THE COLAS Vol. I
SEAL OF THE TIRUVALANGADU COPPER-PLATES.

[Copyright ASI.]
'In the centre of the seal is tiger—the Cōla crest—(with its mouth open) seared (facing the proper right) on its hind legs, with the tail drawn through them and reaching to very near its mouth. On its front are two fish—the Pañjya crest—and underneath the tiger and the fish is a bow—the Cōla crest. Behind the tiger is a lamp-stand, a spear, a flag (?) and what may be taken for a scimitar; and behind the two fish a lamp-stand, a spear, a flag (?) and a hatchet (?). Over the fish and the tiger is a parasol with a chauri on each side of it. The tiger, the two fish, the lamp-stands, spears, flags, the hatchet and the scimitar, all stand on the string of the bow. Within the space occupied by the bow itself are figured the following from left to right:—a water-pot (?); a stand with a dish on it; a drum between two vertical poles, with a horizontal one over them (the former terminating in tridents over the latter); a boar—the Čālukya crest—facing the proper right and a sasthika. All these symbols are engraved in relief on a countersunk surface within a well-raised circle. Outside this circle in raised Grantha characters is the following legend (consisting of the well-known Svasti irl and a Sanskrit verse in the Anuvātikă metre) running round the margin of the seal:

Svasti irl Kañad-Prāmuka-maluka-īrāy-ratendrā śānam!
Uttad-Kañadeva-Cālukya Paramātarmamamātō ||

ASI. 1903-4 pp. 223-4.
THE CÔLAS — Vol. I

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Vol. I
To the accession of Kulottunga I

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PREFACE

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

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

Inscriptions come to our aid only from the accession of Vijayālaya in the ninth century, and even then their distribution in time and space is naturally very uneven; for the early period, and we do not know of a time when there were no Cōlas, we depend altogether on extant Tamil Literature surviving for the most part
PREFACE

only in fragments and anthologies of uncertain date. At certain points I have had to undertake, in the course of the work, that preliminary discussion of the sources which must necessarily precede any attempt to interpret them satisfactorily. To topics treated more elaborately in my Studies on Cōla History and Administration I have made only a passing reference in this book.

The first part now issued takes the story up to the accession of Kulōttunga I. The second part will complete the political history and give an account of the administration and social life of the Cōla empire. I have generally indicated the position of all the subsidiary dynasties with the exception of the Kongu Cōlas. The study of Cōla art has not found a place in this book; this needs a word of explanation. I found that so little work had been done on this fascinating subject and that the material at my disposal was so rich and diverse that what I had to say on the subject could not well be compressed into one chapter of a somewhat overgrown book. I hope to treat of it in a separate monograph.

The Appendix provides a select list of the inscriptions on which the history is based; the summaries, especially of the unpublished inscriptions, furnish, as far as possible, all significant matters of detail not available in other publications.

My thanks are due to the Syndicate of the University of Madras for sanctioning the publication of this work in the University Historical Series. Professor K. Swaminathan of the Presidency College read the proofs and made many valuable suggestions; Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar,
PREFACE

both of the Tamil Lexicon, were always ready to discuss the texts and inscriptions that I placed before them; Miss. C. Minakshi, M.A., research student in this department, readily undertook to prepare the maps, and Mr. S. R. Balasubramanian M.A., L.T., of Cidambaram, took upon himself the laborious work of preparing the Index; it is with very great pleasure that I acknowledge the help that these friends have given me in the course of my work. I am also under obligation to the Archaeological Surveys of India and of Ceylon for permission to publish photographs of which they own the copyright.

Department of Indian History,
University of Madras,
22nd July 1934.

K. A. N.
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ABBREVIATIONS

ARA. Annual Reports on Archaeology, Madras.
ARB. Archaeological Reports, Burma.
ARE. Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras.
ASC. Archaeological Survey Reports, Ceylon.
ASI. Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports of the Director-General.
ASSI. Archaeological Survey of Southern India.
BG. Bombay Gazetteer.
CSI. Coins of Southern India by Sir Walter Elliot (1886).
CV. Cuḍavamsa, edited and translated by Geiger, (Pāli Text Society).
DKD. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, by Fleet (in the BG).
EC. Epigraphia Carnatica.
EI. Epigraphia Indica.
EZ. Epigraphia Zeylanica.
HISI. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, Sewell (1932).
IA. Indian Antiquary.
IHQ. Indian Historical Quarterly.
JA. Journal Asiaticque.
JAHRS. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
ABBREVIATIONS

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

JIH. Journal of Indian History.


MAR. Mysore Archaeological Reports.

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

NI. Nellore Inscriptions edited by Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.

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

QJMS. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

SII. South Indian Inscriptions.

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

TAR. Travancore Archaeological Reports.

TAS. Travancore Archaeological Series.
Chapter I

Sources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* These introductions were, in some inscriptions, omitted in part owing to exigencies of space. e.g. 96 of 1925 of the eleventh year of Rājendra I.
‡ It is interesting to observe that Parimēlalagar explains the phrase ' *poyyā vilakkam* ' in *Kurav* 753 by ' *nandā vilakkur*'.

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but day-lamps, night-lamps and lamps for the occasions when puja was performed (sandhi) were also known. * When the lamps were provided for by gifts of cattle, the expression 'śūnu-mūnu-ppērawu' invariably occurs, and it means literally 'the big sheep that neither die nor age.' That this was only a formal way of expressing the permanence of the endowment becomes clear from the use of the same expression even where cows, and not sheep, are given. Moreover, if for any reason the original herd went down in numbers, and in one instance a herd of fifty cows was reduced to twenty-six in less than three years, † the fact was taken into account in assessing the obligations of the herdsman for the future. Among the donors we find not only kings and their officials, but several corporations including occupational and commercial guilds, caste organisations, military groups, and village assemblies, and many private individuals, men and women. The class of courtesans, the devaradiyār, 'servants of the Gods,' often made considerable benefactions to temples which were suitably recognised by privileges of a hereditary nature being conferred on them in relation to the services and festivals in the temples concerned.

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

* This, I believe, is the correct interpretation of the expression 'sandhi-nilakkai' which figures so often in the inscriptions and is usually translated into 'twilight-lamp.' See Tamil Lexicon s. v. *sO3—canti.

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

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

* In 134 of 1926 (Rējak. 16) we have an instance of a temple raising money by mortgaging some of its land to a woman in the queen’s service.
† 180 of 1894 (Kulōttunga I, 23).
‡ ARE. 1895, I 7 and 1908, II 49. See also Venkayya JA. xxxvii pp. 199-200.
that the Tamil country exchanged its language for Telugu or Kanarese during the period of these records. The long Marathi inscription of Tanjore of A.D. 1803 is another instance. Vaṭṭeluttu was the prevalent script in which Tamil was written in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries; in the former it gave place to Tamil about the time of the Cōḷa conquest* though "in the insulated malaināḍu (Malabar) it continued as late as the middle of the eighteenth century A. D." The Sanskrit language employed the Grantha script, closely allied to the Tamil in its evolution. Numerous as are the published inscriptions from which the evolution of the script can be traced with tolerable accuracy, chronological arguments drawn from palaeography are generally not so conclusive as might be wished, and must be received with caution. There are fewer chances of stone inscriptions being found to be forgeries than copper-plate grants and, as a matter of fact, very few Cōḷa inscriptions are of doubtful authenticity. One of the most conspicuous examples is that of a record † purporting to be dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year of a Rājendra Cōḷa Rājakēsari. By mixing up in its historical introduction the events of different reigns, the record rouses suspicion; its palaeography belongs to the fourteenth century, and it is found in a temple of which the walls bear no other inscription of an earlier date than the reign of Rājarāja III.

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

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* TAS. i p. 286.
† 490 of 1926, ARE. 1927 II 32.
The great temple of Rājarājēśvara in Tanjore furnishes, in this respect, only a leading example of a practice very common at the time. We are expressly told that before older structures were pulled down for rebuilding a shrine, the inscriptions on the walls were, in many cases, copied out in books and re-engraved later on the walls of the new structure. Even brick temples had sometimes inscriptions engraved on their walls.† We shall never know the extent of the damage inflicted in recent years by the ignorant piety of renovators of ancient shrines. Government have been unduly slack in stopping such damage; they have even refused to lay down a procedure to be followed by renovators which would have minimised the extent of the damage.‡ Sometimes inscriptions are found engraved on rocks and boulders not forming parts of temples, but they are the exception.

* ASI. 1909-10 pp. 128-9; also 92 of 1895 and ARE. 1920 II 17.
† 123 of 1900; EI. viii pp. 145-6.
‡ ARE. 1902, I 8 and G.O. (Madras) 763 Public, 6th August 1902.

After drawing attention to the destruction of the Kalinari Śvara by the inhabitants of Tirunāmanallur, the government epigraphist says in his report: "The Nāṭṭukottai Chetties are spending year by year a portion of their large earnings in repairing the ancient Śiva temples of Southern India. In the course of these 'repairs' they have totally destroyed the following shrines with every one of their inscriptions: The Ēkāmanātha temple at Conjeevaram, the Jambukēśvara temple on the island of Śrīrangam, the central shrine of the temple at Tiruvaṅgāmalai, the same at Tiruvaṅgai in South Arcot and the same at Tiruppugalur in the Tanjore District. Of some of the inscriptions in the first two temples, I have inked estampages in my office. The remainder are lost for ever, as the inscribed stones have been dressed again before rebuilding the temples. Many other temples are now going to be treated in the same manner." Government declined to restrict the activities of renovators by the issue of prohibitory orders as suggested by the epigraphical department which thereupon made 'a more vigorous attempt to secure impressions of the inscriptions thus threatened with destruction.' This has led to the accumulation of thousands of impressions in the epigraphist's office which have little chance, as things stand, of being published in any reasonable period even in the bald form adopted in SII. (Texts). There is also a real danger that in the race between publication and collection, collection might suffer in the future without publication gaining adequately.
THE COLAS

The three copper-plate grants known by the names of Anbil, Leyden (larger) and Tiruvallangādu, as well as the Kanyakumāri stone inscription of Vīrarājendra, give long legendary genealogies intended to bring out the solar origin of the Cōla dynasty. The Udayendiram plates of Prithivīpati II Hastimalla* give a much shorter list of the legendary ancestors of Vijayālaya. Of the several names in these legendary lists, which are by no means identical with one another, † only two or three names appear to be historical. Karikāla, Kōccengaṇān and probably also Killi may be identified with the kings of the same names of whom we hear in the Tamil literature of the Śangam age. Barring the names of these kings, however, and some common legends,—e.g., that of Manu sentencing his son to death as he had by an accident crushed a calf to death under his chariot-wheel, and the story of Śibi rescuing a dove from the pursuit of a vulture by offering it his own flesh—there is nothing else to indicate the relation in which the Cōlas of the Vijayālaya line stood to those of an earlier time mentioned in early Tamil literature. We shall see that even in regard to Karikāla and Kōccengaṇān the account given in the copper-plates is more legendary than historical and has little in common with the earlier literary accounts.

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Literature is in other countries the bed-rock of history; in India it is often a snare. Literature.

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

* Elliot, p. 108.

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

Rapson (op. cit. sec. 126) stereotypes the theory of Elliot and gives, doubtless by oversight, c. A.D. 1022 as the date not only of the introduction of the Ceylon type but of 'the beginning of the reign of Rējarāja Cōla.' He also describes the figures in the Ceylon types thus: "ōdv. king standing: rev. king seated." It may be doubted if the 'rude human figure' (Elliot) which Tufnell (Hūnti, p. 11) took to be that of a 'rākṣasa' was intended to represent the king. A unique silver coin with legend Śri Rējarājasēva (Hultzsch IA. xxv, p. 317) combines the squatting figure on the oδv. with the symbols and legend on the rev.
books which, like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, have for ages served as popular cyclopaedias of national culture, were frequently revised; the time, the authorship and the extent of such revisions are so obscure that it is hopeless to make an intelligent use of data drawn from these works.* Lastly, in the few works of which we have definite knowledge in regard to authorship and provenance, a great amount of space is taken up by conventional descriptions, and it is seldom that we come across the plain downright statement of a fact. In Tamil literature, the poems of the Śangam age are very realistic and prima facie trustworthy and do not share the demerits of the literature of a more fulsome age; but by a cruel irony of fate these poems are involved in some chronological obscurity; and the compositions, especially those of the Cōla period, of which we know the authors and dates, exhibit in abundant measure all the defects of court poetry. Still, after all allowance is made, the evidence from indigenous literature for the history of the Cōla kingdom will be seen to be not inconsiderable in volume and will, if used with care, go far to eke out the testimony of archaeology.

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

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

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

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

The number of late chronicles and Sthalapurāṇas is legion. The *Navaçolacarita*, a Vira-saiva compilation available in a Kanarese and a Telugu version, the *Bṛhadīśvara-māhātmya* or the *Cōlavanamśacaritra* in Sanskrit, of which there is a Tamil translation among the Mackenzie MSS., and the *Konugdēśa-Rājakkal*, also in the same collection of manuscripts, are the leading examples of this class. But as Fleet has observed, *the fanciful nature of such works and their utter want of reliability for any purposes of early history "are disclosed at once by the very slightest thoughtful examination."*

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

* *IA. xxx pp. 6-7.*
CHAPTER II.

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

* "kaḍal kilakkut-teguk-karai pural Vellāru
kuḍa-tiśaiyil kōṭṭailakkaraiyum—vaḍa tiśaiyil
ēṭiṭṭu Vellārugāppatu nūkkadām
Śoṇaṭṭuk-kellaiyenac-col.

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

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

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

† Manimēkalai I, 9-12; 23-4
‡ "According to some it is the Chabaris Emporium mentioned by Ptolemy in the 1st cent. A.D. The inscriptions secured from the modern Kēvēripaṭṭam and its vicinity leave no doubt as to its identity with Kēvēripōppalṭṭam alias Puhār, though the monuments of Pallavaniccaram and Śyēvānēśvara are not of such early date as could be expected." —ARE, 1919 II 2.
modern representative of the more ancient Uraiyur which is now a suburb of Trichinopoly, and Kumbakonam are the other notable cities of the Cola country. GangaiKonda-Colapore, at the meeting point of the modern districts of Trichinopoly, S. Arcot and Tanjore, rose into prominence as the Cola capital in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is now a small place with a magnificent temple in ruins.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The grammarian Kātyāyana knew of the Cōlas. †

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

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

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

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

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

The part taken from the sixth century B. C. by Southern India in the growing commerce between the Western countries identification of ‘Palakka’ of the Allahabad pillar inscription with Palghat, which is no longer considered sound. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar says of Aham 281: “The Kōśar are called here Vaḍūgar.” It may be so; in which case Vaḍūgar munugra of this verse should be a brief allusion to the failure of the Kōśar to subdue Mōhūr, narrated at greater length in Aham 251. But Mr. Aiyangar’s assertion that the Konkan Mauryas “were the only possible Mōriyar who, in conjunction with the Kōśar, could have attempted a raid into the Tamil country” is hardly convincing. See his Tamil pp. 522-3.

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

† Studies in South Indian Jainism p. 140. Many other places also bear the name Mōhūr and the identification of the place must be considered tentative.
and those in the East as far as China is sufficiently known. * Of the direction and nature of this trade and of its economic importance, something will be said further on. Here we may note that to this commerce we owe, in the main, two valuable notices of Southern India and the Cōla country separated by about half a century. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* is the interesting handbook of an Alexandrian merchant, "which was written in the time of Domitian (81-96 A.D.), and by the evidence furnished by Pliny the Elder." † The anonymous author of this short treatise tells us a little about the Cōla country in particular which, considering the paucity of early notices of the Coromandel coast, is of uncommon interest to the student of Cōla history. He says: "Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the coast country, which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru." This statement is best understood as pointing to the division of the Cōla country into two parts, a coastal district and an inland district. There is, as we shall see, evidence of Cōla rule from two centres at this period—Puhār or Kāverippaṭṭinam on the coast and Uṟaiyūr inland. *Pattinam*, meaning a port-town, was the name of the Cōla capital on the coast, and the phrase in the *Periplus*, 'the coast country, which lies on a bay',

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

† Rostovtseff—*Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* p. 91.

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

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

* The quotations are from Schoff: Periplus. Schoff says: “Coast country is from the native name, ‘Cōla coast,’ ‘Cōlamanḍalam.’” (p. 241). This is hardly satisfactory as Cōla manḍalam only means Cōla country, not ‘coast.’
† See Rawlinson—Intercourse between India and the Western World pp. 121-2.
¶ Ancient Geography p. 631. See also Caldwell—Comp. Grammar p. 93.
nomads' with 'Sora the capital of Arkatos.' "One is strongly tempted to suppose that here," as Caldwell remarks, "the names given by the natives of the country to his informants had got transposed," and that, consequently, we have to consider Arkatos as the capital of the Sorai nomads. Arcot is not so modern a name as it is often imagined to be. * A Cōla princeling by name Aļišē is said to have had for his residence "Ārkkādu surrounded by paddy fields," † and very likely Ārkkādu means "forest of Ār" (Bauhinea Racemosa), ār or ātti being a Cōla emblem. This Ārkkādu may or may not be identical with the Arcot celebrated in later days as the seat of the Nawabs of the Carnatic; but it is probably the same as Ptolemy’s Arkatos. ‡ From the statement of Ptolemy on the

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

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

	tēngamal virītār—iyaṟṟăḷiśi
	vaṟṟumūṟu neyda—nellīḷai malaru
	nariyalangalai—yārkăḍanai.

There is also a stray veṟṟă (Perundogai No. 988) which mentions Aļiśē-kāđu, the kāđu (forest) of Aļišē. This princeling had a son Sēndan, who is sometimes connected with the Cōla capital Uṟaiyūr (Kurundogai No. 253). Ārkkādu is said to be in the Cōla country by the editor of the Nārīṇīai.

‡ See Yule and Burnell—Hobson-Jobson s. v. Arcot, where it is pointed out that of several places of this name in the Southern districts besides the town of Arcot near Vellore, one in Tanjore would correspond best with Harkatu of Ibn Batuta.
'Sorai nomads' and 'Arkatos,' the inference has been made* that there were two different Cōḷa countries or kingdoms at the same time; it is quite possible, however, that the 'Sorai nomads' were some nomadic tribe or tribes in the Cōḷa country itself. That such tribes were in existence, and that some of the early Cōḷa kings, especially Karikāla, made an effort to civilise them and train them to more settled ways of life, is borne out by Tamil literature.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* MV. xxii, 21-6.
† MV. xxii 86 and xxiv 4.
‡ Geiger-transl. pp. 290-1 gives a lucid account of the details of the war. On one occasion seven Damila princes were defeated in one day (xxv 10), and altogether thirty-two princes are said to have been thus overpowered in the war (ibid. 75). They were probably all commanders of Elāra’s forces which garrisoned many fortresses on the frontier and elsewhere.

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and there did he build a monument and ordain worship." And even in the days of Mahānāman, the author of this part of the Mahāvamsa, in the sixth century A. D., the princes of Lanka, when they drew near to that place, were wont to silence their music, because of this worship. Of these transactions that loom so large in the early history of Ceylon, there is no trace in Tamil literature * apart from the legend of the prince and the calf which is placed in the reign of Manu. We therefore lack all means of judging the extent to which the fortunes of the Cōla monarchs of the mainland were involved in the establishment and the overthrow of Ellāra's power in Ceylon.

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

THE COLAS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

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

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

* There are still some who do not accept this view. See, however, PK, pp. 16 ff. and Studies, pp. 1-18 and 70-2.
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no sure means of settling the order of their succession, of fixing their relations with one another and with many other princes and princelings of about the same period. If Puhār or Kāvirippūmpāṭṭinam rose in importance only in the time of Karikāla, * then the civil strife between the two branches of the Ėḷas, one of them apparently stationed at Uṟaiyūr and the other at Puhār, may be taken to fall in the period subsequent to the rule of Karikāla. In any event, this strife between the rival branches of the royal family appears to have been a constant factor in the annals of the Ėḷas of the Šangam age. Even Karikāla, the most illustrious among them, had his own troubles in the beginning. †

* This is how the obscure line pēṟangu-nūḷai-mūṟattu-uṟandai-pōkki (l. 285) of the Patṭinappāḷai has been generally understood by modern writers. But under the name of Kākandai (Maṉimēkalai-xxii, l. 37) the city seems to have had great celebrity from very early times. Cf. n. 2 at p. 561 of Pattupāṭṭu (1831). A nun Sōmī from this place seems to be mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions of the second century B.C. (Luders, No. 817). The Šilappadīkāram gives a legend of the foundation of Uṟaiyūr (Kōḷi) being due to a cock (kōḷi) winning in a fight against an elephant on the spot, x ll. 247-8.

† Kanakasabhai’s work The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago (1904) remains still invaluable in many respects. But working solely upon mss. of works little understood at the time, he succumbed to a natural temptation to formulate conclusions on material that had not been subjected to any proper criticism. Pandit M. Raghava ‘Aiyangar (Stran-Śenguttuvan, ed. 2, pp. 106-7 n) raises several valid objections to Kanakasabhai’s scheme of genealogy of the Ėḷas and the Ėḷas. But the Pandit’s own scheme of Ėḷa genealogy (ibid. p. 103) is not altogether free from uncertainties, though it must be admitted that it is the best among those put forward so far. That Karikāla had two sons Maṉakkīḷi and Peru-Viṅgar-Killi; that Neṉungiliḷi was the brother of Naṅgōṇai, and that these were the children of Maṉakkīḷi, and that Perunaṅkīḷi of Rājāśayam fame (Purāṇam 16) was the son of Neṉungiliḷi and identical with the prince who sought refuge with Malaiyamṉ Tirumūḍikkāri (Purāṇam 174), that Killi Valavan (of the Maṉimēkalai) and Nalangiḷi (the foe of Neṉungiliḷi) were the sons of Viṅgar-Killi, all these statements are based on assumptions which, however plausible, seem to lack positive evidence. Again, it appears unlikely that the same prince, Irāyasayam-Vēṭṭa Perunaṅkīḷi, was aided on the same occasion both by Śenguttuva and Malaiyamṉ Tirumūḍikkāri; there is nothing in the language of Šilapp. xxvii ll. 118-23 and Purāṇam 174 to suggest such an identification; on the other hand there is something to differentiate the two.
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Before we proceed to discuss the kings of the Šangam Age, some attention may be given to the legends about the mythical Cōla kings known to this literature. The Cōlas were even then looked upon as descended from the sun *—a fact that received elaborate emphasis in later times in the long mythical genealogies incorporated in copperplate charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in the Kanyākumāri stone inscription of Vīrarājendrā, and in literary works like the Kilingattupparaṇi and the Vikramaśūlan Uḷā. Coeval with Agastya and Paraśurāma was king Kāntan, whose devotion to the former brought the river Kāverī into existence, † and who at the bidding of Pārvati (Kanni) entrusted his kingdom for a time to his illegitimate son Kakandān, in order to escape the fury of Paraśurāma, who waged relentless war against all Kṣatriyas. ‡ He ruled from Campā, later on called Kākandi, Puhār and Kāvirippūm-paṭṭinam. Another legendary hero was Tūngeyil-eṛinda-toḍittōṛ-cembiyian, who destroyed some mysterious flying fortress of the Asuras § and also instituted in Puhār, at the instance of Agastya, an annual festival to Indra of the duration of twenty-eight days. ¶ The story of the king who sentenced his son to death for having killed a calf by rash driving || and that of another who rescued the dove from the hawk, but not the names of Manu and Śibi, are known ** to this

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

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

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

* ibid., l. 6.
† This story is localised at Tiruvēr by the Periyapurāṇam, a work of the twelfth century A. D.
‡ 'Uruvappalār.' Paraṅar (Puruṣa 4) and Perungurū Kilir (Puruṣa 266) celebrated him. Line 130 of the Porunār-āṟṟuppaṭaḷai gives his relationship with Karikāla.
§ Verse 3, end of Porunār-āṟṟuppaṭaḷai.
¶ Pattinappalai ll. 220-228 and Porunār. ll. 131 ff. — translated below.
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A veppē in the Paḷamolī says that a certain Piṭṭarṭalai rendered much help to Karikāla.
enemies. As the large-trunked elephant pulls down the banks of the pit (in which it has been caught) and effects its escape by filling in the pit, and joins its mate, even so after deep and careful consideration, he drew his sword, effected his escape by overpowering the strong guard (of his prison), and attained his glorious heritage in due course."

Again,

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

so ‘Karikula-Cōla with the garland of āy pleasing to the eyes’ fought a great battle at Veṇṇi in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra both suffered a crushing defeat. † Veṇṇi has been identified with Kōvil Veṇṇi, a village fifteen miles to the east of Tanjore. Though we know very little of the circumstances that led to this battle, there can be no doubt that it marked the turning point in Karikula’s career; for in this battle he seems to have broken the back of a widespread confederacy formed against him. Besides the two crowned kings of the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries, eleven minor chieftains took their side in the campaign

* Naccinērkkiniyar explains this by an absurd story. This means, apparently, that he did not come of the direct male line of the Cōlas, a fact which may account both for his early troubles and for his father’s name—Iaiyōn, ‘prince.’ Contra Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Ancient India p. 92.

† The text has: iru-urma vudaram oru kalat-taviya (146, Porunar). Nacci
rkkiniyar takes this to mean that they died (pādumpaḍi); but the Cēra, we know, sustained a wound in his back, and committed suicide by the process of slow starvation - Vaḍakhiruttal, on which see Puram 65 ll. 9-11 and Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar’s n. thereunder. Also Studies p. 20 and n.

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and shared the defeat at the hands of Karikāla. * Much sympathy was felt for the Cēra king, who was wounded at his back, the last disgrace that could befall a soldier on the battle-field, and who expiated his cowardice by committing suicide; † this is how one of Karikāla’s own friends, the poet Venñikkuyattiyār, possibly a resident of Venṇi and an eye-witness to the battle, addresses the monarch: ‡

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

If Venṇi was the first great battle of Karikāla’s reign which established him firmly on his throne and secured for him some sort of hegemony among the ‘three crowned monarchs’ of the Tamil land, there was no lack of other opportunities for the exercise of his arms. He defeated a confederacy of nine minor chieftains in a battle at Vākaipparandalai: Paraṇar, a contemporary both of Karikāla and his father, mentions this fact, ‖ but tells us nothing of the cause of the battle or of the enemies of Karikāla. The poet of the Pattīnappālai describes fully the destruction carried by the forces of Karikāla into the

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

Of Karikāla's personal life we hear next to nothing. While Uruttiranganāṇanār, the author of the Pattinappālai, tells us vaguely

Personal Life.

* ll. 228-73; the following lines 274-82 are translated here.
† Ahām 141-šelkuḍi niṟutta perumbeyark-Karikāl. This poem has been misunderstood as containing a reference to the Kūrumbar.
‡ Kāṇḍu koṇu nāṇekki kulandoṭṭu valam-berukki—i.e. destroying forests to extend the inhabited country, and digging tanks to improve fertility. Pattinappālai ll. 283-4.
that he enjoyed the society of women and children, the late annotator Naccinarkkiniyar, possibly reproducing a correct tradition, states that Karikāla took to wife a Vēljir girl from Nāṅgūr, a place celebrated in the poems of Tirumangai Ālvār for the heroism of its warriors. A daughter of Karikāla, Ādimandi by name, is the subject of many poems. She lost her husband, a Čēra prince, by name Āṭṭan Atti, who was drowned in the Kāvēri, but subsequently, by the power of her chastity, she is said to have brought him back to life.†

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

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

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

* * * * * *

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

* Śrī. v. ll. 89-110.
† Kāvēra—tānayā—vēḻilāṭghana—prāṣāmāna—pramukhā—dyaṇeśkāṭiśaya-kāṛiṇāḥ
‡ * * * Karikālasya, Ell. xi—No. 33, ll. 3-5.

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

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

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

The Maṇimekālai † mentions a great battle at the Kāriyārū in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra were defeated by a junior prince (Iḷangōn) of the Cōla family in the reign of Māvāṅkillī, also called Neṭumudīk-killī and Kīḻivalavan in this poem. This battle has been identified with the one in which Neṭungillī met his fate and the civil strife came to an end; || from this the inference has been drawn that the Iḷangōn of the Maṇimekālai was no other than Nalangillī, and that Nalangillī was the younger brother of Neṭumudīk-killī:

* See Studies, essay II, for a full discussion of these points.
† Though Neṭungillī figures without any attribute in some colophons, there is nothing to prevent his being identified with the king who died at the Kāriyārū.
‡ Puram 43.
xix, ii. 125-7.
some writers go further and argue that because Nalan-
gillī is called Śeṭcenni-Nalan Gillī, * he may be a 
grandson of Ilaṇjčeṭcennī, the father of Karikāla, with the 
result that Neḍumudik-killī, Nalan Gillī and Māvalattān 
turn out to be three sons of Karikāla. But there is 
nothing except the name in favour of identifying the 
two references to the Kāriyāru in the Puranānūru and 
the Maṇimēkalai; nothing is known of the circumstances 
of Neḍungillī’s death at the Kāriyāru, a fact which 
finds only the most casual mention in the colophon to 
Purāṇam 47; we are to infer from this that as there was 
a civil war between Nalan Gillī and Neḍungillī, a fight at 
the Kāriyāru might, by proving fatal to the latter, have 
closed the strife. On the contrary, the battle of the 
Kāriyāru described, though briefly, yet with considera-
ble vividness, in the Maṇimēkalai, appears as a first-class 
event in the foreign relations of the Cōḷa kingdom, and 
not as a petty fight incidental to a quarrel among blood 
relations; and there is no suggestion in the context 
that the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya were, on that occasion, 
engaged in aiding one Cōḷa prince against another. 
The last argument adduced from the name Śeṭcenni-
Nalan Gillī is not without force, and it appears quite 
likely that he and Māvalattān were the sons of Karikāla.

Nalan Gillī forms the subject of no fewer than four-
ten pieces in the Puranānūru, and 
Kōvūr-Kilār, who contributes half the 
number implies that the king enjoyed, like Karikāla 
himself, a sort of vague hegemony among the Tamil 
states, and sings with intelligible exaggeration: †

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Puýam 45; Kanak. p. 73. The palm and the margosa were respectively the
Cér and Pýdiya emblems.
† Puýam 73; Kanak. pp. 74-5.
THE COLAS

give my life for his sake. If, like a blind man who stumbles on a tiger sleeping in the open, one is so foolish as to slight my strength and oppose my will, he shall hardly escape with his life. If I do not advance to the fight and cause (my foes) to suffer like the long-stemmed bamboo trampled under foot by a huge elephant, may my garland be crumpled in the wanton embraces of dark-haired harlots, who can never love with a pure heart.”

That Kāvīrīp-pūmpaṭṭinam with its extensive trade was in Nālangiḷḷi’s possession, * and that Vedic sacrifices were common in his reign † are facts well attested by our sources. There is a poignant note of melancholy in some of the poems on Nālangiḷḷi ‡ composed by Uṇaiyur Mudukāṇṭan Śāttanār, and it is not easy to decide if this is due to the poet’s own temperament or to the incidents of the civil strife. It would appear that Nālangiḷḷi died at a place called Hāvandigaip-pallī. §

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

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

* Purāṇ 30 II. 10-12.
† ibid 400, I. 19.
‡ ibid 27, 29.
§ Col. to Purāṇ 61 where he is called Nālangiḷḷi Śūcenni.
¶ Purāṇ 44. Kanak. pp. 73-4.
the ground, trumpet loudly like thunder. Children cry for want of milk, the women plait their hair without flowers, the mansions of the city resound with the cries of people wailing for want of water. It is not possible to hold out any more here, thou, master of fleet steeds! If thou wouldst be kind, open the gates (to the enemy) saying, 'This is yours;' if thou wouldst be heroic, open the gates and lead thy soldiers out to victory; to be neither the one nor the other, to close the strong gates of the fort, and to shut yourself up in a corner behind the high walls, this, when one thinks of it, is shameful indeed!"

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

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

Close to Nalangillī and Neţungillī in time, because the same poets are found composing poems in their praise, was Kīḷīvalăvan who died at Kuḷamurram. Another Kīḷīvalăvan, the subject of a single poem of Kōvūr-Kilār, † is said to

* Puram 47. Kanakasabhai, 73.
† Puram 373.
have died at Kurāp-palli. It has been suggested that these two kings are identical, * and if that be so, this poem of Kōvūr-Kīḻar composed after the king had captured Karuvūr, depicts a later stage in his Cēra war than another † poem by Ālattur Kīḻar, which describes Karuvūr still in a state of siege. Killivalavan is celebrated in eighteen songs by ten different minstrels, and himself figures as the author of a poem in praise of his friend Paṇṇan, ‡ the lord of Śirukuḍi. He ruled with Uṇaiyūr as his capital. § "This king, who (we may infer) possessed considerable ability, was both brave and generous, but somewhat headstrong. Hence a great deal of good advice is, in a very tactful way, offered to him by the minstrels; and he seems to have been all the better for it." The following lines are by Vellaiṅkuḍi-nākanar, ¶ who was rewarded on the spot by a remission of the arrears due on his lands.

