years of age in 1610, he must have been about 25 years old in 1595, not a very tender age to take an active part in war. The value of the work need not be belittled for the second reason suggested by the Father, namely, the poet's putting the capture of Seringapatam as closely following Tirumala's supposed treason of Madurai. For one thing it is not improbable that Tirumala could have succumbed to the bribes offered by

15. Aiyangar, S. K., *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 302-303.

16. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 342 and n.

17. Aiyangar, S. K., *op. cit.*, pp. 302-303; also pp. 19 and 248 n; Satyanathier, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 81 n 17, and p. 99. n 9.

18. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 343n.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 421 n 4.

Virappa Nayaka. The Emperor was more attached to Śriranga III than to Tirumala though he was himself anxious to win his favour and that must have been oppressing his mind not a little. Further the rise of Raja Odeyar into prominence was looked upon with grave concern by Tirumala, particularly because, he had the sympathy of the Emperor himself. Under the circumstances he could not have evinced much enthusiasm in the Emperor's war against Virappa Nayaka of Madurai. Taking advantage of the strained relations between the Emperor and his nephew Raja Odeyar probably took Seringapatam and increased his power and influence. The account contained in the *Cikkadevarāya vamsāvali* of course gives the impression that Raja Odeyar's capture of Seringapatam was the result of Tirumala's disloyal attitude towards his uncle. But one cannot expect the author of the work to treat the achievement of the founder of the Mysore dynasty in any other way. Hence one need not entirely discredit the value of the work in so far as it deals with Tirumala's behaviour at Madurai and the subsequent events. There is nothing improbable in his having been sent to Madurai to subdue its ruler Virappa Nayaka and his returning home with a bribe from the rebel.

Two Decades of Madurai (1734-1754)

Madurai the Athens of south India and the radiating centre of an ancient culture, a city known from the earliest beginnings of south Indian history for power, plenty and prosperity, a city that was the capital of many dynasties of rulers beginning from the pre-Christian period passed through calamitous vicissitudes of fortune on the disruption of the Nayaka rule in the region. After the extinction of the Sultanate of Madurai about 1378 as a result of the military activities of Kumara Kampana, the son of Bukka I of Vijayanagara, Madurai was included in the Vijayanagara Empire. In the sixteenth century, in order to provide for the efficient administration of the Madurai country, Madurai was constituted as a Nayakship and one Viśvanatha Nayaka was appointed for the place. The Nayak period was a very bright one in the history of Madurai when great encouragement was given to the promotion of arts and letters, big irrigation works were undertaken, and everything great in the Hindu civilisation was patronised. "A Government whose wealth and whose tastes are manifested by its temples and statues and whose readiness to employ all its resources for the benefit of its people, as proved by the number and nature of the irrigation works it completed, implies a contented and a prosperous people ; while a high state of the arts and knowledge is abundantly testified by the exquisite design and workmanship discoverable in many of the temples and statues as well as by the grasp and mastery of the principles of irrigation—a complicated and difficult branch of the Engineering Art—displayed in their irrigation systems."¹ Among the great rulers of this dynasty were Viśvanatha Nayaka, Tirumalai Nayaka and Rani Mangammal.

Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka (1706-1732) who had no male issue, was on his death succeeded by his wife Minakshi and she ruled for five years till 1736, being

1. Stuart, A.J., *Manual of Tinnevely*, p. 69,

supported by her brother Venkata Perumal. Her short reign was a period of great internal strife. Queen Minakshi adopted Vijaya Kumara Muttu Tirumalai Nayakkar, the son of one Vangaru Tirumalai, a member of a collateral branch of the royal family. But Vangaru Tirumala attempted to depose Minakshi and usurp the royal authority. The Nawab of Arcot during that time was Dost 'Ali (1732-1740), the nephew of Saadat 'Ullah Khan (1710-1732) who inaugurated the Nawabi. He sent his son Safdar 'Ali and son-in-law Chanda Sahib to the Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli area to bring the region under his control if it failed to pay tribute. Vangaru Tirumala took advantage of the presence of the Muslim army nearby and sought the help of Safdar 'Ali against Minakshi. Safdar 'Ali offered to arbitrate on behalf of the two, decided in favour of Vangaru Tirumala and left the area leaving instructions with Chanda Sahib to give effect to the same. But Queen Minakshi managed to bribe Chanda Sahib a crore of rupees, and he promised on the *Koran* that he would stand by her. But soon the differences between Vangaru Tirumala and Minakshi were patched up, and therefore Chanda Sahib returned home; being frustrated in his plans. In 1736 he again came down to Madurai with a view to reduce it, taking advantage of the political confusion there. He offered to subdue her enemies, and sent a large force which took possession of Dindigul. The place was stormed and Vangaru Tirumala, who was in charge of the Dindigul area organised resistance at Ammayanayakkanur against the Muslim invader but was defeated by him.² Vangaru fled from the battlefield and took refuge in the fort of Vellikurichchi under the protection of the Raja of Śivaganga. Chanda Sahib who became the master practically of the whole of Madurai, took Queen Minakshi prisoner quite in violation of his promise to her on the *Koran*. The Queen who could not brook her fate committed suicide in the same year by taking poison.

Chanda Sahib, during the period of his administration in the South strengthened the fortifications of Tiruchirappalli and appointed his two brothers as the Governors respectively of Dindigul and Madurai. But his rule was very unpopular, and aroused great resentment and hatred of the Hindus.

Vijaya Kumara Muttu Tirumalai Nayakkar, son of Vengaru Tirumalai Nayakar, Vellaiyan Śeruvaikkaran, the *vāsala daḷavāy* of the Setupati left the area. The managers and attendants of the temples of Minakshi Sundaresvara and Kudal Aḷagar at Madurai took with them the Gods of the above two temples to Vanaravirarmadurai (Manamadura) and stayed there for two years (1739-41). The Setupati made necessary provision for the *pūja* and daily offering of the Gods as also food and drink for the servants of the temples, and thus kept them under his protection.³

Vangaru Tirumala and Pratap Singh, the Raja of Thanjavur, (1739-63) sought the help of the Mahrattas who were extending their power in the south. Raja Sahu sent Raghujī Bhonsle on an expedition against the Carnate. He defeated and killed Dost 'Ali, the Nawab of the Carnate, at the battle at Damalcheruvu Pass (North Arcot

2. Taylor : *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, II, p. 234.

3. *Maduraiṭṭalavaralāru* in the *Tiruppaṇṇālai*, Sen Tamil publication, No. 27, pp. 6-7.

District) in 1740. Later, probably at the instigation of Safdar 'Ali he marched against Chanda Sahib, sacking on the way Tiruvannamalai and Porto Novo and plundering the places. The total estimate of the value of the plunder was about 1,50,000 *pagodas*. The Maharattas first deceived Chanda Sahib by taking their forces beyond Tiruchirappalli but when they found that he had sold the grains with him and was not prepared for an engagement, they besieged Tiruchirappalli in 1741. Bade Sahib, the brother of Chanda Sahib, marched to the relief of Tiruchirappalli with large provisions, horsemen and foot. But he was intercepted by the Maharattas with a body of 2000 cavalry near Dindigul from which place he went forth and defeated them. However, Raghuji Bhonsle marched to the scene with 10,000 horse and attacked the camp of Bade Sahib at Manapparai and killed both him and his sister's son-in-law Sadiq Sahib. Later the corpse of Bade Sahib was richly dressed and sent to his brother Chanda Sahib at Tiruchirappalli so that he might be warned of the impending downfall of his hopes. Raghuji Bhonsle then attacked Tiruchirappalli with the help of the Pindaris, Kallars and Poligars of the area and Chanda Sahib offered him stiff resistance. But his ammunitions and stores failed him and therefore he surrendered himself to Raghuji on 25th March, 1741. He was disarmed, taken prisoner and sent over to Satara where he remained within prison for seven years. The fort of Tiruchirappalli was taken by the Maharattas and Murari Rao Ghorpade of Gooty was appointed the Governor of Tiruchirappalli and the area depending on it, assisted by 14,000 of the best troops of the Maharattas.⁴

The Maharatta occupation and rule of the South seems to have been congenial to the betterment of the condition of the Hindus. Murari Rao appointed one Appaji Nayaka to administer Madurai on his behalf and sent him to the place along with 2,000 horses. The latter did not like to stay in a city where there was no God, and hence he visited Vanaravirmadurai, worshipped the Gods at the place, and with the consent of the Setupati, took back the idols of Minakshi Sundaresvara and Kudal-Ajagar to Madurai in July 1741 and reconsecrated them in their respective temples. He also performed purificatory ceremonies in the temples and made large provisions for the daily worship and services of the Gods in the old manner.⁵

But the rule of Madurai by the Hindus was not destined to last long. The fortunes of the city were soon affected by domestic and political revolutions in the Carnatic. The course of the revolutions was as follows: Safdar 'Ali Khan who succeeded Dost 'Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic on the death of his father in 1740 was assassinated in his bed by his cousin Murtaza 'Ali Khan on the night of 13th October 1742 by order of one Ghulam Murtaza 'Ali Khan the Governor of Vellore, and his own Diwan Mir Asad was imprisoned. But the position of Ghulam Murtaza 'Ali was not strong. Murari Rao of Tiruchirappalli refused to recognise him and the army also mutinied. Therefore Murtaza 'Ali escaped to Vellore, and Sayyid Muhammad Khan, the young son of Safdar 'Ali was declared the Nawab of the Carnatic. Nizamul-Mulk the Subedar of

4. Srinivasachari, C. S., *Anandaranga Pillai*, pp. 16-18; Kincaid, C.A. and Parasnis, D.B., *A History of the Marathi People*, pp. 276-77.

5. *Maduraittalavaraluru op. cit.*, p. 7; Ayyar, R. Satyanatha, *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 379.

the Deccan who was anxious to restore order in the south marched to Arcot with a large army of horse and foot which seemed "as though the sea was rising and flooding the land." He subdued the Carnatic and appointed Khwaja Abdulla Khan, one of his own important officers to administer the Carnatic and keep as his ward Sayyid Muhammad Khan. Then he marched towards Tiruchirappalli which was ruled by Murari Rao. The Mahratta chieftain trembled within his shoes at the approach of Nizam'ul-Mulk, and therefore evacuated his headquarters on 29th August, 1743 and went north. Thus by the mere strength of his arm, without waging one battle, the Nizam got possession of the Carnatic including the far South. So the Maharatta rule of Tiruchirappalli and Madurai was put an end to in 1743. The attempt of Murari Rao to revive the power of the Maharattas in the south soon after failed. The Nizam returned home along with Nawab Khwaja Abdulla and confirmed him in his office. But on the night of the same day the Nawab of the Carnatic was found dead in his bed, having been killed by an unknown hand. Therefore one Anwar'uddin Khan who was in charge of the administration of the Northern Circars was appointed Nawab of the Carnatic, and the young son of Safdar 'Ali was sent along with him to be taken care of. The young boy was killed by a body of Tahiran soldiers in June 1744, apparently at the instigation of Gulam Murtaza, Ali of Vellore. Hence Anwar-'ud-din was confirmed in the Nawabship of the Carnatic in 1744.⁶

Anwar-'ud-din Khan appointed his son Muhammad 'Ali to be in charge of the general administration of the Carnatic and Mahfuz Khan to be in charge of the administration of the Tiruchirappalli country, and from this time for more than ten years the Madurai area was under the rule of Muslims. Mahfuz Khan attacked Pratap Singh, the Maharatta Raja of Thanjavur and extracted from him a bond for the payment of an annual tribute. During this period an attempt was planned with a view to recover the Tiruchirappalli fort from the Muslims and establish the rule of the son of Kattu Raja (the Zamindar of Udaiyarpalayam) when it was arranged that the Maharattas must invade the country being helped by the people of Thanjavur and Mysore, the Tondaiman Raja of Pudukkottai and the Setupati of Ramanathapuram (Maravan). But such grand schemes and designs did not fructify.⁷

Matters went on for about four years, till 1748, when certain incidents of momentous significance took place in the Deccan and the Carnatic. In that year Nizam-ul-Mulk died leaving behind him six sons, Ghazi'uddin, Nasir Jung, Salabat Jung, Nizam 'Ali, Muhammad Shariff, and Mir Moghal. He had also a grandson Muzaffer Jung by name, by his daughter. Ghazi'ud-din was at Delhi, engaged in imperial politics. Hence Nasir Jung, the second son of Nizam-'ul-Mulk succeeded to the *Nizamat* on the death of his father. Muzaffar Jung was anxious to succeed to the position of his grandfather. A common cause was made between Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahib (the latter anxious to become the Nawab of the Carnatic) and Raza'

6. Nainar, Muhammad Hussain (tr), *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* (Madras University), 1, pp. 82-84 and 106-08.

7. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14 and p. 114 fn, 17.

Sahib the son of Chanda Sahib sought the help of Dupliex the Governor of French possessions in India. It was learnt that the Maharattas would be willing to release Chanda Sahib if they were paid a ransom of seven lakhs of rupees. The money was paid, Chanda Sahib got his release and the confederates marched towards Arcot. The French and their allies effected a Junction with them, met Anwar-'ud-din at Ambur, where the latter was killed on 3rd August, 1749, owing to the treachery of one of his own commanders, Husain Khan Tahir, the Jagirdar of Amburgadh who persuaded Nawab Anwar-'ud-din to fix his camp before his fort having treacherous designs.⁸

It was this political condition in the Deccan and the Carnatic where there were rivals for the *Nizami* and the *Nawabi* that rendered the recall of Muhammad Ali and Mahfuz Khan from the south necessary and inevitable. Under such circumstances they left the south for the Arcot region in 1748 placing Madurai under the charge of one Mayana, apparently a Muslim. It is not known how long he was in charge of his post but within a few years he appears to have been supplanted by one 'Abdul 'Ahmad Khan who captured the fort of Madurai and ruled from that place. This was followed by another revolution at the place. One 'Alam 'Ali Khan, probably a brother-in-law of Mayana, took possession of the city from 'Abdul 'Ahmad Khan. According to Orme, he was a soldier of fortune originally in the service of Chanda Sahib and the Raja of Thanjavur.⁹ Taking advantage of the course of events and the political confusion in the Carnatic he proclaimed himself as an adherent of Chanda Sahib. He brought under his control Tirunelveli Madurai and other places and subdued the *Palaiyagars* of the parts as far as the territory of the Tondaiman Raja of Pudukkottai. This meant that Muhammad 'Ali the rightful successor of Anwar-'ud-din Khan had lost a good slice of territory in the Carnatic and the hands of his adversary had become strengthened. Therefore, the Nawab of the Carnatic, Muhammad 'Ali, sought the help of the English for retaking Madurai. Consequently a contingent of force was despatched to Madurai under Captain James Cope who was in command at Tiruchirappalli assisted by 'Abdul Wahhab Khan, the brother of Muhammad 'Ali. One 'Abdul Rahim, an officer who was in charge of the Tirunelveli area, also helped Captain James Cope in his operations against Madurai. 'Alam Khan was a great military General, and successfully resisted the attack of Madurai. Captain Cope was foiled in his attempt to take the fort and hence was forced to withdraw to Tiruchirappalli. Abdul Wahab Khan's troops betrayed their master and went over to the side of 'Alam Khan.

Saunders the Governor of Madras thought that he could effect the reduction of Madurai by diplomacy and therefore on the 22nd of July 1751 he wrote a letter to 'Alam 'Ali Khan as follows :

"I have heard of your courage in the defence of Madurai, which though against my own people I cannot but highly commend. Merit ought highly to be rewarded, instead of which I hear you are to be divested of your Government and the French to take

8. Nainar, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 144-47.

9. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 169 ff.

possession of the fort. This I think is but a bad return for much bravery. You are a soldier and your sword may make your fortune. If you will espouse the cause of Muhammad 'Ali and assist his affairs I promise you shall have a Government under him which will afford you wealth and a great name and support you and your family in affluence."¹⁰

Alam Khan however refused to accept the suggestion. In the next year a battle was fought by the British and Muhammad 'Ali against Chanda Sahib and the French at Tiruchirappalli. 'Alam Khan went to Tiruchirappalli, sided with Chanda Sahib and fought against the British. In the course of the battle he was killed.¹¹ When he left Madurai for Tiruchirappalli he left the former under the charge of his brother-in-law, Mayana. It appeared that the latter was not able to maintain control over the region and therefore he sold the city to Kuku Sahib, a Mysore General who was moving about the Dindigul area, of which the Mysoreans were in possession at that time.¹² The city of Madurai suffered very much during this period, and the sentiments of the people were defiled by him. Cows killed and eaten and cocoanut trees were cut and destroyed.