    The pleasant Tamil lands possess
    For boundary the ocean wide.
    The heaven, where tempests loud sway not,
    Upon their brow rests as a crown.
    Fertile the soil they till, and wide.
    Three kings with mighty hosts this land
    Divide; but of the three, whose drums
    Sound for the battle's angry strife,
    Thou art the chief, O mighty one!

    Though the resplendent sun in diverse quarters rise;
    And though the silvery planet to the south decline;
    Thy land shall flourish, where through channels deep,
    Kāvēri flows with bright refreshing stream,
    Along whose banks the sweet cane's white flowers wave
    Like pennon'd spears uprising from the plain.

* IA. xxix p. 250 n 2. Dr. Pope says that Kurāp-palli is the same
as Kulamurram, 'Pavilion by the tank.'
† Puram 36.
‡ Puram 173.
§ Puram 69, 1, 12.
¶ IA. xxix pp. 251-2. Puram 35; I have reproduced Pope's translation.
EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

Let me speak out to this rich country's king!  
Be easy of access at fitting time, as though  
The lord of justice sat to hear, and right decree.  
Such kings have rain on their dominions at their will!  
The clouds thick gather round the sun, and rest  
In vault of heaven:—So let thy canopy  
Of state challenge the sky, and spread around  
Not gloom, but peaceful shade. Let all thy victories  
Be the toiling ploughman's gain.  
Kings get the blame, whether rains fail, or copious flow,  
And lack the praise: such is the usage of the world.  
If thou hast marked and known this well,  
Reject the wily counsels of malicious men.  
Lighten the load of those who till the soil.  
The dwellers in the land protect. If thou do this  
Thy stubborn foes shall lowly bend beneath thy feet.  

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

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

'The intercession was unsuccessful; the fair city fell'; and a poetess, Māṟokkattu Nappāsalaiyār, gave

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

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

'The delicate lyric warning against arrogance',
addressed to the proud conqueror by Mūlam-kīlār of
Āvūr must have been composed soon after the capitation
of Karuvūr: †

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

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

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

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

* Purān 37; IA. ibid.
† Purān 40; IA. ibid. 254.
‡ Purān 373.
EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

The poems of the Puranānūr are silent on the relations between Kīllīvalavan and his southern neighbour the Pāṇḍya; but a poem of Nakkiar * in the Ahanānūr makes pointed reference to a defeat sustained by the forces of a Kīllīvalavan under the walls of Madura at the hands of the Pāṇḍya commander-in-chief, Paḷaiyan Māran. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, we may assume that the king whose defeat is alluded to by Nakkiar was the one that died at Kūlamurram. † Kīllīvalavan evidently waged war in another direction against the Malaiyamān chieftain of Malādu, a district on the banks of the Peṅnār which had Tirukkovilūr for its centre. Though we cannot be quite certain of it, the Malaiyamān against whom this expedition was directed seems to have been Malaiyamān Tirumudik-kārī who is celebrated in several poems of the Puram by Kapilar and

* Aham 345.
† This identification was first suggested by Kanakasabhai, p. 76. But I am unable to follow him in identifying this king further with: (a) Valavankikilī who was ‘maittunan’ to the Čēra king Śenguttuvan, and was established on the Čēja throne by the latter after suppressing, in the battle of Nērivāyilī, a rebellion in which nine princes of the blood royal had taken part (p. 75); and (b) the Čēja king of the Maṅinēkalai and the father of Udayakumaran (p. 77). It is not certain that the twin Epics of the Anklet and the Jewel-belt relate to the same period of time as the poems of the Puranānūr and the other anthologies, and it is not clear how far the incidents mentioned in the epics may be treated as historical, and not simply meant to furnish a familiar background to a romantic story; there is, above all, a total lack of correspondence in the facts relating to the different kings whom Kanakasabhai proposes to identify. The phrase ‘maittuna-vaḷavaṇ-kiḷḷi’ of the Śilappadikāram (xxvii-1. 118) is not the same as ‘Kīllīvalavan,’ and as there is nothing in the numerous poems of the Puram to suggest that the latter’s succession to the throne was disputed, we must be slow to accept the identification in this case. It must also be observed that, as Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, (op. cit. p. 33) points out, the Čēja contemporary of Śenguttuvan was according to the Śilappadikāram, Perunigilī, whom Aṭṭiyāraṇanallēr calls Perunarkikilī; and the Pandit himself identifies him with Rājasīram-veṭṭa Perunarkikilī, and this, in itself, is really more plausible than the suggestion of Kanakasabhai. The absence of all mention of a fight at the Kāryāṭu or a combination of the Pāṇḍya and the Čēra against Kūlamurruṭtu-tulīyā Kīllīvalavan, taken along with the positive references to his siege and capture of Vaḷṭi and his defeat at Madura, all of which are admitted by Kanakasabhai, is fatal to his other proposition. See also P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar History of the Tamils pp. 430-31.

[ 53 ]
Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār for the liberal patronage he extended to the minstrels, a trait which is emphasised also by Kōvūr-Kilār in the following poem by which he succeeded in releasing the children of the Malaiyamān from a cruel death to which the victorious Cōla monarch had condemned them: *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Puram 46; IA. xxix p. 256.
† Puram 39; IA. xxix pp. 253-4.
EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

How shall I tell of thy glorious prowess that withered the fadeless Vañji, destroying the Cēran king with his mighty chariot cunningly wrought, who planted his guarded bow-banner on the immeasurably lofty gold-tipped peaks of Himalaya."

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

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

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

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

* Purān 226; IA. xxix 283.
† Purān 227; IA. xxix 284.

[ 55 ]
Another renowned Cōla king of the time was Köpperunjōlan who also ruled from Ürāiyūr. Himself a poet, * he was an intimate friend of two poets—Āndaiyār of (Irum) Piśir and Pottiyyār. Āndai (owl) sounds more like a nick-name than a name proper †; but the poet is not known by any other name. He was a native of the Pāṇḍya country and gave some good counsel ‡ to the king of that country, Ariuvudai Nambi. Pottiyyār was a native of the Cōla country and resided at Ürāiyūr. The intimate friendship between these and Köpperunjōlan became a classic example in later literature § like that between Damon and Pythias. Āndai was a jolly good fellow and his poems ring with the true enjoyment of life. Asked once why, though old, his hair had not turned grey, he gave the answer: ¶

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

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

If you ask us ' who is your king? ' Our king is he who
To the labourers gives strong palm-wine strained and

And with the fat of turtle satiates their desire,

[mellow,

* Author of Kurundogai Nos. 20, 53, 129, 147.
† The grammarians explain it, however, as Ādan tandai (Ādan's father).
‡ Puram 184.
§ Parimēlalagar on Kurul 785; and Naccinnekkiniyar on Tel. Karpu.
Su. 52.
¶ Puram 191; IA. xxviii, p. 30.
|| Puram 212; IA. ibid.
EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

And fills their mouths with lampreys’ rich roast flesh.
They leave short toil for feast; the feast prolong!
In that good fertile land the minstrels with their kin
Find our king the foe of want and hunger’s pangs.
He is the lord of Kūḷi, the mighty Cōla king.
He loves converse with Potti, whose friendship knows

[ no flaw. *

All the day long he laughs with heart right glad!

A beautiful poem † by Pullāṟṟūr Eyarriyanār which deprecates civil strife by a fine appeal to the simple parental emotions of the king is the sole relic left to us of what was possibly a serious quarrel between Köpperanjōlan and his two sons. By a strange irony of fate, this winsome monarch, who engaged the deepest affection of two poets for life and in death, was unable to compose his differences with his own children. His agnostic utterance on suicide is perhaps sufficient proof that he found in it his last refuge from the troubles of life: ‡

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

[ win release.

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

* A play on words: potti means ‘hollow’; but there is no hollowness in this Potti.
‡ Puram 214; IA. ibid. p. 29.
‡ Puram 214; IA. xxviii pp. 29-30.
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Two other short poems * express the king’s eagerness to meet Āndai before the end came, as also his quiet confidence that his friend would not fail him. When Āndai turned up in good time and joined the king in his resolve to quit the wicked world, Pottiyyār evinced † great admiration for the nobility of the king and the wisdom of Āndai, and the deepest concern for the country which was losing a monarch whose great qualities captivated the mind of Āndai, though he owed him no allegiance. Two short pieces ‡ commemorate the suicide of Āndai in the king’s company. One of them records that Āndai starved himself to death under the shade of a tree in the river-bed. When Pottiyyār wanted to follow, the king forbade him asking him to postpone his suicide till after his son had been born, § and Pottiyyār had to go back. In the following lines the poet gave vent to his feelings as he returned to Uraiyyūr : ¶

The keeper who has lost the huge elephant which he [daily supplied
With its ample meal, and tended for many a year,
Is sad as he surveys the vacant pillar where it stood,
And weeps. Even so, did I not grieve when I beheld
The courtyard in the ancient town where Kili lived and [died;
Kili, with wealth of chariots, o’er which waves the [conqueror’s wreath?

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

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

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

Perunāṟkkilli must have been a powerful monarch,
as he is the only one among the Tamil sovereigns of the Šangam age who
performed the Rājasūya: it is likely that the Cēra Māri
Veṅkō and the Pāṇḍya Uгрapperuvaḷudi both attended
this great inauguration of Perunāṟkkilli’s rule, and that
the fine benediction of Auvaṟië in which she includes
all the three was, as suggested by Kanakasabhai, pronounced on this occasion:

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

* Pūgam 367; Kanakasabhai, p. 78.
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(lords) of the white umbrella and the pennoned chariot! Seated together, you appear like the three sacred fires which the twice-born preserve day and night with ceaseless vigilance. Only this can I say: may your days be as many as the stars in the sky or the rain-drops in heavy showers."

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

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

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

† Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar has indeed suggested (Aingurunēru-introd. p. 15.) that the Cēra enemy was the same as Vēnaikkatcēry-Māndarān-jēral-irumpōrāi who was defeated and captured by Pāṇḍya Neļuṅjēliyan, the victor of Talaiyēlaṅgānam. Great as is the weight of his authority, I hesitate to follow him here. See, however, Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, Ancient Debhkan p. 202.
of Pāmuḷur, a Cēra fortress; * how he earned the prefix to his name, Neydalangānal, is not known. Šruppāli, overthrown by the second prince, is also only a name. The Cōla Muṭittalaik-kōpperunaṅkīlli (the great good Kiḷli, the king with the crowned head) is remembered by a single poem of Muḷamōsīiyūr (Mōsi, the Lame), who lived in the part of Urāiyūr known as Ėniccēri. The poem † is a fine piece giving expression to the poet's grave concern for the safety of the Cōla who was riding an elephant, which, having suddenly turned mad, was carrying him past Karuvūr. The poet was then in the company of a Cēra prince, and explained to him what was happening before their eyes. The rushing elephant is picturesquely compared to a ship sailing on the high sea.

Perum Tirumāvalavan, ‡ who died at Kurāppallaḷi, was the contemporary and ally of the Pāṇdyya Peruvāḷudi who died at Veḷḷi-yambalam. Kārik-kaṇṇanār of Kāvirip-pūm-paṭṭinam while applauding their alliance, warns them against evil counsellors ever intent on dividing them: §

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

* Puram 203.
† Puram 13.
‡ This king was wrongly identified with Karikāla by Kanakasabhai.—See P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar Tamil, p. 367. n.
sea pearl together with the thundering drums, and rules with mercy Kūḍal, the seat of Tamil (learning). Majestic like the two gods standing together, one of whom is white (in complexion) and holds the palm-flag and the other of dark hue carries the wheel, you are now both terrible to your enemies. Is there anything pleasanter than this? Listen, yet, (to my words). May your fame last for ever! May you stand by each other, and if you do not break your friendship, you would not fail to conquer the whole of this sea-girt earth. Therefore, without giving heed to the specious words of thoughtless people which, though they appear good and wise and in keeping with ancient tradition, are intended to break the love that binds your hearts, may your friendship continue exactly as it is to-day! May your lances rise victorious on the bloody field of battle! May the lands of your enemies bear on the peaks of their mountains the crests of the striped tiger and the water carp."

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

Vēr - pahraḍakkaip - peru-viṟar(naṟ)k - kilḷi is the name of another Cōla prince celebrated by Paraṉar and Kaḷṭtalaiyār, of the age of Karikāla and his father. Three poems † in the Puramāṇuṟu describe the sad fate of this prince and his Cōra opponent Kuḍakkō Neḍūṇ-jēral-Ādan, both of whom fell on the field of battle. Another prince with a strongly marked individuality was Pōrvaik-koppurunanark-kilḷi who figures in a dozen compositions, three of which are short lyrics composed by Nakkaṉai, ‡ a lady who appears to have loved this

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* Puram 197.
† Puram 62, 63, 368.
‡ Puram 83, 84, 85.
erratic prince with a real passion. Śāttandaiyār, the poet of the remaining three pieces, * celebrates the prince's power as a pugilist and his quickness in taking cities. He also suggests that no love was lost between him and Tittan, who is said to have been his father, and who figures in several poems † in the anthologies as a celebrated king of Uṟaiyūr. Tittan once forced the chieftain Kaṭṭi and his companion Paṇan to fall back in disorder after a hasty advance on Uṟaiyūr. ‡ As this incident is recorded by Paraṇar, Tittan and his eccentric son must have preceded Karikāla. Tittan had also a daughter Aiyai. § Sōlan Nalluruttirān and Nambi Neţuţjelijyān are represented each by a single poem. The former was a poet himself, and in fact we have no knowledge of him except as an author. A whole section on Mullai, comprising seventeen songs in the anthology called Kalittogai, is said to be his work, and in a short poem in the Puranānūru || he sings his ideal of a felicitous life: to shun misers and seek the company of strong and noble friends. Nambi Neţuţjelijyān forms the subject of a fine eulogium ||| from Pēreyil Muṟuvalār (the Laughing Man of the Big Fortress)—a poem, remarkable for its fine array of short sentences and its vivid portraits.

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

* Puram 80-2.
† Puram 80, 352, 393; Aham 6, 122, 152, 188, 226.
‡ Aham 226.
§ Aham 6–Paraṇar.
¶ Puram 190.
|| Puram 239.
** Puram 74.
and the forty verses that constitute the poem Kalavali by Poygaiyar form the earliest evidence on this king's life. The references to him in the hymns of Tirugnana-sambandar and Tirumangai Alvar as well as Sundaramurti take us to the next stage in which the emphasis falls on the religious side of the king's life. He figures also in the legendary genealogy of the Cōla copper-plates of the tenth and eleventh centuries though his place in the list is not the same in all. * It is worth noting that the story which, after the manner of the Jātaka tales of Buddhism, makes a spider of this king in his previous birth is first noticed by Appar and repeated by the Tiruvālāṅgaṉa plates † of the reign of Rājendra Cōla. The Kalingattupparāṭi and the Vikramasārāṇulā more or less agree with the copper-plates, but the main stream of legend flows through the Andāṭi of Nambi Āṇḍar-Nambi to the Periya Purāṇam of Śekkiḷār, the ocean in which all the streams of Śaivite legend mingle in the Tamil country.

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

† Appar-Kuṟukkai v. 4; Tiruppūr(Tiruttanakalam)-v. 6; Also Sundarār Tiruvāṅgaṉa plates-v. 43: īṇā-śiṅga-bandhāh.
‡ See IA. xviii pp. 259-65 for a translation and critique of the poem by V. Kanakasabhai.
§ See Stran Śeṅguttuvan p. 183. Akaṅ 44 seems to give some details of the events which preceded the battle.
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 PURANĀṆŪṆU to which reference has already been made purports to have been composed by the Cēra, while still in captivity in the Cōla prison at Kuḍavāyir-kōṭṭam (West Gate Prison), and makes a sad confession of his cowardice in surviving the disgrace that had befallen him:

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

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

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

† 'Tuṇjiya' in the colophon to this Puram verse must be taken to mean 'slept,' not 'died,' as this is the only way in which it can be reconciled with the colophon to the Kaṭalavai. See Studies pp. 14-16.

‡ By understanding 'Kaṇṭaiyan' in Abam 44 as the abbreviation of Kaṇṭaiikkīrumporgai, it is possible to avoid much unnecessary confusion. Contra Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, Kaṭalavai-introdn. pp. 6-7.
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Though we have no contemporary evidence bearing on Kōccenganaṅañ's religious persuasion, there seems to be little reason to doubt that Tirumangai and Sambandar represent a correct tradition about him in their allusions to his religious zeal. And the probable identity of Poygaiyār of the Kaḷavāḷi with the Āḻvār of the same name strengthens this supposition. * Tirumangai-Āḻvār in one of his hymns on Tirunāṟaiyār † makes the achievements of Kōccenganaṅañ and his

* It must, however, be noted here that several scholars of repute are opposed to the identification of the two Poygais, and Pandit E. V. Anantarama Iyiar who is among them proposes to postulate two Šengañañs as well (see his edn. of the Kaḷavāḷi-intrd. p. 9). The debate has not been altogether academic, as religion, always an explosive subject, seems somehow to have got mixed up in it. On the strength of data drawn from the Yāpparungala-viruttī, a work of the tenth century A. D. or the eleventh at the latest, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar first proposed the identification of Poygai of Šangam fame with the Āḻvār (The Šen-Tamiḻ Vol. i p. 6; also his Āḻvārkaḷ Kaḷaiṉiḷai 2nd edn. pp. 23ff). The author of the Viruttī quotes a number of verses as those of Poygaiyār, and some of them are from the first Tirumandāḻi of the Āḻvār (see the Viruttī pp. 220 where the text seems to be defective, 350 and 459-60); he also counts the poet among the sages whose vision comprised eternity (350). Among the verses quoted in the whole work, however, there is not one from the Kaḷavāḷi. And Tirumangai's pāṇuram is silent about Kaḷumāḷam and the Kaḷavāḷi. But considering that the religious hymns of Poygai-Āḻvār are all, like the Kaḷavāḷi, in the Veṉbā metre, the presumption arises (especially as there seems to be no essential difference in style between the two) that they are compositions of the same writer. One argument that has been urged against this view is worth serious consideration, and that is the argument that a bhakta like Poygai-Āḻvār would not have stooped to the base flattery of an earthly monarch; the Āḻvār himself declares this expressly in his hymns. A complete answer to this position is furnished by the fact that some of the verses quoted in the Yāpparungala-viruttī and ascribed to the Āḻvār are on secular subjects and include the praise of kings. We may suppose the Āḻvār's statements about his exclusive devotion to Viśṇu to have been made in the later stages of his life when he had found his true self. So that, unless we pit the late traditions of the Guruṟamparai regarding his age against the categorical evidence of Gūṇaṉgara, the author of the Yāpparungala-viruttī, it seems necessary to accept the correctness of Pandit Raghava Aiyangar's position. See, on the other side, K. S. Srinivasa Pillai-Tamiḻ Varaḻiṟṟu pp. 176-7, Šentamiḻceḷvi Vol. ii, article on Poygaiyār by Pandit N. M. Venkatasami Nattar, and Kaḷavāḷi, ed. Pandit Anantarama Iyiar, introduction. The novel suggestion of Pandit Anantarama Iyiar that Šengañañ, the Saiva nāyanār, was different from Kōccenganaṅañ of the Kaḷavāḷi is based entirely on the silence of the Periyappuṟṟam on the Kaḷavāḷi. The Pandit naively discovers another reason in that, according to him, Šekkilir has marked off the nāyanār from the other person by calling the former Šengañañ 1!

† Periya Tirumoli VI, 6. [ 66 ]
worship at Tirunāraiyūr the refrain of his song. Here is no room for doubting that the Āḻvār was thinking of the great Cōla king distinguished for heroism on the field of battle as the Śaiva devotee who was reputed to have constructed seventy beautiful shrines to Śiva, besides offering worship to Viṣṇu in Tirunāraiyūr. His pointed mention of the elephant corps of Śenganān’s enemy, the cavalry of Śenganān himself and the part it played in his wars * is an important link which establishes a connection with the Kālavaṇī, which in like manner states repeatedly that the successes of the Cōla king against the Cēra elephants was primarily due to the infantry and cavalry in his army. Tirumāngai also implies that Śenganān’s sway extended far outside the Cōla country, † that he fought at Aḷunda, and Vēṇi, and that he killed in fight a chieftain Vilandai Vēṭ. In the hymns of Gīnāsambandar and Sundaramūrti the great temples to Śiva at Ambāri Vaigal, and Nannilam are definitely said to have been founded by Śenganān. The Anbil plates ‡ of Sundara Cōla state generally that Kēcēnganān built temples to Gaurīśa all over the country, while the Tiruvālan-gāḍu plates, as we have seen, hint at the spider story. The Anbil plates give the name of Śenganān’s son, Nalladikkōn. It is not till we get to the Periya Purāṇam that the king gets transformed out of recognition and figures as the son of Subhadēva and Kamalavati, and the founder of Jambukēśvara. That Śēkkiḷār’s account

* Verse 3 line 3 of the hymn looks almost a copy of the Kālavaṇī, of course allowing for the difference in metre: Kavvaī-mākalipāndi vēṇi-yēṟṟa-kāḷal-mannar maṟṟimuditē kēkkamēṟa; also verse 4, 1. 3.

† Ten-Tamilan Vaṭapulakēn Śēḻan (5): Tenṉēḻan Kuṭakengan Śēḻan (6); see vv. 4, 6, 9 of the hymn. Also Pandit Raghava Aiyaṅgar Āḻvārkal Kāḷanilai pp. 157ff. The Vēṭ of Vilandai might have been a commander on the Cēra side.

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

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

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

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

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

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* See E.Z. iii pp. 1-47.
† ibid p. 9, No. 43.
‡ Periplus and Ptolemy have been noticed above p. 28. Sewell’s discussion of the Roman finds in the South in the JRAS. (1904) is still the most comprehensive. Recent studies of the nature and direction of the foreign trade of the Roman Empire tend, as will be seen later, to confirm the soundness of our position.

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Tamil chieftains which, with variations natural in the circumstances, are repeated in the poems of the Purāṇānīru, Pattupāṭṭu and so on. The story of Elāra in the Mahāvamsa is doubtless the Ceylonese version of the Tamil Cōla story of the king who condemned his son to death for calf-slaughter. The Mahāvamsa places Elāra in the second half of the second century B.C. and the other Tamil princes mentioned in the latter half of the first. If we remember that the early chapters of the Mahāvamsa were composed in the fifth century A.D. from earlier chronicles, * we shall see that the somewhat confused account of the Tamil invasions of the island in this early part of its history are not bottomless fabrications, but preserve for us the faded memory of real events, and the dates assigned to these events cease to be altogether valueless for Tamil chronology. †

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

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

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


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

viruddhāvyabhicāri of the N. we have viruddha-vyabhicāri in M; (d) in naming dṛṣṭāntāḥ as where the N. has śādhana-dharma-āsiddha etc., the M. gives śādhana-dharma-vikalā etc. It may be noted that Dharmakīrti too uses ‘vikala’ for ‘āsiddha’. See JIH. x pt. ii, for a review of the Nyāyapravēśa (ed. Dhruga) by S.S.S.

* II. 45-108.

† II. 109-110. On this Mr. Dhruga remarks: “The author of the Maṇīmēkalai does not perceive that the last two avayavas can never be included in the dṛṣṭānta as he ignorantly imagines.” (p. xv).

‡ Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, has studied the Śāṅkhya in the Maṇi-
mēkalai and proved its early character. Vide JIH. Vol. viii (1929) pt. iii. See also ix pt. iii for his paper on Buddhist Logic in the Maṇimēkalai.
CHAPTER IV
GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ŠANGAM AGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Glory be thine, O giver, whose brow knows no sweat
From labour done, but only that from eager feasting!

[—Like drops of rain

That fall in the full lake, drips down the fat
From the meats they serve up; roasted flesh is
Carved and eaten; from their emptied porringers they
Quaff large draughts of milk!—
Thy fields of rice,—wide are their borders, where
The sweet cane flowers! Thy pasture lands,—with stalls
For herds,—there cattle graze!

Archers with fortified camps guard the flocks, and from

[tree-tops

On the wooded shore count the ships that cover thy sea!—
In the bay they load the abounding salt with which thy

[craggy mountains teem!

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

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

* Puṇam 368, IA. xxix pp. 282-3.
† Puṇam 40, li. 10-11.
‡ Puruntar-Āruppadāi, li. 245-6.
war was not, as so often made out, the pleasant diversion of a few professionals which left the normal course of life in the country untouched. The Sanskrit conception of the state (rājya) as an organism with seven limbs (angas) was known and accepted, and the *Kuṭal*, introducing a slight but significant change, makes the remaining six elements subject to the king. In other respects as well, the concepts of polity gain a certain clarity and precision in the hands of Tiruvalīyur, unknown to their sources. The ten verses † in which he deals with the essentials of nādu (rāṣṭra) are far more clear-cut in their analysis of the physical basis of the life of the state than the corresponding statements in the Arthāṣāstras known to us, and the concluding declaration ‡:

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

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

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* No. 381
† Nos. 731-40
‡ No. 740.
§ Nos. 751-60.
¶ No. 756 Parimāṭalajagar has taken *surypūri* to mean escheat and treasure-trove; but see Divākaram, sec. 9.
|| No. 552
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"A sceptred king imploring a gift is like a robber with lance in hand crying 'give'."

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

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

The king with none to censure him, bereft of safeguard all

Though none his ruin work, shall surely ruined fall.

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

* No. 60, ll. 13-5—Kovvaco-cōḷaṟ kuṟandai vaiṟṟa nāṟṟu taru nidiyinai-

† No 448, Pope’s translation.
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to imply that even in the face of intolerable misrule there were no formal remedies open to the people: *

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

... ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Nos. 555, 564.
† No. 581.
‡ No. 638.
§ No. 872.
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internal and external, but he was the custodian of the Universal Order. On his right rule rested the penance of the sage, the purity of the wife, * nay the very course of the seasons. The Kural affirms: †

The learning and virtue of the sages spring from the [sceptre of the King; again,

Where King, who righteous laws regards, the sceptre [wields,

There fall the showers, there rich abundance crowns the [fields,

Not lance gives kings the victory, But sceptre swayed with equity.

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

Mention is made in the Śilappadikāram and the Maṇimēkalai of groups called aipemper-ungulu and esepērayam. Another group of five categories of persons is sometimes added to these to make up the ‘eighteen kilaippalor’

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

* See PK. pp. 32-3.
† The Tamilis Eighteen Hundred Years Ago. pp. 109-10.
from which the founders of the 'three kingdoms' had originally migrated, namely, the Magadha Empire.' Of this string of astonishing assertions, we can only observe that everything in them except the names of the groups is pure imagination, and the reader will search the texts in vain for support for these statements. What is here called 'the council of representatives' is described by the vague term 'māśanam' which at best may mean 'elders'.

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

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

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

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

* Puram 46.
† II. 187-8—mudiyār-avai-puku-poludiyār pakai nurān velavum. Here 'mudiyār' is to be taken in contrast with the 'ilaiyār' immediately preceding in the sentence ilaiyār vanāl-ayaravum. Naccin Erkkiniyar indeed does not do so, and understands 'mudiyār' to mean 'old men', and finds occasion to introduce the legend about Karikkāla putting on a wig of grey hair in order to appear older than the old men who came to lay their differences before him.
‡ No 727.
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village; there were held the folk dances in which the women took part and which were suspended in the midst of a war or siege. * Lacking evidence on the place occupied by the manram on the political side of rural life, we may still trace to these primitive folk-gatherings, at least in part, the beginnings of the highly developed system of village-government which came into existence and functioned so admirably in later Cōla times. †

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

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

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

The prison formed part of the system of administration. * The Cēra Kaṇaikkāl-Irumporai was detained by Śenagāṇān in a prison, which, from its name Kuḍāvāyir-kōṭṭam, is sometimes taken to have been in Kumbakōṇam or a smaller place, also near it, now called Koḍavāsāl. †

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

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

† See Kaḷavali-ed. Anantarama Aiyar p. 10. (Introdn.)
‡ See Naccinākkīnīyar on māṝyaṃ-parpaṇa-neṭumoliyānum (Tel. Porul. Purattipai, Su. 8.)
§ Nos. 167, 394.
not so (their infamy) to the ear. Hence, you are pleasant in one way, they in another; what is there else in which they do not equal you? Yet, what wonder is it, tell us, noble one! that this world cherishes you, O! Kiṭṭi, of the fleet steed and of the victorious anklet-adorned foot."

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

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

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

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

*Bhai. xxiii ll. 13 ff and n.
† Puram 40. Modern warfare is no stranger to such unchivalrous practices, Witness enemy guns cast into memorial shields.
‡ Kanakasabhai has edited and translated the poem, JA. xviii. p. 253.
§ Kalavali 9.
†† Verse 29.
and women were, in fact, the universal preoccupations of the leisured classes, besides wine and song. The king and his ēṇādis with their retinues must have formed a gay boisterous crew at the top of society with a huge capacity for enjoying the simple pleasures of life such as eating and drinking. No occasion was lost for holding a feast and the poets are most eloquent in their praise of the sumptuous fare to which they were so often asked. One poet declares to his patron: *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Minstrel, with little lute of sweetest strain!

Suppliant with words of ancient wisdom full!

Importunate thou askest me to rest and listen to the pleasant sounds of thy tambourine.

But hear what I shall say!

The modest home of Paṇṇan, whose hands are full of gifts, is near the wide city.

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

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

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

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

Hesitate not.

Long may he flourish!"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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* Maqī. xix 90.
† See also *Aham* 86, quoted by P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamil* pp. 78-80.
‡ Ii. 59-117
Paradavar were seen eating the cooked flesh of the sea-fish and the boiled field-turtle. Wearing flowers of the adumbu (Ipomaea bilboa) and the water-lily, they gathered in the spacious manram like the stars and planets revolving in the blue sky. The stronger ones among them entered the wide arena and, without turning back, they fought fierce duels hurting one another with their fists and their weapons. Birds flew from the mottled palms, frightened by stones shot from slings. In the outer streets, pigs were wallowing in puddles with their young ones, together with many kinds of fowl, and rams and quails were seen fighting. Their huts with low thatched roofs in which were stuck the long handles of fishing rods resembled the little enclosures round hero stones made of rows of shields and spears. In the midst of these huts, fishing nets were drying on sandy thresholds, like patches of darkness in bright moonlight. Wearing the garlands of the cool white convolvulus growing at the foot of the screw pine (with aerial roots) they planted a branching jaw-bone of the sword fish and invoked a mighty god to dwell in it. Decked in the long-petalled tālai (pandanus) flowers, the big red-haired fishermen drank the toddy of the rustling palm in the company of their dark women clad in garments of green leaves. Refraining from going afishing on the wide blue water, they ate and sported on the sandy beach reeking of the smell of fish. Like the ruddy cloud embracing the high mountain, like the baby clinging to its mother's breast, the red waters of the Kāviri mingled with the clear sea water roaring at its mouth; there, the Paradavar washed their sins in the sea and the salt of the sea in the water of the river. They played with the crabs and, amidst the spreading waves of the sea, made dolls of sand and, feasting their senses in other ways, they spent the whole day in
games. In the night, they heard music and witnessed
the plays acted in pillared mansions; lovers, changing
silks for lighter robes and drinking wine without limit,
slept on the sands in the last watch of night.

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

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

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

Its bazaar.

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

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

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

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

* ibid ii. 159-183.
† This method of exhibiting one's learning in public disputation is also mentioned in the Maṇinīkālai, ii. 60-1. It was quite common in Europe till modern times; and in India, it is well-known even now among pandits.
‡ ii. 199-212
like the peg of the loving farmer's long yoke, they feared the untrue and ever spoke the truth; they regarded others' rights as scrupulously as their own; they took nothing more than was due to them and never gave less than was due from them; trading thus in many articles of merchandise, they enjoyed an ancient heritage of prosperity and lived in close proximity to one another."

The general plan of the town of Puhār is described in considerable detail in canto V of the Śilappadikāram. The town built on the northern bank of the Kāvēri near its mouth comprised two parts, Maruvūr-pākkam near the sea and Paṭṭinap-pākkam to its west. These were separated by a stretch of open ground taken up by a garden of trees under the shade of which was held the daily market of the city. Near the beach, in Maruvūr-pākkam were terraced mansions and warehouses with windows shaped like the eyes of the deer. There was the abode of the prosperous yavanas whose pleasant features arrested the eyes of spectators, and of other foreigners who, for the gains from their maritime trade, lived close to one another on quite friendly terms. Vendors of fragrant pastes and powders, of flowers and incense, weavers who worked silk, wool or cotton, traders in sandal, agil, coral, pearls, gold and precious stones, grain-merchants, washermen, dealers in fish and salt, sellers of betel-leaves and spices, butchers, sailors, braziers and copper-smiths, carpenters and blacksmiths, painters and sculptors (stucco-workers), goldsmiths, tailors and cobblers, makers of toys in pith and cloth, and the numerous pānar who were experts in the music of the lute and flute—these and others had their residence in Maruvūr-pākkam. In the Paṭṭinam.

Paṭṭinap-pākkam were the broad royal street, the car street and the bazaar street. Rich merchants, brahmans, farmers, physicians,
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astrologers lived in their respective quarters. “Surrounding the palace were the houses of charioteers, horse and elephant riders and the soldiers who formed the body-guard of the king. Bards, minstrels and panegyrists, actors, musicians and buffoons, chank-cutters and those skilled in making flower garlands and strings of pearls, time-keepers whose duty it was to cry out the nālikais or divisions of time, as each passed, and other servants of the palace also resided within the limits of Paṭṭinap-pākkam.” *

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

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

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

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

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

† ll. 213-17.
‡ ll. 184-193.
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foodstuffs from Ceylon, and goods from Killagam, * all these materials, precious and bulky alike, were heaped together in the broad streets overflowing with their riches."

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

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

* The annotator makes this Kaḍāram (Sumatra).
† PK. p. 35. Kanakasabhai op. cit. Chh. ii and iii.
‡ ll. 346-50.
§ Reinaud JA. 1863. i. pp. 301-2; cf. Periplus, sec. 49.
¶ ibid. p. 183.
|| Thurston Coins, Cat. No. 2. (Madras Museum), Second edition 1894.
Sewell JRAS. 1904.
of the rise, zenith and decay of this active commerce. Casual statements made by the classical authors and, more decidedly, the evidence of the early Chinese annals, prove that along the sea-route from the Far-East to the West, India acted as an intermediary for many generations. The maritime trade of the Indian ocean in the early centuries of the Christian era is in itself a subject too vast, and authentic evidence on it is too extensive, * for us to attempt anything more than to draw attention to a few of its aspects that should interest students of C5ila history.

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

* Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (Cambridge 1928.)
Egypt with Arabia, and through Arabia with India, was the most considerable branch of the commerce with the East. So long as the trade was confined to luxuries and carried on through Arab intermediaries, the Romans paid for it mostly in gold and silver, and the oft-quoted statement of the elder Pliny that not a year passed without the Empire paying out a hundred million sesterces (about £1,087,500) to India, China and Arabia* has, most likely, reference to this early phase. After Augustus, the trade with India grew naturally in the favourable atmosphere of a great Empire. "The discovery of the monsoons by Hipparchus of Alexandria in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman times, as well as the natural tendency of a growing trade to become more than a trade in luxuries and a merely passive trade on one side, led to the establishment of a direct route by sea between Egypt and India. The main centre of traffic was now Alexandria. The Arabian harbours lost their importance. ... The new route was fully established at the date of the Periplus, that is, under Domitian. The trade with India gradually developed into a regular exchange of goods of different kinds between Egypt on the one side and Arabia and India on the other. One of the most important articles which came from India was cotton, † another probably was silk. Both of these products were worked up in the factories of Alexandria, which sent in exchange glass, metal ware, and probably linen." ‡ Nothing can prove better the increasing volume and regularity of the Indian trade of the Roman Empire than the contrast

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

† Periplus Sec. 59.

‡ Rostovtzeff-Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire. p. 93 (Oxford 1926); cf. Warmington Pt I, ch. ii.
between the meagre description of the direct trade route to India given by the author of the *Periplus* and the elaborate precision of Ptolemy's descriptions in the first half of the second century A.D. Ptolemy's account shows that the Roman trade now reached beyond India to Indo-China and Sumatra, and that the trade with India and China was highly developed and quite regular. Relatively few Roman merchants visited the lands of the Far-East themselves; Southern India obviously acted as intermediary in the trade between China and the West. The carrying trade between the Malaya Peninsula and Sumatra in the East and the Malabar coast in the West was largely in the hands of the Tamils.* The direct trade between Rome and Southern India declined and died out in the period of military anarchy in the Roman Empire of the third century. "Practically no coins of the third century have been found in India. Business relations were not resumed till order and a stable gold currency had been re-established in the Byzantine period," † and then mostly through intermediaries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* li. 165-7.
† Porunār. li. 182-4.
‡ Puram 34, li. 1-7.
§ Maṇi xvi, li. 33-4 cf. Śiś. xiv, l. 146.
¶ Maṇi v. 37 ; xiii, 5-7.
∥ ibid vii, 75-76 and n.
** ibid vi. l. 127 ; iii, 134.
†† ibid xxi, 128-9.
‡‡ Śiś. v, 237-40.

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There was no single method adopted for the disposal of the dead, and both cremation and inhumation with or without urns are freely mentioned. And there appears to have prevailed considerable latitude in the choice of the method to be followed on each particular occasion in the same family. * And the Maṇimēkalai mentions the construction of brick tombs of various shapes built by the relatives of the dead whether they were sages or kings or women who had become Sati. † It would appear that the shapes of these structures varied with the caste and rank of the persons commemorated by them. The funeral drum striking terror into the hearts of listeners is also mentioned in the same poem. ‡

*Sati is frequently mentioned and was fairly common, but by no means universal.

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

* Puram 239, ll. 20-21.
† Maṇi, vi. 54-59.
‡ ibid. 1. 71.
§ Puram, 246.
¶ Puram 246 and Maṇi, ii ll. 42-5; xvi 23 ff.; xviii 11-15
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Maṇimēkalai, * which contrast the daily life of the family woman with that of the hetaera by saying that the former was under guard in her maidenhood as in her married state, and so also when her husband was no more, that she controlled her mind and did not meet strangers and that she offered worship to no god other than her wedded husband. The Kurāl is silent on Sati. To lead a life of religious devotion in widowhood was recognised as proper for women of all classes. The Sati then was the exception rather than the rule, and we do not hear of a single instance of an unwilling woman being forced to it.

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

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

* xviii, ll. 98-102.
† v, l. 133.
‡ Puram 166.
§ i.e., performed the twenty-one varieties of Vedic sacrifices.
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to your station, gentle and of rare virtue, wearing the netlike
garment laid down in the Śāstra (for such occasions), sparing
of speech, with small foreheads, large hips, abundant tresses, are
carrying out the duties set for them. From the forest and from the
town, having twice seven paśus in their proper places, supplying
ghee more freely than water, making offerings which numbers
cannot reckon and spreading your fame to make the whole world
jealous, at the rare culmination of the sacrifice your exalted
station gains a new splendour. May we ever witness it so! I,
for my part, shall go, eat, drink, ride and enjoy myself in my
village by the cool Kāviri, which gets its flowery freshness when
the thunder cloud roars on the golden peaks of the Western moun-
tains; may you, for your part, stand thus stable without change,
like the tall Himalayas which towers above the clouds and whose
sides are covered with bamboos."

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

* xiii 11. 23-24.
† No. 367, l. 12.
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"Karpu is that (form) in which a bridegroom from a family fit to accept, accepts a bride given by persons of a family fit to give her and takes her to wife with the (proper) ritual." *

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

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

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

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

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

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

FROM THE ŚANGAM AGE TO VIJAYĀLAYA

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

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

* Venkayya observes: 'It is at present impossible to ascertain how these Telugu chiefs came to claim the relationship with Karikēḷa?' (ARE. 1900, paragraph 45). Strictly, this is quite true. As I understand the matter, however, there was a somewhat live connection between the Cōḷas of the Telugu (Rēṅḍūḷu) country and the Tamil Cōḷas; the Māḷēpāḷu plates of Puṇyakumāra, I think, form an important link in the chain of evidence, and suggest that the Pallava dominion of the Simhaviṣṇu line may have been the medium through which the drift of Cōḷas to the north took place. The attempts to explain the origin of the Telugu-Cōḷas by supposing that the Telugu country formed part of the empire of the early Cōḷa king, Karikēḷa, appear to be so much wasted effort. We can hardly treat the legends of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the history of the third or fourth. See Studies pp. 33-6, 61-6. Contra Venkayya—ASJ. 1903-6 p. 175 n. 8.
towards the end of the sixth century. We may assume that the predatory activities of the Kālabhras* brought the power of the early Cōḷas also to an end. The absence of any allusion to this fact in the Cōḷa inscriptions and copper-plates of the Vijayālaya line is easily accounted for. Unlike the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas who quickly succeeded in wrestling from the hands of the Kālabhras what they had lost to them sometime before, the Cōḷas were submerged for nearly three centuries under the rising tide of the Pāṇḍya and Pallava powers. They could not find their feet again until these newly risen forces had spent themselves in mutual hostility. In the writings of Buddhadatta † we have singularly interesting evidence on the rule of the Kālabhras in the Cōḷa country. The date of Buddhadatta is, unfortunately, not as certain as has sometimes been assumed; the tradition that makes him a contemporary of Buddharāghoṣa is late, and not warranted by any statement in the extensive works of either of these divines. ‡ Buddhadatta might have been the earlier of the two to visit Ceylon for studying Buddhism. It is quite certain, however, that he lived in the dark period of South Indian history after the light of the Śāngam literature fails, and before a fresh dawn commences with the Pāṇḍya and Pallava charters mentioned above; and his evidence is all the more welcome. At the close of his Abhidhammāvatāra, he gives a glowing account of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇa, with its concourse of rich merchants,

* See PK. pp. 47-9.
† Buddhadatta's Manuals-Part I (1915) and Part II (1928)-ed. A. P. Buddhadatta (Pali Text Society).
‡ Cf. A. P. Buddhadatta’s introduction to Part II of the Manuals; contra P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar-Tamils p. 528. He makes nonsense of the line ‘Apam nūmatiṇī śīhā śitētaṃ kato tato’ by translating it: “(By me) who am intelligent and good and a beggar, this was composed and propounded extensively.”
its palaces and pleasure-gardens, * and states that, in a
great monastery built there by Khandaḍāsa, he lived
for a time and composed that work at the very proper
request of Sumati, evidently one of his pupils. Like-
wise he informs us at the end of his Vinayaviniccaya
that he composed that work for the sake of Buddhahiṣa,
while he was residing in the lovely monastery of
Veṇhudāsa in a city on the banks of the Kāveri, by
name Bhūtamangalami, † described by him as the hub
of Cōḷaraththam. He adds also that this work was begun
and finished when Accutavikkanta
of the Kaḷabhakula was ruling the
earth. ‡ This Accuta could have been no other than
the king of the same name who is reputed, in literary
tradition, § to have kept in confinement the three
Tamil kings, the Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍiya. Some songs
about him are quoted by Amitasāgarar, the author of the
Yapparungalak-kūrikai, in the tenth century A.D.
Possibly Accuta was himself a Buddhist. At any
rate, by calling the Kaḷabhbras a tribe of Kali kings
and stating that they uprooted many adhirājar and
meddled with brahmadēya rights, the Veḻvikuḍi grant
makes it clear that there was no love lost between
these interlopers and the people of the lands overrun
by them. In the colophons to his works, Buddhadhatta
is called an inhabitant of Uragapura which perhaps
means that Uṟaiyūṟ was his native place.

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

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

‡ Accut Accutavikkanta Kalabhakulavaddhane /
Mahim samanussante Ṣraddhō ca samśīpitō / /
A. P. Buddhadhatta adopts the reading Kaḷambakula, and holds them to be
Kaḷambhas.

§ Tamil Nāvular Caritai vv. 154-57.
THE COLAS

Sometime after Accuta's rule, how long after we cannot say exactly, the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas established their power after overthrowing the Kālabhras; and the Cōḷas, though they could not recover their independent status, continued to lead an obscure existence on the banks of the Kāvēri. The newly risen powers in the north and south seem to have left them alone for the most part, though, possibly out of regard for their ancient name, they accepted Cōḷa princesses in marriage, and employed in their service Cōḷa princes who were willing to accept it.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who spent several months at Amarāvatī and Kāñeḻipuram in the years 639 and 640 A.D., took the kingdom of Cu-li-ya (Cōḷika?) on his way south. The bearings recorded in the pilgrim's itinerary led Cunningham to find its modern representative in the Karnūl district.* A number of stone inscriptions from the Cuddapah district † and an interesting copper-plate grant which gives the names of four generations attest the rule of a dynasty of kings bearing the Cōḷa name, tracing their descent from Karikāla and holding sway in this region. The territory ruled by them was called Rōṇaṇḍu 7,000, and comprised the tract of land lying along the Kundēru river in the Cuddapah and Karnūl districts.‡ On palaeographical grounds the stone inscriptions have been held to be anterior to the 8th century § and very good reason can be shown for

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‡ EJ. xi p. 343.
§ ARE. 1905 II, 5-6.
assigning them, together with the copper-plates from Mālēpāḍu, to the seventh century A. D. * The titles borne by these kings show that they had rather intimate political connections with the Pallavas and the Cālukyas. It is possible that though they claimed independent status for themselves and for the most part maintained it with success, policy sometimes dictated to them the need for acknowledging in some vague manner the supremacy of their more powerful neighbours. Their crest, figured in the Mālēpāḍu plates, represents, not a tiger, but a maned lion with its tail twisted in a loop over the back; it resembles that of the Viṣṇukūṇḍins and the Pallavas, and was possibly Buddhist in origin. † The genealogy of the Rēnāṇḍu Cōḷas given in the Mālēpāḍu plates is as follows: ‡

Nandivarman (Kaśyapa-gotra)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simhaviṣṭu</th>
<th>Sundarananda</th>
<th>Dhanañjayavarman</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Cōḷa Mahārāja</td>
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<td>Mahēndra-vikrama-</td>
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<td>varman, Mudita-</td>
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<td>Navarāma, Lord</td>
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| Guṇamudita  | Punya-kumāra, Pormukharāma, |
|             | Mārdavacitta, Madanavilāsa, etc. |

† EL. xi p. 343-4.
‡ EL. xi p. 345.
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Of these Dhanañjaya is represented by a single stone inscription * in the Cuddapah district and possibly by some others in Héma vati and Nándugal. Though several of the stone inscriptions mentioned above belong to Cōla Mahārāja, none of them adds anything to our knowledge of the king’s reign, and we have no direct means of explaining his titles, among which occurs an ambitious claim to the overlordship of the three Tamil kingdoms of the South. The title of Prthivivallabha borne by Puñyakumāra, and the name of his queen Vasanta-Pōrgi-Cōla-Mahādēvi † show his connection with the Cāḷukyas. It is difficult to say whether he or his father was ruling at the time of Yuan Chwang’s visit; but there can be no doubt that this line of rulers had an important role in the hostilities between the Pallavas and Cāḷukyas of this period. King Cōlamahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya Satyāditya and his queen Elaṅcōla-Mahādēvi ‡ are no doubt other members of the same family who do not figure in the short genealogy of the Mālepāḍu plates. It is to be observed that this king has a higher title than the usual Cōla Mahārāja, his territory including Siddhi 1000 (Sidhout country) besides the Rēṇāṇḍu 7000. A Cōla Māhārāja Kumārāṅkuśa figures as the víṇapti in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates of the sixth year of the Pallava king, Nandivarman III. § The history of this line cannot be fully understood until fresh discoveries are made. But it is already clear that they form the link connecting the early Cōlas of the Tamil country and the numerous dynasties of petty chieftains in the Telugu and Karnataka country claiming to have

* 380 of 1904 (Rangachari–Cd. 435).
† 384 of 1904 (Rangachari–Cd. 560);
‡ 393 and 400 of 1904 (Rangachari Cd. 453 and 409). Vikramāditya II claims to have conquered the Cōlas among others. S.II. i p. 146: E.I. v. p. 204.
§ S.II. ii 509 v. 26.
been of the Kāśyapa Gōtra and to have descended from Karikāla and ruled at Uṟaiyūr. *

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

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

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

† Much less can anything be made of the silence of the Sīravēhana inscription recording Gautamiputra's conquests. Contra Venkayya-ASI. 1905-6 176 n.

‡ SII, ii p. 508 l. 14.

§ ibid' II. 16-17.

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

* SII. i, 33.
† “Viṅhūtim Cōḷāṇāṁ katham ahom avekṣaya vīpulām”,—ibid, 34. Hultsch understands by ‘viṅhūtim Cōḷāṇāṁ’ ‘the great power of the Cōḷas’. But as it is not a proper description of the position of the Cōḷas after their conquest by Simhaviṣṇu, and as such a description is hardly likely to be found in a Pallava grant, I take ‘Cōḷāṇāṁ’ to mean the country.
‡ SII. i, p. 151 ll. 14-5.
§ EJ. vi, p. 6, verses 29-31.
¶ EI. x, p. 103. Uragapura is not as Hultsch thought Negapatam, but Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly.
|| ASI. 1903-4 p. 275.
counted by the Śinnamanūr plates among the allies of the Pallavas who sustained a severe defeat near Kumbakonam at the hands of Śrī Māra Śrī-Vallabha (c. 815-62 A.D.).

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

* The dynastic name of the chiefs of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri).
† The references are easily got in any edition of the Periya Purāṇam. See also ASI. 1905-6 pp. 176-7. I cannot discover why Venkayya should have included Ėjangali, a Kōṅṭu (Pudukkottal) in his account of the Cōlas of this period.
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Perumāl.* Though Śekkiliär, the author of the Periya Purāṇam, is our main authority for these statements, many of them are also found in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi’s brief andādi which was the basis of the Purāṇam, and the names at least of the kings and chieftains go back to the time of Sundaramūrti, in the eighth century A. D. The Divyasūri-carita and the Guru-paramparā tell the same tale from the Vaiṣṇava side. Dēvadēvi, the hetaera who captivated ālvar Tondaraṅippodi for a time, met the holy man first when she was returning from the court of the Cōla king at Uraiyaṅur. The celebrated Uraiyaṅur-nācciyaṅ, who declined to marry a mortal, and insisted successfully on her union with Lord Ranganātha, was a Cōla princess, the daughter of Dharmavarma of the solar line ruling at Uraiyaṅur. Tirumangai-ālvar started life as a military official appointed by the Cōla king. Possibly, some of these literary references to the Cōlas are due to the mere fact that the works in which they occur were composed in the days of Cōla ascendancy; but the unmistakable references to the Pallava contemporaries of the earlier ālvars and nāyanārs in these works are sufficient indication that some old and genuine traditions must have survived at the time and that a few, though not all, of the allusions to the Cōlas culled from these books may be quite trustworthy.

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

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

THE RISE OF VIJAYALAYA. ĀDITYA I
(c. 850–907 A. D.)

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

* S.II. ii, No. 76, v. 18; 337 of 1912.
† Rangachari, NA. Nos. 536–7; E.I. iv, pp. 180-3.
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Aditya I was the son of Vijayalaya, the first of the Imperial line of Cōlas. An inscription from the Trichinopoly district * mentions a grant of land made in accordance with an earlier charter issued by Parakēsari Vijayalaya, and this shows that the revival of Cōla power at this time begins from the neighbourhood of Uraiyyur, their ancient home on the banks of the Kāvēri. The Tiruvālangadu plates † quaintly affirm that Vijayalaya caught hold of Tanjore for his pleasure as if the city were his lawful spouse, and that he founded a temple to goddess Niṣumbhasūdinī (Durgā). Notwithstanding the high authority of Hultzsch, we can scarcely think that Vijayalaya became powerful enough to leave stone records in distant places like Kāncipuram and Ukkal ‡ and Śuceindram. On the other hand, in a record of the fifth year of Vikrama Cōla from Kilputtur in the North Arcot District, there is a specific reference to a stone inscription of the fourth year of Vijayalaya. Possibly Vijayalaya, though a vassal of the Pallava ruler, still dated records in his own regnal years—a privilege exercised by certain vassals at all times and by all of them when the power of their suzerain was on

* 675 of 1909. A Vijayalaya-caturvēdimangalam is mentioned among the brahmadīya villages which were required to supply men for service in the Tanjore temple in Rājarāja's reign (S.II. ii 69, para 139). See also 164 of 1915 (Vikrama Cōla 5) for a reference to a kaḷ-vēṭṭu of the fourth year of Vijayalaya in the North Arcot district. A Pāṇḍya inscription of the thirteenth century from Nūrtēmalai (Pd. 282) mentions a Vijayalayaś[u]vāra temple.

† S.I. iii, No. 205 vv. 45 and 46. The Kanyikumāri inscription of Vira-rājendra (TAS. iii, p. 142, v. 54) exaggerates this and says that Vijayalaya founded Tanjore. The Anbil plates pun on his name Vijayalaya in praising his valour on the battle-field (v. 16).

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

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

* 436, 439 of 1908 from Tiruvilimilalai.
‡ 167 of 1894; E. L. iii, p. 279.
called Rājakēsari, * without any other name. How much longer Āditya ruled after the date of the Tirukkaḷuk-kunṟñam inscription cannot now be ascertained. But an inscription from Takkōlam dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsari, no doubt Āditya I, mentions a solar eclipse which occurred in 894 or 895 A.D. † This would give A. D. 870 or 871 for the accession of Āditya, and a rule of about 36 years for him till 907 A.D. We thus get 870 or thereabouts for the close of the reign of Vijayalaya, which might have begun, therefore, sometime before 850 A. D. ‡

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

* Anbil Plates (EL. xv) vv. 17-18.
† EL. xix, No. 12.
‡ K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar observes: "If Vijayalaya came of the same family as the Cēla Mahārāja Kumārānkuśa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his". TAS, iii. p. 108. Kumārānkuśa, as we have seen, figures as the vijaṁpti in the Veḷḷarpaiyam plates of Nandivarman III. It is extremely doubtful, however, if he and Vijayalaya belonged to one and the same branch of the Cēlas. See ante p. 124.
§ PA. pp. 73 ff.
¶ EL. xiii pp. 134 ff. where these records are tentatively referred to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (p. 136). Note particularly Taṁjai-tīgam pāṭī niṁțar; Taṁjai-kōṇ; Taṁjai narpugajālan occurring in them.
their head-quarters at Śendalai or Niyamam. Like the Cōlas, the Muttaraiyar found it impossible to set up an independent rule, and had to support themselves by clinging to the Pāṇḍyas or the Pallavas.

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

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

* 690 of 1905 (Rangachari - Mr. S). The name Pāṇḍiyanai - ven - kaṇḍa - sōla-caturvēdimangalam is applied to this place in a late record (42 of 1914) dated Ś. 1369; this can hardly be a reference to the discomfiture of Varaguṇavarman. *Contra Rangachari Tj. 185.*
VIJAYALAYA AND ADITYA I

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

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

It must be admitted, however, that our view of the relation between the Cōlas and the Pallavas in the time of Vijayālaya in the early years of Āditya I is not final. It is quite likely that the aggrandisement of Vijayālaya at the expense of the Muttaraiyar had nothing whatever to do with the struggle between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas. In that case, Vijayālaya took advantage of the confusion in the borderland between the dominions of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas, and his son also gained by the weakening of both after Śrī Purāṇabimyam. See, however, EJ. xix p. 87 n. 6. Yet another view may be taken: The Muttaraiyar being allies of the Pallavas, the Cōlas may, under Vijayālaya, have found occasion to join the Pāṇḍyas and to throw off the Pallava yoke. On this supposition the capture of Thanjore by Vijayālaya would be at once an act of aggression undertaken by him against the Pallava, to favour the Pāṇḍya, and a decisive step in the assertion of Cōla independence from Pallava suzerainty. On this assumption, it is not unlikely that Āditya fought on Varagūna’s side at Śrī Purāṇabimyam. An objection to this view is the difficulty of explaining how, after the defeat he suffered on this occasion, Āditya recovered sufficiently to overthrow Aparājīta later, and why Aparājīta failed, after his success at Śrī Purāṇabimyam, to reassert his supremacy over the Cōla.
ocean. * The Tiruvālangādu plates state that he overthrew the strong Pallava ruler Aparājīta, † and deprived him of his territory. The Kanyākumāri inscription gives him the surname Kōdanḍarāma, and states that in a battle he pounced upon and slew the Pallava king who was seated on the back of a tall elephant. ‡ A record from Tillaisthānam § confirms this evidence by clearly stating that Rājakēsari extended his power to the Toṭaināḍ. Āditya must be taken, therefore, to have put an end to the Pallava power by annexing Toṭaimanḍalām, and to have extended the Cōla dominions, till they bordered on those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Aparājīta's inscriptions mention his eighteenth regnal year; and no record from Toṭaimanḍalām that can be attributed to Āditya bears a date earlier than his twenty-third regnal year. But as a gift, a dēvadāna, was made in the 21st year, ¶ the conquest and annexation of the Pallava territory may be dated roughly about 890 A. D.

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

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

The Kongudēsa-rajakkal affirms that Āditya, after being crowned at Taṇjavūr-paṭṭam, came to Kongudēsa, conquered the country and governed it in addition to his own; it also says that he took the town of Taḷaikāḍ. Despite the lateness and the general untrustworthiness of this chronicle, this statement looks very

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

It seems unlikely that Māraṁbāvai was the queen of Nandi III of Teḻḷu, whose reign ended about A. D. 850. The earliest Cōla record which mentions her is in the 18th year of Rājakēsari, c. 889. She is also named in two of Nṛpatunga’s inscriptions, both from the Tanjore Dī. (Nos. 300 and 303 of 1901). See ARE. 1901, paragraph 10; SH. ii. p. 513, n.
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plausible. For one thing, Parāntaka's records are found in the Kongudēśa, and he does not claim to have conquered it. Early in his reign is mentioned an officer of his supervising temple affairs in Kongu. * So it is quite reasonable to suppose that Āditya conquered the Kongu country. The mention of Taḷaikāḷ implies that Āditya took the country from the Western Gangas; there is again nothing improbable in this, and we have seen Prthivīpati II acknowledging the overlordship of Āditya. About the same time the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Parāntaka Vīraṇārayana claims to have fought in Kongu; Āditya might have taken part of the Kongu country from him. The Anbil plates, which say that Āditya built temples along the entire course of the Kāvērī from the Sahyādri to the sea, also seem to lend support to the statement in the chronicle of Kongu kings.

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

* 258 of 1907. The regnal year of this record is 10, not 30.
† 286 of 1911.
To face page 138.
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It is natural to assume that this friendship between the two ancient lines of rulers began with the extension of Coḷa rule to Kongu. * There is mention of a Vikkiyāṇṇa, son of Prthivīpati, in a Ganga inscription † of this period.

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

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

* ARE. 1912 II, 11 suggests the identification of Sthāṇu-Ravi with Kōkkanṭdan Ravi of the Candrāditya family (148 of 1910) on palaeographical grounds. The epithet ‘pal-śrīnai-bhū-kaṇṭhan’ in the Tīlaishtēnam inscription, like the phrase ‘Toṇḍai-nāḍu-śrīvīna-Śāḷaṇ’, applies to Rājakṣarī and not to Sthāṇu-Ravi, as ARE. (ibid) appears to suggest. “It is not impossible that Sthāṇu-Ravi substantially assisted Āditya in his conquest of the Pallavas and the acquisition of their territory, and that Vikki-Aṇṇan distinguished himself on this occasion as an able general.” (ibid). In the same paragraph we find the suggestion thrown out that Vikki-Aṇṇan was, like his wife Kāḍamba-māḍēvi, of Kāṇṭhaka origin, and that he was a Vēlir chieftain of Koṭumbēḷḷ (Pudukōṭṭah).

† 332 of 1912. Śembiyan Mahībalī Bāṇarasa (of this record) is no other than Prthivīpati II.

‡ EL. xv, p. 50.

§ 286 of 1906; also 230 of 1903. Before the Kanyēkumēri inscription gave us the information that Āditya had the name Kōdāṇḍarāma, the only Kōdāṇḍarāma known was his grandson Rājādītya; but Rājādītya must have been living in the 34th year of his father’s reign. EL. xviii pp. 23-24.

¶ 38 of 1895.
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It is remarkable that the kings of the Vijayālaya line were ardent Śaivites. Vijayālaya himself established a Durgā temple in Taṅjavūr after he captured it; Āditya built temples to Śiva. His son raised a shrine over his sepulchre, establishing a linga on it—a Śaivite adaptation of the Buddhist practice of erecting memorial stupas.

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

* vv. 28-35.

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

* See TAS. iii. for a full discussion of the legends in this record. Also SII. iii. Introd. pp. 4-5 for those in the copper-plates, and EL. xvii. pp. 26 ff.
Chapter VII

PARĀNTAKA I (907–953 A.D.)

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

* PK. p. 78.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* SH ii, No. 76 vv. 9–11.
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Konaḍa, in a record of Parāntaka. * Two inscriptions of the twelfth year make casual allusions to incidents in the battle of Vellūr in which the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese forces were defeated by the Cōla. One is a gift to commemorate the victory of Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Amudanār on the occasion when the Pāṇḍya king, helped by the Ceylonese army, attacked the Cōla king at the battle of Vellūr. † Another is an endowment for the merit of four soldiers (śevakar) who died in a frontal attack (nerriśena) led by Śennippēraraiyan at Vellūr (Vellūr) on the occasion when the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle with the Cōla. ‡ It is clear that there was a great and decisive battle at Vellūr in which the Cōla troops had to fight hard before securing victory and which was well remembered for some years after the event for the exceptional heroism of its incidents. It seems probable that this battle was fought about 915 A. D.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Ceylon War.

* Meaning evidently his own Cōla throne, in addition to the Pāṇḍyan recently captured by him. See Geiger, CV. i p. 173 n. 1.
† No. 51.
‡ PK. p. 79.

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his task, he wanted to celebrate his success by a formal coronation at Madura at which he was to invest himself with the insignia of Pāṇḍyan monarchy. These had been carried away by Rājasimha and left in the custody of the Ceylonese king, and Parāntaka made an unsuccessful effort to secure them in the reign of the slothful and intemperate Udaya IV (945-53 A.D.): *

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

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

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

† See Geiger, CV. i p. 176 n. 4. Also ii p. xx n. 18. It must be noted that Venkayya’s proof that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943/4 to 947/8 that Parāntaka calls himself “Conqueror of Ceylon” no longer holds good; and the date 948 accepted by Geiger for this invasion is not so trustworthy as it appeared to Hultzsch. (See 332 and 331 of 1927 of years 8 and 16 respectively of Parāntaka). The MV. goes on to add that a new Senāpati of Udaya “laid waste the borderland of the Cōla king and forced him with threats to restore all that he had carried away” as booty. What exactly is meant by the ‘borderland’ is not clear.

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Besides the friendliness of the Kērāḷa ruler and the assistance of the Paḷavēṭṭaraiyar chiefs of Kīłappaluvūr, Parāntaka was aided in his Pāṇḍyan campaigns by the Vēḻir chiefs of Koḻumbāḻūr. Records dated very early in Parāntaka’s reign show that prince Arikulakēsari, one of the sons of Parāntaka, had already married Pūdi Ādicca Piḍāri, daughter of Tennavan Ilangōvēḷar of the Koḻumbāḻūr line.* Other evidence of the close connection in this period between the Cōla line and the Koḻumbāḻūr chieftains is furnished by records from Pudukottah and the Trichinopoly district. † Their hostility to the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha becomes clear from the Sinnamanūr plates of the sixteenth year of Rājasimha (c. 916 A.D.). While giving an account of Rājasimha’s relations with the Cōlas in the early years of Parāntaka’s rule, the Pāṇḍyan inscription says that Rājasimha “defeated the king of Taṉjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḻumbai (Koḻumbāḻūr), the seat of one of the powerful Cōla subordinates, burnt Vaṉji and destroyed the king of Southern Taṉjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Cōlas) at Nāval.” ‡ This rather obscure and, no doubt, highly embellished account, from the Pāṇḍyan side, of the early stages of the Cōla war is valuable in two respects. It confirms the impression derived from the Mahāvamsa and the inscriptions of Parāntaka that his conquest of the Madura kingdom was a gradual and difficult process which involved much fighting spread over many years. It provides, moreover, a clear idea of the alignment of the political powers in these struggles, and corroborates the view

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

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

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

† EI. iv pp. 221-5.
‡ SII. ii No. 76, v. 9.
§ On the Bāṇas see EI. xi, pp. 229-40; and xvii pp. 1-7. I follow Hultsch’s table (EI. xvii p. 3) for the numbering of the Bāṇa kings.
capital was at Paṇivi * which is first mentioned in the Sholingur inscription and may be identical with Parigi, in the Hindupur Taluq of Anantapur district. The last ruler of the line was Vikramāditya III, Vijayabāhu, described as the dear friend of Kṛṣṇarāja, doubtless Kṛṣṇa III, his powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa neighbour. The course of events which is nowhere described in explicit terms can only be inferred from a careful study of the dates which, fortunately, are clearly recorded in the inscriptions bearing on this topic.

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

* Paṇivi and Nandagiri occupy in late Bāna records a position similar to that of Urgiyūr and the Kēvēri in the Telugu Cōja records. It may be observed that Parigi answers to the description of the Bāna country being to the west of the Andhra.

† 99 of 1899.
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Ganga ruler who benefited thereby, contributed to the invasion of the Cōla lands by Kṛṣṇa III which ended so disastrously for the Cōlas.