The Hindus became disgusted with this rule and organised a revolution. Hence Vellaiyan Servaikkaran commander of the Setupati's guard and Tandavaraya Pillai the *Pradhani* of the guard of Udaya Tevar (Zamindar of Sivaganga) took up the cause of the Hindus and laid siege to the fort of Madurai for about a month, at the end of which, as a result of an arbitration made between the Hindu invaders and Kuku Sahib, the latter left the city under the charge of the Setupati and retired towards Dindigul. Having defeated the Mysore General, both Vellaiyan Servaikkaran and Tandavaraya Pillai entered Madurai and restored order in the city. Since Madurai had been under Muslim rule for about ten years the temples and religious practices in the city had suffered much. Hence both of them performed purificatory ceremonies, threw open the temples that had been kept closed, restored services in them and made provision for the renewal of worship in them. They also restored Hindu rule over Madurai by taking Vijaya Kumara Muttu Tirumalai Nayaka, son of Vangaru Tirumala from Vellikurichchi and crowning him as the ruler of Madurai in the sanctum of the Goddess Minakshi.¹³

But the revival of the Hindu power in Madurai was not to last long. According to certain local accounts, Vijaya Kumara Muttu Tirumalai Nayaka ruled only for sixteen months and was dethroned on 29th November, 1752, by the combined efforts of three

10. Country correspondence, 1757, No. 97, quoted by H. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant*, p. 30.

11. See Orme, Vol. I, pp. 200 ff.

12. Nelson thinks that this Kuku Sahib was the same as General Cope, who was in command at Tiruchirappalli. (Nelson, *The Madras Country*, III, pp. 270-71). This is due to the author's taking that the two persons were one. While General Cope died on Feb. 3, 1752 fighting at Krishnavaran, Kuku Sahib lived for some years more and is "mentioned by Colonel Heron in a letter to Council, dated 29th October, 1754 as causing trouble in Madurai with some Mysore horse and sepoy." See Hill, *Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant*, p. 31.

13. See *Maduraittalavartaluru* in the *Tiruppaṅṅimālai*, p. 8.

Muslims, Mianah (Mahomed Barkey), Modemiah (Mahomed Mainch) and Nabi Khan subordinates of Muhammad 'Ali. This is indicated by a signed document in which they recognised the authority of the Nawab over Madurai and Tirunelveli.¹⁴ Madurai again appears to have suffered under Muslim yoke. Temple lands were confiscated. The gardens and wells were destroyed and the trade of the merchants was paralysed. Therefore Vellaiyan Servaikkaran seems to have sought the help of Kuku Sahib, the Mysore General. Both of them marched towards Madurai encamped at a place called Panaiyur Anuppaladi near the city and besieged the fort of Madurai for six months.

But the forces of Mayana were successful, in the battle and killed both Vellaiyan Servaikkaran and Kuku Sahib. Thus the Muslim chieftain was able to maintain himself as the Governor of Madurai from 1753. Mayana however was not loyal to Muhammad 'Ali and was not regular in the payment of the annual tribute to him, to which he was legally entitled as the Nawab of the Carnatic which included Madurai and Tirunelveli, also. Hence Muhammad 'Ali appealed to the English to help him in the restoration of his authority in the far south. The Governor of Madras sent Colonel Heron and Yusuf Khan (the latter a Hindu convert to Islam who had distinguished himself in the siege of Tiruchirappalli (1752-54) and had won great praise from General Lawrence as a "born soldier"). Heron reached Madurai early in March 1755 to find that Mayana had fled away from the place to Koyilkudi and taken refuge in the strongly built temple at Tirumbur and took possession of the city. He also concluded a treaty on his own responsibility with the Setupati of Ramanathapuram. Then he marched to Tirumbur, stormed the temple, set fire to its gates and allowed his soldiers to plunder the temple and carry off a large number of idols from it. But Mayana had made good his escape from that place also. Later Colonel Heron marched into the Tirunelveli country and reduced it to submission after attacking Kattabommu Nayaka and other chieftains in that region. Mahfuz Khan was appointed as the ruler of Madurai and was required to pay an annual rent of Rs. 15,00,000.

14. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

The End of the Madurai Nayakship

The generally accepted date for the end of the Madurai Nayakship is 1736 or 1737.¹ But really it appears to have continued to exist till 1739 for there is evidence to show that queen Minakshi, the last ruler of the dynasty, reigned till about the middle of that year.

The fortunes of Madurai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were closely bound up with those of the Nayak dynasty of the place ; but from the thirties of the eighteenth century, the Madurai country passed through great vicissitudes of fortune. When Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka died in 1731 without issue he left his kingdom to Minakshi, the first of his eight wives and she assumed the reins of administration.

Queen Minakshi adopted Vijayakumara Muttu Tirumalai Nayakkar, the son of one Vangaru Tirumalai, a descendant of Kumara Muttu, a brother of Tirumalai Nayaka, and was supported by her two brothers one of whom was Venkata Perumal. They forced one Narayanappa Ayyar, formerly the Minister of Chokkanatha Nayaka and his friends to refund the large sums of money which they had embezzled. The latter were so much provoked on that account that they called back from exile Bangaru Tirumalai, the father of the adopted son of Minakshi, and gave him hopes of being crowned the ruler of Madurai. Soon many of the feudatory chiefs of the Nayaka rulers joined Bangaru Tirumalai since they were made many tempting promises. It seemed even possible that without the shedding blood the crown of Madurai would be transferred from Minakshi to Bangaru Tirumalai. Hence Minakshi appealed to Tukoji the Maratha ruler of Thanjavur and with his help quelled the intrigues of the pretender.²

1. Ayyar, R. Satyanatha, *The Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 232 and 234 n; Rangachary, V. *Ind. Ant.*, XLVI, p. 213.
2. This is borne out by the Thanjavur inscription of Sarfoji though Wilks (*Historical Sketches of Mysore*, I, p. 155) and the *Karṇāṭakadēśa Rājākkal Savistāra Charitram* say that it was Bangaru Tirumalai who got the help from Thanjavur.

During this period of confusion in the far South great changes were taking place farther north. The "Nawayats" had established themselves in the southern part of the Cooromandel, and were ruling from Arcot. Sadatulla Khan the founder of the dynasty died in 1710, and was succeeded by his adopted son Dost Ali. He ruled virtually as an independent prince, though he owed nominal allegiance to the Nizam of Hyderabad, and collected tribute from the kingdoms of Thanjavur and Madurai on behalf of the Mughal emperors whose feudatories they still were.

Taking advantage of the dispute over the succession question and consequent confusion in Madurai Dost Ali interfered in the affairs of that kingdom. There are conflicting accounts about the exact circumstances under which the Muslims came upon the scene. According to the *Karṇāṭakadēśa Rājākkal charitram* Minakshi appealed to Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law and Civil Dewan of Dost Ali for help while Bangaru Tirumalai appealed to Safdar Ali the son of Dost Ali for help, and therefore both of them came down to Tiruchirappalli with an army of 10,000 cavalry. But the real idea behind their interference in the politics of the south was the suppression and annexation of the region. As Orme says: "The kingdoms of Tiruchirappally and Thanjavur although tributary to the Moghul were each of them governed by its own prince or Rāja, and the care of levying tributes over these countries was entrusted to the Nawabs of Arcot who were obliged to send an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the king of Tiruchirappalli in 1736 (1731?) was followed by disputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confusion in the government sufficient to give the Nawab of Arcot hopes of subjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to send an army under the command of his son Safdar Ali and the Dewān Chanda Sahib to seize an opportunity which might offer the chance of getting possession of the city of Tiruchirappalli; but to prevent suspicions, the collection of tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea coast before they proceeded to the south; accordingly they came to Madras where they remained some days, and then went to Pondicheri where they stayed a longer time; during which Chanda Sahib laid the first foundation of his connections with the French Government in that city; from hence they marched to Tiruchirappally."³

On their way the two Muslim invaders occupied Thanjavur and subsequently they reached Tiruchirappalli after a victorious campaign in Travancore and Madurai. Even in that hour of crisis Minakshi and Bangaru Tirumalai did not join together to save their kingdom from the Muslim invaders. The pretender made overtures to Safdar Ali offering to pay to him 30 lakhs of rupees if he supported his cause against that of Minakshi. The invader finding that the queen was prepared to resist him offered to arbitrate between the two contestants, but decided in favour of Bangaru Tirumalai. The queen was not however prepared to accept the decision of Safdar Ali. Therefore

3. *Ind. Ant.*, XLVI, pp. 217-18; Nelson, *The Madurai Country*, pt. iii, p. 256; and Orme, *The Military Transactions in Indostan*, I, p. 38.

finding that matters were dragging on and were not likely to be settled easily he left the enforcement of his award to Chanda Sahib and returned back to the north. Taking advantage of the changed situation queen, Minakshi and her partisans offered a crore of rupees to Chanda Sahib if he, without giving effect to the arrangement made by Safdar Ali, recognised Minakshi as the lawful ruler. When he easily agreed to the suggestion the party did not have confidence in his words and wanted him to reiterate his promise with the *Koran* in his hands on the bank of the river Kaveri. He made the promise once again without the least idea of keeping his word.⁴ It appears that Minakshi borrowed some money from the Raja of Thanjavur for making payment to the Muslim invader, in return for which help he got the right of occupying till the loan was repaid the fertile territory of Tirukkattupalli lying between the Cauvery and Coleroon up to Thanjavur.⁵

Meanwhile the pretender, Bangaru Tirumalai assisted by the Tondaiman Raja of Pudukkottai and the Mysoreans, proceeded against Madurai and occupied the place, though with difficulty. Later, however, Minakshi patched up her relations with her rival and so Chanda Sahib who was utterly disappointed in his aims returned back to Arcot with a view to return to the scene once again with additional reinforcements.

Having gained some time and relief Minakshi was able thereafter to engage herself in local war. Tukoji suggested to her that she might wage a war with the Tondaiman of Pudukkottai for his help to her enemies and himself offered help to her. The Thanjavur ruler supported by Minakshi sent his General Anandaraya Maki (Ananda Rao) to invade the Pudukkottai region. After taking a few places he laid siege to the strong fort of Tirumayyam which, however, he was not able to take. But he went on with the siege until at last he was obliged to raise the siege and hurriedly lead back his mutilated army to meet another serious enemy nearer home.

Queen Minakshi appears to have been left to herself till 1739 and we find her ruling till the middle of that year. According to a copper plate record of the queen, dated Ś 1660, *Kalayukti, Māgha* 12th corresponding to 9th February 1739 she made a gift of land to a Muslim priest named Iman Sahibu in Sivalapperi *alias* Muddu Venkata-lakshmi Bhupalasamudram in the Tiruvadi rajya which belonged to the Nayaka ruler of Madurai.⁶ This record proves that the hitherto accepted date for the tragic end of her reign namely 1736 or 1737 is not correct. It is interesting to find that this late date is confirmed by the *Maduraittalavaralāru* which says: "From Virodhikrit Māsi to Śiddharti Vaikāsi (A.D. 1731-39) for the period of nine years Minakshi Ammal, the wife of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nāyakkār crowned herself and ruled along with her brother,

4. Wilks, *op cit*, I, p. 155; According to him Chanda Sahib did not make the oath placing his hand on *Koran* but on a brick hidden under splendid coverings which queen Minakshi and her partisans did not notice; and thereby he deceived her.

5. Ayyar, Radhakrishna, *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*; pp. 165 and 171.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, LV, p. 195; *TAS*, V, pt. iii.

Venkataperumāl Nāyakkar.”⁷ Thus the Madurai chronicle fixes the death of the queen three months after the date of the copper plate referred to above.

There was an interregnum in the history of Thanjavur between 1736 and 1739 when it was a cockpit of intrigues and offered scope for the exercise of power by adventures. However, early in 1739 things settled down with the accession of Pratap Singh. Just before his accession Chanda Sahib's intervention in the confused politics of the extreme south once again commenced. Both he and Safdar Ali marched on Thanjavur and besieged the city. Leaving Safdar Ali to continue the siege, Chanda Sahib marched towards Tiruchirappalli. A letter from Pondicherry dated 6th January 1739 by Father Gaston Coverdon says: “The fate of the kingdom in Triuchirappally is at present sealed; that is to say, hereafter it is a Moorish (a Muhammadan) country. The Nawab Chanda Sahib made his entrance into the capital more than a month ago (*i.e.* December, 1738) when the missionaries assembled together with solemnity for the Chirstmas' festivities.”⁸ He persuaded Minakshi to entrust to him the work of the destruction of her enemies, and after gaining control over the administration of the territories under her sent an army farther south to take Dindugal from Bangaru Tirumalai who had by that time fallen out with queen. The latter was overpowered in the battle of Ammaiya Nayakkanūr, and forced to take refuge in Śivaganga. The army of Chanda Sahib soon occupied Madurai also. Thus the victorious Muslim General became virtually the master of the territories of the Nayaks of Madurai by the middle of 1739; and it was probably during his stay there that the queen made a grant to the Muslim mosque.

Then Chanda Sahib's character revealed itself. He threw to the winds his solemn vow to Minakshi and imprisoned her in her own palace at Tiruchirappalli.⁹ The erstwhile queen became stricken with poignant grief and put an end to her life¹⁰ Chanda Sahib now became the absolute master of the Nayaka territories. Thus with the tragic death of queen Minakshi in 1739 the Nayakship of Madurai came to an end as also a brilliant chapter in the history of the extreme south of the Peninsula.

7. Iyer, R. Satyanathā, *The Nayaks of Madurai*, p. 378; also *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, VI, p. 112.
8. Besse, Rev. L. (ed.), *Life of Beschi*, p. 157.
9. Hill, S. C., *Yusuf Khan*, p. 12.
10. The manner in which Minakshi put an end to her life is however not clearly known. Some chronicles say that she took poison and died. But Burhan Ibn Hasan gives the following graphic account of the manner of her end. According to him Husayn Dost Khan, the third son-in-law (of the Nawab of Dost Ali) went there (Tiruchirappalli) in the guise of peace. Swearing on the word of Allah, the king and the Great Knower, he span the thread of relationship of a brother to her, made it into a noose of punishment and deceived her. He cut the throat of the times, broke his plighted word, and tinged his scimitar with blood. Finally in the *sarai* known as Dalavai mandap (*Dalavāy Mandapa*) adjoining the fort of Tiruchirappalli he broke his covenant with her) yielding to his prolific vicious nature, took possession of the fort, and set the mischief afoot. The Rani became aware of the deceit, being too weak to take revenge the power went from her hands. Thus wounded in heart and helpless she burnt herself according to the custom of the Hindus; Nainar, M. H. *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, Eng. Tr. I, pp. 70-71.

Historical Material in the Ramappayyan Ammanai

The *Ammanai* is a kind of poetical composition in Tamil, each verse of which has the word *ammanai* for its refrain. Curiously enough the *Ramappayyan Ammanai* unlike other *ammanais* consists of songs which do not end in all cases with that refrain, but it is found only at the end of a few verses. The title of the work is to some extent misleading for it deals mainly with the martial achievements of its hero. It may with greater correctness be called *Ramappayyan Paḍaippōr*. It is a much worn out paper manuscript running to 63 pages. The author of the work is not known, but it was probably written some where in the second half of the eighteenth century, since Bade Khan the brother of Chanda Sahib (D. 1752) and Yusuf Khan, popularly known as Khan Sahib and Governor of Madurai between 1759 and 1764 are mentioned as having taken part in the campaigns of Ramappayya. The author was evidently an admirer of the *Maravas* and their chieftain the Setupati. The poem largely deals with the war that was waged by Ramappayya, the famous *Dalavāy* of Tirumalai Nayaka (1623—1659) who is referred to in the work as *Tennavan Kachchi Tirumalaiyēndiran* on behalf of his master against Setupati chief of Ramanathapuram. It also gives an account of Ramappayyan's successful fight on behalf of the Vijayanagara Emperor Venkata III against the Muslims who invaded the Bangalore region.

The work opens with the request made by Ramappayya to Tirumalai Nayaka for permission to undertake an expedition against Sadaikka Teva who is known to history as Sadaikka Teva II or Dalavay Setupati. Permission was given for the expedition by the Nayaka only after great hesitation for he realised the great strength of the *Maravas* and their capacity for determined fight. The circumstances that led to the war were probably as follows : Kuttan Setupati who was the chief of Ramanathapuram from 1623 died in 1635 leaving behind him a legitimate son, Sadaikka Teva II also called Dalavay Setupati and an illegitimate son called 'Tambi'. The former of the two who had a greater right to succeed to his father's possessions succeeded the father in 1635, but two years later the illegitimate son of

the deceased father convinced the authorities at Madurai of his right to succeed to the chieftainship and threatened to dethrone the ruling chieftain. Sadaikka Teva was prepared to resist and fight out his case. This probably led to a war between the Madurai Nayaka who supported the 'Thambi' and the reigning Setupati. We are not able to get more than these slender details regarding the genesis of the war.