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

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

* 235, 267, 268 of 1902 (EI, vii pp. 142 ff) and 16, 743 of 1905; ARE, 1905 II, 28.
† Nos. 160, 236 of 1912, the former being SII. iii 108.
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Śiṅkulaṭṭūr, overthrew Śiṭpuḷi and destroyed Nellūr, and on his way back to the south, he stopped at Tiruvorriyūr to make a thanks-offering to Mahādēva in the form of a grant of land, which four years later was released from the fiscal dues falling upon it. The original gift was made in the thirty-fourth year of Parāntaka (A.D. 941). This campaign was probably directed against the power of the Vēṅgi ruler Cāḷukya Bhīma II. Śiṭpuḷi was a district in the southern regions of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom.* Considering that no records of Parāntaka have been discovered in the east coast region to the north of Tiruvorriyūr, it may be doubted if the campaign had any permanent results.†

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

* ARE. 1913 II 18 and S/J. iii 108 (introda.) make Śiṭpuḷi a personal name, and suggest that Śiṭpuḷi was the general of Bhīma. But 79 of 21 (Rājak. 6) mentions Śiṭpuḷi-nāḍu and Pāki-nāḍu. The latter is well known as Pāka-rāṣṭra.

† See Ch. viii below, under Aṟilāṭṭayya,
Parāntaka to give up the fight in Ceylon and acquiesce in his failure.

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

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

* Rangachari says that Prthivipati became a vassal of Kṛṣṇa III, and was living in A.D. 953 (N A. 586). In saying this, he overlooks Hultzsch’s warning that the Attimallar of this record is a different person (EI. vii p. 195)
† 332 of 1912.
‡ Rice Mynore and Coorg, p. 45
§ 1 of 1896 ARE. 1896, paragraph 6; EI. iv pp. 178-9.
give the first indication of the coming storm. There is also evidence to show that about this time Rājaditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka, was stationed with a large army including an elephant corps and some cavalry * in the district known in inscriptions and literature as Tirumunaippaḍī-nāḍu. Vellāngumaran, a Ḍeṇāḷaal general of Rājaditya’s forces, was present at Grānam as early as 936 A.D., † where seven years later he constructed a stone temple to Śiva on the banks of the Peṇṇār. ‡ Tirunāvalur, a village near Grānam, called Rājadittapuram till about 1140 A.D., § was the residence of Rājaditya for many years. We also find Arikulakēsari ¶ in the same region about the same time, no doubt assisting his brother, Rājaditya. It is clear, therefore, that Parāntaka was not unmindful of the repercussions of his aggressive policy against the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas, and that though he expected much from the loyal support of Pṛthvīpati II, he did not leave everything to him, but made his own preparations to meet an emergency.

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

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

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

† ASI. 1908–9 p. 122 n. 2.

‡ Contra, T. A. Gopinatha Rao, EI. xv pp. 51–2 and EI. xviii p. 24. See
also ARE. 1911, II, 22.

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

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

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

* Verse 58. Note the phrase ajitam-narādhipait.
† This is indeed contradicted by the larger Leyden grant (verse 19). But see note † p. 162 (below).
‡ EJ. vi p. 51.
§ 419 of 1903; 184, 313 of 1906; 149 of 1916.
and it is a remarkable fact that not only are his inscriptions not found in these districts after that date, but no inscriptions of his dated in his regnal years 42-44 (inclusive) are at all known—a fact clearly to be accounted for by some great disaster like the battle of Takkōlam. Thus all lines of evidence point to one date, 949 A.D., as the year which decided the fortunes of the contest between Parāntaka and Kṛṣṇa.

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

* 375 of 1909.
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by one of his officers, * and that it is quite probable that an error crept into the copy of this old inscription reproduced on the new walls more than a century after it was originally recorded, and this, I think, is the real explanation of the difficulty. †

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* This important inscription has been edited twice by Fleet—EI. ii pp. 167 ff; vi pp. 50-7. The text has: 'Mānḍi-Cōla-Rājaḍītyana nītā (ba)ndu Takkāla-dol kādi kondu bijayaṃ-jeyputtu iḍu' (l. 4); and "Kannaradevaṃ Cōḷanam kāduwanda Būtugam Rājaḍītyanam binegeye kalīṇ-āgi guri (su)giridu kādi kondu Banavase Pannīrcaśāramam etc." (l. 20-1).

† On both occasions Fleet translated the second extract so as to imply treachery on the part of Būtuga. And in discussing No. 181 of 1912, a most baseless conjecture was hazarded in ARE. 1913, II, 17 that Caturānana Panḍita betrayed his master and friend Rājaḍītya to his foes. But the phrase 'binegeye kalīṇ-āgi' must really be read: 'binegeye kaḷanīgī'; the words 'binege' and 'kaḷan' mean respectively the howdah fastened to the back of elephants for riding on, and field (of battle). Būtuga made the howdah of Rājaḍītya's elephant itself the battle-field. This interpretation is borne out by the Cōla inscriptions. The larger Leyden grant says: "Rājaḍītyarā-vīra rajkulkalākaḥ Kṛṣṇarājaṃ rasaṇyam samākṣtekākaṃ bhukyam-ājan * * nāgaṇḍra-sandha-varttī vīdaḻīa-kṛdayaḥ * * virālokājāgama," a clear statement which leaves not the slightest room for the suspicion of treachery on the part of Rājaḍītya's opponent. See JRAS. 1909, pp. 443-6. Other Cōla inscriptions from Kumbakonam and Tirunāgēśvaram mention the 'king who died on the back of an elephant.' ARE. 1912, II, 14, Fleet's old mistake is repeated in the Kadamba-kula (Bombay, 1931) p. 86

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

* 338, 356 of 1902 (Tirunēmanallūr).
† EJ. iii p. 179-80. Also the Kudīr plates of Mērasimha (A.D. 963) II. 88 ff.
‡ EJ. iv. p. 289.

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

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

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

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

† Nos. 465 of 1918, 15 of 1895, and 135 of 1931, Krishna Sastri has said (S.II. v, p. 226 n) that in 15 of 1895 the figure 6 is clear on the stone, and this must set at rest any lingering doubts on this question of fact. See also ASI. 1908-9, p. 122 n 1. The larger Leyden grant (v. 19) categorically asserts that Rājāditya began to rule after the death of Parāntaka, and then proceeds to give an account of Rājāditya’s war with Kṛṣṇa. I am inclined to accept the contemporary stone records as more valid evidence than the statement in a copper-plate grant dated after more than half-a-century of the utmost confusion.

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

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

* Iravi Nilī, the daughter of the Cēra King, Vijayaṛāga, is another. She gave 30-kalaṅjis of gold for a lamp in the Tiruvorriyūr temple. (S.II. iii No. 103).

† Nos. 245-6 of 1921 (year 31).

‡ T A. Gopinatha Rao (E.I. xv. p. 50), basing himself on 110 of 1895 suggests that Vikramādiḷaḻangōvēḻur of that record must have been Parāntaka. If that be so,—the name Paḻuvēḻaraiyar favours the supposition,—the record must be one of Āditya I, as Iļangōvēḻur would not apply to Parāntaka in the record of any other sovereign. Then the interval between this record mentioning the marriage of Parāntaka and his death would be eighty years (34 plus 46) at least, which looks improbable. There were many Paḻuvēḻaraiyars, and Iļangōvēḻur is not the same as Iļangō. Perhaps Vikramādiḷaḻangōvēḻur was only a minor chieftain of some feudatory family.

§ See Studies pp. 163 ff.

¶ S.II. ii. 383 v. 7.
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Parāntaka as the bee at the lotus feet of Śiva (Purāntaka), and they and the Leyden grant concur in stating that he covered with gold the Śiva temple of Cidambaram. * In fact Parāntaka's reign was a great epoch in the history of South Indian temple architecture, and the work of temple-building begun by Āditya was continued vigorously during the best part of his reign. We have also much valuable and interesting evidence from the inscriptions on the details of administration, central and rural, on the state of religious faith and so on. These matters have been reserved for detailed study at a later stage.

* See also Gapārāditya's Tiruvilāippa on Kōyil: Tennanūlam I醬um-
kondā tirag-cengūt-cōlan kōli-vīndan Śemūyam āṇṇavinda
Tūlaiyavālattu (v. 3).

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CHAPTER VIII

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

I.—Chronology and order of succession.

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

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

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

Of the remaining stone inscriptions of the period, ten inscriptions belong to Maduraikongadā Rājakēsari and bear dates in regnal years ranging from five to seventeen.

Four inscriptions belong to Sundara Cōla with titles Madhurāntaka and Pāṇḍiyanaic-curamīrakkina; two of these are dated in years five and seven, while the dates in the other two are lost. A considerable number with years ranging from two to five are those of Parakēsari who had the title (Vīra) Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konṭa; and a still larger number belong to a Pārthivēndra-varman with the same title and with other variants to his name like Vēndrādi-varman, Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman and so on; these records give dates up to the thirteenth regnal year. 

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

* Krishna Sastri (SII, ii Introd. 12) says: “Perhaps the years quoted in Kannara-Kṛṣṇa’s Tamil inscriptions must be taken to count from 949 A.D.” On the same page he admits that Kṛṣṇa died in Śaka 889 or 967 A.D. He does not explain why, after this date, records should bear his name and his regnal years till about 977 A.D. Again, he admits that 949 A.D. was not the year of Kṛṣṇa’s entry into Tondaimanḍalam but the following year; why, then, should this year have been the starting point for the dates in his Tamil records? The highest regnal year in the Tamil inscriptions is not 30 as was believed till recently but only 28 (364 of 1902, 159 of 1921); the date in No. 232 of 1902 (Kijūn) is now read as 20, not (30) which was given in ARE. 1903. See SII. vii 859.

† See, however, p. 180 post on a record of year 15.

‡ See SII. iii, 135, 138.
couple Kali year 4083 (A.D. 981–2) with his regnal year thirteen, fix Uttama Čōla’s place as the immediate predecessor of Rājakēsari Rājarāja I. It should also be observed that some of the numerous records which give no more detailed specification of the ruling sovereign than to call him Rājakēsari or Parakēsari will, no doubt, on any scheme of chronology, be found to fall in this period; but these may, for the most part, be left on one side in the present discussion.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parāntaka I</th>
<th>By Kērala princess</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Kōkkilān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājaditya</td>
<td>Gaṇḍarāditya</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ariṅjaya m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kalyāṇī of the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vaidumba race</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madhurāntaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uttama (Parakēsari)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sundara Parāntaka</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Rājakēsari)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Āditya II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rājarāja I.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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* 44 of 1918 under year 6 of Rājarāja I.
† SII. iii, 111 and 112.
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relation of Pillaiyar or Aiyar, * (terms often applied to junior members of the royal family), to the ruling king who, being a Rajakesari, could only have been Gantadaraditya.

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

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

Meaning of talai-konda.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† ASI. 1908-9 p. 122.

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

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

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

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

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* 291 of 1908. EI. xii pp. 121-6.
† S.II. iii 115 (246 of 1912).
explain this, but he says elsewhere: * "At the time of Gaṇḍarāditya's death, Uttama Cōla must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gaṇḍarāditya had ruled and died." Surely it is not easy to reconcile the two positions that the king of the Tiruvörriyūr record was Gaṇḍarāditya, and that at his death, his son was a young boy, so young that he had to wait through the reigns of three of his successors before he could himself rule. There is a more serious discrepancy. Even assuming that Gaṇḍarāditya counted his regnal years from the death of Rājāditya (949 A. D.), if we identify him with Maduraikonḍa Rājakēsari, who ruled for at least seventeen years, his reign would extend up to 966 A. D. And Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōla began to rule in 969-70. A.D. The interval of three years is too short to take in the reign of even Sundara Cōla whose records unmistakably give him a rule of not less than seven years †, much less those of three kings. The Tiruvörriyūr record cited at the beginning of this paragraph cannot, therefore, be assigned to Gaṇḍarāditya. It must be admitted, however, that even if we take it to be a record of Sundara Cōla, the difficulty still remains of explaining the regal title of Uttama Cōla in it. Seeing that Sundara had a son Āditya who was ably assisting him in his warlike enterprises, it seems unlikely that he recognised, and that so early in his reign, a prince from a collateral, although senior, branch of his family as heir apparent. The only suggestion that offers itself, and for which support may be found in analogous cases from Cōla records, is that though the gift recorded in the inscription was made in the fifth year of Sundara Cōla when


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

There remain two further questions to be discussed—the position of Vīra-Pañḍiyar-talai-konḍa Parakēsari and the identity of Pārthivēndravarman who bears the same title. The former may certainly be identified with Āditya, the son of Sundara Cōla, who according to the Tiruvālangādu plates and the Leyden grant fought against Vīra Ppañḍya.† But Āditya II was followed by another Parakēsari, viz., Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōla. This appears, at first sight, to violate the normal rule of the Rājakēsari alternating with the Parakēsari title among the ruling sovereigns of the Cōla dynasty. Krishna Sastri says of Uttama Cōla: ‡ "Contrary to the usual order, according to which he ought to have been a Rājakēsarivarman, his predecessor Āditya II being Parakēsarivarman, he too was called a Parakēsarivarman, evidently because he was the son of a Rājakēsarivarman and succeeded to the throne not by the right he possessed, but at the request of his cousin’s son Rājarāja I who was the chosen successor."

Two remarks may be made on this explanation: first,

† vv. 67-8 and 28 respectively.
‡ S.J.II. iii. Introd. p. 16.
it seems hardly consistent with the position held by Krishna Sastri, not by us, that Uttama Cōla was chosen successor in Gāndharādītya’s reign, and that on account of his tender age, “the claims of Gāndharādītya’s chosen successor were temporarily set aside and postponed.” * For, if this was so, how can it be said that he succeeded to the throne not in his own right, but at the request of Rājarāja? Then again the implication that the son of a Rājakēsari must be a Parakēsari is contradicted by the example of Rājarāja I, who was a Rājakēsari himself and the son of a Rājakēsari. It may also be stated here that Arińjaya, who must have ruled a short while as Parakēsari, was also the son of a Parakēsari. The true explanation of two Parakēsaris coming one after another seems to be that the earlier Parakēsari, the chosen heir apparent, Āditya II, died in the life-time of his father Sundara Cōla, and the prince chosen next for the throne also took the title of Parakēsari in order that Rājakēsari Sundara might be followed on the throne by a Parakēsari after his death. At the death of Āditya II, † Sundara Cōla had to choose Uttama Cōla and not his younger son Rājarāja, either because Uttama Cōla forced the choice by threatening civil war, or because Rājarāja of his own will preferred to wait. The verses in the Tiruvālangādu plates, which are the only direct source of our information, can support either interpretation. They declare on the one hand that Uttama Cōla was eager to rule and on the other that Rājarāja was too good a kṣatriya to dream of the throne for himself while his father’s cousin wanted it. And we shall see that Uttama Cōla made clear his eagerness to rule by, possibly, instigating a political murder.

* See ibid pp. 14 n. 2; 16, n. 1.
† For a possible son of Āditya, Karikēla-kaṇṇan by name, whose existence may be inferred from the inscriptions of Rājarāja, see S.II, II, p. 460 and n. 2.
The identity of Pārthivivendravarman, whose records, are found in the districts of North and South Arcot, and Chingleput, is involved in much obscurity. The suggestion * that he was the same as Prthivipati II, the Ganga feudatory of Parāntaka, is the result of a very dubious inference from the resemblance in meaning between the names Prthivipati and Pārthivendra. It is also partly the result of a confusion between the Ganga king and a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III who, though he had the name Kannaradēva-Prthivigangariyar, was quite different from the Ganga. † After examining the records of Āditya II and Pārthivivendravarman, Krishna Sastri has reached the following conclusion: ‡ “Both these kings claim the epithet, ‘who took the head of Pāṇḍya or Vīra-Pāṇḍya’—evidently the same Pāṇḍya king who was at war with Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II—and the title Parakēsarivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Tonḍai-manḍalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Pārthivendra Ādityavarman may have been a prince of the royal family and viceroy of Tonḍai-manḍalam. Āditya Karikāla appears to have been the actual successor.” The inscriptions of Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa Parakēsari are not so very few after all; and what is more important, they are not confined to ‘the south,’ if by that is meant the country to the south of and outside Tonḍai-manḍalam. There are five inscriptions of his in North Arcot and more in South Arcot. On examination we find that the Pārthivivendravarman records

* *ARE. 1921 II 61.
‡ *SII. iii (Intr.) p. 15.
differ from those of Āditya Parakēsari in their provenance only in so far as the former are found in Chingleput district also, and are not found south of Tonḍai-maṅḍalam. We also find the following features which have a cumulative significance in the consideration of his identity. He is a Parakēsari; * he has the regal title and calls himself ‘Kōvirājamāryar’; † in an early record of the third year he is even called Pārthivēndra Ādittaparumar; ‡ his queens have also the full regal style,—udaiyār dēviyār Villavan mahādēviyār; § Perumānaḍīgal dēviyārt-tanmapponnār-aqiya Trailōkya mahādēviyār. ¶ It seems clear that, far from being a feudatory of the Cōla king, the ruler who can lay claim to so much distinction must himself be a Cōla monarch, and the name Āditya and the title Parakēsari clearly suggest his identity with Āditya Karikāla Paraṅsari. ‘Pārthivēndra Ādityavarman’ and its variant forms occurring in his records show that he took the title ‘Pārthivēndra.’ The Cōla kings were very fond of high-sounding birudas, and almost every one of them had many such titles. As the latest recorded regnal year in his inscriptions seems to be the thirteenth year, ‖ it follows that he must have been chosen co-regent within the first few years after his father Sundara Cōla’s accession. This looks very probable considering that the Leyden grant gives him credit for having successfully attacked Vīra Pāṇḍya as a young boy. Afterwards he must have been deputed to rule the northern part of the Cōla dominion. Apparently he died in the life-time of his father and was

Perhaps identical with Āditya II.

* S.II. iii 180. † S.II. iii 186. ‡ S.II. iii, 158.
§ S.II. iii 193. ¶ 17 of 1921.
‖ See, however, post pp. 180-1.
succeeded in the place of heir apparent by Parakēsari Uttama Cōla.

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

Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya A.D. 949 - 957
Parakēsari Ariṅjaya c. A.D. 956 - 957
Rājakēsari Sundara Cōla (Madurai-konḍa) c. A.D. 956 - 973
[Parakēsari Āditya II Pārthivēndra Karikāla c. A.D. 956 - 969]

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

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

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

II. History.

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

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

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

* These features of the hymn render it more likely that its author was this king rather than the official of Rējarāja, Madhurāntakan Gaṅḍarādittar, who is found employed in enquiring into the affairs of temples and whose name seems to imply that he was the son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa, Contra Venkayya ASI. 1905-6 p. 173, n. 5.

† 540 of 1920.

‡ 587 of 1920. ARE. 1921, II 26.

§ 162, 172 of 1928.
temple, and there is nothing to preclude this noble (Araiyan) from being the father of Ariñjaya’s queen. * If this view is correct, these Parakēsari records must be assigned to Ariñjaya, and in view of the strict limits placed on the duration of Ariñjaya’s rule by the general chronology of the period we must assume, what is not unlikely, that Ariñjaya was chosen heir apparent to Gañḍarāditya † sometime soon after the death of Parāntaka I. Ariñjaya is said to have died at Ār̥rūr, ‡ a place that cannot be definitely identified. An inscription of Rājarāja I states that he built at Mēlpādi a memorial shrine (pallipadair) § to the king who died at Ār̥rūr and this implies that Ār̥rūr was somewhere in that neighbourhood. Probably, Ariñjaya had entered upon the task of regaining the Cōḷa possessions in the north lost to Kṛṣṇa III. This suggestion gains force from an inscription ¶ from Tirunāgēśvaram which mentions Ariñjigap-pirāṭiyār, daughter of prince Arikulakēsari and wife of a Bāṇa king.

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

* See ARE. 1928 II 3.
† This, if correct, would be an additional objection to Krishna Sastri’s reconstruction of the order of succession.
‡ 587 of 1920.
§ SII. iii 17.
¶ 215 of 1911: the date given as [9] is not clear in the original, but it cannot be 9. ARE. 1912 II 16.
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for a time. After the death of Gaṇḍarāditya, his efforts were continued by Ariṇjaya who fell fighting at Āṛṣūr. If this view of Gaṇḍarāditya’s reign is correct, it is possible that he also sought, at first with little success, to recover lost ground in the south, and that Vīra Pāṇḍya’s boast of ‘taking the head’ of a Cōḷa may be referred to the same reign.

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

* v. 25, 28.

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

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

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

* 302 of 1908. Kanyākumāri inscription v. 63.
† 116 of 1896, SII, v. 980 (Yr. 27 of Rājarāja I).
‡ Ch. 54 vv 12-16.
§ The N. W. part of Ceylon (Geiger). The Vallabha has sometimes been identified with the Rāṣṭrākūta Kṛṣṇa III (Coordinson Ceylon Coins p. 50). But the Cōḷas were called 'Valjava' and the Vessagiri inscription implies that the invaders were Tamils. See Coordinson's Short History of Ceylon pp. 39 and 53.
¶ EZ. i. pp. 29 ff.
|| Some statements in Chapter VIII of PK, on the chronology and the course of the Cōḷa conquest, are seen to need considerable modification. To one point
Besides Āditya II, two other persons claim success against Vīra Pāṇḍya. One of these is Pārthivendra-varman of whom something has been said already. The other is Bhūti-vikramakēsari of Koṭumbālūr, who claims to have conquered Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle. The inscription * which gives this information, also states that Vikramakēsari turned the waters of the Kāvēri red with the blood shed by the army of the Pallava, put an end to Vaṅcīvēl and ruled from Koṭumbālūr. He had two queens Kārralī and Varagnā. A Rājakēsari inscription, from which the date has been lost, † mentions that Kārralīp-pirāṭṭi was the wife of Tennavan Ilangōvēḷūr alias Maṟavān Pūdiyār, which may be other names of Vikramakēsari. Two others dated in the thirteenth year of Rājakēsari mention Varagnā-perumānār, apparently the other queen of Vikramakēsari. One of these, from Tillaissthānam, ‡ says that she was the queen of Parāntaka Ilangōvēḷūr, a title showing doubtless the subordinate relation in which Vikramakēsari stood to Parāntaka in particular attention may be drawn here. Vīra Pāṇḍya * who took the head of the Cēla bore that title for thirteen years. (PK. p. 102). This clearly means that Vīra Pāṇḍya did not lose his life at the hands of Āditya and his confederates. For if we accept, for the sake of argument, the latest date suggested for the accession of Āditya II, 965 A.D., Vīra Pāṇḍya must have lost his life in A.D. 966, because Āditya’s records of the second year mention the event. Thirteen years earlier than this date takes us to A.D. 953 or 954, a date which seems to be too soon after the Rāṣṭramūtā invasion for a contest between the Cēlas and the Pāṇḍyas in the South—a contest which gave Vīra Pāṇḍya the occasion to take the head of the Cēla.* If Pārthivendra-varman and Āditya were identical, then this contest would be pushed back to 944–5, an impossible date.

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

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

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

† A record of the sixth year of Parāṇēḷai (337 of 1904) from Koḻumiḻaiṉalai mentions a Varaguṇa-nēṭti-pērumāṉār, queen of Šebiyan Irukkuṉēḷar; from this, the conclusion has been drawn that this was another name of Vikramakēsari (ARE. 1908 II, 90). But the Varaguṇa-nēṭti mentioned in this record was the daughter of a Muttaraiyar chief (Pd. 45 Text) and different from the Cōla princes mentioned above. Hence Šebiyan Irukkuṉēḷar cannot be the same as Parāntaka Īḷangōvēḷar, if our view that the latter married the Cōla princess is correct.

The suggestion may be made that the Muttaraiya lady was the queen of Vikramakēsari and that Parāntaka Īḷangōvēḷar, the husband of the Cōla princess, was the elder son of Vikramakēsari. In this case, the 6th year of Parāṇēḷai (337 of 1904) must be the 6th year of Parāntaka I, which would fall nearly 52 years before the wars with Vīra Pāṇḍya in which Vikramakēsari took part. It seems better to treat Šebiyan Irukkuṉēḷar and his Muttaraiya wife Varaguṇā as persons not represented in the genealogy of the Koḻumbāḷur record. There are other names of Irukkuṉēḷar, like Madhurāntaka Irukkuṉēḷar and Mahimīḷaiya Irukkuṉēḷar in the Pudukōṭṭaḥ inscriptions for which there is no room in the Koḻumbāḷur genealogy. Possibly Madhurāntaka Irukkuṉēḷar of Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Pd. 63 and 65), also called Ādittān (Accan) Vikramakēsari, was a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāṇēḷai.

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the Pallavas on the banks of the Kāveri. This by itself might justify a much earlier age for the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsari; but as on palaeographical considerations no earlier date than that of Gāndarādītya can be assigned for this record, * the suggestion may be made that by the Pallava in this context we must understand Vallabha, and explain the fight in which Vikramakēsari took part with such distinction as having occurred on the occasion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa’s raid into the Cōla country which is said to have taken him as far as Rāmeśvaram.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Elliot CSJ. p. 132, No. 151 p. 152 G. ARE. 1904, 1 20, Nos. 152-4 are, no-doubt, coins of Rājendra †.

† Codrington—Ceylon Coins p. 74.
Uttama Cola

Uttama Cōla’s time; they form moreover beautiful specimens of the palaeography of the period. * Even the stone inscriptions of the reign contain little information on political transactions. Some inscriptions recently discovered in the Trichinopoly district, †

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

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

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

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

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* v. 3 of his Devarām on Tiruviśayamangai. † v. 8 ibid. ‡ 164 of 1929—ARE. 1929 II 29. § 168, 184 of 1929. ¶ 494 of 1925 (Yr. 12). ‖ 165, 488 of 1925.
significant of her rank as chief queen. The queens of Uttama Cōla are almost all of them found making endowments in a village in the Tanjore district which bore the name of their mother-in-law, Šembiyam-mahādēvi—proof of the high regard in which the pious widow of Gaṇḍarāditya was held by the members of her family. One son of Uttama Cōla is known, Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditya, who held high office under Rājarāja, as has been mentioned already.

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

* SII. iii No. 49. ARE. 1904 (paragraph 20); ante p. 193 n. *
† 7 of 1905.
‡ The name of the Pāṇḍyan princess seems to imply a Kanarese origin for her, though we cannot be sure of this.
CHAPTER IX

RĀJARĀJA THE GREAT (A.D. 985-1014).

Rājakēsari Arumōlivarman, as he was known in the early years of his reign, came to the throne, after a long apprenticeship as yuvārāja, on some day in the month following the 25th June, 985 A.D. * He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōla by Vānavan-mahādēvi, and the joyous occasion of his birth is described in particular detail in the Tiruvālangādu plates. † The star of his nativity was Śatabhiṣaj, as we learn from the inscriptions recording endowments for offerings in temples on his birth-days.

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

* E.I., ix. p. 217. † vv. 61-3.
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in resources, possessed of a powerful standing army, well-tried and equal to the greatest enterprises. More wonderful than the work of this great monarch must have been his personality. But of him we have no authentic description; no eyewitness has rendered to Rājarāja the service which Nūniz and Paēs did to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya. There is not even a well-attested statue, or painting of this king* that has come down to us. All that we know of his reign, however, and that is not little, attests his potent personality and the firm grasp of his intellect which allowed nothing to escape its vigilance and applied itself with as much vigour to the minutest details as to the sublimest ambitions of statecraft. The affection he lavished on his sister Kundavai, after whom he named one of his daughters, † and the privileged position accorded to his grand-aunt, Śembiyyan-mahādevi, the mother of Uttama Cōla, indicate that he was a great and good man as well as a far-sighted ruler.

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

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

† 633 of 1902.

‡ 453 of 1905 (yr. 3).

§ See SII. ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 6. The best explanation seems to be: 'the thrice (powerful) Cōla.'
inscriptions from the fourth year * onwards. Though this title appears from the fourth year, no inscription of Rājarāja has been found in the Kērala and Pāṇḍya countries bearing a date earlier than the eighth year. † Some years of fighting were apparently necessary before the conquest could be completed and the conquered country become sufficiently settled for its administration being properly organised. The Tiruvālāngādu plates giving a detailed account of the king’s digvijaya state that he began with the conquest of the southern direction. ‡

This account mentions the capture of the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga, and then states:

“The commandant (daṇḍanātha) of this ornament of the solar race then conquered Viḷinda which had the sea for its most,

* 395 of 1922 is the earliest record so far known mentioning this achievement and dated in the 24th day of the fourth year. It is no longer true therefore to say that “until the 8th year of his reign. A. D. 994, he did not undertake any expedition” (SII. ii Introductory, p 2). What Rājarāja’s achievement at Kāṇḍāla exactly was has been the subject of much discussion. Though ślai and kalam mean respectively ‘a feeding house’ and ‘(eating) plate’, these meanings seem hardly satisfactory in the present instance (Contra TAS. ii 2-5). On the other hand ślai in the sense of ‘roadstead’ is not known in any other context. But, after all, ślai may only be part of the name of the place; or it may have the ordinary meaning of a road. In any case, no other meaning seems more likely than the one usually adopted for the whole phrase viz., ‘who destroyed the fleet in the roadstead of Kāṇḍāla.’ The alternative suggestions that the ‘scale of feeding’ in the feeding-house of Kāṇḍāla was regulated by the king’ (S. Desi-avinayagam Pillai - Kerala Society Papers, Series 2 pp. 100 ff.) necessitates a far-fetched explanation of the need for the use of force in the transaction, and fails to explain why such a thing had to be done over again, for instance, by Kāṇṭhādhirāja. D. Pillai’s objection that the destruction of a fleet would not be described as an act of grace arut’ as this is done in the usual introduction, ‘tirunagai pūla’ etc., of Rājarāja, is easily met; Kāṇṭhādhirāja caused the Viḷinda Viṣa Kērala to be trampled by an elephant, and this is described as an act of grace kudakālirjan-udalippitaruṇi. Perhaps, arut’ does not mean ‘destroyed’, but simply ‘overcame’, cf. Kalingattup-paranji (verse 370) saying that Viḷīnham was destroyed and ślai captured. It must be admitted, however, that the earliest mention of Kāṇḍālar (TAS. i p. 6, 1. 6) does support D. Pillai’s interpretation. Gopinatha Rao had correctly identified Kāṇḍālar with a part of Trivandrum now called Vaiyā Viḷai. Śailai is sometimes sanskritised as jīvā. (TAS. ii, p. 4).

† The Dārāmanköppu record (TAS. i p. 238) seems to be the earliest so far known.

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

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

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

* TAS, ii pp. 31-2. It must be noted that the period of this king's rule has been fixed on the evidence of a single record, the Tirunelli plates.

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

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

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

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

* SII. ii 1 paragraphs 34, 51 etc. It is these campaigns to which the Tiruvālangādu plates refer in v. 83 as the conquest of Paraśurāma’s country. Contra Venkayya SII. ii, Intr. p. 4.
† SII. ii 1 para. 51
‡ 236 of 1902 (Vr. 27).
§ See Adiyārkkunallīr on ŠII. xi 1. 53. Kielhorn calls it Malabar. EJ. viii-Lit No. 704. See also EC. iii TN. 122.
¶ SII. iii 19, 51.
|| End of the tirumagaḷ introduction.
** viii v. 24
only the conquest of Udagai besides the foundation by him of the Śadaiyam festival in the Cēra country. In all his three ulās, the poet Oṭṭakkūttan says that Rājarāja's great achievement was the crossing of the ‘eighteen forests’ for the sake of his ambassador and setting fire to Udagai. We are unable to explain this satisfactorily; apparently the immediate cause of the march against Udagai was an insult offered to the king's ambassador.

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

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

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

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

* 261 of 1910.
† SII ii 92 paragraphs 12–15.
‡ CV. Ch. iv, v. 4–12.
§ v. 80.
¶ SII ii 92 paragraph 12.

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

† ASC. 1906 p. 27.
‡ 132 of 1910 (Year 17).
§ ASC. 1891 p. 12 Nos. 78-80. The record from Padaviya dated in the 27th year cited at SIZ. II, Intr. p. 5 must be among these.
great temple of Tanjore is the finest and most elaborate exponent." * The earliest inscription found in this temple is dated early in Rājendra I’s reign. An officer from the Cōla country by name Tāli Kumaran built another temple called Rājarājēśvara at Mahātiththa (Mantota) which was also named Rājarājapura, and richly endowed the new temple. †

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

* ASC. 1906 pp. 17 ff.  † 616 of 1912 (S.H. iv. 1412).
‡ 67 of 1923. ARE. 1923 II, 27.
§ 97 of 1921 (Yr. 9†). See S.H. ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 1, where a record of the 8th year from Tiruvaṅkai is said to mention these conquests; the reference is doubtless to 261 of 1910.
¶ MAR. 1917, p. 42.
South Arcot in the seventh year of Rājakēsari, perhaps Rājarāja I. * This conquest was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the Cōḷas had never lost their hold on the Kongu country or, if they had done so, had very soon recovered it when they began to reassert themselves after the troubles consequent on the invasion of Kṛṣṇa III. Rājarāja does not claim to have conquered the Kongu area, and he was master of it early in his reign. Copper-plates † recording a gift of land in the fifth year of Rājakēsarivarman have been found at Tiruccengō đu, and these may with tolerable certainty be assigned to Rājarāja I, if they do not belong to an earlier Rājakēsari like Parāntaka II. The conquest of Taḷigaipādi was probably undertaken from the side of Kongu and as part of the campaign in Kuḍamalai-nāḍu. By the time of this war the Noḷambas had long ceased to be an independent power and become subordinate to the Gangas. In the tenth century the name Noḷamba-vāḍi still included ‡ not only the districts of Tumkūr and Citalldurg, but much of the Bangalore, Kōḷār and Bellary districts and even parts of Salem and N. Arcot; this is sufficient proof of the place once held by the Noḷambas in the politics of Southern India. Though they lost much of their power at the time of Rājarāja’s invasion, they did not by any means die out altogether, and in Śaka 920 Gannarasa, the son of Ayyapa, was ruling a portion of Daligapādi as a feudatory of Rājarāja. § A certain Noḷambādhirāja was the general of the

* 127 of 1919. The official’s name Gangan Ambalavanar Gaṇḍarāditta Šōḷa Vilupparrāiyān seems to imply that he rose to prominence in Uttama Cōḷa’s reign, if not earlier.

† SII. iii 213. No. 212 also of Rājakēsari and of the 10th year mentions Malavaraiyān Sundaraŗōjan as the donor. This name suggests the reign of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa, and if this is correct, the father of the donor must, like Śiţiyaŗēḻar, have met his fate in the Ceylonese expedition of that monarch’s time. ARE. 1914 II, 15.

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

W. Cāḷukyas.

* E.C. x Mb. 208. † ibid. Ct. 118.

‡ "The present Kṛṣṇarājapet, Nāgamangala, Māṇḍya, Serilingapatam and Majavallī tīrthikas of the Mysore district", Fleet, JA. xxx pp. 109-10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

* E.I. xvi. p. 74.
† See the next chapter for further particulars of this war or another which followed not long after.
‡ 145 of 1897; S.II. vi. 102.
§ AKE. 1904, para. 17. See, however, the next chapter on Rājendra’s campaigns for proof that later in this reign part of this territory was regained by the Cālukyas.
boundary between the two empires. No inscriptions of Rājarāja have been found in Bellary so far; but then there are no Cālukya inscriptions of the period either. As a rule, Cōla inscriptions are not found in the remote provinces of the empire in as great numbers as in areas nearer home, and we cannot on this account entertain doubts about the correctness of facts clearly attested by contemporary records. That Rājarāja had a Mahādāṇḍanāyaka for the Ganga and Vēngī maṇḍalas* towards the close of his reign is sufficient proof of the extent of his empire and of the contiguity of these two maṇḍalas.

Rājarāja’s intercession in Vēngī affairs was the direct and natural result of the political development of the early years of his reign, rather than of any diplomatic design to dissociate the Eastern Cālukyas from their Western cousins. † If Rājarāja and his successors found it easier to spread their power along the east coast than across the Tungabhadrā, this was partly due to the different conditions in which the Eastern and the Western Cālukyas found themselves when the Cōlas entered on their imperial career under Rājarāja. After more than three centuries of rule in Vēngī, the Eastern Cālukyas had become an old and decrepit race, and their kingdom was falling a prey to disputed successions and anarchy. The coming of the Cōlas brought fresh blood into the family and became a source of strength to this declining dynasty which, sustained for nearly a century by the Cōlas in a position of respected though subordinate alliance, soon after, more than repaid the debt by contributing largely to

* 5 of 1895 (Yr. 28)—EC. iii Sr. 140
† Contra Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Gangai-Koṇḍa, pp. 541-2.
the continuance of the Cōla empire under Kulottunga I and his successors, the Cōla-Cālukyas, as they are sometimes called. The Western Cālukyas, on the other hand, had just emerged under Taila II, after centuries of subordination to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the restored dynasty was in its full vigour. As the Cēbrōlu inscription of Satyāśraya implies, they even made an attempt to unite the resources of the Eastern Cālukyas to their own; but being subject to attacks from the Paramāras in the north and the Cōlas in the south, they failed to do more than just keep their hold over their ancestral territory, the Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country. They were on the whole less fortunate than their Cōla contemporaries, and being compelled to wage many wars of defence, they found little time or inclination for aggression. Difficult as it may be to find a satisfactory scientific explanation for it, the fact remains, and it receives ample confirmation from the general course of history, that the chief dynasties throw up for a time a succession of very able rulers, that this succession occurs generally in the earlier part of the dynastic history, and that no dynasty flourishes for more than a limited number of generations. The relative importance of the Western and Eastern Cālukyas and the Cōlas about 1000 A.D. forms one of the numerous illustrations of this general rule furnished by the course of Indian history.

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

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

* 79 of 1921.

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

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

† EJ. xix No. 24. The text (p.142) has Karṇarāja; K. V. Lakshmana Rao has satisfactorily explained this mistake as due to a wrong sanskritisation of Karṇa.
‡ Journal of the Telugu Academy ii. pp. 399 ff.
§ Arājaham in Śaktivarman’s grant (l. 35); anāyikā in the Raṇastapūṇḍi grant (l. 40) of Vimalāditya.
any rate Amma II repelled all the attempts made by his enemies against him, and after a rule of twenty-five years from his accession in 945 A.D., he was followed by his half-brother Dānārṇava (970-3 A.D.). After Dānārṇava came the interregnum of twenty-seven years. The Arumbāka plates of Bādapa, without stating the duration of Amma II’s reign, say that Bādapa succeeded in expelling Amma II from the throne with the aid of Kṛṣṇa III and ruled the Vēṅgī kingdom after him. If this means that Bādapa’s rule began in Kṛṣṇa’s life-time, the reign of Bādapa must to some extent have overlapped the reigns of Amma II and Dānārṇava. By and by, about 973 A.D., at the close of Dānārṇava’s reign as implied by the later plates of the elder line, Bādapa succeeded in uniting the whole of the Vēṅgī kingdom in his hands and forcing the senior line into exile. It is remarkable how the Śrī Pūṇḍi plates of Tāla II ‘reconstruct’ the story of the interval between Tāla I and Tāla II manifestly with a view to showing that the younger line had the greater right to the Vēṅgī throne. * Whether Tāḷa II ruled independently after his elder brother Bādapa or not, † there can be no question that the plates of Bādapa and Tāḷa II are to be properly assigned to the interregnum mentioned in the later plates of the elder line. The long feud between the two branches which began in 925 A.D. with the usurpation of Tāḷa I reached a head in the reign of Amma II, and as a result the kingdom was divided for a time between the two branches till the princes of the elder line were driven out and completely

* El. xix p. 149. From an inscription at Kīcīpuram (237, 233 of 1931) it would appear that the Eastern Gāṇa Kāmārṇava declared himself in favour of the younger branch and fought against Dānārṇava, and fell in battle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† EI. vi p. 349.
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nārāyaṇa, a surname evidently modelled on that of Rājarāja, Cōla-nārāyaṇa. Thus a study of the affairs of the E. Cālukya dynasty before

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

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

* See JAHRS. iii, iv, B. V. Krishna Rao’s History of Rajahmundry for an unconvincing attempt to show that Rājarāja had no part in the restoration of Śaktivarman. K. Rao’s identification of Jāṭa-Cōla with Jāṭivarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya is impossible.

† Korunelli plates—J. A. xiv p. 52 ii. 55–65.
‡ 396, 397 of 1896; ASI. 1911–12 pp. 171–2.
§ ASI. 1911–12 p. 172 n. 2.
The inscriptions are recorded in the name of Rājendra and mention the erection of a pillar of victory by him on the high peak of the Mahendra mountain. But this expedition against Vimalāditya finds no place in Rājendra's historical introduction. It took place in the reign of his father and accounts for Rājarāja's claim that he conquered Kalinga. * Vimalāditya, the Cālukya son-in-law of Rājarāja, made some presents in 1014 A.D. to a temple in Tiruvaiyār, in the heart of the Cōla country. †

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

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

† 215 of 1894.

‡ "The king of the Maldives assumes the style of king of the Twelve Thousand Islands,"—Renaudot quoting Pyrard—Ancient Accounts, Remarks p. 2. Also Teung Pau xvi, p. 338 n. 1.
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In the closing years of his reign Rājarāja associated his son Rājendra with himself in the official administration. This formal recognition of Rājendra as heir apparent took place some time between the 27th March and 7th July 1012 A.D. * Rājendra must have been at least twenty-five years of age at the time as he is mentioned in Rājarāja’s inscriptions of the fourth year as a young prince. † Considering the large number of Tanjore inscriptions which mark the twenty-ninth year of his father, we may conclude that this year (1014 A.D.) marked the close of Rājarāja’s illustrious reign. ‡

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

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

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* El. viii p. 260.
† 117 A of 1896.
‡ This seems to be the proper explanation of the apparently puzzling reference to a gift of the third year of Rājendra in SII. ii 90.
§ Gopinatha Rao thought this surname to be that of Rājadhīraja and assigned this record to Rājarāja II, who, however, was a Parakeśari. (TAS. i, p. 168). 252 of 1915 is another Rājarāja record of the 31st year.
¶ SII. ii, p. 312; 468 of 1908.
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rectangular court, 750 feet by 250, is divided into two by a partition wall, which carries a low tower of beautiful design; the inner court is twice as long as the outer. The chief shrine occupies the centre of the Western half of this inner court and the Vimāna, which rises over the sanctum to a height of nearly 200 feet on a square base of about a hundred feet, dominates the whole structure. The boldly moulded basement, the huge monolithic Nandi, the simple and tasteful bas-reliefs and the decorative motifs on the Vimāna and the balustrades, the graceful sculptures in the niches on the sides of the Vimāna and the fine chiselling which marks the entire work, including the lettering of the numerous inscriptions, are not equalled by anything known in South Indian architecture. Viewed from any angle, the effect produced by the whole of this wonderful structure is pleasing and impressive. That the stone walls round the garbhagṛha right under the Vimāna in the interior of the temple were overlaid with a thin coat of chunam (lime) plaster, and painted, is beyond question.* When he saw this great enterprise of his reign drawing to completion, on the 275th day of the 25th year of his reign, Rājarāja solemnly dedicated the copper-pot intended for adorning the finial at the top of the Vimāna. We have no authentic information as to how the colossal labour involved in transporting the huge blocks of granite over great distances, and the technical problems involved in raising them to position, were met. The conquered countries doubtless paid part of the cost. After its completion, the temple in the capital city had close business relations with the rest of the country; year after year villages from all parts

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

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

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

* l. 118 of the grant (Tamil part).
† Gerini-Researches p. 527. Also ARE. 1899, paragraph 48.
himself Cōḷendrasimha, Śivapūdaśēkhara, Kṣatriya-
śikhāmanī, Jananātha, Nigarili-śōla, Rājendra-
simha, Cōḷa-mārtāṇḍa, Rājaśraya, Rāja-
mārtāṇḍa, Nityavinōda, Pāṇḍyakulāśani, Kēra-
lāntaka, Śingalāntaka, Ravikulamāṇikya, Teling-
akułakāla * and so on. Many of
these names, together with those of other members of
the royal family, like Kundavai, Šembiyan-mahādēvi
and others often distinguished the wards (śēris)
in the larger villages and towns of the Cōḷa empire. †
The regiments in the army also bore names formed out of
the surnames of kings and princes.

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

* Pd. 91.
† Mannār-kōvil in the Tinnevelly district had twelve śēris so named, see 109
of 1905 (E.I. xi pp. 292-8). Tirukkaliṭṭai in Tanjore had the following śēris,
among others: Arumolēlavaccēri, Jananāthaccēri, Nittavinōdaccēri, Rājakēśarīcēri,
Nigariliḻōjaccēri, Aḻagiyavelaccēri, Śingalāntakkaccēri, Kundavaiaccēri, Śolakulasundharaccēri, Rājamārtślāṅgaccēri, and Rājārājaccēri (292 of 1908 of the ninth
year of Rājendra I).
‡ 42 of 1907. For hiranya-garbha in modern times, see Galletti—The Dutch
in Malabar p. 110 and n.
§ 633-C. of 1902 (Rājendra 3).
only son of Rājarāja we know, was Vānavan-mahādēvi alias Tribhuvana-mahādēvi. * An inscription of the twenty-seventh year mentions Ilangōṇ Picci as the name of the senior queen (mūltā-dēviyār) of the Cōḷa king (Śēlaperumāṇ) and calls her the daughter of Vallavaraiyaṇ. † We know that Vallavaraiyaṇ Vandyadēvar was the husband of Kundavai, the elder sister of Rājarāja, ‡ who is often called in the inscriptions Āḷvār Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār and the daughter of Pon-māligait-tunjina-dēvar. § Kundavai was much respected and treated with great affection by her brother. Her gifts to the Tanjore temple were recorded, next to the king's own, on the walls of the central shrine, while those of the queens and the officers of state found a place only on the niches and pillars of the enclosure. ¶ One wonders if Ilangōṇ Picci was the daughter of Kundavai whom the king, her mother's younger brother, took to wife; such marriages are not unknown in the Tamil country to-day. Rājarāja must have had at least three daughters, because an inscription from Tiruvalaṇjuḻi mentions besides the younger Kundavai, the queen of Cāḻukya-Vimalāditya, a middle daughter of the king called Mādevaḍigal. || Peculiar interest attaches to two memorials erected by Rājarāja which show his eagerness to fulfil his obligations to his family, and that in a manner productive of public good. They are the construction at Tirumukkūḍal ** of a maṇḍapa called after Śembiyān Mahādēvi, the queen of Gaṅḍarāditya, and mother of Uttama Cōḷa, and the foundation of the Cōḷēśvara or Ariṇjigai-Iśvara temple at Mēlpādi. ††

* 117-A of 1896; 448 of 1918.
‡ S.II. ii 2.
§ S.II. ii. Introd. p. 8.
¶ 633 of 1902 (Vr. 25).
** 178 of 1915 (Vr. 28).
†† S.II. iii 15.

† 14 of 1920.
§ 8 of 1919.
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This history of the reign may be concluded with an account of the leading officials and feudatories who distinguished themselves in the royal service. Mention has been made already of the place held by Mahādānānāyaka Paṅcavan Mahārāya, (probably identical with the crown-prince) the sphere of whose command extended over the Ganga and Vēngī maṇḍalas, and the Noḷamba feudatories of the king in the Ganga country. Paraman Maḷapādiyār alias Mummuḍi-sōḷan was a general who conquered the Śiṭpuli and Pāki nādus early in this reign. In the Trichinopoly district, the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, of uncertain origin but closely allied to the royal family from the days when Parāntaka I married a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar princess, were occupying a respected position, and were apparently in the enjoyment of full responsibility for the administration of a small area around Paḻuvūr. The inscriptions of Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṛavan, which clearly acknowledge the overlordship of Rājarāja are found in Kīla- and Meḷappalūvūr from the third year of the reign and show him ruling in state. He had for instance officers or nobles of the perundaram, like the Cōla monarchs and princes themselves. * This chieftain built a temple to Tiruttōṭṭam-uḍaiyār in Meḷappalūvūr, † and adopted the ancient standard prevailing at Nandipuram for regulating taxation in Paḻuvūr. ‡ The latest records mentioning him seem to be dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja. § Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan apparently a son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōla, ¶ served Rājarāja as an important official in the department

* 115 of 1895.  † 365, 367 of 1924 (Rējak. 10, 16).  ‡ 363 of 1924.  § Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan is also mentioned in 356 of 1917 (Vr. 10).
of temple-affairs, so to say. We see him conducting enquiries into the affairs of temples in various parts of the country, punishing defaulters * and making proper arrangements for the prevention of neglect in subsequent years. He has been wrongly identified with Gaṇḍarādittar, the author of the Tiruviśaippu, which was in reality composed by his grandfather. † In the district of North Arcot there were the Ilāḍarāya (Lāṭa) chieftains who had apparently been ruling the region round Paṇcapāṇḍavamalai continuously from the days of Parāntaka I; in the eighth year of Rājarāja, Udaiyār Viraśōlar, son of Udaiyār Ilāḍarājar Pugalvippavarganḍan, remitted, at the request of his queen, some taxes in favour of a Jain temple. ‡ The regal titles employed in the inscriptions of these chieftains are perhaps an indication of the high favour in which they stood with their Cōla overlords. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Rājarāja, we find mention, in a Tiruvallam inscription, § of a Tiruvaiyan Śankaradēva who claimed descent from the Ganga kings of Kōlār and built at Tiruvallam a temple called Tiruvaiya-Iśvara apparently after his father. The high-sounding titles that precede the name of this obscure chieftain constitute a clear warning against hasty inferences from such titles in regard to the political status of the person employing them. Nannamarāyar of the Vaidumba family, the son of Tukkarai who possessed the Ingallūr-nādu in Mahārājapādi, in the Cuddapah district, gave an endowment at Tiruvallam in North

* 283 of 1905; 218 of 1921.
† The mistake seems to have arisen from the false belief that G.'s Tiruviśaippu refers to the Tanjore temple whereas it is on Cidambaram. See T. A. G. Rao—Śālavamśa-caritirāc-curukkam p. 16 n.
‡ 19 of 1890 (EI. iv p. 139.)
§ 11 of 1890 (SI. iii 51).
Arcot about 1005 A. D. * A Mummuḍi Vaitumba-mahārājan made a gift in Reḍḍipālem in Nellore about A. D. 993. † This shows that the Vaidumbas continued under Rājarāja, as under his predecessors after Parāntaka I, to occupy subordinate official positions in the Cōla administrative system. Mention is made of a Śaḷukki Vīmayan whose dēvi (queen), Vīmayan Vambavai, endowed a lamp in the temple at Tīruvaiyāgu in the twenty-second year (c. 1007 A. D.) of Rājarāja; ‡ his dynastic connections and the locality of his rule are not quite clear. Like the Vaidumbas, the Bāṇas, who shared the same fate with them at the hands of Parāntaka I, seem to have become officers sharing in the administration of the country under the Cōlas. A Bāṇa prince, Maṇavan Narasimhavarman, whose records commence with the usual introduction of Rājarāja and then proceed to give the traditional titles of the Bāṇas in all their fullness, was apparently ruling some part of the South Arcot district in the neighbourhood of Jambai towards the close of Rājarāja’s reign, as we learn that he excavated a new irrigation tank in that locality. § The Tanjore inscriptions mention Sēnāpati Śrī Kṛṣṇan Rāman of Amaṇ-kuḍi, ¶ who is called Rājendrasōḷa Brahmmārāyana in the larger Leyden grant, ‖ as the person who built the tīruccurṟūḷai, the surrounding enclosure and mantapa of the Tanjore temple under the king’s orders. Īrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍi-śōḷapōśan was another officer of perundaram rank who presented an image and some jewels to the Tanjore temple. ** He was doubtless a high official in the secretariat of the revenue department as we find him

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

* SII. iii, 9.
† SII. ii 95, p. 459.
‡ 624-A of 1902; 44 of 1907 (Yr. 24).
CHAPTER X

RAJENDRA I – (1012-1044 A.D.)

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

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

* EI. viii p. 260. † See ante p. 221, n. ‡
‡ 196 of 1917. § 271 of 1927 (Yr. 7)
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force which also served to protect the considerable overseas trade of the empire with the islands of the East Indies and with China. During the thirty-three years of his reign, Râjândra turned these initial advantages to the best possible use and succeeded in raising the Cûla empire to the position of the most extensive and most respected Hindu state of his time, and one which possessed though perhaps only for a time a not inconsiderable dominion over the Malay peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago. The history of Râjândra's reign is very largely the history of the extensive wars and conquests he undertook in the first half of his reign. Like his father, he has left behind in his stone inscriptions and in the Tiruvâlangâdu copper-plates a trustworthy account of the military and naval transactions of his reign which receive confirmation at all points at which we have the means of controlling it by other evidence.

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

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

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

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

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beginning *tinga०रtara०*, give an account of the part played by this prince in the campaigns of his father, and up to about the twenty-sixth year of Rājadhirāja's reign, his records must be understood to supplement those of Rājendra by giving an alternative description of more or less the same transactions from the standpoint of Rājadhirāja's part in them. * In an inscription of his twenty-sixth year from Tirumalavādi which adopts the shorter form of his introductio, † Rājadhirāja's umbrella of state is said to have functioned as if it were the shadow of the white umbrella of his father who conquered with his army the Ganges in the North, Ceylon in the South, Mahādai in the West and Kaḍāram in the East. This clear statement that the son ruled in full regal state in the life-time of his father, and that for as many as twenty-six years, provides the key for the proper understanding of an important aspect of Cōla history. Adopted in the first instance, possibly, as a device to obviate disputed succession, the system of choosing a successor in the life-time of the ruling king and associating him, after a formal installation, in the discharge of important public duties pointed the way, under the stress of empire, to a more deliberate and extensive application of the

Princes as administrators.

* Hultsch observed: "Rājadhirāja appears to have been coregent of (his predecessor Rājendra Cōla I) and cannot have exercised independent royal functions before the death of the other. It is in perfect accordance with this conclusion that his inscriptions which have been discovered so far are all dated in the later years of his reign viz., between the 26th and 32nd years." *SII.* iii. p. 52. When Hultsch said this, 172 of 1894 (Tirukkalukkungam) of the 26th year was the earliest record available. Since then, the *tinga०r* introduction has been reported as found in 484 of 1925 (Year 10) and 392 of 1921 (year 18), but on examining the impressions of these records, I have found that they are both dated in the thirty-sixth year. It is possible, however, that some records (with early regnal years) which, though containing no *praśatti*, give imperial titles to Rājadhirāja e.g., Tribhuvanacakravartin (241 of 1927) and Cakravartigal (124 of 1922), really belong to Rājadhirāja I. See also 244, 245 of 1929.

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


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inscription * became the sporting ground of Rājendra’s forces in battle. Mānyakheṭa (Mālkhed) must have suffered greatly in this invasion of Rājendra. In the closing years of Rāṣṭrakūṭa domination, it had been once sacked and plundered by the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa; and now, forty years later, under the Cālukyas, a worse fate overtook the unfortunate city. This must have weighed greatly with the Cālukyas who, soon after, transferred the capital to Kalyāṇi or Kalyāṇapura, 48 miles to the N. E. of Mālkhed. † An inscription of Rājendra from the Trichinopoly district, dated in his third year, ‡ mentions an incident in the fight with Satyāśraya before Maṇḍīkkaṇḍakam. A certain Śrutimān Nakkan Candran, a native of Üṛrattūr, was ordered by the king’s own mouth (perumāl tiruvāyāl moliya) to attack the enemy’s elephant and apparently lost his life, and for his benefit a gift was made to the temple of Mahādēva in his native village of Üṛrattūr. In this campaign, therefore, Rājendra crossed the Tungabhadrā, carried the war into the heart of the Cālukya country and attacked their very capital. It is not easy to see how these operations across the Tungabhadrā could have been coupled with an attack on Banavāse, long celebrated as the centre of Kadamba power, and then part of the W. Cālukya kingdom. Banavāse lies much outside, and too far to the west of the line of advance indicated by the rest of this campaign; § and yet the language of the inscription

* v. 70.
† Fleet ascribes this to Sōmeśvara ’I, Bom. Gaz. I, ii pp. 427, 440; El. xiii pp. 180-2. The transfer might have occurred earlier.
‡ 515 of 1912.
§ Dr. S.K. Aiyangar apparently finds no difficulty here. He says: “Having mastered possession of this debatable frontier of all South Indian history (Raichūr doab), he proceeded northwards into the southernmost districts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa country,” (italics mine-Gangaikondā Cālā p. 544). It is possible that more than one army took the field at the same time.
seems to render it obligatory to treat the whole as one campaign, and the names mentioned as the different stages, though not in that order, of a single expedition. This and the date of the Hottur inscription go far to suggest that the data furnished by Rājendra’s inscriptions also belong to the war which was waged about 1004 A.D. against Satyāśraya by Rājarāja, and that in this war the advance of Rājendra against the Cālikyas started from somewhere in the N.W. of Mysore, took a generally north-eastern line along the course of the Tungabhadra until the Raighur doab was reached, when a more northerly course was struck, and Kulap and Mālkhed became the objects of attack. A maṇḍapa at Tiruvorriyur called Manṇaikonda-Śoḷa was among the mementos of this campaign. *

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

* 103 of 1912.
† 50 of 1897; 439 of 1907.
‡ 4 of 1890; 257 of 1903. 585 of 1906 from Embādi (also fifth year) carries the conquests further up to Śāndimattivu. But as the inscription mentions the 25th year of the reign, it was engraved much later and is to be accepted with caution.
§ CV. ii p. xiii.
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exception of its remoter parts which were still held by the Singhalese. As a result of his expedition Rājendra claims to have captured the crown of the kings of Ceylon* the exceedingly beautiful crowns of their queens, the fine crown and the garland of Indra which the Pāṇḍya had previously deposited with them (the kings of Ceylon), and the whole Īla-mañḍalam on the transparent sea. The Mahāvamsa does not mince matters and gives a straight account which confirms the claims made by Rājendra in his inscriptions: †

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

* Hultsch (SI I. iii p. 28) translates: “the crown of the king of Īlam (who was as tempestuous as) the sea in fighting.” But in the phrase: “poru-kadāl- Iṭṭaraṇār-tamudiyam,” porukadāl is an attribute, not of ‘araṇār,’ but of Īlam. See EI. ix p. 233. The plurals in ‘araṇār’ and ‘ava rādviyār’ are meant to show that the hereditary crown is intended. See extract from the MV. which follows.

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

‡ Chinmapattikādhaṇika which Geiger thinks might have been a Buddha relic, highly prized, among the regalia of the Singhalese kings. Wijesimha translates: “and the Sacred forehead band.”
Rājēndra thus succeeded in getting hold of the Pāṇḍyan regalia left behind by Rājasimha, which Parāntaka I had sought and failed to secure. The Cōla inscriptions are silent on the details of the conquest and draw a veil over the pillage of Lankā so vividly chronicled in the Ceylonese annals, though one inscription apparently mentions Mahinda's submission to the Cōla king after he was transported to the mainland.* Rājēndra's success was complete, and the whole of the island became a Cōla province. We have some inscriptions of Rājēndra at Polonnaruwa and in the Colombo museum with the tiru manni valara introduction †; but these are in a very damaged condition, and valuable only as furnishing clear epigraphical confirmation of Rājēndra's conquest and rule in Ceylon. Several Hindu temples, Dēvāles devoted to Śiva and to Viṣṇu, have been discovered in the vicinity of Polonnaruwa; these are built of stone and in the Tamil Cōla style of architecture, and all of them must have been constructed in this period of Cōla rule in the island. The Mahāvamsa adds that twelve years after Rājēndra's invasion, possibly also after the death of Mahinda V, his son Kassapa who had been brought up in secret by the Singhalese for fear of the Cōlas, became the centre of a national resistance against the Tamil power, and that, after a six month's war in which a great number of Damīlas were killed by the Singhalese forces, he succeeded in making Rohaṇa once more independent of the Tamil province and ruled it as Vikkamabāhu I for a period of twelve years (1029-41 A.D.). The events of Vikkamabāhu's reign belong to a later stage of Rājēndra's rule and may be reserved for further consideration at the proper place.

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

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

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

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

* 22 of 1895; 211 of 1911.
† Erīpaḍai means ‘victorious army’; Šengadir-mālai may be taken more literally as above instead of being understood as meaning the sun. Contra Hultsch Ed. ix p. 233.
‡ 29 of 1897 (S.II. ii 82); 74 of 1907 (yr. 8).
§ 363 of 1917.
¶ vv. 89-97.
Rājarāja's son, the master of policy, took possession of the bright spotless pearls, the seeds of the spotless fame of the Pāṇḍya kings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* 363 of 1917. † 112 of 1905
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Mannārkōvil inscription is also valuable in other respects. It shows that the viceroys enjoyed almost regal status and were allowed officially to issue orders dated in their own years of office. It also indicates the close contact maintained between the headquarters of the empire,—Rājendra was residing in his palace at Kāncipuram when this gift was made,—and the viceregal courts. Lastly, the jurisdiction of the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy over the Cēra country is clearly seen in the Cēra king building a temple in the Pāṇḍya country and naming it after the Cōla emperor. From his inscriptions we see that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya ruled as viceroy for at least twenty-three years, up to about A.D. 1040. One of the latest * of these inscriptions opens with the praṇasti of Rājendra himself, (tiru manni valara). Another states that Sucindram in Nāḍịjināḍ (South Travancore) came to be called Sundara-soḷa-caturvedimangalam after the viceroy. † One curious fact not easy to explain is the record of a grant at Kōṭṭār (near Nagercoil) in south Travancore by an Eastern Cāḷukya prince who called himself Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja alias Cāḷukya Vijayāditya Vikkiyaṇṇa. The inscription is dated in the 11th year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya ‡ i.e., about A.D. 1029. Kōṭṭār was a strong fortress of strategic importance in those days and the Cōlas maintained a strong garrison there; it is quite possible that an Eastern Cāḷukya prince who held an important place in the army lived in Kōṭṭār for some years. But his identity is uncertain in the extreme.

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

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

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

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

* Fleet DKD. 436.
† Rangachari-Bellary 279, 471; EC. vii Sk. 220, 307.
‡ Hultsch translates 'payangōḍu paṭimiga' into "out of fear and full of vengeance." (EF. ix p. 233). Paḷi means 'vengeance' in some contexts; but here it has surely another meaning: 'disrepute'. The idea is that by his flight he lost his reputation as king or warrior. The phrase 'navaṇidaikkulap-perumalligaḻum' is not clear. Hultsch understands this independently of the Raṭṭapāḍi campaign, and translates: "the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubēra)." This flawless literal rendering is not intelligible, and Hultsch has not explained what he understands by it. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is inclined, on the other hand, to see a place name of unknown identity in Navaṇidhi-kula, like Nāmaṇākkōṇam, Paṇcappāḷi and Māṣaṇi-dēśa. (Sewell-Historical Inscriptions p. 65, n.) But unlike kōṇam, paḷi and dēśa, an ending in kula seems most unlikely for a place name. I think the whole expression is a rhetorical way of stating that much treasure fell into the hands of Rājēndra. 'Kulap-peru-malaigaḻ' suggest, by recalling the 'Kulaparvatas' of legend, the vastness of the treasure; and 'navaṇidhi,' though usually employed of the insignia of Kubēra, is introduced here to suggest the variety of the treasures of the Cāḷukya monarch. cf. kuladhanam-akhiḷam paṭisaṇca nukāh bhayam avalanṣha paṭiyānam caṇṭha (v. 105) of the same context in the Tiruvāḷangōḍu plates.
at Muśangi or Muyangi, as it is spelt variously in the inscriptions, and Jayasimha certainly did not get the best of it. Muśangi was most probably the same as Uccangidrug in the Bellary district. * To a description of this campaign the Tiruvālangādu plates devote a considerable number of well-turned verses in the best Kāvyā style, and though there are ten such verses, † we learn on the whole less about the actual occurrences in the war from these than from the few lines of the Tamil praśasti translated above. The king started from Kāñcipuram on his march against the Raṭṭa country, there was fierce battle between the forces of the Cōla king and those of Jayasimha, the latter fled to the forests and Rājēnda returned to his capital with much booty. Typical of the turns of thought of the composer and suggestive of the date of composition is the verse: ‡

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

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

* SH ii p. 94-5. n. 4. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks Maski more likely.
† 99-108.
‡ v. 101, SH iii p. 423.
§ JA. viii 18; Fleet DKD. 436; EI. xii pp. 295-6. Krishna Sastri's translation of verse 103 of the Tiruvālangādu plates is wrong in implying that the Raṭṭarāja lost his life in the war; parikhaṇḍita means 'defeated', not 'cut to pieces.'
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The next campaign undertaken by Rājendra was the northern expedition in quest of the Ganges. In the words of the Tiruvālangadu plates:

“‘The light of the Solar race (Rājendra), mocking Bhāgaratha who by the force of his austerities caused the descent of the Gangā, set out to sanctify his own land—with the waters of that stream brought (thither) by the strength of his arm.’”

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

* v. 109.

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

‡ 476 of 1911 (year 11) mentions it; records of the tenth year do not. The detailed account first appears in the twelfth year Sīl, i, 68; 467 of 1908.

§ vv. 110, 118.

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

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

* See E.I. ix p. 233. The notes below explain the variations in my rendering.
† Hultsch has: "whose forts (bore) banners which (touched) the clouds," which has no support from the text.
‡ The translation here is based on the reading in 176 of 1923: 'Kāṇḍaḷi
valanagaram Nāmaṇaikkōṇum.
§ Another form has 'veṇjina vīrav' for 'veṇjilai-vīrav.'
† Read: "Puṇḍaḷaip-pala-nāmāsuṇi-dīhan" (S.II. ii 20 1.5 and p. 108)
for 'Puṇḍaḷaip-pala-nān-māsuṇi-dīhan' (Hultsch) of the Tirumalai rock; or
translate "Māsuṇi-dēśa celebrated for fruits (amidst) green foliage."
|| Read: "Ādi-nagar-vaivīc-candira" etc., where "vaivīc" is the locative
case ending, not to be read 'nagaravaivīyī' as has been done.
Map
Showing
RĀJĒNDRA’S
Expedition
To the
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whose great fame knew no decline; Oḍḍa-viṣaya which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence; the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brahmins assembled; Taṇḍabuttī, in whose gardens bees abounded, (land which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkaṇḍalāḍam, whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇasūra; Vangala-dēśa, where the rain water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong Mahipāla; together with Śāngu who wore the anklet (of value); Uttirāḷāḍam (on the shore of) the expansive ocean (producing) pearls; and the Gāṅgā whose waters bearing fragrant flowers dashed against the bathing places (līrtha).