According to the work among those who helped Ramappayya in his campaign against the Setupati are said to have been Sivile Maran, the Pandyan ruler of Tenkasi, the King of Colombo besides Shah Abbas Khan (Yusuf Khan) and Bade Khan. Of these it is possible that the Pandyan ruler alone could have been of any help to Ramappayya. Sivile Maran who is referred to in the work was very probably the same as Varagunarama Pandya Kulasekhara Somasiar one of whose inscriptions dated A.D. 1616 has been discovered.¹ Colombo was then in the hands of the Portuguese, and therefore it is quite improbable that a ruler of that place could have helped Ramappayya. Shah Abbas Khan (Yusuf Khan) was the ruler and Governor of Madurai between 1759 and 1764 and Bade Khan the brother of Chanda Sahib also could not have taken any part in the war, since their periods are separated from that of Ramappayya by a century or more.

The work describes in graphic language the march of Ramappayya along with his large army through such places like Chinna Ravuttar Palaiyam, Vandiyurkkottai, Tiruppuvanam, his bringing into full view the Rajagambhirankottai a stronghold of an early Bāṇa chieftain Mavali Vana Raya which had been submerged under the thick growth of a dense forest and his reaching Vanaraviran Mudurai the modern Manamadura, Sadaikka Teva who heard of the invasion of his country by Ramappayya held a war council and appointed his own son-in-law Vanniya Tevan as the leader of his forces. We have an account of the disposition of the forces and the different stages in the war, at everyone of which Ramappayya was defeated. At the end of four days of hard and terrible fighting however Sadaikka is said to have become very much fatigued and, therefore, he was safely moved to the island of Ramesvaram with all his army and treasury by his nephew and son-in-law Vanniyan. Ramappayya who was also in need rest is said to have continued at the place of battle for about twenty days.

It was at this time that, according to the work, Ramappayya was ordered to proceed to Bangalore to help Venkata III against the Muslims who had invaded the Karnataka country as far as that place. We are considering this portion of the manuscript at the end of this paper. After his return from the north he marched to the South, and camped at Vanaraviran Madurai. He then proceeded towards Ramesvaram where the Setupati had entrenched himself. Ramappayya is said in the work to have emulated the epic hero Rama by the construction of a cause way across the straits in a short period of a week. While the Nayaka General started taking his army along the dam and encircling the island of Ramesvaram the Marava leader Vanniyan mounted his cannons, Rama and Lakshmana and opened fire on the enemies. Ramappayya was defeated and forced to withdraw.

1. *TAS*, Vol. I, p. 148.

It was then that the Nayaka general was awakened to a full realisation of the serious danger that threatened him and he became convinced of the fact that unless he secured the help of a naval force he would not be able to reduce Sadaikkan and his subordinates to submission. Hence, in consultation with his lieutenants Kondappayyan and some others he opened negotiations with the Portuguese in Ceylon, Colombo, Mannar, Kandi and Cochin, and promised them freedom of the channel as well as the entire island of Ramesvaram in return for their help to win the war against the Setupati. The Portuguese were only too willing to take advantage of the opportunity that presented itself before them. According to the work they had long been suffering from the oppression of the *Maravas* who levied heavy taxes from them and other islanders whenever their ships passed through the Pamban Channel.

Now to the account of the war itself. In the course of the terrible naval battle that was fought, the Setupati General Vanniya Teva came out successful. But worn out by the war he died soon after advising his father-in-law to surrender to the Nayaka King. However, when the Setupati submitted to his overlord he was ill-treated and imprisoned. According to the work on account of the efficacy of his prayers his fetters broke, and Tirumalai Nayaka released him from prison and sent him home to rule in peace. But the real reason for the release of the Setupati was in fact different. The 'Tambi' who was supported by Tirumalai Nayaka to succeed to the chieftainship of Ramanathapuram was very much disliked by the people. The country was thrown into confusion and disorder, and hence Tirumalai Nayaka, apparently realising that the Dalavay Setupati was the only person who could restore order in the region released him from prison and accepted him as the rightful chief. The overlordship of Tirumalai over the region under the Setupati is indicated by an inscription of 1641 at Vembangudi which records a grant for the merit of Tirumalai Nayakkarayyan.²

Nelson says that Ramappayyan died before the conclusion of the campaign against the Marava chieftain. But this statement is not supported by the evidence of the *History of the Carnataca Governors*,³ an important manuscript in the Mackenzie collection or the *Rāmappayyan Ammānai*. An inscription of 1638 mentions him along with Tirumalai Nayaka.⁴ As said earlier he went to Goa in August, 1639 as his master's ambassador. Hence he must have died some years after the successful conclusion of his war against the Setupati. From the fact that an inscription of 1648 refers to an agreement "in the time of Ramappayyan"⁵ we may draw the conclusion that he must have died by that year.

A part of the manuscript, as said earlier describes Ramappayya's successful war in the Bangalore region against the Muslim invaders on behalf of Venkata III the Emperor of Vijayanagara (1620—1630). It is said to have been undertaken by him

2. *ARSIE*, 120 of 1920.

3. Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, II, p. 175.

4. *ARSIE*, 59 of 1916.

5. *ARSIE*, 521 of 1916.

during the short period that intervened between his first campaign against the Setupati and the second one.

According to the work under reference while he was staying in the South after the first stage of his campaigns against the Setupati he received a message from Tiulamai Nayaka calling him back to Madurai for he had heard from Venkata III that the Mugil Paccha (Mughal Badshah) had come down with 30,000 horse and taken Vanavay, that the Golkondaiyan (the ruler of Golkonda) was plundering Vijayapura, Vellore and other territories of the Raya, that the Nayaka's territory itself was threatened to be invaded and that Ramappayya must start on an expedition against them. The Nayaka General, after giving instructions to his lieutenants to be watchful returned to Madurai, and under orders from his master, started northward to help the Emperor against the Muslims. He is said to have marched through Solavandan, Vadamadurai, Dindigul, Manapparai, Irattaimalai, Tiruchirappalli, Srirangam, Samayavaram, Kannanur, Valikondapuram and Velur and reached Bangalore where he had an interview with the Raya. Taking orders from him he joined forces with Ikkeri Venkata Krishnayya and defeated the enemy, and returning back to the Raya, reported to him of his success. Then having been duly honoured by the Raya for his services he is said to have returned back to Madurai through Velur, Vijayapuram, Anegondi, Uttattur, Valikondapuram, Kannanur, Srirangam, Tiruchirappalli, Manapparai, Tekkumalai, Dindigul, Solavandan, Tovariman and Pillaiyarpalayam.

Though the above account contained in the work is too graphic and detailed to be dismissed easily, many statements made in it have to be doubted from the historical point of view.

The incidents that are said to have happened in the Bangalore region may be assigned to the period between 1638 and 1639; a confused one in the history of the Karnataka. The main political events relating to it may be reviewed as follows. In 1636 a treaty was concluded between the Mughal Emperor and the Adil Shah of Bijapur, according to one of the terms of which the latter accepted the overlordship of the Badshah. Subsequent to that the Sultan of Bijapur extended his power over the Karnataka country. Randaula Khan, the Bijapur General invaded the Ikkeri country and forced its Nayaka Virabhadra to sue for peace according to the conditions of which he was to surrender his claims to the conquered forts and retain the remaining territory as a subordinate of the Sultan of Bijapur. Randaula Khan then marched towards Bangalore at the head of 9000 men with a view to take the city, which was then ruled by one Kempe Gauda, a subordinate of Venkata III. Finding his own position weak and his force inadequate to resist Randaula Khan the Emperor appealed to his feudatory Nayakas for help.⁶ But before any help reached Venkata from them, Randaula Khan took the fort of Bangalore, appointed Shahaji as its governor and besieged Seringapatam for a month at the end of which he raised it probably on receipt of an indemnity of five lakhs of *hons* from its Governor Kanthireva Narasa, and returned to Bijapur.

6. Macleod De Oest, *Indische Campagne*, II, p. 173.

Taking advantage of the General's return to Bijapur Kenge Hanuma, the ruler of Basavapattanam revolted against the Bijapur overlordship, but Randaula Khan once again brought the territory under Subjugation⁷ Thus the invasion and conquest of the Karnataka country appears to have been undertaken only by the Bijapur General. Therefore, the statement made in the work that the Mughal Badshah invaded the South as far as Bangalore with 30,000 horse is open to doubt.

It was probably somewhere about the time of the Bijapur General's invasion of the Bangalore reigon that Venkata made a piteous appeal to his subordinate Nayakas in the South. The appeal could have had the desired effect, and even the distant Madurai Nayaka seems to have sent a contingent of troops to help the Emperor. Though, in the latter portion of his region Tirumalai Nayaka of Mudurai showed signs of insubordination to the Vijayanagara House he appears to have been loyal to it till at least about this period. The Kuniyur Plates of Venkata III (1634) for instance refer to Tirumalai in respectful terms. That inscription mentions a grant made by Venkata according to the wishes of the glorious prince Tirumala.⁸ Venkata was able to have at his command early in 1639 an army of 1,30,000 soldiers. With that he marched to Bangalore, with a view to recapture the fort, but being foiled in his attempt, he returned back to Vellore in the middle of 1639. A few months later, taking advatage of the fact that the Bijapur General had gone back to his Capital he started once again with an army of 2000 to take Bangalore, but hearing that the latter had come down once again to the Karnataka country having subdued the rebellion of Kenge Hanuma, returned to Vellore.

Ramappayya probably took part in the first invasion of Bangalore by Venkata III, for it was only then that the emperor had with him a large force supplied by his feudatories. Mention has been made earlier that he was at Goa on the 13th August, 1639 as the ambassador of Tirumalai Nayaka, and it is doubtful if he would have been able to lead his forces to Bangalore during the second expedition of Venkata III to the place. But with regard to the success of his expedition against Bangalore the *Ammānai* makes too tall a claim for the hero. The contemporary sources do not bear out the statement. According to some of them Venkata III was foiled in his attempt to take Bangalore then. Further it is hard to believe that a person who found himself unable to conquer the Setupati could have come out with such brilliant success against the army of the Sultan of Bijapur. Again the predating of the march of Ramappayya as far as Bangalore and assigning it to the period that intervened between the two stages in the campaigns of the Madurai General against the Setupati both of which took place in 1637 is again historically inaccurate, for, as said above, the Portuguese Governor was thanked in August, 1639 for his help to the Madurai Nayaka two years earlier in his campaigns against the Setupati. Besides the statement made in the work that the Mughal Badshah invaded the Karnataka country in 1639 is difficult to

7. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta and Venkataramanayya, N., *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, pp. 344-45.

8. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 255.

be accepted. Furthermore the Sultan of Golkonda did not participate in the expansion of the Muslim power over west Karnataka during this period. He entered the political arena of the Karnataka, and the eastern portion of it comparatively late. Lastly the author of the *Ammānai* betrays lack of knowledge of the geographical position of the places to the north of Tiruchirappalli and Śrirangam mentioned in the work. For instance it is stated in the work that Ramappayya returned from Bangalore to his place through Velur, Vijayapuram, Anegondi, Uttattur, etc. Certainly he could not have gone to Bijapur and Anegondi on his way to Madurai from Bangalore.

Thus after a careful study of the whole work, one is led to the conclusion that the *Ramappayyan Ammānai* is not historically so valuable as it is claimed to be, particularly the portion dealing with the expedition of the General to Bangalore.

The Nawabs of the Carnatic and Hindu Temples

The Nawabs of the Carnatic (the members of the Walajahi dynasty of Arcot), particularly Muhammad Ali Walajah and his successor Umdatul Umara, were deeply interested in the proper maintenance of the Hindu temples. They were anxious that no harm was done to them in the course of the many wars that were waged in the Carnatic during their period. More than that, they were equally anxious that the traditional and customary modes of worship there were followed without any interruption. They considered it their duty to settle disputes, if any, that arose among groups or parties with regard to the performance of temple rituals and worship.

One of the major temples which suffered considerably in the course of the Carnatic wars was the Ranganatha at Srirangam near Tiruchirappalli which was a great stronghold of Muhammad Ali Walajah. Srirangam, on account of its geographical and strategic position, played a considerable part in the course of the Anglo-French conflict, and it was the main aim of the French to capture the place ; and on many occasions they succeeded in their attempt though they could not retain the place for long. But during their occupation, the place as also the temple there suffered a good deal. According to Ananda Ranga Pillai, the diarist at Pondicherry, in 1759 the French army under Crillon, the Commander, which had been sent to attack the English near Samayavaram made an attack on the Srirangam temple and mercilessly plundered two streets in the town.¹ This statement is corroborated by the evidence of the *Koyilolugu*, a work in Tamil which deals with the history of the Srirangam temple. It says that the *Unals* (Yavanas—the French) who became powerful in Puducheri (Pondicherry) spread their army everywhere, entered Srirangam and harassed its inhabitants. Unable to bear the harassment the people inhabiting both the banks took refuge in the temple and closed its gates. The *Unals* however entered the Chitrai street and the Uttira street, plundered the temple and were planning to harass the whole population when Alagiya-manavaḷa Perumaḷ, taking pity on the people, evoked the sympathy of an aged *Patangi*

1. *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. XI.

(Frenchman) towards them, and through his good offices saved the temple.² The *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* of Burhan Ibn Hasan also refers to this incident. It says that "the French cut down the trees, destroyed, plundered and vacated the buildings and devastated the temple".³ However, when the French retired from the place on account of the threatened attack on Wandiwash by the English, the army of the Sirkar entered Srirangam without any fight and "according to custom appointed the *qiladar*, the *darughā* and other managers issued orders to rebuild, inhabit and fortify it." This is surely a good instance of the interest of Muhammad Ali Walajah in the proper functioning of one of the biggest and most important Hindu temples in his jurisdiction.

Muhammad Ali Walajah's successor Umdatul Umara Bahadur, (1795-1801) also evinced great concern for the observance of customary usages and the conduct of proper worship in temples. During his time two disputes, as known to us were decided. There was a long standing quarrel between two members of a Vāishnava family regarding receipt of *tirtham* (sacred water) in the Rānganathā temple at Srirangam and it was amicably decided after careful enquiry by Nawab Umdatul Umara. The case related to a complaint made to the Government of the Nawab by one Annangar Varadacharya that one Rangacharya was enjoying the complainant's share and properties without any right for one hundred and twenty years. The Nawab after making an elaborate enquiry and taking necessary evidence decided in A.D. 1796 (*Nala*) on the verdict of jurors. According to it "under the orders of Huzur both parties will have their shares in *tirthams* in the temple. They will enjoy *rusuas* (dues, fees) and *mirasi* (right) equally half and half. Without any quarrel they will enjoy their shares in *tirtham* for ever and look after their own business. If anyone in the future goes against this order he will forfeit his rights and be liable to the orders of Sirkar".⁴

A few months later in the same year an important thing happened in the temple at Chidambaram. The Vishnu temple which is situated in the Siva temple at the place had a chequered history, and not infrequently worship in the temple was stopped. However, the temple was restored and worship in it was arranged for by Ramaraja of Vijayanagara, and in the teeth of opposition of the priests of the Siva temple some additions were made to it by Krishnappa Nayaka of Ginji towards the close of the sixteenth century. But at some date subsequent to that, the Vishnu temple appears to have suffered once again at the hands of the priests of the Siva temple. They closed the Vishnu temple and put a stop to worship in it. But in 1796 during the administration of Hazrath Muhammad Moiuddin Khan Sahab, who was probably administering the area, they admitted the wrongs that they had committed against the Vishnu temple and gave in writing that they had once again opened the temple and restored worship in it. They said: "We are the Pujalies of the temple of Sabapathy Iswar, situated in the Khasba of Chidambaram of our own free will and desire, we admitt and give in writing

2. *Koyilolugu*, Part II.

3. Nainar, S. Muhammad Husasain, *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, Vol. II, p. 240.

4. *Mackenzie Collection* (Restored), Vol. III, pp. 223-24.

as follows : That we had shut up the Pagoda of Sri Govinda Raj Perumal, as an act of wickedness and depravity for the years, and had put a stop to the worship etc., in aforesaid Pagoda. That, now (recently) during the administration of Hazrath Muhammad Mofuddin Khan Saheb, we have opened the aforesaid Pagoda and have commenced worship, etc., at the temple of Perumal, according to *mamool* (custom). That we had used force and beaten a body of the soldiers, the servants of the State, (employed) as watchmen, also the footmen of the establishment and—Poligars etc., posted for continuing the worship in the temple of Perumal, at the door of the aforesaid Pagoda That we had made arrangement in the temple, having in view the object of pulling down the aforesaid temple. We had appropriated to our own use for thirty-four years the amount of sixty pagodas annually, being the income of the *Hundavan* belonging to the Sircar, as well as, that of the *Miras* of *Mikavalukar* (head watchmen). That we had forcibly taken in our custoday the keys of the temple of Eashwar, which, as a *mamool* (custom) should have been in the custody of *Mikavalukars*. That we had destroyed *Ballipeit* (altar) the pial and the post of the temple of Perumal, which had been in existence as usual from time immemorial. That we admit all these faults. Therefore, we promise that we would not obstruct the performance of worship and *Puncha Porva Oathsavani* and *Ruth Poithsavam* etc., that is festivals of the Perumal Pagoda, which are being celebrated according to *mamool* (custom). We would not stop the Pujalies of the Perumal Pagoda from drawing the water of Pramanadham well. We shall give them possession of the hundred pillars Mandapam for the *Oothsavams* (festivals) usually performed in Perumal temple. We shall not prevent Pujalies of the aforesaid pagoda, from taking water out of the tank, that is, water fountain, situated in the pagoda for the observance of Tiruth that is, the washing of Perumal. We shall pay the Sircar the sum of six thousand pagodas, to every pie, conveniently and leisurely being the income of the *Hundavan* belonging to the Sircar, and *Miras* of *Mikavalukar* which we had appropriated to our own use. In future, we shall remit the amount of sixty pagodas to the Sircar in respect of *Hundavan*, from year to year, and month to month; and shall continue the *Miras* of *Mikavalukar*, according to *mamool*. We shall, hand over the keys of the temple to *Mikavalukars* and shall construct and deliver *Ballipeit* (altar) and post in the same state as before. We, the Pujalies of the Perumal pagoda, shall live in complete harmony and shall not disobey the order of the Sircar. That we had been in the habit of assembling in one place from a long time until now, and after causing the fault of every plaintiff and defendant to be proved, we had collected fines from them and appropriated the same to our own use, without remitting them to the Sircar. Hereafter, should there be any dispute, forthcoming from us, we shall cause the same to be known to the Sircar and should there be any payment of fine, we shall remit the fine to the Sircar; and we will not assemble in one place. Should, at any time, an order of the Sircar be issued, we shall obey the same with head and eyes (heart and soul). In case of (our acting) contrary to this we shall be guilty to the Sircar. Therefore, we have written and given these few words as an agreement to be voucher hereafter".⁵

5. A copy of this agreement was kindly placed at my disposed by Sri V.R. Krishnamachary, the present trustee of the Vishnu temple,

Though it is not said in so many plain words, it may be taken that the priests of the Siva temple gave up their obstructionist policy and reopened the Vishnu temple at the suggestion or interference of the Nawab. This may be inferred from the fact that the written admission of the *Pujaries* served as an agreement to be vouched thereafter and the document was affixed with the *Qazi's* seal.

The above instances should certainly bear testimony to the interest of the Nawabs of the Carnatic in the conduct of proper worship in the Hindu temples on traditional lines.

Colonel Baird at Tirupparankunram

During the closing years of the reign of Muhammad Ali Walajah I, the Nawab of the Carnatic, his son Nasirul-Mulk was ruling over the Madurai country as the representative of his father. He was assisted in the administration of the area among others by Mutasaddi (Dewan?)¹ Gopal Rao and Abdul Qadir who was the renter (*Peshkar*) of the place. Between the 10th and 15th of March 1793, some interesting incidents took place at Tirupparankunram and Madurai consequent on the encampment of Colonel Baird at the former place along with his detachment of 700 soldiers and his forced opening of the temple gate in order to house his soldiers, resulting in the religious martyrdom of some Hindus.

On account of the political unrest and trouble in the far South during the period, Colonel Baird who was then at Tiruchirappalli was asked to march to Tirupparankunram with his detachment and stay on there for some time. Colonel Baird marched to Tirupparankunram and halted with his soldiers in the Subrahmanya temple at the place on the 10th of March, when the "ceremony" of the temple was in progress. The people who had assembled in large numbers for it objected to the high-handed action of Colonel Baird. The Brahmanas and *Pandarams*² ascended the *gopuram* of the temple and threatened to throw themselves from its top and sacrifice their lives if the Colonel persisted in quartering his troops in the temple. On receipt of the information Mutasaddi Gopal Rao waited upon the Colonel and explained him the point of view of the Hindus regarding stationing the troops in the temple. After some altercation the Colonel told Gopal Rao that although he "was not at liberty to allow a single day's respite, still for the satisfaction of the Sarkar's people he would give the Brahmanas five days in which

1. Though Gopal Rao is referred to as Mutasaddi in the English records mentioned by the author, in the Tamil inscription at the Subrahmanya temple, Tirupparankunram, he (Gopal Rao) is described as *Divan* (Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions by Burgess J. and Sastri, S. M. Natesa, Madras 1886, n. 41).
2. According to Hobson Jobson by Col. Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell *Pandaram* is "a Hindu ascetic mendicant of the (so-called) *Sudra* or even lower caste."

time they would finish their ceremonies", and desired that the Brahmanas should descend from the tower before the evening and he himself should be informed of it.

When Gopal Rao returned to the fort subsequently, he sent for Abdul Qadir the *Peshkar* and communicated to him the Colonel's desire. The ruler however feared that the ceremonies could not be finished in the space of five days. In the meanwhile four European officers who had halted before the temple tried to get forced entry into it by breaking its gates as a protest against which, some *Pandarams* attempted to cut their own throats, while others climbed up the temple tower with the intention of throwing themselves down. News of such developments reached Gopal Rao and Abdul Qadir when they were talking about the matter and the latter felt that such a high handed action was unprecedented, and feared the cessation of all normal activities in the country and the beginning of unrest.

The Mutasaddi sent the Sarkar's *Dubash* to Colonel Baird to inform him that he had explained matters to the people. The Colonel who was 'determined on bringing the troops into the pagoda and would not give it up' wanted Gopal Rao to see him. Considering it a good opportunity, the Mutasaddi waited on the Colonel along with the *Peshkar* and his son-in-law and explained to him the position. The Colonel said that 'he had 700 soldiers with him, that the chaultries around the pagoda would be just sufficient for the officers, that 300 of the soldiers would be quartered in the chaultry fronting the gate of the pagoda, and the remainder—200 men who were sick, must have a separate place, and unless the gates of the pagoda were opened so that he might have the chaultry inside it, there was no other place to lodge the sick men and that he had the governor's orders for lodging the troops in the pagoda'. Gopal Rao warned the Colonel that his action would result in the rebellion of the people and loss in the *list* of the *Sarkar* and that the *Pandarams* would sacrifice their lives. The Colonel replied however that if he did not get the *choultry* within the temple "the king's soldiers would perish in the heat of the sun", that this was a greater consideration with him than any inconveniences that the Hindus might suffer, and that the *sircar* likewise would not allow the soldiers to be put to hardships, and that therefore he would give orders for opening the gate. Gopal Rao assured the Colonel that the people would be agreeable to his occupying the *choultries* outside the temple but never inside it and warned him once again that, if he persisted, there would be general unrest in the country and a consequent fall in the *list* of the *Sarkar*. Besides the people would "lay their complaints before the presence at Madras". He further said that on an earlier occasion Colonel Bruce by order of the Governor lodged about 500 soldiers in the temple at Wallajahbad as a result of which, the Hindus closed their shops and complained about it to the Nawab of the Carnatic. He took the matter to the Governor of Madras, who immediately directed the Commanding Officer at Tiruchirappalli to remove the soldiers from the temple and station them in some other place. After considering the whole position for some time Colonel Baird said that he remembered Colonel Braithwaite, having on a former occasion lodged his people in the *choultry* under consideration, and he would also do the same after ascertaining from him about it; but if Colonel Braithwaite has not done so he would write to the Company that barracks must be built for the reception of the troops. The

Colonel desired Gopal Rao to enquire of the inhabitants of Madurai and the neighbourhood about the lodging of the troops by Colonel Braithwaite in the *choultry* within the temple and inform him about it to which the Mutasaddi agreed. The Colonel asked Gopal Rao to appoint a person on behalf of the Sarkar to clear out the *choulties* in which the troops were formerly quartered besides a few other places. The *Pashkar* and his son-in-law were appointed for the purpose and the Colonel sent one of his officers to see the places on his behalf and report to him about them. The *Peshkar* and his son-in-law Abdul Qadir pointed out 35 *choulties* besides the large one in front of the temple and five of the *Pandarams' mutts* numbering altogether 40 *choulties* and delivered them to the Colonel.³

The next day the scene of action shifted to Madurai where the Brahmanas and *Pandarans* of the Minakshi temple on receipt of information about the incidents in the temple at Tirupparankunram (Sikandar banda) closed the gates of their temple, and went up to the top of their tower blowing all the while their conch shells. Gopal Rao on hearing about it explained to them through the *Peshkar* Abdul Qadir, the Persian writer Venkat Rao and another one as to what had transpired the previous day between himself and Colonel Baird. It was reported to them that the Colonel had agreed to station his soldiers in the *choulties* in which they had halted previously, and therefore it was expedient that they should get down from the temple tower and open the gates. But they represented to Gopal Rao that even when the troops had encamped at the place on one or two earlier occasions for a week or ten days the *ceremonies* were stopped in the temple, but now when they had come there with the intention of remaining at the place for five years and had occupied the *chaultries* and charity houses around the temple they did not know what would happen. Gopal Rao next sent word to them that no useful purpose would be served by their making such disturbance and suggested that all those that belonged to the temple might give him in writing 'a state of circumstances that I might transmit the same to the presence, and the business would be settled'. Accordingly, he caused them to write a *cajan* to the Brahmanas of the Sikandarbanda temple desiring them to descend from the tower.⁴

But all this persuasion of Gopal Rao and others did not have much effect on the people both at Tirupparankunram and Madurai on account of the high handedness of Colonel Baird and his troops. On the morning of the 14th of the month matters reached a climax, when in spite of the fact that people had assembled in such large numbers, Colonel Baird sent a guard of soldiers to clear out the *choultry* within the temple at Tirupparankunram. "The Brahmanas and Pandarans making a clamour, the soldiers first began to beat them with the butts of their fire-locks and afterwards gave everyman four or five wounds with their bayonets. Then taking hatchets in their hands they set about to break open the gates of Secundarbanda. Immediately on the noise at the bottom a Pandaram threw himself from the steeple of the said pagoda and sacrificed his life; when this news reached the people belonging to the pagoda of Meenatchee some

3. Military correspondence, Vol. 44 A, Letter No. 59 of 1793.

4. *Ibid.*, No. 59 of 1793.

of them went up the steeple, and began to beat their tom toms etc., louder than before and according to their custom, sent people and caused the bazaar of the town to be shut up, and having assembled the parayars without the fort they despatched *kazhan* letters to the several parts of the talookas to assemble the people". Therefore by order of the Colonel the Major confined the people who were responsible for the closing of the shops⁵.

Gopal Rao from time to time sent reports in writing to Nasir-ul-Mulk at Madurai who sent them all to the Nawab of the Carnatic. While sending the Nawab the last of Mutasaddi's letters Nasirul-Mulk wrote to his father that on receiving information of the incidents those in the temples of Srirangam and Jambukesvaram had decided to close them and assemble the country people and said : "if orders to Colonel Baird from the Governor and Council arrived in time the fire of disturbance will be extinguished. Otherwise the talookas will be plundered by the colories"⁶.

When Nawab Muhammad Ali received such letters from Nasir-ul-Mulk at Madurai about the unhappy incidents at Tirupparankunram described above, he sent all of them to Sir Charles Oakeley Bart, Governor of Madras, on the 21st of March with a covering letter in which he wrote that formerly when the Governor and Council sent any officer to command troops in any part of his country they made the appointment with his approval. Referring to the incidents at Tirupparankunram he said : "I therefore now trouble you with a request that you will immediately send positive orders to Colonel Baird not to injure the ryots and give up the intention of taking possession of the pagoda; and that even you will recall the Colonel from that place and appoint another officer in his room and issue most positive orders that none of the European Sardars may injure the poor inhabitants in order that there be no difficulty in paying the kists"⁷.

The Governor acknowledged the letter of the Nawab on the 23rd and wrote in reply ; "Your Highness may be assured that I shall mark with the strongest disapprobation any irregular conduct on the part of those who act under my authority and that I shall lose no time in sending positive orders to Colonel Bruce the Officer commanding in the southern division to call upon Lieutenant Colonel Baird for a full and satisfactory explanation of the circumstances stated in your Highness' letter and to take the earliest opportunity of quieting the minds of the Brahmanas by withdrawing the troops from the pagoda, if they have been placed there.

"I directed the European regiment to proceed to Secundurmally (Tirupparankunram) because it was represented to me as a favourable situation for cantoning them, and my intentions were that Lieutenant Colonel Baird

5. *Ibid.*, No. 59.

6. Nasir-ul-Mulk's letter to Mohammad Ali dated 15th March, 1793, and Military Correspondence, Vol. 44A, No. 5.

7. Letter from His Highness the Nawab Walajah to Sir Charles Oakeley Bart, Governor of Madras dated 21st March 1793, *Ibid.*, No. 59,

should occupy those chaultries which had in former occasions and even very lately been appreciated to similar accommodation and that he should consult with your Highness' servants and request their aid in removing any difficulties that might occur. I shall now enjoin him to observe this line of conduct with particular attention and I make no doubt that your Highness will instruct your servants to afford such assistance as he may require for the convenience of the regiment."⁸

Quite in keeping with his promise the Governor soon made enquiries with regard to the conduct of Colonel Baird at Tirupparankunram and wrote to the Nawab as follows on 11th April, 1793 explaining the position according to the information he had received :

"Having called upon Lieutenant Colonel Baird for an explanation of his conduct in the charge preferred against him by the Brahmins of Secundurmally he has stated that he never made any attempt to take possession of the pagoda by force, that the chaultry occupied by the troops is open to the street and had been given up on former occasions for a similar purpose, and that your Highness' principal manager in the district had prevailed upon the Brahmans to give up this chaultry for the accommodation of the Regiment, though they afterwards resisted the attempt to take possession of it. Lieutenant Colonel Baird added that the pagoda had been and was still in the uninterrupted possession of the Brahmins, and that in consequence of the orders I had sent him, he should immediately withdraw the troops from all the chaultries."⁹

It is interesting to note that the main incidents at Tirupparankunram described above are recorded in an inscription incised on the walls of the inner *gopuram* of the temple at the place. It mentions three persons associated with the administration of the country, Asata Kepila Napapu Sayapu Avargal ruling over the kingdom, Amir Katar Sayapu Avargal ruling over the Madurai country and Raja Sri Gopal Rayar Avargal. The first of them may be indentified with Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah I or his representative at Tiruchirappalli since he is referred to in the course of the inscription as Asata Napapu Sayapu of Trisirapuram. Amir Katar Sayapu was obviously the same as Abdul Qadir, the renter or *Peshkar* and Gopal Rao the Mutasaddi or Dewan.

The inscription which is dated S 1714 exp. *Partiapi*, 4th *Panguni*, *Suklapa sha*, 2 *Revati* corresponding to 13th March 1793 records that a regiment of Europeans came and destroyed the temple of Sokkanatha and Palaniandavar, captured the town, took

8. *Ibid.*, No. 60.

9. Letter from His Highness the Nawab Walajah to Sir Charles Oakeley Bart, Governor of Madras, dt. 21-3-1793, No. 70.

possession of the *asthana mandapam*, broke the gates of the *atchagopuram* and was approaching the *kalyana mandapam*. Then at the suggestion of some people associated with the temple, one *Kutti*, the son of a *bairagi* ascended the temple tower and jumped down from it (and died) as a result of which the regiment went away. For this religious martyrdom of his some lands were granted as a *rakta kanikkai*.¹⁰ In regard to some important details however there are diversions between the documentary and inscriptional evidence. For instance, while according to the records the regiment continued to stay on at Tirupparanakunram even after the incident, according to the inscription it left the place. But one thing is clear : Colonel Baird forcedly opened the temple in spite of the protests of the local officers and people which resulted in the religious martyrdom of a zealous devotee of the temple, and his report that 'he never made any attempt to take possession of the pagoda by force' is absolutely false, an assertion unworthy of an officer of his position.

¹⁰ Burgess J. and Sastri, S. M. Natesa, *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 41-43,

Haidar Ali and Tiruchirappalli 1781

Some of the manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collection are of considerable value for a study of the history of south India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and supplement in a large measure the information supplied by the English and French records on the events of the period. At times, they give some information which is not available in other sources. Among such manuscripts is one which relates to the history of the Turaiyur Zamindari in the present Tiruchirappalli District in Tamil Nadu. The manuscript which was collected by Col. Mackenzie the first Surveyor-General of India is available in full in Mackenzie Manuscripts, Restored Vol, III, pp. 161-176 and has been noticed by Taylor in Vol. III of his *Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts in the Government Library* (1862). It throws some welcome light on the part played by Kumara Venkatachala Reddiyar and Vijaya Venkatachala Reddiyar (father and son) of the Turaiyur Zamindari in defeating Haidar Ali who invaded and besieged Tiruchirappalli in June 1781.