The facts that Śakkarakkoṭṭam was the first place taken by Rājendrā’s army in the course of this campaign and that the king met his victorious general on the banks of the Gōḍāvari on his way back at the end of the campaign imply that the Vēṅgi kingdom retained under Rājendrā the same relation of close subordinate alliance with the Cōḷa empire which it had held in Rājarāja’s time.

* This seems better for ‘ayarvil vay-yārīti Ādinagar’, than ‘which was famous for unceasing abundance’ (Hultsch).

† ‘Miḷai’ is a synonym for kāvaṭkāḍū; Maṇimākalai, xxviii, l. 25.

‡ Read ‘tōḍu-kāḍar-cangu-vuḍuḍal Mahipālanai’ (Tanjore S.II. ii 20 plate.) Hultsch’s talk of ‘ear-rings, slippers and bracelets’ of Mahipāla is entirely out of place. Often also ‘tōḍu-kāḍar-cangu-vuḍuḍal Mahipālan’ (478 of 1902), where ‘Śāngu’ may mean conch (jāṅkha).

§ ‘Veṭimalar’ for ‘verī-mañal’ in some copies.

† Dr. S.K. Aiyangar suggests that this campaign started from Kulpak, the northern limit of Rājendrā’s earlier campaigns, or “from somewhere not far off,” (Gangai-kōṇḍa-Cōḷa p. 549). There is no evidence, however, to show that at any time Rājendrā became master of the W. Cāḻukya territory in the present Hyderabad state so as to organise and despatch a large army from there on a campaign of aggressive warfare into foreign territory. And the Tiruvāḷangādu plates are explicit, as Dr. Aiyangar has himself noticed (ibid. p. 547), that the expedition started from the Cōḷa capital.
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Śakkarakkōṭṭam has been identified with Cakrakōtya which finds mention in a Nāga-vamśi copper-plate grant from Bastar dated A.D. 1065, and its modern representative is probably Citrakūṭa or Citrakoṭa, 8 miles from Rājāpura where the copper-plates were found. Rājāpura, the capital of Bastar, is itself 22 miles north-west of Jagadālpur, on the bank of the Indrāvati river. * Śakkarakkōṭṭam and the places that follow up to Māsuṇi-dēśam have thus to be sought in the territory contiguous to the Vēngī kingdom to the north-west of it. Māsuṇi-dēśam literally means the land of the snakes; the kings of the Chindaka family represented by the Rājāpura plates, called themselves Nāga-vamśo-dbhava (born of the Cobra race), and Bhōgavati-pura-varośvāra (lord of Bhōgavati, the best of cities); in a later stone inscription of Śaka 1140, one of them is called Śri- bhujagavara-bhūṣaṇa-mahā-rājulu, † the māharāja who was the ornament of the race of the best of serpents. It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that by Māsuṇi dēśam is meant the land ruled by these kings. On this assumption, Madurai-maṇḍalām, Ņāmaṇaikkōṇam and Paṅcappalī must be sought in the same region and held to be parts of Māsuṇi-dēśam. It may be noted that Cakrakōṭa is itself called a maṇḍala ‡ like Madurai-maṇḍalām, and that the donor of the Rājāpura plates is called Madhurāntaka.

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

† ibid. p. 163.
‡ ibid. p. 180, l. 29.
§ E.I. vii List p. 120 n. 3.
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Bhöja of Dhärā mentioned in the Udaipur inscription. *

The Tamil inscription says that after the capture of Kōsalai-nāḍu, the Cōḷa general attacked and overthrew in order Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, Raṇaṣūra of southern Lāḍa and Gōvindacandra of Vangāḷa before he fought with Mahīpāḷa of Uttara-lāḍa and reached the Ganges. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates, on the other hand, state that the attack on Raṇaṣūra preceded that on Dharmapāḷa, and that the overthrow of Dharmapāḷa led the Cōḷa general to the banks of the Ganges. They also imply that the conquest of Mahīpāḷa was achieved on the return march. Obviously, both these accounts cannot be true, and as a choice has to be made, the Tamil prāśasti which was recorded almost immediately after the campaign must be accepted as the more authentic. On this basis, "most probably Daṇḍabhukti was the march-land between Orissa and Bengal," † and its ruler Dharmapāḷa, of whom we know nothing more than his name, may have been a relative of Mahīpāḷa, the powerful Pāḷa ruler of Bengal at the time. The language of the Tamil inscription appears to suggest, ‡ what seems even otherwise, that Mahīpāḷa had a sort of

* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that 'Śādinagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādinagar, Jēnagar of the Muhammadan historians,' is no other than Yēyēтинagar, identified with Binka by Hiralal and said to have been founded by one of the early Kāsari kings of Orissa. (Gangai-kōṇḍa-Cōḷa p. 550). But he does not say how he gets his new reading Śādinagar. The Tirumalai rock inscription clearly has "vaṅkūrtī-yaṇinagar" (EI. ix p. 232, plate 1.8) and the Tanjore record equally clearly "vaṅkūrtī Ādinagar" (SII. ii plate 3, l. 5, end); "vaṅkūrtī-yaṇinagar" is often found (77, 78, 78 A of 1895) and vaṅkūrtī-Ayā-ḍingar" in 171 of 1894—all of years 16 and 17. One may doubt also whether the rather colourless 'pāṭurar ṇēr' applied to Kōsalai-nāḍu is susceptible of bearing the interpretation put on it by Dr. Aiyangar who sees in it some of the consequences of the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni (ibid).

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

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

There is nothing incredible in this record of an audacious raid into the northern countries ordered by Rājēndra and carried out so thoroughly by his daṇḍanātha. It is possible that small successes were magnified into great victories and that any reverses sustained were glozed over; it is certain that the statement of the Tiruvālangādu plates § that the water of the Ganges was carried to Rājēndra by the defeated kings of the north at the bidding of the Cōla general is a boast without foundation. But of the substantial correctness of the story in its essentials we can entertain no doubt whatever. Partly on account of his imperfect knowledge of the political geography of the period, and more on account of the embellishments introduced into the story by his own imagination, Venkayya greatly underrated the

* A Lakṣmīśūra was samast-āṭavika-sāmanta-cakra-cṛṇāmaṇī in the reign of Raṇamāla, (ibid p. 72.)
† ibid. pp. 72-73; cf. Prabodha-candrodaya, Act ii, where we have: nānambhayam daksinārāja-pradēṣa-dāgata-bhāvijyati, and Gauḍam rāṣṭram-anuttamam nirupamā tatṛāpi Kāḍhāpuri.
‡ See note A at the end of the chapter. § vv. 117, 119.
GANGAIKONDA-COLESVARA-GENERAL VIEW.

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

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

† v. 109 of the Tiruvāḷaṅgēdu plates.

‡ ibid v. 124. § Pālat of Bengal pp. 73, 99.
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Karṇāṭas of Mithilā probably had a similar origin. A commentary, of uncertain date, to the Siddhānta-sāravaṇi of Trilōcana Śivācārya mentions the fact that Rājendra imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges into his own kingdom and established them in Kāncīpura and in the Cola country. *

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

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

* Verse 111, end of Anantāsamblu's gloss (Madras Mss. Library). In two verses introduced by the glossator with the words 'atra pūrvakathā-prasannagah,' Rājendra is said to have himself gone to bathe in the Ganges. Krishna Sastri wrongly ascribes these statements to the Siddhānta-sāravaṇi itself and suggests that the work was composed in Rājendra's time and under his patronage. SII. iii introduction p. 22.

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

‡ v. 123.

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

¶ The conjecture 'vāhāyam' (p. 107 n. 5) does not help. The reading in other records 'vāgāyam' is quite good, 'vāgar' victory, 'am' is expletive. Parakāhal, 'fighting ocean' is a common expression for 'army'. 'Kumbakkari' means 'elephant with the kumbha, the globular front,'
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had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādharatāraṇa at the "war-gate" of his extensive city *; Śrī Vijaya † with the "jewelled wicket-gate" ‡ adorned with great splendour and the "gate of large jewels"; Paṇṇai with water in its bathing ghats §; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart ¶; Māyiruṅgæm, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilangoūka (i.e. Lankasoka) undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māpappālam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Čavilimbangam, having fine walls as defence; Valappandūru having vilappandūru (?)?; Talattakkōlam praised by great men (versed in) in the sciences; Mādamalingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilamuridēsam, whose fierce strength rose in war **; Mānakkavāram, in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting ††; and Kaḷāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep ‡‡ sea.

* Hultsch has: 'extensive city of the enemy.' The Tanjore text "śrētvamahanakagar" can hardly give his meaning. I take it to be 'śrētu+ avan+ahanagar'. The tempting suggestion of Coedes, that this and the following phrases may be attributes of Śrīviṣayya (BEPEO, xviii No. 6 p. 5 n. 1) has been partly accepted by me.

† See EI.ix p. 231.

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

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

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

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

** 'Was subdued by a vehement (attack),' Hultsch. The text is 'kalämudir - kāṇumūdir' which means that the fierce strength (kāṇumūdir) increased (muḍir) in fighting or war (kalām).

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

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

* S.II. ii. 20.
† ibid p. 106.
‡ S.II. iii p. 195.
§ This had been noted in Hobson-Jobson. BEFEO. xviii 6. p. 6, n. 5.

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

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

* ARB. 1908, paragraph 25.
† BEFEQ, xviii No. 6. The extensive Researches (1909) of Gerini (Asiatic Society Monographs vol. 1), also deserves grateful acknowledgment from all students of the historical geography of Eastern Asia.
‡ ARB. 1919, paragraphs. 46-47.
§ ibid. 1922, paragraph. 14. ¶ op. cit. p. 5.
seized his treasures, then a certain number of countries and lastly Kaḍāram. It is a question, then, of one and the same campaign, and it is a priori infinitely probable that the different countries enumerated must have been either vassal states of the king of Kaḍāram, or even simply the different towns or provinces of his kingdom.” Once this is recognised, the identification of the different places mentioned would be rendered easier by that of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya, the two places ruled by the same king in the reign of Rājarāja, and conquered by Rājendra from Sangrāma-vijayottunga-varman.

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

* The Chinese habit of abridging foreign names, especially when they are long, is well-known.
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San-fo-tsi, Che-li-fo-che, into Śrī Vijaya, rather than the usual but meaningless form Śrībhōja. *

Śrī Vijaya.

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

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

* op. cit. pp. 23-4. See also Ferrand, L’Empire Sumatranais de Śrī Vijaya JA. 1922, pp. 163 ff.
† Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua p. 35; Coedes, op. cit. p. 13.
‡ pp. 60-2. § op. cit. p. 25. ¶ Gerini, Researches p. 513.
a Malaya country and people confront the enquirer." *

Māyirudīngam.

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

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

† Chau Ju-kua. p. 67.

‡ Coedes op. cit. pp. 10-11; 33-6. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: "Māyirudīngam may be Besinga (Ṛṣi Śrnga), the modern Rangoon" (op. cit. p. 576). Contra. Gerini-pp. 76-7. We cannot, of course, go so far as afield for finding Māyirudīngam.


¶ Geiger, CV. ch. 76, v. 63.

‖ ARE. 1898-9 paragraph 47; ARB. 1909-10, p. 14, paragraph 40.
in the Talaing country of Lower Burma, and he has been followed by other writers who have proceeded to make other identifications on this basis. * In fact it seems at first sight that this mention of Papprolam in an expedition against Rāmaññadēśa violently contradicts the assumption that all the places captured by Rājendra were dependent on Palembang and within easy reach of it. Coedes, however, draws attention to the fact that the long list of the grievances which Parākramabāhu had against the ruler of Rāmañña ends with his capture by force of a Singhalese princess whom the ruler of Lankā had sent to the Kāmbhōja country; † and suggests that "as it is infinitely probable that the messengers going from Ceylon to Kāmbhōja passed by the isthmus of Kra, it is in this region that the abduction (of the princess) must have been committed, and consequently, the authority of the king of Pagan might have extended so far." ‡ In the beginning of the eleventh century, however, the suzerainty of Palembang extended up to the Bay of Bandon, and there is no difficulty therefore in assuming that Māppappālam was a locality in the region of the isthmus of Kra, though its exact identity cannot now be made out. In any event, the presence, among the conquests of Rājendra Cūla I, of a locality which became part of Pegu in the 12th century, is not

* E.g. Kadāram with (Śrī)-khettara, ancient Preme (Kanakasabha); Mādamālingam with Martaban (Smith); cf. Coedes op. cit. p. 6.

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

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

Talaitakkōlam.

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

* Mēvilāmbangam is sought in Perak by Rouffaer, and in Karmaranga (Kalaśapura) by Levi. The former also identifies Vaḷaippandūru with Pāṇḍūranga in Campā. Krom observes: “All these conjectures depend on our opinions, not on sufficient grounds.” See Krom Hindoe-Javaansche-Geschiedenis pp. 251-2.

† Coedes. p. 15; Researches p. 93, Sylvain Levi Ptolemi, le Niddāja et la Bhāthathā in Études Asiatiques ii.

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

We have, however, still to explain why the king ruling over the empire is called the king of Kañhâram and to locate it. This is a place which is mentioned under the name of Kañhâha in Sanskrit Literature and epigraphy, † and of Kañhâram or Kiñhâram in the Kalingattupparâni besides

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

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

* vv. 138, 189.
† Paṭṭinappālai p. 550 (3rd Edn.). Skt. Kaṭṭha and Tamil Kaḍaram are, as pointed out by Coedes (op. cit. p. 20; also Ferrand, JA 1922 pp 50-1), semantically related, and mean "a copper cauldron"; Tam. Kaḍaram has also the sense of "brown colour bordering on the black", and Kāḷagam the sense of "blackness". Apparently this synonymity has induced Naccinārkkiniyar and the lexicographers to gloss Kāḷagam by Kaḍaram, Kaḍaram and Kīḍaram are evidently different readings of the same toponym; they have, however, no phonetic connection with Kaṭṭha or with Kāḷagam.
‡ op. cit. pp. 20-2.
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE KADARAM CAMPAIGN
OF RAJENDRA
ACCORDING TO COEDES.

Map of a region showing key locations and rivers, labeled with place names such as R. Ganges, R. Mahanadi, R. Krishna, Vengipura, Kancipuram, Nagapattinam, Ma-nakkavaram, R. Mahanadip, Mapappalam, Talaitakkolam, Kadamalinga, Sipora Is., Malaiyr, Srivijaya, Borneo, Madura, Java, etc.
explanation for the Cōlas calling the ruler of Śri Vijaya the king of Kaḍāram. For if, as seems most probable, Kaḍāram was at the time a dependency of Śri-Vijaya, and if it was also the first place which the Tamils touched in their passage into that kingdom, nothing could be more natural for them than to describe the ruler of the country as the king of Kaḍāram. And this port was then from a commercial point of view enjoying the same importance which the port of Penang is gaining in the same region to-day.

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

* Ferrand says that Kaḍāram, Kaṭha and Kaḷagam cannot represent Kedah on the W. coast of the Malay peninsula (JA. 1922 p. 51). "Geographically," he says, "Kaḍāram and Kaṭha are situated in Sumatra according to Tamil texts," and he cites the authority of the Paṇḍya inscriptions 588 of 1916 and 356 of 1906 as summed up in the epigraphical reports. These texts by no means imply anything more than that the king of Śēvakam was also the king of Kaḍāram in the thirteenth as in the eleventh century. The political position of Śri Vijaya and Kaḍāram in relation to Jaiya in the thirteenth century has been dealt with by Coedes in Bijdragen Tot de Taal Land etc. Deel 83 (1927) pp. 459 ff. in the paper "A propos de la chute Du Royaume de Śri Vijaya," where he reiterates his view that Kaḍāram is Kedah. Though Ferrand was inclined in 1922 (JA. p. 51) to locate Kaḍāram in the south of Sumatra or on its east coast, it must be mentioned that he left the question open as he himself felt the weakness of the texts he relied on. Gerini’s brief discussion (at p. 833 of his Researches) on which Dr. S. K. Aiyangar bases his identification of Kaḍāram with Kerti on the N. E. coast of Sumatra (Gangaihōda Cōla pp. 568 ff.) has now been superseded.

† S. K. Aiyangar, op. cit. pp. 566; 571.
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with China in this period is very clear. The construction of the Cūḍāmaṇi-vihāra in Negapatam by Māra-vijayottunga-varman of the Śailendra dynasty of Śrī-Vijaya could not have been an isolated undertaking all by itself, but one of the normal results of a growing intercourse between the Eastern islands and South India for purposes of trade. As in ancient times, this trade was part of a flourishing maritime commerce between the countries of the Western world and China, in which Arabs, Indians and the people of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago acted as intermediaries. At the end of the tenth century A.D. * the Chinese government awoke to the value of the foreign trade which was just then reviving after a long interruption owing to the troubles which broke out in China in the latter part of the 9th century, and with the object of increasing this trade "a mission was sent abroad by the Emperor with credentials under the imperial seal and provisions of gold and piece-goods to induce 'the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea to trade' to come to China." It must have been in response to such friendly invitations that the kings of Śrī Vijaya sent the embassies of the years 1003 and 1008 A.D. to which we have already made reference. The annals of the Song dynasty record that the first mission to China from Chu-lien (Cōla) reached that country in A. D. 1015 and state that the king of their country was Lo-ts'ā-lo-ts'ā (Rājarāja), which is correct as Rājarāja lived up to 1016 A. D. or thereabout. † Another embassy

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

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

* Cited Chau fa-kna p. 63.  † ASSI. iv. p. 208 ll. 86-88.
believe that, even if all the facts narrated in the inscriptions of Rājendra are accepted as literally true, the campaign led to any more permanent result than a vague acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the invader on the part of Sangrāma-Vijayottunga-varman. We shall see later that one of the successors of Rājendra, Vīrarājendra I, claims to have conquered Kadāram and restored it to its ruler who supplicated for it before the conqueror. In any case, there is no evidence to show that the Cōlas made any attempt to rule these lands as provinces of their empire.*

At best, they might have received a periodicál tribute. The fragmentary Tamil inscription in Sumatra dated 1088 A.D. † proves only the presence of Tamil merchants in the island, a fact even otherwise well-established.

By a tacit assumption, the rest of Rājendra's reign, which lasted for about twenty years after the campaign against Kadāram, has been treated by modern writers as an era of unbroken peace. ‡

A careful study of the inscriptions of his sons, especially of Rājadhīrāja I, shows, however, that the empire did not enjoy such unbroken peace and that there was much fighting in different parts of it carried on by his sons. It is conceivable that after the digvijaya of his early years was completed and his greatness in war proclaimed to the world beyond peradventure, the emperor refrained in his later years from taking the field in person, allowing his sons every chance of winning distinction and glory for themselves. There

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

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

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

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* 118 of 1888 (SII. iv 223) dated in the 24th year and found in Cidambaram. This record is curious in many ways and needs rather cautious handling. It starts in the usual manner, tiru manni valara etc., and follows the regular form up to takhaya-āḍamum in the narrative of the Ganges campaign. At this point, the prālisti takes a new turn, and what follows in this record is found almost word for word in some of the later records (e.g. 87 of 1895) of Rajendra II, the second son of Rajendra I and successor to Rajadhiraśa. We may be tempted to assume that Rajendra II’s record borrowed the expression from his father’s Cidambaram prālisti which omitted the latter half of the usual form and substituted an account of the events of the second part of the king’s reign. The beginning tiru manni valara and the high regnal year, 24, of this record favour this supposition. But there are difficulties. The king is called Kajakṣaśi, a title which neither of the two Rajendras had; the new portion does not fit in well with the first part of the old prālisti reproduced here. This record is doubtless a copy of an earlier original, made in the reign of Kulottunga III. (See beginning of 117 of 1888, SII. iv 222). After all, some mistake might have occurred in the re-engraving and the records of two reigns might have been jumbled up.

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

‡ Though “temmavar” may mean Pandyas it seems possible that here it means only “kings of the South,” an alliance between Ceylon (Mānabharaṇa) (SII. iii 29, l. 13), Keralā and Pandyya being meant.
trampled by his furious elephant Attivāraṇa; and drove to the ancient Mullaiyūr, Sundara Pāṇḍyan of endless great fame, who lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol, the bunches (of hairs) of the white yak, and the throne, and who ran away,—his crown dropping down, (his) hair dishevelled and (his) feet tired. (He) sent the undaunted king of Vēṇāḍu to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the Senior (chief) of Irāmakūḍam. * While the strong Villavan (Cēra), in his terror † hid himself in the jungle, (the Cōla) put on a fresh (garland of) Vañji flower, ‡ and forthwith destroyed the ships at Kāndaḷūr-sālai on the never-decreasing ocean."

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

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

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

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

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

* TAS. ii 87 ff; JRAS. 1922 pp. 161 ff.
† 523 of 1930.
comparatively mild character of Cōla imperialism which was in conformity with the precepts of the arthasastra on the policy that a conqueror should adopt towards conquered countries.

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

* 172 of 1894; 92 of 1892.
† S.II. iii. 29.
‡ 92 of 1892-date lost; 172 of 1894 dated (3)6, the first figure being doubtful.
§ 54 of 1893.
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Another war had to be waged against the Western Cālukyas by Rājādhīrāja, and of this war we have several detailed accounts in his inscriptions which supplement one another and give a fair idea of the course of the campaign. This war, which was directed against Āhamallā, must have occurred sometime after 1042 A.D., the last known date for Jayasimha II, * and consequently in the last years of Rājendrā’s reign. We have seen that after the battle of Mūsangī (c. 1021 A.D.), Jayasimha II made himself master of the Raichūr doab and reached the Tungabhadrā. In the remaining twenty years or so of his reign, he seems to have been left alone by Rājendrā who was engaged in other directions. Some inscriptions in the Bellary district † show that Jayasimha II even crossed the Tungabhadrā in the period and annexed parts of the Bellary district to his dominions after displacing the Cōla control over the tract. One of his vassals, Jagadēkāmallā Udayādityya Noḷamba Pullava Perumānaḍi, claims in A. D. 1033 to have ruled the Noḷamba-vāḍi 32000 among other districts; ‡ this seems to be an exaggeration, if it is not a mere repetition of a traditional title of the Noḷambas. But after the long interval during which the Cālukyas were left free to pursue their plans, and after the accession of Trailōkymallā Āhamallā Sōṃeśvara I, the Cōla monarch might have felt the need for a fresh assertion of his supremacy; or possibly there were some specific causes for a fresh war of which we have no knowledge and which came to a head soon after Sōṃeśvara’s accession. Whatever that may be, Sōṃeśvara had to face a fresh Cōla invasion into his territory led by Rājādhīrāja; one set of Cōla inscriptions state that, in

† Rangachari-Bellary 185, 229, 285.
‡ 253 of 1918.
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the war that followed, the Cōla forces * overwhelmed the Cākulya army and killed its leaders Gaṇḍappayya and Gaṇḍādhara together with a large number of elephants; that the celebrated warriors Vikki and Vijayāditya were forced to retreat like cowards along with Sangamayya; and that a vast amount of treasure, horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Cōlas, who set fire to the city of Kolliippākkai. Vikki and Vijayāditya were no doubt the sons of Sōmēsvara, who afterwards became Vikramāditya VI and Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. Other records of the same period † give more details of this campaign of Rājadhirāja. They mention 'a hot battle at Pūndi with (the) swelling waters' in which Viccaya ‡ fled in fear, abandoning his father and mother to the mercies of the Cōla army; when Āhavamalla, in his fear, sent messengers (for opening negotiations), they were rudely handled by the Cōla and were forced to carry on their persons inscriptions proclaiming the flight of Āhavamalla in fear; then, followed by his forces, the Cōla took his herd of elephants for bathing them in the three bathing ghats (turai), Śīruturai, Perundurai and the Daivabhīmakasi, and engraved the emblem of the fierce tiger on hills marked by the boar sign of the enemy, and planted the pillar of victory; § he played games ¶ with the kings who prostrated themselves at his feet, and raised aloft the banner of charity with that of the tiger, distributing among the needy the ancient treasures captured from the enemy; he then defeated several

* Hultsch says that the Cōla forces were led by a commander named Kēvudan; but I am not sure of the text here. See e.g. 54 of 1893 and 6 of 1890.

† 172 of 1894 (Yr. 26); 92 of 1892 (n. d.) SII. v 465; iv 539.

‡ This could not have been Vijayāditya.


¶ The expression used is 'ṣenḍalī'—some game with a ball seems to be meant.
leaders of enemy forces such as the Nuñumba, Kālidāsa, Cāmūnda, Kommayya and the Villavarāja, beheaded the Gurjara king, sparing only those who sought his protection and restoring to them their diadems and their positions. At this point some records * introduce particulars not found in others. Though the gaps in the text are an obstacle to a full understanding of these particulars, their trend is quite clear. Two persons who accompanied a Perkañai, a high official in the service of the Cālukya monarch, apparently sent by him to deliver some hostile message to the Cōla, were chosen for being the media of a studied and barbarous insult to the Cālukyas; one of them was compelled to wear the dress of a woman, and the other had his head shaven so as to show five tufts, and they were named 'the miserable Áhavamalli and Áhavamalla' and sent adrift along with the Perkañai whom they had accompanied. Then, the ancient city of Kalyāṇapuram was sacked and its royal palace razed to the ground after its guards had been overpowered. And Rājadhirāja assumed in that city the title of Vijayarājendra and performed a Virābhīṣēka; this is confirmed by another inscription of a later date in Rajadhirāja’s reign, † with a unique praśasti beginning tirukkoḍiyodu; this record lays great stress on the victory against Áhavamalla, and states that the title Vijayarājendra was adopted by the king at the Virābhīṣēka that followed the victory. And at Dārāṣuram in the Tanjore district can be seen even to-day a fine image of a dvārapālaka, very different in the style of its workmanship from similar Cōla images, bearing the inscription: ✡

* 172 of 1894.  
† 244 of 1925 (Vr. 36).

* The text, as copied by me direct from the pedestal of the image is "(0-1) Svastiśri Uḍaiyā Śrī Vijayarājendra-deva-(0-2) Kalyāṇa-puram-erittu koḻu-vanda dvārapalaka." In 1-2 ‘ṇa’ is engraved below the line; cf. yah Kalyāṇa-puram dādha of v. 73 of the Kanyākumāri inscription.
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"The dvārapālaka (door-keeper) brought by Udaiyar Śri Vijayarājendra-dēva after burning Kalyāṇapuram."

There is no mention in Sōmēśvara’s inscriptions either of this campaign of Rājādhirāja or of the later war which, as we shall see, led to his death on the battle-field of Koppam. In all the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, * there is nothing that would lead us to imagine that so great a disaster overtook him soon after his accession as is implied by the Cōla records cited above. Though it may be conceded that the Cōla accounts of the war are altogether too favourable to their own side, their substantial correctness seems to be beyond cavil. The chronology of the war is equally indisputable. All these incidents are narrated in records of the twenty-sixth or earlier years of Rājādhirāja, and must have occurred before 1044 A.D.; and Sōmēśvara I did not become king before 1042 A.D. Moreover, the Dārāsuram dvārapālaka and other images in the same place give clear proof that Rājādhirāja sacked Kalyāṇapuram, and that, like Napoleon, he carried off some fine works of art to his own country and the only occasion on which he claims, in his inscriptions, to have reached Kalyāṇapuram is in the course of the expedition we are now dealing with. Pūndi, where a pitched battle was fought in this war, and possibly once again when another Cōla invasion took place a few years later, was on the banks of

* The vague phrase "balavac-cōla-narindra-darpa-daḷanam" at the beginning of a stereotyped Kanarese verse in some of his records means little; it is repeated of his son Sōmēśvara II, and as Barnett has observed of the conquests detailed in this verse, the list "seems to be more epic than historical." (EI. xv. p. 86 n. 6; pp. 87, 97). The inscriptions noticed by Fleet (DKD. p. 441) are of a later date and will be considered in the proper place. I find it impossible to attach any value to the poetry of Bilhana who in his Vikramāditya-vacarita makes Sōmēśvara enter Kāḷīpiram in victory. (I. 114-7) It was more or less the poet’s job to do it as Sōmēśvara was the father of Bilhana’s more fortunate hero Vikramāditya VI.
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the Kṛṣṇā, perhaps in the Raichūr doab. * By the three
turais, Śīruturai, Perundurai, and Daiva-bhīmakasi are
no doubt meant the rivers Tungabhadrā, Kṛṣṇā † and,
probably, the Bhīmā. Some of the minor incidents,
for which the Cōla ruler takes credit, look extremely
realistic, and show the relentless nature of the hosti-
lities between the protagonists in this long contest.

It is a fact of some importance that the mention
of Kalyāṇapura in this campaign appears to be about
ten years earlier than "the very earliest epigraphic
mention of the place" which has been traced by Fleet
in a record of A. D. 1053, ‡ and here it is already called
' an old city', § and a royal palace of the Cālukyas
in it is also mentioned. This would suggest that
Kalyāṇapura must have been at least a subsidiary
capital for some years before the time when, accord-
ing to Fleet, it was "founded or developed into a
capital " by Sōmēśvara I.

The closing years of Rājendra's reign formed the
most splendid period of the history
of the Cōlas of the Vijayālaya line.
The extent of the empire was at its
widest and its military and naval prestige stood at its
highest. There remained the necessity, ever present
in military empires, of carrying out punitive expeditions
to suppress outbreaks and keep the conquered territories under control. The emperor was ably
assisted by his talented sons and other members of his
family, and the tasks of imperial administration were

* 6 of 1890 and 221 of 1894 say " taṇḍumal Pēriyār-(riḍai)-Ka-rai-(Pāṇḍūr)i-kaṭaka-mūn-nagar."
† Fleet E.I. xii. pp. 293-4.
‡ DKD. p. 440.
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thus put in commission. Large undertakings, like the Pāṇḍya war against Sundara Pāṇḍya and his confreres, or the Cāḷukya war against Āhavamalla, were carried out in these years by the heir-apparent Rājadhīrāja, while a host of feudatories looked after minor affairs like the war of Cōreya in the Nambihallī region of the Mysore country in which ‘cows were carried off and women’s girdles were unloosed.’ * Among such feudatories a few naturally stand out more prominently than the rest in the records of the reign and of these a brief account may be given here.

That even the Pāṇḍyas normally accepted such a position of subordination and reconciled themselves to it is shown by the queen of the Pāṇḍya King Śrīvallabha making gifts to the Tiruviṣalūr temple early in the reign, possibly when Rājarāja was still alive. † A part of the modern North Arcot district lying round about Brahmadēśam was under the jurisdiction of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, the chief of the Sāmantas as he is called and husband of Rājarāja’s elder sister Kundavai. Two other wives of this person are mentioned, Indaladēvi ‡ and Mandara-gauravanār Kundōdēviyār § who, despite the second part of her name, appears to have been different from Parāntakan Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār, the Cōla princess said to have been residing in the palace at Palaiyārū in the fourth and fifth years of the reign. ¶ A nādu came to be called Vallavaraiyar-nādu after this chief of the Sāmantas and part of it lay in the modern Salem district. || A certain Yādava Bhīma, also called Uttama Cōla Milāduṭṭaiyār, was in charge of a part of the hilly tracts in the modern South Arcot district in the fourth

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year. * Seven or eight years later, we find a Gangai-
konda Cōla-milāduḍaiyar, possibly in charge of the
same division, but only mentioned in the inscriptions as
making an endowment for a lamp to be maintained in
the temple at Kālahasti. † A number of short but
interesting Kanarese and Tamil inscriptions at Kottap-
sivaram, of which one ‡ is dated in the tenth year of
Rājendra, and the others obviously belong to the same
time, show that, in this reign and that of Rājarāja,
a certain Araiyan Rājarājan alias Vikrama-Cōla
Cōliya-varaiyan distinguished himself greatly in the
Cōla service in the Cālukya and Vēngi wars § and
earned such high titles as Nālaḍi Bhīma, Cōḷana-
cakra, Sāmantābharanaṇam, Vīra-bhuṣaṇam, and Edirṭta-
var-kālan (Tam. ‘death to foes’) or Ahitaraṭṭalivan
(Kan). Daṇḍanāyakan Nārakkān Kṛṣṇan Rāman who
built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple under
the orders of Rājarāja continued to serve Rājendra I
almost till the end of his reign as he is mentioned as
late as 1044 A.D. ¶ His son, Mārāyan Arumōlī, also
called Uttamaśōla Brahma-mārayan, was also a sēnāpati
who assisted Rājendra about A. D. 1033 in building a
temple to the Pidāri of Kōlar. || It may be observed
that of the two names of this sēnāpati, the first was the
personal name implying his social rank in the
nobility (mārāyam), and the fact that his father called
him after the ruling sovereign at the time of his birth;
the second was the official title of the man in his public
career in the king’s service in the army. A Nimbaḷa-
dēvi, the wife of certain Indaḷadēva of Taḷaigrāma
in Virāṭa-dēśa, the country round Hangal, made a

* 20 of 1905. † 291 of 1904. ‡ 23 of 1917.
§ 751 of 1917 (n.d.) records the flight of the Vēngi king when he heard of
the advance of this general ordered by the Cōla king.
¶ 217 of 1911. || 480 of 1911, (EC. x Kl. 109-a).
grant to the temple of Tiruvorriyur about 1042 A. D. *

We cannot be sure that Indalādeva was an official or a feudatory of the king, as he might have been a merchant, who, like several others of his profession in those days, might have travelled great distances. In any event, Rājendra’s claim to have conquered the Mysore country and parts of Raṭṭapudi is largely substantiated by such instances. Lastly, there were the Cangāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas of Mysore and Coorg. We have traced the rise of Kongāḷvas into prominence under Rājarāja who, in appreciation of the heroism of Maṇija, conferred on him the title Kṣatriyasikhamani Kongāḷva and an estate at Mālambi (Coorg). The Cangāḷva territory, Canganāḍ, lay in the Arkalgūḍ taluq of Mysore and the Yēḷusāvira country in Northern Coorg. Both the Cangāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas had Cōḷa prenomens from this time, evidently because the Cōḷas imposed their names on the provinces they conquered and on the rulers who accepted a vassal position in the empire. † In the course of a few years, however, the Kongāḷvas began to claim that they were themselves actually descended from the Cōḷas and joined the ranks of the numerous Telugu and Kanarese local dynasties that traced their descent, in a mythical manner, from Karikāla and the Sun, through Jatācōḷa.