Haidar whose avowed objects were "the extermination of the British power in India" and the weakening of the power of the Nawab Muhammad Ali Wallajah of the Carnatic took advantage of the general weakness of the Madras Government in 1780 and descended into the Carnatic country with a large army in June of that year, plundering and destroying the area on his way and thus commencing what is popularly known as the Second Mysore War. After descending into the region by the pass of Changama he divided his army into two divisions and directed the smaller one to raid the entire country from Machalipatna (Machli Bandar) in the north to Madurai and Ramesvaram in the south. Having sent a few other detachments to some other parts of the Carnatic, he himself marched through the Carnatic with the remaining army and laid siege to Arcot. In the meanwhile the English army under the command of Sir Hector Munro and with a number of field officers was concentrated at Kanchipuram forty five miles (72 km.) west of Madras. Col. Baillie who was proceeding towards the place from the north was intercepted by Haidar's forces at Pullalur and destroyed on 10th September, 1780. Sir Hector Munro then retreated to Madras. Haidar then continued

the siege of Arcot for nearly two and half months, took it, and proclaimed his son as the Nayab of the Carnatic. Then he took a number of other places like Ambur, Wandiwash and Chingleput and besieged Vellore. But Sir Eyre Coote who had been made Commander of the English forces came upon the scene early in 1781, relieved Chingleput and Wandiwash and forced Haidar to raise the siege of Vellore.

Having lost his hold over the region Haidar marched with his army south to Portonovo (Muhammad Bandar) and the northern bank of the Coleroon. From thence, he sent detachments of his army to the Thanjavur area and ravaged the country. It is said that on that occasion "Weavers and their families were collected and forcibly sent to people the island of Seringapatam. Captive boys destined to the exterior honour of Islam were driven to the same place with equal numbers of females, the associates of (then) present and the mothers of a future race of military slaves." One of the detachments, under the command of Haidar Ali's son Tipu, overran Srirangam and Jambukesvaram and proceeded towards Tiruchirappalli and began to invest the fort; but he was defeated by Mr. Hall, the Officer Commanding it. However, Haidar Ali pitched his camp very near the fort on the eastern side, attacked the English and took many of them prisoners, though Mr. Hall himself made good his escape. Meanwhile Tipu who had strengthened himself at Srirangam with the troops of Lally made ready for an attack of the Tiruchirappalli fort during the night from the west.

Hall and Nixon were straining every nerve to save the fort from falling into the hands of the invaders. They recruited the entire civil population of the place for its protection. Further according to the *Kaifiat* in the Mackenzie collection, referred to at the beginning, Nixon and Major Sullivan appealed for help to Kumara Venkatachala Reddiyar the Zamindar of Turaiyur as also his son Vijaya Venkatachala Reddiyar and requested them to immediately proceed to Tiruchirappalli with soldiers, artillery, etc. Immediately they marched to the place with an army of 10,000 soldiers (probably an exaggerated number), fought against the Mysore Generals and defeated them; and as a result of that they left the area and went back. According to the work, the European officers at Tiruchirappalli were so mightily pleased with the splendid service which the Zamindar of Turaiyur and his son rendered at a very critical period that they rewarded them with such honours as rising and firing eleven guns when they entered the fort and gave them certificates of distinction.

The above account is in a way confirmed by the *Koyilolugu* a Tamil work which deals with the history of the Srirangam temple. It contains some interesting details about the invasion of Tiruchirappalli by Haidar Ali. According to it after Saka 1703 in the month of *Ani* (c.A.D. 1781, June-July) of the cyclic years *Plavanga* Haidar marched with a lak of soldiers, occupied Tondaimandalam and Cholamandalam, destroying the country through which he passed and surrounded Srirangam. A crore of inhabitants could not contain themselves in the temple ... Haidar who had stationed himself in the temple for six days suffered heavy losses on the seventh day (on which day he had intended to plunder the temple) and ran away. Though there is some confusion here, for the work refers to the occupation of the temple by Haidar Ali, while in fact it was occupied only by his son

Tipu, it can be explained by the circumstance that Haidar was very near Srirangam during the period and Tipu was obviously acting only under the directions of his father.

But the English sources relating to these incidents would probably make one believe that Haidar Ali could have taken Tiruchirappalli had it not been for certain unexpected developments that took place in the north which forced Haidar to abandon his attempt at the capture of the fort. According to them Sir Eyre Coote who was in charge of the operations against Haidar Ali in the north made strenuous attempts to take Chidambaram and *pagoda* which were under the command of Jehan Khan appointed to the place by Haidar Ali; but finding it difficult he returned to Portonovo to procure battering guns and other necessaries. When Haidar heard of the critical condition in which Chidambaram was, he was, forced to give up his siege of Tiruchirappalli and proceed to Chidambaram.

But the evidence supplied by the two pieces of work mentioned above, the *Kaifiyat* of the Zamindari of Turaiyur and the *Kayilohugu*, makes one believe that Haidar Ali who was practically in possession of Srirangam and the area round Tiruchirappalli was not able to take the fort on account of the stiff resistance he had from the officers in command of the place who were well supported by the civilian population as also the army from Turaiyur. They clearly show that he was foiled in his attempt to take the place. It was a historical accident that at the same time Chidambaram was in danger of falling into the hands of Sir Eyre Coote. Hence Haidar Ali rushed to the place, abandoning, at least for the time being, his idea of taking Tiruchirappalli.

Sir William Blackburne An Ideal Political Resident

After wars and suffering in the second half of the eighteenth century, when things settled down to normal in south India with the assumption of the reins of administration by the British East India Company in 1801 in the Carnatic, a large amount of reconstruction and reform had to be undertaken by the British. To that stupendous work, the older members of the Civil Service who had played a considerable part in the establishment of British Rule in the country contributed their best. Among the outstanding men who belonged to that order mention may be made of Major Sir William Blackburne who was Resident at Thanjavur in the first quarter of the last century. By his character, ability, efficiency and statesmanlike understanding and handling of the really pressing problems that confronted the administration he left an indelible impress on the government.

Major-General Sir William Blackburne (1764-1839) entered the Madras army as a cadet of infantry in 1782 and served under Colonel Fullerton in the reduction of the *Poligars* of Madurai and Tirunelveli ; later he served in the campaigns which ended in the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1792. He was proficient in the Indian languages and hence was employed in 1787 as Maharatta Interpreter at Thanjavur in connection with the enquiry that was made over the disputed succession in that Raj. Subsequently he was for some years the Maharatta Interpreter to the British Resident at Thanjavur. Having obtained the military rank of Captain he was appointed in 1801 the Resident at the Court of Thanjavur, an office which he held till 1823 when he resigned and left India. When Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman, the ruler of Pudukkottai died in 1807 and was succeeded by Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman, a boy of ten years, Sir William Blackburne was appointed Political Officer for Pudukkottai and was required "to undertake the management of the Province of Poccoocottah and the guardianship of the minors." When the Prince attained age and was delivered charge of the State,

Blackburne was made the medium of communication between the Raja and the *cutcheries* of Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and Madurai. The period of his connection with Pudukkottai was one of "peace, progress and reform" in the State.¹

As soon as he was appointed Resident at Thanjavur Sir William Blackburne became interested in the State of Pudukkottai. He realised that the dignity and position of the Tondaiman in the administrative set up of south India must be recognised by the East India Company and the princes and zamindars in the Carnatae; that the territories under him formed an important administrative unit and hence doubts regarding the boundaries of the State must be settled; the ruler must receive proper education and training and made to realise his duties and responsibilities as the head of the government; and, above all, the different departments of the administration] must be reorganised and the tone of the administration must be improved.

Sir William Blackburne felt that for the improvement of the standards of administration in the native states the position of the rulers must be exalted, and their status must be recognised by others. The Raja of Thanjavur thought for instance that the Tondaiman was only a zamindar and therefore had no right to the distinction of a *sarkil*. Therefore, the Resident wrote to him in 1822 a spirited letter in which he clearly explained the position of the ruler of Pudukkottai. He said :

"A zamindar is a landholder, paying rent to the government, but possessing neither Military nor Civil authority over the land of which he is the proprietor, he and all his dependents being amenable to the British Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal. Rajah Tondaiman Behauder is a native hereditary Chief, the Prince and ruler of an extensive province. He is a dependent Chief in regard to all matters of a political nature on the British Government, to whom as his liege lord he owes allegiance and military service. In the internal arrangement of his province, he is absolute. He has the power of life and death. He enacts laws, appoints Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal, maintains a considerable Military force, collects his revenues and disposes of them at pleasure, paying no tribute either directly or indirectly through the well-deserved kindness and favour of the British Government. All his subjects are expressly exempted from the jurisdiction of the British Courts. The Rajah Behauder's Sirkeels and Fouzdars have been received with the compliments requested from Your Highness whenever they have visited British stations, and it is indeed, a matter of much surprise as concern to me to receive this refusal from Your Highness. I shall be very happy if the explanation I have shortly offered, for a great deal more might be said of this distinguished Chief, shall incline Your Highness to grant a request of the Resident at Your Court, who is responsible to the Honourable the Governor for the propriety of what he asks and

1. *Dictionary of National Biography*, III; also *Records of the Madras Government East India Military Calendar containing the services of the General and Field Officers of the Indian Army, 1824; Gentleman's Magazine, 1840, p. 92.*

considers a reciprocity of attentions and civilities as being not less graceful and becoming in Your Highness than consistent with the alliance which unites Your Highness so closely with the British Government."²

The Resident also felt that the ruler of Pudukkottai must be allowed the right to enjoy certain marks of distinction. The Tondaimans had been the recipients of such privileges from time to time from the native rulers who were their political superiors. When Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman met Sir William Blackburne in 1803 he suggested that His Lordship the Governor of Madras might be pleased to permit him to enjoy the privilege of the use of two *chobdar* sticks as a mark of his status. On the recommendation of the Resident, the request was granted and the Raja was presented with two *chobdar* sticks made of gold.³

One of the first things that Sir William Blackburne had to do after his appointment as Resident to Pudukkottai was to decide impending questions relating to the boundaries of the State. They were four, namely, the position of the Kilanilai fort and the surrounding territory lying on the borders between Pudukkottai and Thanjavur and certain small areas lying on the borders of the State and Marungapuri, Manapparai and Sivaganga.

Sir William Blackburne took up first the question of the Kilanilai tract. The fort originally belonged to the Maharatta Rajas of Thanjavur. In 1749 Raja Pratap Singh who had disputes with the Setupatis of Ramanathapuram with regard to the possession of the land lying on the boundary between their respective territories ordered Manoji to attack the fort of Arantangi in the area. Finding that his resources were not sufficient for the work, Manoji arranged with the Tondaiman for help in return for the cession of the Kilanilai fort and district valued at 30,000 rupees a year. After the reduction of Arantangi the Tondaiman took possession of Kilanilai and the area around it and asked Manoji for the patents of cession under the seal of the Raja of Thanjavur. The Raja felt that his general had acted beyond his authority and disapproved of his action. Manoji however "purloined the use of his seal" and gave the patents to the Tondaiman.⁴ But the Raja of Thanjavur took back the fort from the Tondaiman in 1756-57. The Tondaiman, however, tried to collect taxes from the region from time to time. Both of them made frequent representations to the Governor of Madras, but he did not effectively interfere to settle the dispute.

In the meanwhile Haidar Ali of Mysore descended into the Carnatic "like a thunderbolt" and took a number of places near Thanjavur and Pudukkottai among which were Arantangi, Pattukkottai and Kilanilai, but was repulsed by the Tondaiman

2. Letter of the Resident to the Raja of Thanjavur dated 31st December, 1822; see *Translations, Copies and Extracts of Several Letters relating to Pudukkottai* (published by T. Rungasamy Naidoo in 1874), pp. 123-24.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 90; but the request of the ruler that he might be styled Maharaja was not granted obviously for the reason that even the ruler of Thanjavur was called only Raja.
4. Orme, *History of Indostan*, I, pp. 402-03.

when he attempted to conquer the Pudukkottai country itself. Under those circumstances the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Eyre Coote wrote to the Tondaiman that it would be very agreeable to the English if he took the fort from the enemy, particularly in view of the fact that they had come to know that the Raja of Thanjavur had written to the Tondaiman that the fort belonged to the latter and therefore he might take it from the enemy. In 1781 Col. Braithwaite who was commanding the southern army also approved of his capturing the fort, and its retention by himself. The Tondaiman accordingly captured it from Haidar Ali; but two years later the Government of Madras decided that the fort must go to the Raja of Thanjavur in spite of the appeals and protests of the Tondaiman.

But from the commencement of the nineteenth century the political condition of south India changed and the fort of Kilanilai for which there was a protracted quarrel for over fifty years between the rulers of Pudukkottai and Thanjavur was now in British hands, and if it was to be returned to the Tondaiman it had to be done by the British themselves, relinquishing all their claims to it. Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman took advantage of the situation and requested that the fort might be made over to him. The Governor in Council directed Sir William Blackburne in 1803 to ascertain the nature of the Tondaiman's claim to the fort and make a report on it "with his opinion of the degree of consideration which it might deserve in consequence of his general attachment to the interests of the company and of his particular exertion during the late rebellion of the Southern Provinces." The Resident met the Tondaiman in April 1803 in a village on the frontiers of Thanjavur, when the latter explained how his claims to Kilanilai originated with a grant made of it to one of his ancestors in the name of the Raja of Thanjavur and how he took it from Haidar Ali in consequence of his engagements with Colonel Braithwaite, General Coote and Lord Macartney. The Resident made a favourable report to the Governor the next month; and by a grant made on the 8th July, 1803, the fort and district of Kilanilai were ceded to the Tondaiman "in perpetual lease in return for a tribute of an elephant to be presented annually to the British Government." The arrangement was ratified later by the Court of Directors. The tribute was not however insisted upon and it was actually excused in 1836.⁵

The Tondaiman had boundary disputes with the zamindars of Marungapuri, Manapparai and Sivaganga, and thanks to the statesman-like handling of the delicate questions by Sir William Blackburne, they were amicably settled.⁶

When Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman died in 1807 Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman, who was a minor, ten years old, succeeded to the *gadi*. Sir William Blackburne took over the management of the State as also the guardianship of the minor ruler and his younger brother. The Resident after a careful examination of the requirements of the State felt convinced that its progress was closely intertwined with the proper

5. *Translations copies etc.*, pp. 110-117; Aitchison, *Treaties*, V. pp. 331-33; Ayyar, K. Radhakrishna, *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, pp. 186, 276-78 and 319-24; Ayyar, K. R. Venkatarama, *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 814-816.

6. Ayyar, Radhakrishna, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-27 and 360-61.

education and good training of the prince for the ruler must be able to exercise great influence over the administration by clear understanding of the needs of the people and personal attention to details. For the acquisition of general equipment for administration he wanted that the prince should receive good instruction in general education and the art of government. He made arrangements for giving the two princes regular instruction in Sanskrit, Marathi, Telugu and Tamil as also in riding and other exercises. He provided for their learning English also in order to enable them to transact business with the British Government without the aid of an interpreter.

The Resident's views on the duties of the princes and the manner in which they were to apply themselves to their work are revealed by some of his letters to the young ruler of the State and are worth reproduction here. He wrote for instance :

“Be not satisfied with your superiority in rank, wealth and power, but endeavour to excel all your subjects in wisdom and virtue.....After your daily studies and exercises are over I wish you to enquire into and inform yourself what business has been transacted in the cutcherries ; but you must not as yet give any orders and above all give no recommendation in favour of anyone I wish that you would examine the accounts frequently and enquire daily what repairs have been made to the tanks, what advances have been made to the cultivators and what plans of improvement have been projected or in progress Protect all your subjects from oppression and extortion. This is the most sacred duty of a king. Any violence committed against anyone in your country is an injury to you. It is particularly your duty to protect all classes of persons in your country, but most particularly so to be careful that the persons and properties of the lowest ranks suffer no injury, the higher classes, generally speaking, being out of the reach of injury and the lower classes most exposed to it...See everything, hear everything and suffer no injustice, oppression or idleness enter into any part of your administration. No human consideration whatever should induce you and me to acquiesce in any injury to a poor man. This is your sacred duty in particular, and as you fulfil it properly the blessings of the ‘Great Judge of Kings and cultivators be upon you.....’ You should be the benevolent father of your people consulting like a tender parent the welfare and comfort of the children rather than your own gratification.”⁷

The success of Sir William Blackburne in the training of the young prince and his brother is attested to by a letter written to the ruler of Pudukkottai in 1823 by Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, in which he said :

“You represent your grateful sense of Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne's kind attention to your affairs and to the education of yourself and of your brother, during the period of your minority as also of his exertions for the improvement of your country, and of its institutions....

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 348-49.