Like his father, Rājendra bore a number of fine birudas. Noteworthy among them are, Muḍigonda-Cōḷa ‡ and Paṇḍita-Cōḷa; § he is also once called Virarājendrā; ¶ but above all

* 138 of 1912. † EC. i, Intr. 12-13; v Intr. vii.
‡ A name which is applied to many places and buildings in the period, and to a branch of the Kāvērī to our own day. The Tāmbraparni is called Muḍigonda-Sōḷap-pērānu in Cōḷa records from Sēṃmādevi.
§ ARE. 1901, i. 12; SU. iii, 127. ¶ 61 of 1914.
these in the estimation of the king himself was the
title Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōla, a name
signalised by being attached to the
new capital founded by the king and sometimes called
Gangāpurī in Sanskrit. * In the ruins of this celebrated
city the earliest inscription that can now be traced
seems to be one of Rājakēśarivarman Vīrarājēndra-
dēva. † The large irrigation tank to the north of the
city, the Cōla-gangam of the Tiruvālāṅgāṇu plates,
has long gone out of use, its extensive bed overgrown
with thick jungle. ‡ Among the records of the reign
of Rājēndra I himself, the new capital is mentioned
rarely, and apparently not earlier than the seventeenth
regnal year. § This city has often been confused with
Mudigōṇḍa-śoḷapurum, and the suggestion has been
made that this was the earlier name of what later came
to be called Gangaikoṇḍa-śoḷapurum. ¶ There is no
support for the suggestion in the epigraphy of the reign.
On the other hand, Mudigōṇḍa-śoḷapurum is clearly
stated to be the alternative name of Paḷaiyāṟu, II now a
small village on the banks of the Mudigōṇḍān, within
easy reach of Kumbakōṇam; Paḷaiyāṟu possesses an
ancient Śiva temple of remarkable construction in the
late Cōla style which contains, however, no inscription;
and there remain no traces of the palaces at Paḷaiyāṟu
in which Kundavai ** and Rājēndra †† are said to
have lived in the early years of the reign.

* EI, xv. p. 49 n. 3 where Gopinatha Rao quotes an interesting reference
from the Iṣṭu possibly reminiscent of this foundation.
† 82 of 1892.
‡ A nineteenth century description of the site is quoted in Note B at the
end of this Chapter.
§ 61 of 1914; 203 of 1925; 510 of 1926. The curious record 118 of 1888
dated in the 24th year of Rājakēśari Rājēndra mentions Gangāpurī.
¶ SII, iii. Index s. v. Mudigōṇḍa-śoḷapurum; also S. K. Aiyangar—South
India and her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 44, n. 2.
|| 271 of 1927.
** 639 of 1909.
†† Tiruvāḷāṅgāṇu plates II, 6-7 (Tamil part), 463 of 1908 (Yr. 3).
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In several inscriptions of his reign and of the reigns of his successors, Rājēndra is described briefly as the conqueror of Pūrvadēśam, Gangai and Kaḍāram; this must be taken to be a summary statement of his most distant conquests, and on this assumption Pūrvadēśam is best understood to be, not the Vēngi country as was suggested by Venkayya, * but Pūrvarāṣṭra, the country to the east of the Maikal range, † roughly corresponding to the Southern Kōsala country.

The following are the queens of Rājēndra who figure in the inscriptions: Tribhuvana or Vānavan-Mahādeviyār, ‡ Mikkōk-kilān, § Paṅcavan-Mādeviyār ¶ and Vīra-mādevi who apparently performed satī at the king’s death. ‖ Of his sons we shall see that three followed him on the Cōla throne in succession, Rājādhīrāja, Rājēndra and Vīra Rājēndra, and we cannot decide if any of these was identical with the Cōla-Pāṇḍya Viceroy, Jāṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Other sons are known also. A daughter of Rājēndra, Arumōli-nangaiyar or Pirānār, made a present of a costly umbrella of pearls to the temple at Tirumalavādi early in the reign of her brother Rājādhīrāja. ** Another daughter was the well-known Ammangādevi, the queen of the Eastern Cālukya Rājarāja I and mother of Kulōttunga, the first Cōla-Cālukya monarch. The latest regnal year mentioned in Rājēndra’s inscriptions is 33 †† and this accords well with the fact that his death is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhīrāja dated in his twenty-sixth ‡‡ year. Rājēndra’s death occurred, therefore, some time in A. D. 1044.

* ASI. 1911-12 p. 172 n. 1.
† Fleet Gupta Inscriptions p. 192 n. 1; EL. ix. p. 233. ‡ 624 of 1920.
§ 73 of 1921. ¶ 464 of 1918. ‖ 260 of 1915.
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NOTE A

ON MAHIPALA.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has discussed the Ganges campaign at some length in his essay on GangaiKonda-Chola and I must explain why I am unable to accept some of his conclusions. Our differences are partly due to the different estimates we have of the value of the Tiruvallangadu plates (op. cit. p. 554). I agree with Mr. R. D. Banerji that "the order in which the names of the countries are mentioned (in Râjendra's Tamil inscriptions) prevents us from supposing that Bihar is "Daṇḍabhukti. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: "As the name itself indicates, Bihar must have been on the frontier of some important empire or kingdom, which on that side required protection against a powerful enemy"; I do not see how. Nor is any tangible evidence brought forward by him in support of his position (p. 558) that Magadha was ruled by the Râṣṭrakûtas at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth till it was wrested from them by the Pâla opponent of Râjendra, Mahîpâla, who installed Dharmapâla viceroy over his new conquest. Banerji has satisfactorily explained the western expansion of the Pâla kingdom in the early years of Mahîpâla by the condition of the Gurjarâ kingdom after the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. (Pâlas of Bengal p. 70.)

Banerji seems to me to be clearly wrong in quoting the evidence of the Cândakauśikam of Kṣēmîśvara who probably lived in the tenth century A.D. at Kânyakubja under king Mahîpâla, the Gurjarâ ruler, (Macdonnel, Sanskrit Literature p. 366; Keith, Sanskrit Drama p. 239 and n.) against the Tirumalai rock inscription of Râjendra, and in discovering a defeat of Râjendra in Mahîpâla's defeat of the Kârṇâtas mentioned in the drama. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, op. cit. pp. 559-62.

Taking his stand on the order in which the events are narrated in verses 116-24 of the Tiruvallangadu plates, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar distinguishes a Mahîpâla of Oṛṭa (N. Orissa) from the famous Pâla king of Bengal, and holds that "Râjendra's general did not come into direct contact with Mahîpâla of Bengal at all." (p. 565). He says that the Tamil records "properly understood" support the same position. To prove this, he relies on the edition of Râjendra's Tamil inscriptions in Epigraphia Carnatica and
finds that No. 84 of Channapaṭṭana (Bangalore Dt.) "gives apparently the correct reading": Toḍu-kāḷar-Śangamotṭa-Mahipālanai; this he translates into: "Oṭṭa-Mahipāla of Sagnama (?) which touches the sea." He adds: "the first three words in full in Tamil would be Toḍu-kāḷar-changamam which means the river mouth which touches the sea." (pp. 564-5).

Ignoring the tautology of such a phrase for a moment, one should like to know how Śangamam followed by Oṭṭa becomes Śangamotṭa instead of 'Śangamavotṭa' as it should be. I have already pointed out that the Tanjore inscription (SII. ii No. 20 1. 7) reads distinctly: "Toḍu-kāḷar-cangu-voḍadai-mayipālanai" which Hultzsch somewhat arbitrarily changed into: Toḍu-kāḷar-canguvotṭal' (Ell. ix p. 232 n. 6). The real reading doubtless is that of the Tanjore inscription; and its correct meaning is that the strong Mahipāla was captured together with another person named Śangu. Though we know nothing of the latter, there is little room for doubt that, as Kielhorn suggested years ago, the 'strong Mahipāla' must be the same as the Pāla ruler of Bengal.

It seems that Dr. S.K. Aiyangar has, unconsciously, gone too far in reacting against Mr. Banerji's claim, based on a misquotation from the Caṇḍaṇakauśikam, that Mahipāla of Bengal defeated Rājendrā, or at least successfully stopped his crossing the Ganges. But the alibi sought to be established on behalf of the Cōla general appears to rest on very flimsy grounds. I must, however, note that a single inscription from Tirukōyilūr (128 of 1900) gives the reading 'Śangod-Oṭṭa-Mahipālanai.' This solitary instance out of over a hundreded inscriptions I have consulted cannot, I think, be regarded as anything but a mistake of the engraver.

Of verses 116-24 of the Tiruvāḷangāḷu plates, I think the first four complete the account of the campaign undertaken by the general in quest of the Ganges including the overthrow of Mahipāla (119). The rest are devoted to a narration of other achievements of Rājendrā. Verses 120 and 121 state that the king personally undertook a campaign against the Oṭṭa—note particularly that there is no mention of Mahipāla here—and his younger brother, before his return to the capital (122). In this campaign the king killed or defeated (vinihatyā) the Oṭṭa and his brother and collected a tribute of elephants; the Mahendragiri stone inscription (396 of 1896) states that Vimalāditya, the Kulūtēśvara, was defeated by Rājendrā and compelled to give up
a number of his elephants to the conqueror. Both the references appear to be to the same campaign; but it is not easy to decide whether the campaign took place in Rājarāja's life-time and has been mentioned here out of its proper place or whether it occurred sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth year of Rājendrā and is, for some reason, omitted in the Tamil praśasti. I am inclined on the whole to the former hypothesis as in these and the succeeding verses the composer of the Sanskrit praśasti seems to be winding up his account by putting in the things he omitted to mention before, or had no room to enlarge upon. It must be noticed also that verse 122 states that the king returned to his capital before he undertook the campaign against Kaṭāha (verse 123); Dr. S. K. Aiyangar reverses the order in his summary (p. 564) and holds that the expedition against Kaṭāram started from 'the coast region of Kalingam' (p. 566). He adds that all Rājendrā's records uniformly state that, having reached the mouth of the Ganges and subjugated Orissa, the overseas expedition set sail from there; in saying this he overlooks the fact that we have to distinguish the different campaigns of Rājendrā's reign by the stages through which we can trace the growth of the tiru manni valara introduction; records of the 12th year stop with the conquest of the Ganges, and the overseas expedition does not find mention before the year 14; and it cannot be a mere accident that at each of these stages the Tiruvālāngāḷu plates state that the king returned to his capital. On Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's method of interpretation, we shall have also to admit that Rājendrā started against Ceylon from Mālkhāḍ, an obviously impossible assumption.

In the Journal of the Bihār and Orissa Research Society (1928 Vol. XIV pp. 512-20) R. D. Banerji examines the opinions of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on Rājendrā's Ganges campaign. On the location of Daṇḍabhuṅki and the difficulty of postulating the existence, as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar does, of a body of Kārṇātas holding a military fief in Bihār, I find myself in agreement with Banerji. He seems to me to be justified also in his view that the composer of the Tiruvālāngāḷu plates "had very hazy notions of the position of these places in the map of India," and that "Prof. Aiyangar, who relies entirely on the Tiruvālāngāḷu plates in preference to the Tirumalai rock inscription, has been clearly non-plussed." He clinches his arguments about the route of the Cōla army by saying: "An army approaching Bengal and Bihār
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from the South must follow the natural line of communication through Orissa, Midnapur, Hoogly, and Howrah to reach Vanga and Uttara Rāğha; and this is exactly the route described in the Tirumalai rock inscription.” Banerji’s statement, however, that the Cōla army followed the coast line from near the Chilkha lake and debouched into the interior only once when it went into Kōsala, clearly overlooks the data on the earlier stages of the campaign furnished by the Tirumalai rock inscription. He also observes that Gōvindacandra of the Candra dynasty of Eastern Bengal “had most probably become a vassal of Mahipāla I and therefore a flanking movement may have been expected of him,” and this was possibly the reason why he had to be dealt with before Mahipāla was attacked. This statement from one so well-versed in Pāla history is valuable as affording support to our position on the general relation between Raṇaśūra, Dharmapāla and Gōvindacandra on the one side, and Mahipāla on the other. It also constitutes a virtual abandonment by Banerji of the interpretation he had put on the Tirumalai rock inscription in his monograph on the Pālas of Bengal that it depicts Bengal as cut up into a number of independent small states, a view that has been cited and commented on in the preceding chapter.

As against S. K. Aiyangar, whom he does not hesitate to accuse of betraying “the spirit of a partisan and not that of a critical historian,” Banerji seeks to buttress his position in regard to the Candrajavāsikam by arguments which do not stand critical examination, and which make it easy, for anyone so minded, to bring with more reason against Banerji himself the charge of uncritical partisanship. Banerji surmises that Prof. Aiyangar has forgotten the existence of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. And the history furnished by these plates is summed up by Banerji with more rhetoric than fidelity in the following terms: “Very shortly afterwards (i.e. after the accession of Mahipāla I) the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death-blow to Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy in India. He invaded Mālya, captured Ujjain, crossed the Jumna near Kālpi, devastated Kanauj and compelled Mahipāla to flee before his general, the Cālukya chief, Narasimha, to Allahabad. Mahipāla I returned to Kanauj after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast
becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. No Mahipāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty ever defeated any Karnāṭaka army or chief and therefore it is cruel of Professor Aiyangar to postulate the production of the drama Caṇḍa-kausīkam before this unfortunate king.”

Now, the Cambay plates of Gōvinda have been edited by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who had no preconceived notions about either Rājendra or Mahipāla of Bengal to uphold, and it is interesting to see how he makes out the relations between Indra III and Mahipāla I, the Pratihāra king, as revealed by these plates and other contemporary inscriptions. In a succinct and full discussion of the historical significance of verse 19 of these plates, he points out: “But the complete devastation of Mahōdaya, which Indra III is spoken of as having brought about, is merely poetical. For the poet’s object appears to be to introduce a play on the words Mahōdaya and Kuśasthala.”

This is also seen from the consideration that, as a matter of fact, for long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes, ruling over northern India. What Indra III actually did beyond attacking Mahōdaya or Kanauj, cannot be inferred from the verse itself. But we can ascertain it with the help of other inscriptions.” After a careful examination of other inscriptions, which is too long to be reproduced here, Prof. Bhandarkar reaches the conclusion that though Indra succeeded for a time in depriving Mahipāla of his kingdom, he was soon restored to the throne by the combined efforts of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and the Caṇḍella king Harṣadēva. Here, then, it seems we have all the elements needed to satisfy the requirements of the verse in the prologue to the Caṇḍakausīkam which ascribes to Mahipāla, by a natural exaggeration, the repulse of the Karnāṭkas from Kanauj brought about by his allies. In fact by recalling the story of Kauṭilya’s expulsion of the Nandas for the sake of Candragupta, the verse in the Caṇḍakausīkam implies what was an essential feature in the restoration of Mahipāla, viz., the large place taken by diplomacy and foreign invasion in bringing about the restoration.

The history furnished by the Cambay plates and other records of the time seems therefore to establish conclusively that

* * * * *
the Cauḍakauṣīkaṃ was enacted before the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahipāla I, nearly a century before the time of the Pāla Mahipāla to whose reign Mr. R. D. Banerji would assign the play. See also Sten Konow, *Indische Drama* p. 87, and *JOR.* vi pp. 191 ff.

**NOTE B.**

**GANGAIKONDA-CĪLA-PURAM**

The following interesting account of this place appeared in a local publication of 1855 which is not easily accessible now. It was reproduced once in the *IA.* iv p. 274, and may well find a place here.

"It may also be mentioned that in the Uḍaiyārpalaiyam tāḷūkā there is an embankment 16 miles long, running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. This large tank or lake was, filled partly by a channel from the Kolerūn river, upwards of 60 miles in length, which enters it at its southern end, and partly by a smaller channel from the Vellār, which entered it on the north. Traces of both these channels still remain. The tank has been ruined and useless for very many years, and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful, and the act of an invading army. Near the southern extremity of the band there is a village, now surrounded by jungle, called Gangākunḍapuram. Immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of a very large size and costly workmanship; and close by, surrounded by jungle, are some remains of ancient buildings, now much resembling the mounds or heaps which indicate the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence, Gangākunḍapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a monarchy, and the great tank spread fertility over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. It has often been projected to restore that magnificent work, but the scheme has remained in abeyance for want of engineer officers. At some future time it may be successfully prosecuted, but till then this most fertile tract must remain a jungle, and the few inhabitants will still point
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with pride to the ancient band as a monument of the grand and gigantic enterprise of their ancient sovereigns, and compare it contemptuously with the undertakings of their present rulers. Speaking of the noble temple of Gangākūḍapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Kolerūn anikat was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their utmost to prevent this destruction and spoliation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it; but of course without success; they were only punished for contempt. A promise was made indeed, that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed."
CHAPTER XI

THE SUCCESSORS OF RĀJĒNDRA
(1044-70 A.D.)

Under Rājarājē I, the real founder of the Cōla empire, and his talented son Rājēndra I, the usual line of conquest, which was from north to south, had been reversed, and the victorious tiger-banner carried far into the north. Rājēndra's sons, three of whom succeeded their father, one after another, on the Cōla throne, inherited an extensive empire, and on the whole, ably maintained its extent and prestige during their reigns. There was much hard, and occasionally fierce fighting, particularly against the Čālukyas across the Tungabhadrā frontier, and the first of these three kings died on a battle-field in which the second was crowned immediately after his steadiness and valour converted an almost certain defeat into a brilliant victory. There was trouble also from the south, the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa being always in league with the Ceylonese rulers, and waiting to take the fullest advantage of the difficulties that beset their suzerains elsewhere. Towards the end of this period, these troubles, together with others of a dynastic and possibly religious nature, brought about a political revolution which proved the salvation of the empire for well over a century thereafter. As will be shewn later, the exact circumstances under which the Čālukya-Cōla, Rājēndra, came to occupy the imperial Cōla throne are not easily determined; but there can be no two opinions on the consequences to the Cōla power of this turn of events. By introducing a fresh, and possibly more vigorous, yet closely related stock of kings to the rule of the empire, and by amalgamating, at a critical time, the
resources of the Eastern Cālukya kingdom with the Cōla, it ensured a continuous and active life for the empire of Rājarāja at a time when his descendants in the main line were overwhelmed in desperate conflicts of which they saw no end.

The Kanyākumāri inscription* of Vīrarājendrā states expressly that Rājadhirāja was the eldest of the three sons of Rājendrā who succeeded him in order; this statement is confirmed by the inscriptions of the three reigns taken together; one record of the thirty-fifth year † of Rājadhirāja mentions the significant name tambi-tuṇaićcōla-valanādu which recalls distinctly the prāsaṣṭi of Rājendrā II beginning tirumagal maruviya. This prāsaṣṭi gives a succinct account of how Rājendrā co-operated with his elder brother Rājadhirāja in the prolonged Cālukya war of the reign. Vīrarājendrā was doubtless identical with Vīra-Cōla, ‡ the younger brother of Rājendradēva on whom he conferred the title Karikāla Cōla; in fact the W. Cālukya inscriptions call him generally Vīra. An inscription of Vīrarājendrā from the Ramnad district § refers to his father (aṭṭyar) who conquered Gangai, Pūrvadēsam and Kaḍāram. From a study of the dates of the inscriptions, it is seen that there is a large measure of overlapping among the reigns, a feature which should cause no surprise after the conjoint rule for over twenty-five years of Rājadhirāja with his father. The latest regnal year of Rājadhirāja mentioned in his records is the thirty-sixth, ¶ falling in A.D. 1053-4.

* Verse 73.
† 30 of 1919.
‡ SL, iii p. 195; EC, vii Sk. 136.
§ 110 of 1908.
¶ 129 of 1912 dated (3)8 is doubtful. It is a solitary record and the first figure in the date is not secure.
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The approximate date of the accession of Rājendra II has been fixed from his inscriptions as May 28th, A.D. 1052. * Likewise, the highest regnal year of Rājendra II is twelve, taking his rule up to A.D. 1064. Virarājendrā's accession, however, took place sometime in A.D. 1062-3 † which is counted in his records as his first year. ‡ Rājakēśari Rājamaheṇḍra-dēva, whose inscriptions do not carry his reign beyond the third year, must be found a place before the accession of Virarājendrā-dēva. His brief praśasti tells us little beyond the fact that he upheld the code laid down by Manu for the administration of the land; but even this statement is not altogether valueless as it is closely corroborated by the Kalingattupparaṇi § which says just the same thing even more forcibly, without mentioning any other fact, about a king whom it places between the sovereign who crowned himself on the field of Koppam (Rājendra II) and the victor of Kūḍal-sangamam (Virarājendrā). Further confirmation of the position assigned to Rājamaheṇḍra is found in a single inscription of his stating that the king ‘by a war-elephant caused Āhavamalla to turn his back (on the bank of) the winding river.’ ¶ It seems possible that Rājamaheṇḍra was the son of Rājendra II mentioned in an inscription of the ninth year of that king under the name

* El. vi p. 24.
† El. vii p. 9.
‡ 87 of 1895 of year 9 of Rājendra II is said to mention a gift of year 3 of Virarājendrā ARE. 1895 I 9. If this is correct, Virarājendrā’s accession must be placed earlier. But the published text (SII. v, 647 I. 52-3) does not seem to mention any such gift in Virarājendrā’s reign though the name Virarājendrā does occur.
§ viii 28; SII. iii, p. 113.
¶ 119 of 1902 cited at SII. iii p. 191.
‖ ‘tan-tirumagan’: 87 of 1895. (SII. v 647, I. 26). Another record of the same date mentions a Rājamaheṇḍra-road. SII. iii p. 41 (I. 6.)
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Rājendra, and that when, soon after, he was chosen heir-apparent he assumed the title Rājamahēndra to distinguish himself from his father Rājendra-dēva and his grandfather Rājendra-Cōla-dēva. Here again, the succession of two Rājakēsaris, Rājamahēndra and Vīrarājendra, must be explained as due to one of them having died as heir-apparent without ever ruling in his own right, and that the other was chosen to fill his place. * This period is brought to a close by the short and troubled reign of Parakēsari Adhirājendra, one of whose records dated in his third year † mentions the eighth year of Vīrarājendra. The succession and chronology of the period may, therefore, be summed up as follows:—

(1) Rājadhirāja I Rājakēsari ... A. D. 1018-1054
(2) Rājendra II Parakēsari younger brother of (1) A. D. 1052-1064
Rājamahēndra Rājakēsari A. D. 1060-1063
son of (2) died as crown-prince
(3) Vīrarājendra Rājakēsari A. D. 1063-1069
(younger brother of 1 and 2)
(4) Adhirājendra Parakēsari son A. D. 1067/8-1070
of 3 (?)

Rājadhirāja’s praśastis are usually found in two forms, one of them rather short, commencing tinglepera-valar, which records only the earlier achievements of the king and seems to have been stereotyped about the twenty-sixth year of his rule and repeated in that form in some of his later records. The longer form

* Cp. EJ. xviii pp. 30-1.
† 15 of 1890: SJL, iii 57.
tingalēr-taru has many variations and in fact it is seen to have gone through several editions, so to say, some giving more details of transactions only briefly mentioned in others. The interesting details of the battle of Pāṇḍūr and other incidents of Rājādhīrāja’s first invasion of the Cālkukya country resulting in the destruction of Kollippākkai are given in the inscriptions of the 26th year * and are generally omitted in later records; whereas the detailed description of the Pāṇḍyan and the Ceylonese wars that occurs in the latter is only hinted at briefly in the earlier records. Again, the vulgar insult offered to the ambassadors of Āhavamalla, one of whom was forced to dress as a woman and another was made the subject of a comic tonsure, is mentioned only in some versions but not in others. † A few of the inscriptions of the later years mention fresh transactions not found in the earlier records; ‡ others simply repeat the older forms without making them up-to-date. Further, there is a prāsasti beginning tirukkoṭiyodu tyāgakkoṭi giving no new information and confirming some of the details of the Cālkukyan war found in other records.

That Rājādhīrāja assumed the title Vijayarājēndra after his triumphant entry into Kalyāṇapura has already been mentioned. There are, however, two records of Parakēsari Vijayarājēndra which at first sight seem to present a baffling problem. § In one of them, a Kōlār

* 172 of 1894; 92 of 1892 which though its date is lost is apparently of the same time. 446 of 1918 (Yr. 34) is also similar.

† Mentioned in 172 of 1894 and 30 of 1919. Also in the introduction beginning: tirukkoṭiyodu (244 of 1925 Yr. 36).

‡ e.g. SH. iii 23 (Yr. 29); 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 81 of 1895; 221 of 1894 (Yr. 32).

§ See the discussion in ARE. 1907, II 38; 1908 II 56.
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record * of the thirty-fifth year, we must necessarily assume that Parakēsari is a mistake for Rājakēsari: for the high regnal year and the identity of the short praśasti in this record with that of Rājādhīrāja beginning Virapāṇḍiyāyan talaiyum, the last variety of the praśastis found in Rājādhīrāja's records, leave no room for any alternative. The other record from Pedda-Tippasamudram † falls into the reign of Rājēndra II, the younger brother and successor of Rājādhīrāja, as it is dated in Śaka 981, or A. D. 1057-8, and as we have no clear proof of Rājādhīrāja having reigned beyond his 36th year, which would be A. D. 1054-5. Rājēndra II was a Parakēsari, and though this record appears to be unique in giving him the Vijayarājēndra title, it may be his. It should, however, be noticed that a Rājādhīrāja inscription, doubtfully dated in the 38th year, from Tiruvοgriyūr, ‡ just renders it possible that this record is also his. The battle of Koppam, in which Rājādhīrāja lost his life, took place according to Fleet 'shortly before the 20th January, A. D. 1060,' as a record dated in Śaka 981 (expired) mentions that Sōmēśvara had then returned from 'a conquest of the southern countries and of the Cōla.' § Therefore, the Pedda-Tippasamudram record of Śaka 981 may also be, after all, another instance of a Rājādhīrāja record giving him the Parakēsari title by a mistake. In any case we have no reason to assume that there was an alteration in the official title of the king from Rājakēsari to Parakēsari, ¶ as there are many other records of the 35th and 36th years with the former title.

* 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; E.C. x Kl. 112 (b).
† 534 of 1906.
‡ 129 of 1912.
§ BG. I, ii, 441. But this rather late date for the death of Rājādhīrāja is contradicted by the inscriptions of his successor Rājēndra; see infra.
¶ Contra ARE. 1908 II 56.
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The Ceylon war of Rājādhiraṇa briefly mentioned in the last chapter may now be considered in more detail. Some of the earlier inscriptions of Rājādhiraṇa briefly record that the king of Lankā, the garlanded Vallava, and the king of the Kannakuṭciyar (people of Kanauf), suffered decapitation at the hands of Rājendra. The more detailed account of the occurrences as found in some of the later records † is as follows:

"With a single unequalled army (he) took the crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of the people of Lankā on the tempestuous ocean; the crown of large jewels, (belonging to) the lord of Lankā, Vikrama-Pāṇdyan, who, having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country out of fear of himself (Rājādhiraṇa) ‡ had entered Iḷam (surrounded by) the seven oceans; the beautiful golden crown of the king of Simhaṇa, Vira-Salāmēghan, who, believing that Iḷam (surrounded by) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kannakuṭci (Kānyakubja) which belonged to him, had entered (the island) with his relatives and (those of) his countrymen who were willing (to go with him); § and had put on the brilliant crown; who, having been defeated on the battle-field and having lost his black elephant, had fled ignominiously; and who, when (the Cōla king) seized his elder sister along with (his) wife ¶ and cut off the nose of (his) mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused) thereby, and, having fought hard with the sword, had withered in

* 92 of 1892; 172 of 1894.
† SII. iii 28, p. 56.
‡ Text: 'nuṇ-tanakkudaimdu,' apparently rendered by Hultsch into 'which had previously belonged to him.'
§ "Iḷaṅ̄giriḍeṇeṇyā uḷangol tannūdu tannuvoseṇum pugundu" is the text.
¶ Or daughter. The text has kādaλi.
¶ Text 'uḷarnda.' Hultsch has 'perished'; but see later.
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a hot battle; and the extremely brilliant crown of large jewels, (belonging to) Śrī Vallavan (Śrī Vallaṁha) Madanarājana, who had come of the family of Kannaran (Kṛṣṇa) and had become the proud king of Īlam." *

The *Mahāvamsa* shows clearly that the years following the deportation of Mahinda V by Rājendra and the annexation of "the whole of Īlamanḍalam" to the Cōla empire (1017 A.D.) were filled with risings on the part of the Singalese subjects against the new Cōla rulers followed by reprisals on their part. The independent testimony of the Ceylonese chronicle not only confirms the account of Rājādhirāja’s records in its essential features, but furnishes much welcome assistance in fixing the chronology of events which, though spread over several years and apparently connected with more than one campaign, seem to have been grouped together to form a convenient section in the praśasti of Rājādhirāja. The *Mahāvamsa* affirms † that the first outbreak of the opposition to the Cōla rule in Ceylon occurred about twelve years after the capture of Mahinda V, when the Cōla wanted to gain control of Mahinda’s son Kassapa, and that this revolt centred round Kassapa; Kassapa and his confederates succeeded in maintaining a contest for six months with the Cōla forces said to have been 95,000 strong; they "killed a great number of Damīlas" and compelled the rest to retire and take up "their abode as before in Pulatthinagara." Thereupon, Kassapa

Six months war of Vikkamabēhu.

* The text is "Kannaran-vaḷī-vandurกาi-kola-vaḷat-taronām-ṛghya," which Hultsch translates into "who had come to Kannaran (Krishna) and taken up (his) abode (with him)." Ṣuṭai means in the context ‘pride,’ ‘glory.’ The point seems to be that Madanarāja, though a Ṛṣṭrakūṭa or, more generally, a Kṛṣṇa by descent, became king of Ceylon.

† Ch. 55 vv. 24-29.
began to rule the south-eastern portion of the island of Ceylon, the division known as Rohaṇa, under the title of Vikkamabāhu. * This war of six months preceding the accession of Vikkamabāhu took place about 1029 A.D., in the reign of Rājēndra I; but there is nothing to show that Rājādhīrāja actually took part in it, though he might have done so.