The reports, which I have received from Lieutenant Colonel Blackburne, of your acquirements, of your disposition, and of the regularity with which you apply yourself to the business of your Samastanum are exceedingly satisfactory to me; and it has afforded me a further pleasure to learn that his endeavours to qualify you for the station to which you were destined, have been correctly estimated and are thankfully acknowledged by you. The prosperous state of your country attests their success, and justifies the confidence with which Lieutenant Colonel Blackburne had at an early period charged you with the administration of its affairs. Your proceedings and conduct in the discharge of that trust are stated to afford a promise of much happiness to your people and honour to yourself. Go on and prosper."⁸

Sir William Blackburne's interest in and love for his wards were so well reciprocated by them that there developed some sort of a filial affection between them. On the death of Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman in 1825 Sir Blackburne who had retired in 1823 wrote to the former's younger brother: "It would be fruitless to describe the effect which the loss of one of our *children* so beloved, so respected, so highly praised has had upon us. I say *children* for such we always considered and loved you, and although the custom of our country prevented us from so addressing you, we received willingly from you the endeared appellation of parent."⁹

The Resident had a keen eye on the financial stability of the government and was anxious that the debts contracted by the previous ruler were cleared and hence in a letter written to the young prince he warned him against his spending more than his income. In 1821 he wrote to the prince: "For several years, I have interfered, as you know, very little in your internal affairs. I wished to see what you could do and would do when left to yourself, and I now regret the experiment..... Let every expense which is not indispensable be struck off altogether and let all the necessary expenses be reduced to the smallest possible limits. Strike off the Dussere and all similar expenses until you are out of debt."¹⁰

As said earlier the condition of the Pudukkottai State at the beginning of the last century was far from satisfactory and since the new ruler who succeeded to the *gadi* was only ten years of age the whole responsibility for improving its administration fell on the shoulders of the Resident. Sir William Blackburne who realised that there was great need for drastic reforms in every branch of administration submitted in 1808 a report on the same to the Government of Madras. According to it the condition of the State was very poor largely due to the prevalence of the *amani* system, according to which the produce from land was divided in certain proportions between the government and the cultivators. There was no organised revenue department with a hierarchy of officers. The administration of justice in the State was very defective and the police system also required reform.¹¹

8. *Translations, copies, etc., op. cit.*, p. 30.

9. Ayyar, Radhakrishna, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 367-68.

11. Major Blackburne's Report to the Madras Government, dated 31st December, 1808; see Ayyar, K. R. Venkatarama, *op. cit.*, pp. 831-32,

To ensure the efficient administration of the State during the minority of Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman, Blackburne assumed the responsibility for the appointment of the chief officers of the government. Mappillai Pallavarayar, a son-in-law of Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman and Tirumalai Tondaiman, the Jagirdar of the *Chinna arayanai* were appointed managers of the State, and were required to carry out the instructions of the Resident through the *Sarkil* Venkatappayar. But within a short time after their appointment they incurred the displeasure of the Resident on account of their mutual quarrels and neglect of public business. They failed to take the necessary steps to clear the debts to the tune of 60,400 *pagodas* left by the previous ruler. But since the managers showed no sign of reform in spite of the repeated warnings of the Resident one Anantayya was appointed by the Government of Madras as the *Karyasta* or Agent and was authorised "to exercise all authority of the Rajah Bahadur under the superintendence of the Resident" and the managers were required to take instructions from him. Besides one Tana Pillai, the *conicopole* (Accountant) in the office of the Resident, was sent to Pudukkottai to write to him daily "an account of everything that passed in the State." Anantayya, however, exceeded his powers collecting unauthorised taxes and granting rent-free lands to a number of persons without the sanction of the Resident. Therefore Sir William Blackburne became very much displeased with him also. In 1814 the administration of the State was entrusted to a committee of three persons who were first called managers, and later counsellors. They were Soiroba Naig, Anantayya and Tana Pillai, the first one being the chief among them. When the young Raja came of age in 1817 he was invested with ruling powers, the Resident exercising only supervisory control over the administration of the State. The office of the *Sarkil* was kept vacant between 1814 and 1822 when Soiroba Naig in whom Sir William Blackburne had great confidence, was appointed to it.¹² At that time, the Resident paid a high tribute to Soiroba Naig and said: "Your principal Manager, Soiroba Naig, possesses in an eminent degree all the qualifications for the discharge of the important duties of your First Minister.....His abilities are considerable, his experience and knowledge of business are great. His integrity as you know, is unimpeachable. During your minority, I did not fill up the place of the late *Sirkeel* with a view to recommend to you Soiroba Naig for it."

Largely based on the recommendations of the Resident some important changes were introduced in the administrative system in the State. Among the important features of the reforms were the abolition of the *amani* system, the division of the State into five taluks for administrative purposes, the transaction of all official business in the *cutcheries*, the appointment of the officers of the *cutcheries* and the taluks by the Government, the creation of the office of the village *karnam*, introduction of the system of the submission of weekly reports and accounts to an office of record at the capital under the charge of the *Sirkeel* and the payment of the revenues to the *Sirkeel* who was to issue receipts for the payments received. Important treasury rules were framed among which were that all public business was to be transacted only in the public offices, all public money was to be kept

12. *Guide to the Records of the Thanjavur District (1749-1835) in Eight Volumes, Vol. III.*

in public treasuries from which as much money as was required could be drawn whenever necessary, the previous sanction of the Resident had to be obtained for incurring extraordinary expenditure, and no article was to be purchased on credit for the State.

Regular courts of justice were established at Pudukkottai in 1812 for, according to Sir William Blackburne, "the country would be miserable where justice fluctuated according to the pleasure of the prince, where delay was great, where recommendations were admitted, and where steadiness in carrying out into execution the decisions was wanting" and conditions in Pudukkottai warranted such a description. According to the new arrangement a court of five persons was created which was to meet every day at the capital to receive petitions, examine and investigate the evidence on both sides and write down their opinions. The Raja along with four of his officers and the five judges would form the supreme court in the State and meet every fifth day for the transaction of business. But two years later the courts were reorganised and three separate courts were brought into existence, namely, the *Nyaya Sabha* or civil court consisting of four judges, the *Danda Sabha* or criminal court consisting of three judges and the *Mudra Sabha*, civil court to decide small civil cases. One Chakravarti Ayyangar, a man of great learning, character and drive who had earned a name at Thanjavur "for his integrity, impartiality and strict sense of justice" was appointed the first Chief Judge of both the Civil and Criminal courts at Pudukkottai.¹³ But he died in 1817. Writing about it to His Lordship, the Governor of Madras, the Resident said "the brightest ornament and the solid support" of the Pudukkottai throne is dead. "He was a blessing to the province of Pudukkottai and an honour to Your Excellency's service."¹⁴ A *lotwal* was appointed for the Capital and was charged with the duty of the maintenance of peace and the arrest of offenders. He was later authorised to try small civil suits also.

The policy of the British Government was to secure control over the manufacture of salt, and hence the collector of Thanjavur suggested in 1813 to the Resident of Pudukkottai that the manufacture of earth-salt in the State may be suppressed or at least its sale may be restricted with a view to making it available for consumption by the people of the State alone and not to those outside the State. Sir William Blackburne thought that the suggestion was not reasonable and therefore, strongly protested against it by cogent reasoning and good argumentation. He said that it was unfair that the manufacture of earth-salt should be suppressed in the State for it would adversely affect the economic condition of the poor ryots who were already suffering from "the poverty of the soil and the frequent failure of scanty crops"; it was not right to think that salt would be exported from the State into the British territory for only a small quantity of it was produced in the State, and since the same article was produced in a like manner in parts of the Thanjavur country there was not likely to be much demand for the article from the State, and even if there was demand for the salt produced in the State from outside it was not easy to supply it on account of the existence of the *Chovkies*; that it

13. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 167-168.

14. *Ibid.*, III, p. 190.

was politically inexpedient to prohibit the production of salt in the State for the people it would begin to lose their faith in the British Government "which had never yet been considered by the Rajah Bahadur and his subjects in any other light than that of a beneficent and guardian angel." The strong representations made by the Resident had the desired effect at least for the time being and the question was dropped then.¹⁵

There was an outbreak of fire in Pudukkottai in 1812 as a result of which the town was to a large extent destroyed and had to be rebuilt in a manner worthy of the capital of a State. Sir William Blackburne who was very much interested in the embellishment of the city advised the Raja to spend some money on the scheme "so that you will be admired and praised as long as you live and your memory will be cherished by remote generations." The streets were widened, tiled houses were constructed by the rich ; and the poorer classes were helped by the Raja with money to make their own houses. The new town that was completed came to be in the form of a square with eight streets running east to west and another eight streets running north to south, and in the middle of the town was constructed the "New Palace". Mr. Pennington was so much impressed with the town that in his report to the Madras Government in 1875 he said : "Pudukkottai strikes the newcomer as an unusually clean, airy and well-built town" and that "it is to be wished that some municipalities were endowed with as much enlightenment and as much energy as Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Bahadur."

Thus the interest of Pudukkottai was very dear to the heart of Sir William Blackburne; and just before he relinquished the Office of Resident he requested the ruler of the State to send to him his *Sarkeel* and *Fo:zdar* to whom he offered to give advice with regard to the administration of the State.¹⁶ Again on the day previous to his embarking for England he wrote to the Tondaiman from Madras as follows :—

"I have spoken fully of you to the Governor to Mr. Stratton, Member of Council and particularly to Mr. Wood, the Chief Secretary to the Government.....

I do not think you will suffer any other inconvenience from my departure than the loss of an affectionate friend.

I have found no difficulty in making friends for you, in consequence of your character for justice and kindness to your people being very high. Be careful to maintain that character, cherish the excellent and well tried servants you possess Sairoba Naig, Tana Pillai and Tyagaraze and you will never fail to go on well."¹⁷

That was the way in which Sir William Blackburne identified himself with the State and worked for its progress. Surely he was an ideal Political Resident.

15. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 286-87.

16. *Translations, copies, etc.*, p. 125.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Sopatma

The anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea* while describing the northern portion of the east coast of the Tamil country after the Pandyan territory writes that, "60 among the market-towns of these countries and harbours where the ships put in from Damirica and from the north, the most important are, in order as they lie, first Camara, then Poduca, then Sopatma; in which there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica; and other 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. There are imported into these places everything made in Damirica, and the greatest part of what is brought at any times from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirica and of those that are carried through Paralia".

Of the three places mentioned the first Camara has been identified with Kaverippumpattinam, *i.e.*, the port at the confluence of the river Cauvery with the sea; and Poduca with Pondicherry, the Tamil form of which is Puduchcheri, near which place at Arikamedu, recent excavations have brought to light a Roman emporium. The third and last, Sopatma, is taken as the phonetical equivalent of the Tamil form Sopattinam, which is equated with Eyil-pattinam, the Tamil words *so* and *eyil* meaning a wall or rampart and identified with Marakkanam (Merkanam of the maps) in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot district and lying on the sea-coast, though it is about 3 or 4 miles from the sea-coast, (about 32 km) north of Pondicherry.

That Marakkanam or at least a portion of it had the name Eyirapattinam is clear from epigraphy¹. In inscriptions it is also sometimes referred to as Pattinam in Pattinadu a subdivision of Oeyma-nadu. Eyirapattinam is also a place of great antiquity and

1. *ARSIE*, No. 30 of 1919.

is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Sirupaṇārruppadaī* included in the *Pattuppāttu* an anthology in the *Sangam* classics² the place is called *madil-ode peyariya paṭṭiṇam* which means the sea-port having the name of a fortress i.e., Eyilpattinam which becomes Eyirpattinam; according to the rules of *sandhi*, the word *eyil* also meaning a fortress.

Of the practice of using the synonym instead of the correct name to indicate an object or place there are many instances. In the *Manimekhalai* for instance Vanji the capital of the Cheras is referred to in one or two places as *Porkodi-p-peyar-p-paduam-poṇ-nagar* which means the golden city having the name of the golden-creeper³. The term *porkoḍi* which literally means a golden creeper also indicates a 'beautiful woman' which is also one of the several meanings of the word Vanji. In the *Perumpāṇārruppadaī*, another poem included in the *Pattuppāttu* the expression *paravai-p-peyar-ppatu-vattam* meaning the boiled rice having the name of the bird' is used to indicate *irāsannam* a kind of superior paddy. Here the word *paravai* (literally, a bird) is used to denote *annam* (swan), which word thus obtained by translation is used to denote the full word *irāsannam*, a kind of superior rice. The expression 'a sea-port having the name of a fortress' has also been similarly used.

The name Eyirpattinam can be divided according to the rules of *sandi* in Tamil both as Eyil-pattinam and as Eyir-pattinam. Only in the former case it will mean a sea-port having the name of a fortress. The latter form will indicate a sea-port of the *Eyins* or *Eyinar*. There are many references to a class of people variously called *Eyiṇ*, *Eyinar* or *Eyiniyar* the latter two being formed from the root *Eyin* who are explained as hunters in the desert. The poem *Sirupāṇārruppadaī* itself refers to the habitation of the *Eyinar* in the Oymā-nāḍu and the other poem *Perumpāṇārruppadaī* in describing the adjacent country with Kanchipuram as its capital also refers to the habitations of the *Eyinar*. It will thus appear that the place owed its name to the *Eyinar* and not to the high wall of fortress. It is true that the word *Sō* has the meaning, among others, of a wall. But the name *Sō-paṭṭiṇam* does not appear to have ever been applied to Marakkanam or Eyirapattinam. Further the place is at a very short distance, only about twenty miles (32 km), from Pondicherry which has been identified with Poduca. It is very likely that two such great emporiums existed within such short distance. As such the identification of Sopatma with Marakkanam does not seem satisfactory and its location has to be placed farther north.

There are some villages in the Tamil country having names associated with the word so e.g., Tiruchchopuram near Tirtanagari in the Cuddalore taluk of the South Arcot district. But they all do not conform to the description of Sopatma given above. Further this sea-port is not mentioned by the other geographers. Ptolemy who described this Peninsula in some detail giving not only the sea-ports but also inland marts, does not mention Sopatma. But the place could not have fallen into disuse or ceased to exist within the short interval especially because it was at the time of the Periplus, a great

2. *mani-nir vaipuu madil-odu peyariya pani-nir-p-paduvin-pattinam padarin, Sirupaṇārruppadaī, 152-53.*

3. *Manimekhalai, 26; 92; 28; 101-02,*

trading centre visited by foreign vessels including those of Chryse or Golden land i.e., *Suvāṇabhūmi* and the Ganges. Evidently this place is referred to by some other name by those writers.

The country lying immediately to the north of the Oymnadu was the region which had Kanchipuram as its principal town. Bordering on the sea-shore on the eastern side it should have had also some sea ports. The Pallavas had not come to rule over the area. But still the city of Kanchipuram had become important and well-known. It appears that even China had maritime intercourse with this place as early as the second century B.C. This becomes clear from the mention of the kingdom of Houang-tche, which has been identified with Kanchi, as having had trade relations with China from the time of Emperor Wou (140-86 B.C.) according to Pan-Kou, a Chinese writer who lived not later than the end of the first century A.D.¹ During the days of Pallava rule over this region, from the third to the tenth centuries A.D. there were many port-towns of which two, Mallai and Mayilai, i.e. Mamallapuram or Mahabalipuram and Mavalivaram and Mayilapur within the present city of Madras were prominent as gleaned from literature.

Kanchipuram itself is regarded by some scholars as a port-town⁵. This statement cannot be said to have been made without any foundation. In the Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by Beal we have the following remarks : "The city of Kanchipuram is situated on the mouth (bay) of the Southern sea of India, looking towards the kingdom as Simhala, distant from it three days' voyage". It has also been recorded that ships go to Ceylon from Kanchi and that it extended by twenty miles (32 km) to the sea⁶.

Kanchipuram is not on the sea-coast, but situated inland about forty miles (64 km) from the sea. It is said that when the Pallavas ruled over the *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam*, "Kanchi was their capital and the celebrated Mallai on the sea-coast, their chief port",⁷ and to explain the discrepancy found in the statement of the Chinese traveller she adds: "there is a strong tradition in south India that in ancient days Kanchi and Mamallapuram were connected by a long channel". I am not able to trace any authority for this tradition.

Mallai, the shortened form of Mamallapuram is also referred to as Kaḍal-mallai, i.e. the Mallai on the sea, and is referred to in one of his verses by the Vaishnava saint Tirumangai Aḷvar.

*Pulankoḷ navamaṇi-k-mvai-y-odu pulaik-kai-ma kalirrinamum
nalankoḷ navamaṇi-k-kivaiyum sumand-engum nanrosindu
kalankaḷ iyangum-Mallai-k-Kadan-Mallai-t-Talasyanam
valankoḷ manattar-avarai valankoḷ én-made-nenje.*

(*Periya Tirumoli, Kaḍamallai Hymns, verse 6*).

4. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Extract II, pp. 445; also introduction, p. 4.
5. Chhabra, B. Ch., Expansion of Indo-Aryan rule during Pallava Rule, *JRASB, L* (1935) Vol. I, p. 5, Watters; Yuan Chwang, p. 22; also Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 738.
6. Beal; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 228.
7. Minakshi, C., *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 2,

He says that in its harbour ride at anchor "vessels bent to the point of breacking laden as they are with wealth, big trunked elephants, and the grains of the nine varieties in heaps". The place owes its name to Mamalla or Mahamalla, by which title the Pallava ruler Narasimhavarman I, of Vatapi fame was known and many of the rock-cut temples at the place date from the time of Narasimha and his successors. J. Dubreuil is of the opinion that Mamallapuram did not exist before the time of Narasimhavarman I.⁸

But according to M. Raghava Aiyangar, Mamallapuram was a flourishing seaport under another name even at the Sangam period and that the harbour was full of ships carrying horses from Western countries and merchandise from northern countries.⁹

He states that Nirppeyarru was the earlier name of the place and quotes the authority of the *Perumpāṇarrupādai*, one of the ten poems included in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* said to have been composed by Kadiyalur Uruttiran-Kannanar on Tondaiman ḷantiraiyan in support of his theory. But this is not borne out by the text. The poem in the form of an address by the bard who had received presents from Tondaimaniḷantiraiyan, King of Kanchi, to another bard whom he met on his way advising the latter to go to the same king for bounty describes in detail the flourishing condition of the land and the way leading to Kanchi. The village of Nirppeyarru is first described in lines 310-19 and "after leaving behind the village of Nirppeyarru",¹⁰ it is said that he would reach pattinam which is described in lines 319-336. Raghava Aiyangar thinks that Nirppeyarru and Pattinam refer to the same place and adds: Nirppeyarru means literally that which received the showers of the sea (*nir-peyal-tu* i.e. the city which abounds in seaborne goods") and also "if in the expression '*Nirppeyarru ellai-p-pagipattinam paḍarin*', Nirppeyarru had not been the name of the pattinam or the sea-port town itself, the author would surely have mentioned its name". He also draws attention to a variant reading *Nirppeyarttu* meaning 'that which has the name of the sea'. On the analogy of the synonym being used to express the name of a place in the case of Eyirpattinam discussed above, he takes the name Nirppeyarttu as indicating Kadal-mallai, the words *nir* and *kaḍal*, both meaning the sea; and states that the place was known as Nirppeyarttu in the Sangam period.

Nachchinārkkiniyar, the commentator on the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and also all the scholars who have studied these poems have treated Nirppeyarru and pattinam as different and referring to two separate places. In fact there is even now a separate village named Nirpper in the area.

He also adds in a foot note that *Mahavidvan* R. Raghava Aiyangar has suggested an emendation as *nirppayar-rālai-p-pūgi* thus making *nir-p-payal* meaning 'the sleeping couch (made up) by sea or 'the lying (posture of God) by the sea' as the name of the place. This term *nir-p-payal* is a literal translation in Tamil of the word *Jalaśayanam*.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

9. Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I.

10. *JOR*, 1928, p. 152.

And this term *Jalaśayanam* is held to indicate the idol of couchant Vishnu in the Shore Temple at Mamallapuram on the strength of the inscriptions of the time of the Chola king Rajaraja I, found in the same temple referring to the god by the name *Jalaśayana* devar,¹¹ as distinguished from *Talaśayanam*, the name of the idol of couchant Vishnu in the temple in the interior, which is so called because of the lying posture of the God on the land (*sthalāśayana*). But this temple which is in the middle of the village is a later one while the place has been referred to as *Kadal-mallai-t-Talaśayanam* even earlier by the Vaishnava saint Tirumangai Alvar: The expression *Talaśayana-p-puram* and *Taiyen* found in an inscription in the Vishnu temple at Taiyur near Mamallapuram¹² indicating Taiyuras the endowment village of *Talaśayanam*, would indicate that the term referred to the Vishnu at the place. That this form *Talaśayana* and not *sthalāśayana* has acquired some fame will be clear from an inscription found in Indo-China. This record found at Ghai Lamov in the valley of Phanrang (ancient Panduranga) dated in Śaka 723 (A.D. 801) registers the donation made by king Indravarman to the temple of Śankara-Narayana and describes the Narayana aspect in the following words : *tatgapi Narayanas-samasta bhūbana pari rakshana-samantha bhūvat kshir-arrnaya taranga-sanghata-talaśayanam anta-bhogabhujaga parisevita chaturbhūja bhūvanas-stamphaschapi* (Again, Narayana is also capable of protecting the whole world. His four arms—the pillars of the world—are served by the serpent king with infinite hood, whose fathomless bed is formed by the ocean of milk, beneath its mighty waves).¹³

It will be seen from the above that the places mentioned in the *Perumpāṇāruppāḍai* cannot be identified with Mamallapuram. In fact, it could not have served as a sea-port, the area being full of under-sea rocks and dangerous for ships to near the coast. The present light-house at Mahabalipuram, it may be noted in this connection, is intended only to wave the ships off the danger.

The word *paṭṭiṇam* simply means a village on the sea-shore and may thus indicate any sea-port. Some specified places were known to have been popularly (commonly) referred to as the *paṭṭiṇam* with or without the prefix of the place name. (Even today in the Tamil districts the city of Madras is simply referred to by the people as *Paṭṭiṇam* and the term generally means only Madras). In the Chola inscriptions, Nagapattinam in the Thanjavur District has been referred to as being situated in the territorial division of Pattina-k-kurram,¹⁴ and the Eyrpattinam above mentioned in the Pattina-nadu.¹⁵ Both these divisions were named accordingly after the *paṭṭiṇam* or sea-port, the import towns in the area. But Mamallapuram is nowhere referred to as a *pattinam*, either in epigraphy or in literature. It is only mentioned as Mamallapuram. The earliest occurrence of the name in epigraphy is found in an inscription dated in the 37th regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla¹⁶ and later on it is mentioned as Jananathapuram¹⁷, but

11. *Perumpāṇāruppāḍai*, *Nirppeyarruellai-p-pogi*, lines 310-319.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

13. *SII*, Vol. I, Nos. 40 and 41.

14. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 356.

15. Majumdar R. C., *Champa*, p. III, list of Inscriptions, No. 24(b).

16. *ARSIE*, No. 259 of 1907; also the Larger Leiden grant *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p.

17. *SII*, Vol. XX, No. 38.

nowhere has it been referred to with a name having the addition of pattinam. On the other hand, the modern Sadras which is at a distance of about ten miles (16 km) from Mamallapuram is known to have had such a name. The place is referred to as Śadira-Vachakanpattinam or simply as pattinam in inscriptions. In an inscription dated in 1376 A.D. of the time of the Vijayanagara king from Tirukkalukunram, which is at a distance of nine miles (14.4 km) both from Mamallapuram and Sadras (thus the three places being in a triangular position and equi-distance from each other), the *nanadesis* and others of Śadira Vachakan pattinam are reported to have bound themselves to pay to the temple every month certain specified rates of levy on import of all articles (of merchandise) to meet the expenses for the worship of Dēśiviṭanka-p-perumaḷ.¹⁸ Another inscription from the same place dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara prince Kampana Udaiyar of Tirukkalukunram on the levy of a consolidated payment by the *kaikkola* of Tirukkalukunram on the cloths taken out to Pattinam for sale and the commodities brought by them from there.¹⁹ The Pattinam referred to in the latter record is evidently the Śadira Vachakanpattinam of the former where also it is stated that the place was a mercantile centre and inhabited by the *nanadesis* i.e. members of the merchant guild who traded with different countries.

The geographical position of Sadras also is significant. It is situated on the northern bank of the river Palar at its confluence with the sea. The city of Kanchipuram is situated about 64 km up to the river. The modern town is at a distance of about a mile (1.6 km) from the river and is skirted by the Vegavati, a tributary of the Palar which joins the river 16 km to the east. The river Palar is now only a river-bed without running water; but it does not appear to have been like this always. It is said that water was flowing in the river till about the beginning of this century. Very likely water was flowing in the river in the earlier period of history and if so the river would have been navigable at least by boats of smaller size from its mouth near the modern Sadras up to Kanchipuram.

About three miles (4.2 km) west from Sadras, there is now a small village called Vayalur on the northern bank of the river. The place is famous for the inscription of the Pallava king Rajasimha giving the genealogy of the family from the mythical progenitor to his day, found engraved on one of the pillars in the mandapa in the temple there.²⁰ In inscriptions, the place is called Tiru-p-pilavayil, which became corrupt later on as Tiru-p-puli vayal, giving rise to the name of Vyagrapuriśvara to god Śiva in the temple (the Tamil word *puli* meaning a tiger, *Vyagra* in Sanskrit). The present name of Vayalur is perhaps the shortened form of the original name, retaining only the suffix. The name of the place Tiru-p-pilavayil has been translated into English by H. Krishna Sastri²¹ as 'the mouth of the sacred cave' and thus lost its significance. The word *tiru* is the Tamil word for Śri and is only a prefix to the name which is *Pilavayil* which in Sanskrit is

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 377, also *SITI*, Vol. I, No. 500. *Āmūr-nāṭṭu nagar. Māmallapuramāna Jananāthapuram.*

19. *SITI*, Vol. 1, No. 466; also *ARSIE*, No. 173 of 1932-33.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, No. 465; also *ARSIE*, No. 170 of 1932-33.

21. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII.

pila-dvara. The word *pila-dvara* means 'the passage to the nether world' which was occupied by the nagas or in other words the passage to the naga-land. It is well-known that South East Asia was referred to in Tamil literature as naga-land. Nachchinārkkiniyar, the celebrated commentator on the Tamil classics while describing the liaison of a Chola prince with a Naga-princess of the nether world uses this term in the passage *Nagapattinattu-ch-cholan pilattuvārattin vaḷiyē Nāgalokam śeyru* (the Chola of Nagapattinam having gone to the Naga-loka by way of the *pila dvāra*). It will then appear that Tiru-p-pilavayil at the mouth of the river Palar on the sea-coast was the port of embarkation in those days for persons going to South East Asia and if so, identifiable with Sopatma of the Periplus wherefrom ships bound for the Chryse from the Coromandal coast began their direct voyage crossing the sea.

But scholars like Dr. R.C. Majumdar found it difficult to accept the view, generally held on the authority of the *Periplus*, that there was a direct voyage between south India and the Far East in the first century A.D.²² And they maintain that their view is confirmed by Ptolemy according to whose Guide to Geography the apheterium, i.e. "the point of departure for ships bound for Khyse" (land of Gold) is located near Paloura.²³ This place was identified by Sylvan Levi with Dantapura, a city prominently mentioned in the Buddhist literature as a famous place situated in Kalinga.²⁴ They would argue that the ships bound for South East Asia from the Tamil country went along the sea-coast up to Paloura, placed by them on the coast of Orissa near the modern Chicacole (Śrikakulam) wherefrom they "ceased to follow the littoral and entered the high seas". The identification of 'Paloura' with Dantapura is based on the argument that Paloura is derived from a Tamil word Pallur (*Palur*, meaning town or village of the tooth); but no such name is met within the whole field of Tamil literature and epigraphy so far. And the location of the apheterium on the Orissan coast has been disputed by others. Jouveau-Dubreuil thought that it was situated near the mouth of the Godavari.²⁵

Ptolemy's Geography presents many problems of identifications so far as south India is concerned. Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out that between the 'Khaberi-Emporium' indicating Kaverippumpattinam and the Ganga not a single place mentioned by Ptolemy could be identified with any amount of certainty. Many authors have put forth many hypotheses but without any great success.²⁶ It may also be noted that Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri who has included extracts relating to south India from Strabo, Pliny and other western authors in his book *Foreign Notices of South India*, has excluded Ptolemy even though he is fully aware of its importance and explains the omission as follows: "it has been rightly observed that Ptolemy's Guide to Geography, 'differs from Strabo's production as does the skeleton from the living being;²⁷ for this reason and

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII.

23. Majumdar, R. C., *Suvarnadvīpa*, Vol. 1, p. 7.

24. McCrindle: *Ptolemy*, pp. 66, 69.

25. *JA*, 1925, pp. 46-57.

26. Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 86-88.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

because of the numerous and difficult problems of identification, presented by his tables relating to Southern India, problems which cannot be adequately in casual notes, I decided to omit the tables from the present collection".²⁸

The identification of Paloura, the point wherefrom the ships bound for Suvarnabhumi from the Tamil country entered the high seas is one such problem as the identification made either with Dantapura or Kuduru does not possess unimpeachable authority.

It is well-known that there was intense maritime activity in those days between the Tamil country and South East Asia and that the ports on the Coromandal coast were brisk with foreign vessels lying at anchor. There should certainly have been a direct route from the Tamil country to the Far East, the existence of which has been sometimes acknowledged.

We have shown above that according to the Tamil literature and epigraphy, Tiruppilavayil, the present day Vayalur on the river Palar, near its confluence with the sea was the port of embarkation for direct voyage from the Tamil country to the Suvarnabhumi in those days and that the town of Śadira vachakan pattinam, the modern Sadras which rose by its trade was a principal trading centre for a long time. We may, therefore, identify Paloura, near which the Apheterium according to Ptolemy was located, with the river Palar.

One other point has to be explained. If this place is to be treated as the same as referred to by the *Periplus* under the name Sopatma, it has to be explained how it got the name. The word has been restored, as pointed out already, as So-pattinam meaning 'the town of wall'. Even though the word *So* means 'a wall', it is not its principal meaning. It stands mainly for Śonitapuram, the Capital of the mythical king Bāṇasura, grandson of the celebrated Mahabali and it is in this sense that the word is used in classical Tamil literature. Very likely the word *Sopatma* has to be restored as So-patham meaning "the way leading to the capital or the land of Mahabali and Bāṇasura, i.e., the nether world" and thus in a way a translation of the word *pillavayil* or *piladvara* taking the word *patha*²⁹ as indicating 'the way' or road. Very likely it was a very big town in those days extending both along the coast and also in the interior and was directly connected with Kanchipuram by the river.

28. *Ibid.*, Int. XIX.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

30. The word *Āndhrapathia* is translated into Tamil as *vaṅga-vali*.

Study of Medieval Indian History

This period deals with the years between 711 and 1206 A.D., the first marking the commencement of Muslim aggressions in India, and the second the date of the establishment of Muslim rule in Delhi. It is rather surprising to note that the Muslims, who in the course of about eighty years from the date of the Prophet's death, became the masters of Arabia, Persia, Syria, Western Turkestan, Sind, Egypt and Southern Spain, took nearly five centuries to establish their power in north India and to found a kingdom there. It is not that the Muslims did not make vigorous attempts to bring India under their sway. But their conquest of India was slow, partial and difficult because of the determined resistance by the Hindu rulers in North-west India. Nagabhata I, the founder of the Pratihara dynasty at Bhinmal is said to have defeated the Valacha *Mlechhas* (the Baluchas). The attempt of the Arabs to conquer the Navasarika country (southern Gujarat) was checked by Avanijanaśraya Puṣakesi for which he received the title of *Dakshinapāṭha-svadhara* (solid pillar of the *Dakshināpāṭha*) and *Anivartaka nivartayitr* (repeller of the unrepellable). Sulaiman the Muslim merchant remarks that the Gurjara ruler was an enemy of Islam and Masudi says that the then king of Kanauj had with him four armies for the four quarters and that the army of the north was fighting against the prince of Multan and the Muslims on the frontier. Thus for more than two centuries the Muslim invasions were held in check by the Panchalas and the Pratiharas. But with the decline of the Gurjara empire by the middle of the tenth century, the political condition of north India offered opportunity for the renewal of Muslim invasions. The problem of arresting them became however difficult on account of the determined raids of Sabaktigin followed by those of his son Mahmud of Ghazni whose fighting qualities were of a superior order, and later by those of Muhammad of Ghor. The brunt of the fight had to be borne by the Chahamanas whose territories were the most exposed to those raids. Next to them the Gahadavalas resisted the Muslim inroads, to meet the expenses of which they collected a special tax called the *Turushkadanḍa*. Later the rivalry between the Chahamanas and the Tomaras, their failure to join together against the determined foreign invaders, their differing foreign

policies, and their in difference to pursuing a victory to its conclusion resulted ultimately in the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in 1206. This was not, therefore, wholly due to the superiority of the invaders in fighting power, their coming from a cooler climate, their sturdier physique, their flesh-eating habits, their strong cavalry and their fanatical zeal. Really this long period of five centuries when the Hindu rulers of north India successfully held out against the invaders was a glorious period in the history of our country.

In spite of India's resistance to aggressive Islam, the Hindus and Muslims found mutual accommodation possible and during our period the influence of Indian culture was felt in the court of Baghdad. The Khalifas of Baghdad invited Indian scholars to their country, appointed them chief physicians in their government hospitals and got them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology and other subjects. An Arab astronomer is said to have been studying Indian science at Banaras for ten years. The *sufis* were influenced by Indian monasticism. Alberuni who followed Mahmud to India, was an admirer of Hindu intellectual achievements; and he translated many Sanskrit astronomical and philosophical works into Arabic. In the Deccan and south India the Muslims found conditions congenial to them. Friendly intercourse existed between the Deccan and the Muslim states of South West Asia. Hindu kings who wanted Arab horses gave encouragement to Muslim traders. Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsh I ordered that the Muslims within his kingdom should not be molested. They were allowed to construct mosques in the country. Muslim saints like Nathad Wali preached Islam in south India.

The dates 711 and 1206, the initial and closing years of this period, have been apparently fixed from the point of view of the commencement of the Muslim invasions of India and the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, though they do not serve as landmarks in the internal history of our country. In fact, after the decline of the Gupta empire there flourished in India a number of powerful kingdoms in each of which there were rulers of conspicuous ability. This period commenced about 550 and ended about 1300, and may be divided into three sub-periods: (1) from 557-750, (2) from 750 to 950, and (3) from 950 to 1206 in north India and 950 to 1300 in south India. Among the kingdoms in north India during the period were those of the Gurjara Pratiharas of Bhinmal and Kanauj, the Turki Shahis and Brahmana Shahis of Kabul and Ohind, the Karkotakas and Utpalas of Kashmir, the Solankis of Anhilvad, the Paramaras of Ujjain and Dhar, the Kalachuris of Tripuri, the Chandellas of Bundelkhand, the Chahamanas of Sambhar and Ajmer, the Gahadavalas of Banaras and Kanauj, the Palas of Bengal and Bihar, and the Senas of Bengal. Among the kingdoms in the Deccan and south India were those of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi, the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara, the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, the Western Gangas of Talakad, the Pallavas of Kanchi, the Cholas of Thanjavur and the Pandyas of Madurai. Since the history of these Kingdoms was not seriously affected by the Arab invasion of Sind, and the history of the Deccan and south Indian kingdoms was not affected by

the establishment of the Delli Sultanate it is desirable to widen this period so as to cover the years between A.D. 550 and 1300. We have authentic accounts of the history of many of the dynasties of this period written by competent scholars in the shape of monographs and articles. But since fresh materials for a study of the history of the period are becoming available year after year some of the works may require revision. For instance a fresh examination of the chronology of the later Pallavas of Kanchi has been rendered necessary by the find of an inscription of the Western Chalukya King Vijayaditya (730-31) in the Kurnool district which refers to the Pallava King Paramesvaravarman II as the ruler of Kanchi. We have been all along thinking that his reign came to an end by 710 A.D. itself. Further the histories of the less known dynasties that ruled over different parts of the country during the period require to be worked upon. They served not only to fill up the gaps between the periods of rule by the major dynasties but also as links between them.

Our period saw the transition from the ancient to mediaeval India, and bears some resemblance to Europe of the same period. The existence in India of many independent kingdoms then reminds us of the division of Europe into a number of Kingdoms in the period of the Holy Roman Empire. As in Europe the foundation of political organisation in India was influenced by the feudal principles of service and protection. But while admitting "the curious coincidence between the habits, notions and government of Europe in the Middle Ages and those of Rajasthan, it is not absolutely necessary that we should conclude that one system was borrowed from the other". The fact, however, that the clan system under the Rajputs bears close similarity to the feudal institutions of Europe cannot be denied. The social virtues cultivated both in India and in Europe during this age were also almost similar. Among them may be mentioned the virtues of courage, loyalty and politeness. Like the knights of mediaeval Europe, the military classes in India who shunned battle, or were disloyal to their overlord or failed to keep their word or were rude to women were considered less than chivalrous.

H.G. Wells once imagined a "time machine" by which one can travel into the future or the past. If we had one such now, I think we should like to go to our period which is the most interesting and attractive of the different periods in Indian history. It is usually said that the country can be happy only under a strong and big empire. But in spite of the wars and campaigns, revolutions and changes of kingdoms, that marked the period, there was enough peace in the country for saints and philosophers to make deeper and richer the spiritual life of the world, for scholars to write books and promote learning, for businessmen to trade and prosper and for architecture, sculpture and painting to develop.

A very significant feature of the religious life in India during this period is the growing influence of the *Agamas* in temple rituals and worship. The *Agamas* or *tantras* are books that deal with the worship of Gods like Śiva, Vishnu and Śakti. The names of 108 Vaishnava (or *Bhagavata* or *Pāñcharātra* or *Satvata*) *Agamas* and 28 Śaiva (or *Pāśupata* or *Māheśvara*) *Agamas* besides many others are known. Though the earliest

extant text of the *Agamas* may not be older than the 6th century when the *Agama* teachings became popular in the Tamil country the *agama* doctrines must be assigned to the period before the commencement of the Christian era. But *Agamic* ideas gained popularity during this period with the gradual decline of the Vedic rites like the *Yajna*. The Vaishnava *Agama* doctrines recognise the supreme God in four forms (*vyūhas*). Vishnu became Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Of his 39 *avatars* ten came to be recognised by the *Agamas*; Śiva successively became the three *tattvas*, *Śadasiva*, *Isvara* and *Vidya*. Lakshmi; the Śakti of Vishnu gradually lost her ground but Śiva-Sakti usually called Amba or Kālī gained the upper hand. Seventy-seven *Agamas* are devoted to her.

Though temples were not unknown in ancient India a good number of them came into existence during our period in various parts of the country, particularly in south India and the Deccan. In the construction of the temples, consecration of images and the organisation of worship in them the *Agamas* have served as the authority. With the elaboration of temple rituals and worship in south India priests were brought from the north for the organisation of such worship.

Again the advent of the new schools of Śaivism and Śaktism in south India resulted in the consecration of Devi or Parvati in the 10th and 11th centuries in separate shrines constructed for her usually in the north-western part of the temples dedicated to Śiva. It is worthy of note that while in the temples of the 8th and 9th centuries in south India there were shrines dedicated to the Saptamātrikas and Jyeshtha there was no separate shrine for Devi. It is believed that the city of Kanchi was conceived as *Śrīchakra* in which the Devi was consecrated in a separate temple constructed in the form of *Śrīchakra* according to the *Sākta Agamas*. Probably following this a separate shrine for the Devi was consecrated in every Śiva temple. The Saptamatrikas and Jyeshtha lost their place in Śiva temples. But Durga as an individual deity continued to be worshipped in separate temples or was given a place in a niche in the northern wall of the Śiva temples.

This period not only saw the elaboration of the temple rituals and organisation but also the growth of a vigorous theistic devotional movement of the emotional type as also of philosophical speculations. It was then that many of the great devotees like the Nayanmars and the Alvars and philosophers like Kumarila, Sankara and Ramanuja lived. The devotional or *Bhakti* movement was characterised by the self-surrendering devotion to a personal God and transcended all reason and understanding. *Bhakti* was considered enough to get the Lord's grace and attain salvation. Though the *Bhakti* cult might have originated in north India in very early times, it seems certain it was elaborated more fully in south India. In this connection it is of interest to note that the *Bhāgavata Māhātmya* contains a parable which says that *bhakti* which is described as a woman was born in the Dravida country, attained her womanhood in the Karnataka and Maharashtra and reached Brindavan with great misery through Gujarat along with her two sons *Jnana* (knowledge) and *Vairagya* (freedom from desire) and that the sons died there. This shows that southern India was a stronghold of the *Bhakti* cult.

The *Bhakti* movement in south India progressed along the parallel streams Śaivism and Vaishnavism. The Śaiva and Vaishnava saints were drawn from different communities in south India. Among the 63 Śaiva Nayanmars were a few Brahmanas, a pariah, a woman and a General of the Pallava army; and among the twelve Aḷvars were a few Brahmanas and Kshatriyas besides Sudras and low caste men known as the Panar. Most important among the former were Appar, Tirujnanasambandar, Sundaramurti and Manikkavachakar. The outpourings in hymns of the first three among them are collected in the *Dēvāram* and those of the last among them are collected in the *Tiruvachakam*. Most of the saints lived in the Pallava period. Except three, the other Aḷvars also appear to have lived in the Pallava period, and were the authors of the *Pra-bandha* literature. The devotion of all of them threw them very often into ecstatic moods.

On the philosophical side of the Hindu revivalist movement, Kumarila led a crusade against Buddhism and succeeded in reviving respect for the authority of the Vedas. Śankaracharya, a Nambudri Brahmana from Kaḷādi and a clear metaphysical thinker and logician propagated his philosophy of monism. He blended the *agamic* rites of worship, the *Vaidik* rites, the *Śakta* rites of the Buddhists and the paths of devotion to God and knowledge of the Upanishads. Borrowing the organisational methods of the Buddhists, he stimulated desire for *sanyasa* and founded at Śringeri, Dvaraka, Bhadrinath, Puri and Kanchi *maṭhas* to propagate his teachings. On the Vaishnava side, Nāthamuni systematised the Vaishnava canon and Yamunacharya tried to differentiate the Supreme from the Individual soul. But the idea was perfected by Ramanjacharya who built up the *Viśiṣṭadvaita* system according to which "the soul though of the same substance as God emitted from him rather than created can obtain bliss not in absorption but in existence near him." His broad outlook and deep sympathies made him undertake reforms in the temple rituals. Nimbarka, a younger contemporary of Rāmanuja, founded a new school of vaishnavism almost in the same period.

Among the Śaivas there developed schools in south India, the *paśupatas*, *Kapalikas* and the *Kālamukhas* with their shocking and repulsive practices like human sacrifices and the wearing of garlands of skulls became popular in certain parts of the country. From the twelfth century onwards the philosophical system of *Śaiva Siddhanta* based largely on the *Agamas* and the *Tirunandiram* of Tirumalar spread in south India and served to create a large volume of religious literature explanatory and controversial. Almost simultaneously the *Vira Śaiva* or *Lingayat* cult founded by Ekantada Ramayya spread in the Karnataka country. Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya of the Telugu country founded another Śaiva sect, the '*Aradhya*' sect, which differed from the earlier one in some respects. Both of them served to resist the spread of aggressive Islam in south India.

Buddhism was definitely on the decline during the period except under the Palas of Bengal, who were patrons of the religion. In other parts of the country it lingered on only in a few places like Kanheri in the Deccan, and Nagapattinam, Śrīmulayasam and Kanchi in south India. It was not able to resist the force of the reviving Hinduism, and with the adoption of the Tantric forms Buddhism lost its individuality and strength.

But Jainism continued to maintain its influence particularly in the Karnataka and Tamil country during the period. The Rashtrakutas were great patrons of the religion.

It has been remarked that this period was poor in literary activity. But the charge is not wholly true. Though the country did not produce great literary celebrities of the type of Kalidasa, there lived during the period a number of litterateurs in different parts of the country whose works covered a variety of fields like poetry, poetics, drama, grammar, lexicography, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, law, politics, medicine, music, etc. It may, however, be said that the number of original works produced during this period were few when compared with the larger number of commentaries and digests. It is perhaps needless to mention now the names of all the scholars of the period known to us through their works but it is difficult not to take at least a passing notice of the authors like Bhavabhuti, Bhatta, Venkata Madhava, Somadeva Suri, Krishna Misra, Paramara Bhoja, Kshemendra, Somadeva, Behana, Abhinavagupta, Vijñanesvara, Vatsaraja, Dhananjaya, Kalhana, Hemachandra, Lakshmidhara and Bhaskaracharya among a large number of others.

This period also saw the development of vernacular literature in the country particularly in south India. The Hindu religious revival brought into existence a large volume of devotional literature. In Tamil the Śaiva canon (*tirumurai*) containing the *Devarānam* was systematised by Nambi Andar Nambi in the 10th century. Śekkiṭar wrote the *Periyapurānam*. Nathamuni arranged the Vaishnava canon, the *Nālāyiraprabandham*. Among the works of a non-devotional character may be mentioned the *Nandīkkalanbakam*, the Tamil *Bhāratam* of Perundevanar, the *Jivakachintāmani* of Tiruttakkadevar, the *Ramayanaṁ* of Kamban, the *Sūlāmani* of Tolamoli, the *Kalingattupparai* of Jayankondar, the *Yapparungalcm* of Amitasagara besides a number of others. After Tamil, Kannada possesses the oldest literature in south India. Among the Kannada works of the period may be mentioned the *Kavirajamārga* of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha I, the *Adipurāna* and the *Vikramārjunavijaya* of Pampa, the *Śantipurāṇa* and the *Jinaksharanala* of Ponna, the *Ajītapurāna* and the *Sahasabhimavijaya* of Ranna, the *Mallināthapurāna* of Nagachandra, the *Nemināthapurāna* of Karnaparya, and the *Kavyavalokana* and the *Karnatakabhāshabhushana* of Nagavarma II. Telugu literature as such began later than Kannada. Among the important Telugu works of the period are the *Audhrasābdachintāmani* and a translation of a part of the *Bhārata* by Nannaya and the *Kavijānāśraya* and the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇa* by Vemula Vada Bhīma Kavi of Kalinga.

There were a number of organised educational institutions in the country serving as centres of higher education and attracting students from far and near. The old Nalanda University was patronised by Yasovarman in the 8th century and the Pala Kings in the subsequent period besides the Śaileन्द्रa emperor Balaputradeva. Among its teachers in the eighth century were Śāntideva, a Mahayana Śāntarakṣhita writer, besides Padmasambhava, Kamalasīla and Chandragomin, all authorities in Tantric Buddhism. Yīradeva and Buddhakīrti belonged to still later periods. But this popular institution which attracted students even from foreign countries like Indonesia, China, Tibet, Korea and Japan was destroyed towards the end of our period by Muhammad

bin Bakhtyar in the course of his conquest of Bihar. The Vikramasila University also in Bihar was another important one comparable only to Nalanda. It was patronised by Nayapala, during whose time the head of the institution was one Dipankara Srijnana alias Atisa, a master of Buddhist learning. There were six colleges attached to it, each under a *dvarapaṇḍita* and 108 professors. The affairs of the University were managed by the President (Vice-Chancellor) who was assisted by a Board of six members. This institution which specialised in Tantric Buddhism met with the same fate as the Nalanda University by the end of our period. There were two other Universities in Bihar, the Odandapura University founded by Gopala in the eighth century and the Jaggaddala University founded by Ramapala in the eleventh century. The latter specialised in Tantrism. Kanchi in the South with its *ghaṭika* was a centre of higher Brahmanical learning. Besides there were *ghaṭikas* and *Brahmapuris* in other places also like Nirantannur (Cuddapath Dist), Ummachige (Dharwar Dist.), and Belgaum in each of which hundreds and thousands of scholars were studying. Besides, there were colleges in different places in south India such as those at *Emmayiram* and Tribhuvani devoting themselves to higher learning. Thus our period was also one of intense educational activity.

It is needless to say much about the progress of the allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting. In fact this period was the golden age of structural temples in north as also in the south, particularly so in the latter. South India became studded with Hindu temples and Jain monuments. The evolution and development of the styles of architecture of this period is an interesting and fruitful study by itself.

The history of Greater India constitutes a very brilliant and important chapter in the history of India. Starting with peaceful commercial intercourse with the countries of the Far East India was able in the period covered by this section to establish her cultural imperialism over them. Really "India under the influence of the Cholas and the Palas, who ruled contemporaneously over southern and northern India became the school of Asia by supplying faith, literature, arts and material necessities to Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan, Java, Burma, and other lands beyond the seas". A general study of the history of South East Asia between the 8th and the 13th centuries shows that the Indian language (Sanskrit), script, faiths, beliefs, arts, customs and manners were transported there. Thanks to Dutch and French archaeological work during the last half a century and more we have now a large volume of material throwing light on the Hindu achievement in the Far East. The subject requires greater attention at our hands.

Though many savants have worked in the last century on the inscriptions of this period their published works are not easily available to us. For instance the pioneer works of Dr. Fleet, viz., the volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer and the inscriptions of the Kanarese districts are not available to many of us. A fresh edition of them is a hard felt need and steps should be taken to republish them. In this connection it is gratifying to note that the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras has taken on hand the publication of the inscriptions in the Mackenzie Collection. The Chief Epigraphist of the Govt. of India has been bringing to light on an average about 500 to 600 inscriptions every year from different parts of the area and noticing them in

their *Annual Reports*. The texts of the inscriptions collected by him are being published in the volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions* but a good number still await publication. The inscriptions with the Archaeological Survey may come to about 40,000 besides others collected by the Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin Archaeological Departments. Some 30 years ago a list of the inscriptions collected by the Madras Epigraphy Department up to 1915 were arranged according to Districts by Prof. Rangacharya and the work was published under the authority the Government of Madras in 1919. I think it is highly necessary that all the south Indian inscriptions collected so far and published in various reports and periodicals should be similarly arranged according to districts and in chronological order and published for the use of students of south Indian History.

Of late we see much stress being laid on the history of India being written by Indian scholars. The re-evaluation of the history and culture of our country by Indian scholars who are naturally suffused with Indian thought and feeling and therefore are better equipped to write Indian history with greater understanding is now increasingly necessary. To my mind the ideal history writer is one who is always fair minded in his treatment and conclusions. If we are able to attain this ideal that would be the great service that we can render to our country and to Indian history.