The Cōla inscriptions affirm that Vikkamabāhu lost his life in the Cōla war, † and that his diadem fell into the hands of Rājādhīrāja; the Mahāvamsa, however, says that he suddenly died of a disease in the twelfth year of his reign (1041 A.D.) in the midst of extensive preparations for a Cōla war. It is possible that the Cōla panegyric is more boastful than true, though his crown may have been among the booty of the Cōlas. ‡ Despite Rājēndra’s success against Mahinda V, therefore, the whole of Ceylon was held by the Cōlas only for a short while, a period of about a decade, after which the province of Rohaṇa asserted its independence, and kept up a perpetual war against the Cōla province. In Rājādhīrāja’s reign this struggle became very acute as every ruler that came after Vikkamabāhu was actuated by the desire to expel the Damilas from Ceylon. Neglecting the eight days’ rule of Kittī (A.D. 1041), § the “mighty Mahālānakitti” who became king of Rohaṇa, “was vanquished in his third year (A.D. 1044) in battle against the Cōlas, and with his own hand he cut his throat and so died a sudden death. ¶ Thereupon the Damilas took the chief treasures, such as the diadem and the like and sent

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* MV. Ch. 55, vv. 1-6;
† 92 of 1892 where he is only called ‘king of the Ceylonese’;
‡ Geiger CV. ii. p. xxi. § CV. Ch. 56, v. 7. ¶ dīd v. v. 8-10.
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cutler
to the Monarch of the Cōla land.” It is not easy
to identify Mahālānakitti with any of the four Singalese
rulers mentioned by name in the Cōla inscription
quoted above. Vikkamapanḍu (A.D. 1044-47) was
according to the Mahāvamsa * the only son of Mahā-
lānakitti, who, having left his country through fear
and lived for a time in the Dulu country, returned to
Rohana when he heard of the fate of his father,
and was killed, after a short rule, in a fight with
Jagatipāla. The Cōla inscription, on the contrary,
implies that he was a Pāṇḍya prince who had once
ruled over the southern Tamil country, and was
compelled by Rājadhirāja himself to abandon southern
India and seek his fortune in Ceylon, where he became
king. As the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese dynasties
were at this time in close political and dyastic
alliance with each other and with the Kērālas,
and were united in their common opposition to Cōla
ascendancy, † we have perhaps to assume that the
two accounts supplement each other. Vikrama Pāṇḍya
had apparently a Singalese father and a Pāṇḍya
mother: his early career in the Pāṇḍya country is
represented, not quite accurately, by the Mahāvamsa
as a sojourn in the Dulu country, or possibly, this
sojourn in the Dulu land was an interlude between
the Pāṇḍyan and the Ceylonese phases of his career.
Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that the
Cōla inscriptions and the Mahāvamsa speak of one and
the same prince here, and that while the Ceylonese
account of the manner of his death is not contradicted
by the Cōla records, it is quite possible that his diadem
also fell into the hands of the Cōlas as is claimed by
them. Of Jagatipāla (A.D. 1047-51), the Mahāvamsa
says ‡ that he was ‘a sovereign’s son’ from Ayōdhyā,

* ibid vv. 11-14.  † PK. p. 113.  ‡ CV. vv. 13-15.
and that after coming to Ceylon he "slew Vikkampa-
pandu in battle and ruled as a mighty man in Rohana
for four years. Him also the Cōḷas slew in battle and
sent the Mahēsi with her daughter and all the valuable
property to the Cōḷa kingdom." If we overlook the
discrepancy about the place of origin, Kānyakubja
according to the Cōḷa records and Ayōdhya according
to the Mahāvamsa, there is a striking similarity in the
fortunes of Jagatipāla of the chronicle and Vīra-
Salāmēghan of the inscriptions, and it may be
concluded that we have here only one prince mentioned
under two different names in our sources. * But this
conclusion is not unassailable; the death of Vīra-
Salāmēghan is mentioned in an inscription dated
towards the end of A.D. 1046; † the most critical
study of the Mahāvamsa has led to the conclusion that
Jagatipāla began to rule only in A.D. 1047 and went
on till four years later. So that, after all, the
differences in the names and the places of origin of
these two princes may mean that they were two dif-
ferent persons who had little in common with each
other besides having attained some celebrity in Ceylon
as opponents of the Cōḷa regime and met very similar
fates at the hands of their antagonists. How these
adventurers from northern India came to Ceylon in
search of a career is not easy to explain satisfactorily
at present. Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the fourth and
last of the princes mentioned in the Cōḷa inscriptions,
has been identified with king Parakkama of the
Mahāvamsa who was slain in fight with the Cōḷas. ‡
This identification is also to be accepted with caution.
Madanarāja was a Vallabha (of the line of Kannara) by
descent; Parakkama, on the contrary, was the son

* Cf. Hultsch SII. iii, p. 53.
† ibid. 3rd Decr. A.D. 1046.
‡ ibid.; also MV. 56, v. 16.
of the Paṇḍu king, i.e., Vikkamapaṇḍu. Moreover, the death of Parakkama occurred about A.D. 1053, nearly seven years after the date of Rājādhirāja’s inscription (A.D. 1046) in which Madanarāja is mentioned.*

This comparison of the epigraphical account of the Ceylonese war in the records of Rājādhirāja with the events as chronicled in the Mahāvamsa thus points to the need for caution in working the two accounts into a continuous story of the relations between the Cōla empire and that part of Ceylon which was maintaining a vigorous struggle for its independence against great odds. Only two of the kings in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja can be recognised in the Mahāvamsa viz., Vikramabāhu and Vikrama-Paṇḍya. Vīra-Salāmēgha and Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja are known only to the Cōla inscriptions, but apparently are not mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. On the contrary, Jagatīpāla and Parakkama of the Mahāvamsa, who figured in the later stages of the war of independence and laid down their lives in that war, do not find a place in the Cōla inscriptions.† The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja’s successor Rājendra II show that he too had a hand in the suppression of the Ceylonese risings. Records of his fourth year, ‡ A.D. 1055, state that “he despatched an army to Ceylon, where the king Vīra-Salāmēgha was decapitated and the two sons of the Ceylon king Mānābharana were taken prisoners.” Later records

* Cf. Hultsch—JRAS. 1913, pp. 519-21 where the opinions expressed by him in SII. iii are withdrawn.

† Jagatīpāla’s queen and her daughter Līlavati escaped later on from their captivity in the Cōla country. MV. Ch. 59 vv. 23-4.

‡ SII. iii. 29. JRAS. 1913, p. 519.
of Rājēndradēva mention only Vīra-Salāmēgha. * Rājēndradēva’s claim is proved by the presence of an inscription of his reign at Sangili-Kanadarāva in Ceylon. † Despite Vīra-Salāmēgha being called “King of the Kalingas of the strong army,” ‡ there is no reason to distinguish him from the ‘Kannakućcīyar-kāvalan’ of the Rājādhirāja inscriptions. Surviving the disgrace inflicted on the members of his family, his sister and mother and wife, by the forces of Rājādhirāja, and the defeat in the ‘hot battle’ that followed thereafter when he sought to avenge the disgrace, this unfortunate prince apparently fell a victim to another Cōla inroad possibly led by Rājēndradēva some years later. § The identity of Mānābharana, the king of the Ceylonese, whose two sons were captured by Rājēndra, is not easy to make out, though the suggestion may be offered that he was no other than the king who joined the confederacy of three southern kings whose opposition to Cōla rule in the Pāṇḍya country was suppressed by Rājādhirāja in the life-time of his father, in one of his early campaigns. ¶

* 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year.
† S.II. iii p. 59; 61 of 1912, (S.II. iv 1408).
‡ vīra-prādaik-kalingar-man, l. 12 of S.II. iii 29.
§ Supposing that a Vīra-Salāmēgha ‘perished in a hot battle’ (S.II. iii p. 56) with Rājādhirāja, Hultzsch distinguishes from him the ‘kalingar-man’ of the same name of the Rājendra inscriptions (JRAS. 1913 p. 530), and connects the latter with Tridhakasundari, a Kalinga queen of Vijayabāhu I, A.D. 1054-1109, and suggests that her nephew Kittī-sirī-mēgha may have been named after Vīra-Salāmēgha. He also suggests that the Pāṇḍya Mānābharana who was decapitated by Rājādhirāja was the ancestor of that Mānābharana who was the nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I; and that Śīr Vallabha Madanarāja, the Ceylonese opponent of Rājādhirāja, was the ancestor of his namesake Śīr Vallabha, a third nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I. Arguments from the similarity of common names cannot be final; and Hultzsch has not considered the relation between the Mānābharana whose sons were captured by Rājēndra and his namesakes.
¶ Vide p. 269 ante.
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It may be observed that Indian coins found in Ceylon include issues of Rājādhīrāja and Rājendra, * and that Cōḷa inscriptions found in Ceylon, though not numerous or well preserved, carry us right to the end of the period covered in this chapter. † We may, therefore, conclude that the bulk of the island of Ceylon constituted an administrative division of the Cōḷa empire, while the South-western part of the island, called Rohaṇa in the Mahāvamsa, kept up an incessant warfare for the restoration of Singalese independence. Prince Kittī who assumed the title Vijayabāhu in 1058 A.D. was the leader of this effort. The Mahāvamsa and the inscriptions of Vigrahāyaṇḍra give some account of it. ‡ Like all conquerors, the Cōḷas were only exasperated by the most natural desire of the Singalese to be rid of them, and seem often to have adopted savage methods of repression such as transportation, decapitation and mutilation, even against the women of the royal family of Ceylon. After the accession of Kulottunga to the Cōḷa throne in A.D. 1070, Vijayabāhu I succeeded at last where so many of his predecessors had failed and restored the independence of Ceylon; a detailed account of the steps leading to the success of Vijayabāhu belongs to the reign of Kulottunga.

* Codrington, Ceylon Coins pp. 84-5.
† Cf. SII, iii 84 (266 of 1901) of the 7th year of Vigrahāyaṇḍra, claiming the subjugation of Ceylon among the king’s achievements and 594 of 1912—SII, iv 1338 (Yr. 3 of Adhirāyaṇḍra).
‡ MV. Ch. 57 vv. 65 ff. EZ. ii p. 207; 182 of 1915.
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A second war against Sōmēśvara was undertaken by Rājādhiraṇa between A.D. 1044 and 1046. The Maṇimangalam inscription* of 3rd December, A.D. 1046 gives a short account of this campaign stating that the Cōla king defeated in battle several subordinate chieftains † of the Cāḷukya forces, and destroyed the palace of the Cāḷukyas in the town of Kampili. Other inscriptions, of which the earliest is dated in the thirtieth year of Rājādhiraṇa, furnish some additional information about what followed the destruction of the palace at Kampili. ‡ Another engagement, said to be the third of its kind, followed at Pūṇḍūr, described as a kadakamāṇaṅgar or cantonment city, on the left bank of the Krṣṇā river, in which several Telugu chieftains, vassals of Sōmēśvara, were made prisoners of war together with numberless women; thereupon, the city of Pūṇḍūr was sacked by the Cōla army and razed to the ground, its site being ploughed with asses and sowed with vaṟṟiṅkai, a kind of coarse millet; finally, the large palace at Maṇṇandippai was consigned to the flames, and a pillar of victory erected, bearing the emblem of the tiger. These occurrences, no doubt considerably exaggerated in the partial report of the Cōla records, must have taken place before A.D. 1048; it is even possible that they had happened before the date of the Maṇimangalam inscription, end of A.D. 1046, and were not mentioned in that record.

* S.I.III. iii 28.

† The text is: "Kaṇṭar Dinabarāṇ Nāraṇa Gaṇavadi vaṅgalar teriyal Madiśādanam." Hultzsch takes this to be four names; perhaps there are only three. In any case their identity cannot be made out fully though some of them seem to figure in the Western Cāḷukya inscriptions of the time.

‡ 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 221 of 1894; 81 of 1895 (Yr. 32).
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For all the vaunted successes of the Cōlas, the Cālukyas seem to have retained their power unbroken. The provenance of the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, of which several are dated records, shows that the extent of the Cālukyan empire on the side of the Tungabhadrā continued undiminished. From the Ḥaḍagallī taluq of the Bellary district comes an inscription * of Trailōkyamalladēva (Sōmēśvara I) dated (Śaka 968) early in A.D. 1047 recording a gift by the chieftain Kālidāsa, whose name figures also among the Telugu princelings † repulsed by the Cōla troops in one of the numerous fights of the time. Two other records ‡ from the same region are dated in the next year, Śaka 969, of which one records a gift of land to a Viṣṇu temple by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarādityarasa, ‘lord of Māhiṣmatipura,’ ruling the Sindavāḍi 1000, Beṇṇevūru 12 and Nuṟugaṇḍa as a vassal of Sōmēśvara. This chieftain may perhaps be identified with Kaṇḍar-dinakaran of the Cōla inscriptions. § Even if we do not accept the rhapsodies of Bilhaṇa over Sōmēśvara’s conquest of Kāṇeī or Vikramāditya’s digvijaya, we must assume that the repeated incursions of the Cōlas into Cālukyan territory, however annoying to the king and detrimental to the happiness of his feudatories and subjects, resulted in no permanent loss of territory. On the other hand, the bulk of the fighting is on Cālukyan territory, and in the course of the wars many large cities seem to have suffered considerable damage from the destructive fury of the invader. The aim of the Cōlas was apparently to reduce the Cālukyas to political subjection such as that of the Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and

* 484 of 1914.  † 92 of 1892 (S.II, iv 539) l. 31.
‡ 41 of 1904; 711 of 1919.
§ Contra Hultsch, S.II, iii p. 57, n. 1.

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Vēngī kingdoms in this period. In this endeavour they failed totally. It would seem moreover that Sōmēśvara succeeded in extending his influence, at least temporarily, over Vēngī. His Mulgunḍ inscription * dated A.D. 1053 speaks of one of his sons, Sōmēśvara-dēva, ruling over Beḷvōla 300 and Puligere 300, as bearing the title Vēngipura-varēśvara. And there is found in Drākṣārāma a record of the same king † dated two years later (Śaka 977) registering a gift by a daughter of one of his ministers, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa by name. Though it is not impossible to find other explanations for these facts, ‡ and the evidence is thus of a very inconclusive nature, still, considering that Vikramaditya VI, the son of Sōmēśvara I, is said to have conquered Vēngī, a claim supported by the presence of a number of his inscriptions at Drākṣārāma and other places in the Telugu country, the suggestion may be made that the Western Cālukyas began to cast longing eyes on Vēngī even from the time of Sōmēśvara I, or at least sought to divide the attention of their Cōla opponents by a hostile movement in the direction of their northern dependency. If such was the policy pursued by Sōmēśvara I, he only succeeded in exasperating the Cōḷas the more and goading them to a more relentless hostility.

Rājādhirāja undertook another expedition against the Cālukya in which he was accompanied by his younger brother Rājēndra, whom he had chosen as heir-apparent in preference to his sons who, though not mentioned by name, are said to have occupied fairly high positions in

* EI. xvi p. 53.

† 185 of 1893.

‡ Fleet BG. I, ii pp. 440, n. 3 and 452-3. Also IA. xx p. 281 n. 39; and S. K. Aiyangar, Ancient India p. 120 n. 1.
the administration of the empire. * We get a vivid and obviously true description of the occurrences in this campaign from the records of Rājendra II. The earliest mention of these events is in a record † of his second year A.D. 1054; more details are given in the Manimangalam record of his fourth year, A.D. 1055. This inscription records ‡ that the Cōla king sought an occasion for war, invaded the Raṭṭamanḍalam and began ravaging the country; the proud Cālukya Ahavamalla became furious when he heard of this, and marching out with his forces he met the Cōla in pitched battle at Koppam, § a celebrated tīrtha on the Kṛṣṇā, most probably identical with Khidrāpūr on the right bank of the river about thirty miles east by south from Kōlhāpūr. The battle that followed was long and fiercely fought on either side. For determining its exact course we have to combine information furnished by some of Rājendraśvā’s later inscriptions ¶ with that of the Manimangalam record mentioned above. In the early stages of the battle, Rājadhirāja himself led the fight, Rājendraśvā apparently holding himself in reserve. At this stage, the Cālukya forces concentrated

* S.II. iii 28 l. 1, which also mentions an elder brother of the king, possibly passed over by Rājendra I.
† 214 of 1911. S.II. iii, 55; ii p. 304 A (of Yr. 3).
‡ S.II. iii 29.
§ Fleet E.I. xii pp. 296-8. Lat. 16°36'. Long. 74°44'. For an earlier discussion of the identity of Koppam, E.C. ix Introduction p. 16 n. 3, where attention is drawn to the reading in 168 of 1911—tīrthakkappattakahavayil. Hultzsch rendered ‘tēpparundiratta’ into: “The strength (of whose position is) hard to describe” (S.II. iii p. 63). We must now read the phrase as: “tēpparundiratta,” meaning “a tīrtha (whose merits are) hard to describe.” Rājendraśvā’s introductions beginning Tirumagai maruvia use the phrase: “pēṟṟangaraik-koppattu-vandediritta Āhavamalla.”
¶ 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year. A study of these records by the side of the Manimangalam inscription clearly shows that the latter has omitted the earlier stage of the battle in which Rājendra took no part and Rājadhirāja met his fate.
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on the elephant on which the Cōla king was riding and wounded him mortally, so that he "went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the country of Indra, where he was welcomed by the women of the sky." Then the vast ocean-like army of the Kuntalas dashed themselves against the Cōla forces which, unable to withstand the onslaught, broke up and began to retreat in disorder. At this stage, Rājēndradēva entered the fray shouting out to his retreating forces: "Fear not," and pressed forward on his elephant like very Death against the Karnāṭaka forces, restored order in his army and won a brilliant success by further fighting. * Once more, the enemy concentrated on the Cōla king's elephant, and "the shower of (Āhavamalla's) straight arrows pierced the forehead of his elephant, his royal thigh, and (his) shoulders which resembled hillocks," and many warriors who had mounted the elephant with him perished in the action. But Rājēndra was more fortunate than his brother; he succeeded in putting to death several leaders of the Cālukyan army including Jayasimha, the brother of the Cālukya, † Pulakēsin, Daśapanman and Nanni-Nulumban. At last, "the Śālukki was defeated,—with Vanniya-Rēvan, ‡ Tuttan, (who had) a powerful army, Kuṇḍamayan, whose army spoke (i.e., threatened) death, and other princes,—fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking round, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean." The elephants and horses and camels, the victorious banner of the boar and other insignia of royalty, together with

* From this point the two accounts agree closely.
† This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years.
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the peerless Śattiyavvai, Śāngappai and all the other queens, a crowd of women and many other things abandoned by Āhavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Cōla king. Rājendra then did a thing not known before, * and crowned himself king on the battle-field, when the wounds he had received in the fight were still fresh on his body. According to some of the inscriptions, † Rājendra pressed on to Kōlhāpur, where he planted a jayastambha, before he returned to his capital Gangāpurī. ‡ Such is the account of this celebrated fight at Koppam as narrated in the Cōla inscriptions. §

*R 87 of 1895.
† S.II. iii 55, ii p. 304 C.
‡ 87 of 1895.
§ In the Tirmangal maruvia form of Rājendra's prakāśitra, the clause that occurs is: 'Tan munṇnō mēnai plinnadvaṅga munmedir ēnu' * * * Iraṭṭapāṭhi-yaḷarai-yilakkamum-gōḻu', often contracted into 'plinnad vaṅga Iraṭṭapāṭhi.' This is rendered by Hultsch generally into "while the army of his elder brother was at his back." In the light of other records (esp. 87 of 1895) which clearly state that Rājādhīrajya began the fight and Rājendra entered it after he died, we must, it seems, amend Hultsch's translation and say—"while the army of his elder brother began to retire" a translation which is also required by the phrase employed in the fuller of the two forms quoted above, viz. "munmedir-ēnu" "going to the front in an opposite direction", as also by the reading "munne ṇ Plinnadvaṅga," "when the advancing army began to retreat" found in some records (S.II. ii p. 305, F and G) and amended by Hultsch into "munnūn mēnai." It is perhaps hardly conceivable, according to Indian notions of precedence, that while the elder brother was present in person on the battle-field, the younger took the lead; but this consideration need not be pressed as the cumulative force of all the inscriptions taken together is, doubtless, very clear. I may also observe that some records omit the word 'tan' in 'tan munṇnō' e.g., S.II. iii 55; on this account, it should not be assumed, as Hultsch seems to do, that the phrase 'Tirmaruvia sengāl vāndan' refers to the elder brother, (S.II. iii p. 112—English translation).

It may also be observed, in passing, that the words: "tānṇnānaiyil munṇnūnai śella munṇnūnai tāvirittu" S.II. iii 55 (ll. 1-2), which occurs between "Iraṭṭapāṭhi-yaḷarai-yilakkamum-gōḻu" and "Kōḷḷa-purattu jaya-stamba-māṭṭi," has been translated by Hultsch into: "when the first elephant (of the enemy) went at his elephant, (his) elder brother stopped (it)." But this seems hardly satisfactory, as the words 'of the enemy' introduce into the meaning a concept not warranted by the original, and the locative of the first "tānṇnānaiyil" seems to call for another explanation. I think that, in the context, 'mēnai' should be taken to be a mis-spelling of 'ṇai' and the phrase translated into: "Displacing the old command (rule) by causing it to follow
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The Cālukya inscriptions of the reign of Śomēśvara tell us nothing of the battle of Koppam, and specific references to his warfare with the Cōḷas are few. In Śaka 981 (expired) he had returned from a conquest of the southern countries and a victory over the Cōḷa, and was camping in the Sindavādi country, * a province ruled by a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ciddaṇa Cōḷa-Mahārajā. In Śaka 987 Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya was encamped at Arasiyakere on his way to the conquest of the south under orders from the king. † Bilhana's account has, as has been pointed out already, apparently no relation to facts and seems to be pure fabrication. Shortly after the close of Śomēśvara's reign, however, we get two inscriptions, ‡ both dated about A.D. 1071, giving an account of the Cōḷa invasion and the death of Rājadhirāja. Though the date is late and the Cōḷa king is not named, it is easy to infer from the Cōḷa inscriptions that the transactions recorded here relate to the war that led to the battle of Koppam and the death of Rājadhirāja. § The vigorous language

his own commands.” The suggestion made at ARE. 1900 I 20 in reviewing the Tirukōyilīr inscription (123 of 1900, Yr. 6) of Rājendra that the battle of Koppam was a later event than the expedition to Kollēpuram must be abandoned in view of the new identification of Koppam. The wording of the Tirukōyilīr records (EI. vii pp. 145-6), however, seems to lend some support to Hultsch's view, and many of the shorter introductions mention Kollēpuram before Koppam.

* BG. I, ii, p. 441; 392 of 1920, ARE. 1921, II 5.
† ARE. 1919 II. 30.
‡ Annigere: BG. I, ii p. 441; and Gawarwad EI. xv, 23. ed. Barnett. See also EC. vii viii Sīrāb 325.
§ Fleet and, following him, Barnett ascribe the expedition and apparently the loss of life that followed to Rājendradēva. But we have no evidence that Rājendra lost his life in the Cālukya wars, though he was present at Koppam. cf. SIH. iii p. 53.

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employed by these records against the Cōla shows that the silence of the epigraphs of Sōmēśvara’s reign is really due to a reluctance to record publicly in his life-time unfortunate events that caused so much misery and suffering in his country at the hands of the foreign invader. The mahāpālaka great sinner) Tamilian known as Pāṇḍya-Cōla, we are told, took to an evil course (nele gettu) and abandoning the ancestral observances of his family, entered the Belvōla country, burned several temples including Jinālayas erected by Ganga-perumāṇaḍi, and was promptly punished for his wicked deeds by losing his life in battle and yielding his head to Sōmēśvara I. The Cōla account of the war, we may therefore conclude, is not by any means a greatly overdrawn picture of their achievement on this occasion.

From the manner of his death Rājādhīraja came to be known as “the king who died on the back of an elephant,” and he is so styled in the inscriptions of his successors. * From the time he was chosen as heir-apparent by his father to the day when he laid down his life on the field of Koppam, Rājādhīraja led the life of a warrior king

* 193 of 1925 (Yr. 6 of Rājendra II); possibly also 5 of 1899 of Rājarāja II (Yr. 6). This latter inscription, which is nearly one century later in its date, seems to mix up the achievements of Rājādhīraj are I and Rājendra II. It speaks of “Perumāḷ Vijayarājendra-dēva who was pleased to conquer Kalyāṇap- puram and Kolli-apuram and to fall asleep (i.e., to die) on an elephant” (SI 1111 i. See 191). Hultzsch remarks: “This statement must refer to Parakēśarivarman alias Rājendra-dēva, who is known to have set up a pillar of victory at Kolliapuram”—a view expressed with more caution in ARE. 1899 I 53 by Venkayya. 472 of 1920 from Salukki (NA.) of the fourth year of Rājakēśari Rājendra (Kulottunga I) gives the same description much earlier than the record noticed by Hultzsch; the title Vijayarājendra is not, however, given here. Rājendra-dēva nowhere claims to have conquered Kalyāṇapuram, did not have the title Vijayarājendra, and as far as we know, did not die on an elephant in battle. These features distinctly recall Rājādhīraja I (ARE. 1925 II 16), whose third year would fall, however, about A.D. 1021, in the
and took part in many campaigns led by him in person. His record strikes one as that of a born fighter and his warlike energy found full scope in the task of maintaining intact an overgrown empire that had risen on the ruin of old ruling families which never reconciled themselves to subjection to the Cōḷas. Some of this fighting, like the fatal expedition that led to Koppam, was of his own seeking. Rājādhirāja was first and foremost a soldier, and possibly his great military talent formed the reason for his being preferred for the succession against an elder brother of his. His performance of the aśvamēdha apparently in his father’s life-time goes a long way to confirm this view.

Briefly and without much detail, Rājādhirāja’s praśastis tell us that he employed his father’s brother, his brothers, elder and younger, and his sons, in important offices of state and constituted them into subordinate rulers of particular regions. The star of Rājādhirāja’s nativity was Pūrva-Phālguni. * Gangaikōṇḍa-Śoḻapuram was his capital. † His queens do not figure as prominently in his records as is usual in those of other reigns; Trailōkyam Uḍaiyār was the title, rather than the name, of one of them, ‡ who, if she was the same as the nambirāṭṭiyār mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra II, § may be taken to have survived her reign of Rājēndra I.(See also 472 of 1920—Yr. 4 of Kuloṭtinga I). If this view is correct, I am not sure it is, the theory, that during the Ālanguḍi famine the state could not help the sufferers owing to the treasury being impoverished by the horse-sacrifice of Rājādhirāja (ARE. 1899 I 53), cannot stand. But after all the famine might have occurred in the reign of Rājēndra II, about A. D. 1055; only the king might have been wrongly described in the record of Rājarāja II. The horse-sacrifice is, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja as early as the 26th year, A.D. 1044, if not earlier.

* 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35). † 420 of 1925 (Yr. 35).
‡ 446 of 1918 (Yr. 24). § 213 of 1894.
husband. Besides the title Vijayarājendra assumed by him at Kalyānapuram, Rājadhirāja had other surnames like Vīrarājendra-varman, * Āhavamalla-kulāntaka, † and Kalyānapurangondāsūla. ‡ Mention is made of a spiritual preceptor (gurudēvar) of the king by name Adhikārika Pārāśaryan Vāsudēvanārāyaṇaṇa, also called Ulagaḷanda-śōla-Brahmamārāyaṇa; § one wonders if Ulagaḷanda-śōla was also a title of Rājadhirāja, and whether a revenue survey was undertaken, in his reign, of a part of the country. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājadhirāja mentioned in his records may be noticed Daṇḍanāyakan Śōlan Kumaran Parāntaka Mārāyaṇ alias Rājadhirāja Nīla-gangaraiyar; || a certain Pīḷlaiyār Śōla-vallabha-dēva whose wife was called Paṅcavān-mahādēviyar **; Daṇḍanāyaka Appimayya, †† governor of Mahārājavāḍi 7000, who had Vallūru in the Cuddapah district as the seat of his government, and who may or may not be the same as Rājarāja Brahmcudhirāja ‡‡ who is mentioned in the very next year as ruler of the same province; and Pīḷlaiyār Viśṇuvardhaha-dēva, doubtless Rājarāja I of Vēngī, whose queen Ammanāḍēvi was the daughter of Rājendra I and the sister of Rājadhirāja, and who is said to have presented, in A.D. 1050, three hundred Rājarāja-mādhas, gold coins of the Vēngī kingdom, to the temple at Tiruvaiyāṟu in the Tanjore district. §§ There was also Sēnāpati Rājendrasōla Māvalivānaraiyar, an official who apparently took his title

* 78 of 1920 (Yr. 33). † 188 of 1919 (Yr. 35).
‡ 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35). § 413 of 1902 (Yr. 33).
§§ 221 of 1894 (S.I. v 520). Viṣṇuvardhana has been identified with the future Kulaṭṭunga I in ARE. 1895, I, 11.
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from Rājendra I under whom his public career might have begun, and who made a large endowment for higher education, of which more will be said in another place.

Turning now to an account of the reign of Rājendradēva, whose independent rule must have commenced some time in A.D. 1054-5, his inscriptions contain, like those of his predecessor, a variety of forms of his praśasti. The shortest form is a summary narration of his successes beginning Iraṭtapāḍi and found in his records from his second year* onwards. Having much in common with this, but slightly more elaborate, is the form which begins tiru(magal) maruviya also dating from his second year. † But the chief praśasti of the reign is the long account beginning tirumādu (or mādar) puvirenūm, first appearing in the fourth year, ‡ and undergoing a revision in a subsequent edition, so to say, about the ninth year. § The main differences between the two forms in the treatment of the celebrated battle of Koppam have been dealt with in our account of that fight. The other points in which the later version differs from the earlier are: the omission of all other particulars of the Ceylon war except the mention of Vīra Salāmēghan; the definite statement that after proclaiming himself king on the battle-field in an unprecedented manner, Rājendra returned to

* 214 of 1911. In 421 of 1903 the king seems to be called Rājarāja by mistake. Sewell: (HIS. p. 72) adopts A.D. 1052, May 28, the date of the accession of Rājendradēva, for the battle of Koppam. But we have no evidence that Rājendra did not become heir-apparent some time before the battle.

† 81 of 1928. 173 of 1894 (Yr. 5) has 'nilaviya' for 'maruviya,' but is otherwise the same.

‡ 3 of 1892, (S.II. iii 29); 396 of 1913. § 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915.
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Gangāpurī; a slightly different account of the disposition of the administrative places held by the members of the royal family, given not at the beginning of the record as in the earlier version, but at a later stage; and an account, altogether new, of a fresh war with the Cāḷukyas.

Both the Kalingatupparaṇi and the Vikrama-
śōlan-ulā make pointed reference to Rājēndra’s part in the battle of Koppam. The former records that the king fought fiercely in the battle and saved ‘the world’ by his success and celebrated his coronation on the field of battle. * The ulā, with intelligible hyperbole, says † that with the aid of a single elephant he captured a thousand of the enemy at Koppam.

Among the king’s relatives installed in different posts in the empire, the Maṇimangalam inscription of the fourth year mentions no fewer than thirteen persons,—a paternal uncle (śirīya-tāḷai) of the king, four younger brothers of his, six sons and two grandsons. ‡ The later records of the reign give a shorter list of only six persons so employed comprising the paternal uncle of the earlier record, his son— a new figure, only three of the four younger brothers mentioned before, and one son of the king, Rājēndra-
śōlan; why the rest are omitted it is not easy to explain. One wonders if they had all died in the interval, or were found unfit even for subordinate

* vili 27.
† ii. 38-40.
‡ SII. iii p. 58. ‘Kāḍalar’ definitely means ‘sons’ in this record; Rājēndraśōla one of the ‘kāḍalar’ is clearly called ‘tam-tirumagan’ in 87 of 1895, (comtra. Hultsch, op. cit. p. 62 n. 9)—unless indeed, we must assume the more general meaning for ‘kāḍalar,’ take ‘tirumagan’ to be a loose expression for son-in-law, and identify Rājēndra with Kulōttunga I. But the phrase ‘kāḍalar kāḍalar,’ clearly means grandsons; and this clearly favours the first suggestion.
employment. There seems to be no evidence whatever by which this can be settled. The fact deserves to be noted, however, in view of somewhat hasty statements which, on very slender evidence, fasten on Kulōttunga I a series of cold-blooded political murders calculated to clear his way to the Cōla throne. * The date of the shorter list would fall about A.D. 1061, or nine years before the accession of Kulōttunga. Among the titles conferred on these members of the royal family, some like Cōla-Pāṇḍyan, Cōla-Gangan and Cōla-Kēraḷan perhaps connoted the charge of the administration of the particular provinces named; others seem to have been merely titles of personal distinction giving no idea of the spheres of their duties, if any. Such titles are Irumaḍi-sōḷan, Karikāla-sōḷan, Uttama-sōḷan, Vijayālayan, and even names like Śōla-v Ayōddhirājan and Śōla-Kanna-kucciyāṇ. Only the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroys seem to have left behind a number of inscriptions of their own in the land over which they held sway; but even in their case, it is extremely difficult to identify the particular viceroy from his records, the first viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara alone excepted. †

Rājendra's son, also called Rājendra-sōḷa in the records noticed above, was perhaps chosen heir-apparent some time about A.D. 1059, and assumed the title Rājakēsari Rājamaḥendr. One inscription ‡ of his third year

* ARE. 1899 i, 51.

† He quotes his father's praṭasti in some records. For the others many guesses have been put forward. See notes in the Appendix under 'Cōla-Pāṇḍya' inscriptions.

‡ 119 of 1902. His other records begin in three ways: Manunidi-muṟai-vaḷara; tirumangai-vaḷara; tirumagai-vaḻanga; none of them is of any historical value.
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claims a victory for him against Āhavamalla at Muḍakkāru, and furnishes valuable confirmation of the events relating to another Cālukya war narrated in more detail in the inscriptions of the ninth year of his father. We learn from these latter * that the Cālukya, anxious to wipe out the disgrace that befell him on the field of Koppam, advanced with numerous forces led by Daṇḍanāyaka Vālādeva and other chieftains of the army, and a battle ensued on the banks of the Muḍakkāru (winding river) in which the Daṇḍanāyaka and his followers fell, Irugaiyan and others were forced to retreat together with their king and the proud Vikkalan, unable to resist the vigorous attack of the Cōla forces. The inscription of Rājamahēndra says, likewise, that by a war-elephant, he caused Āhavamalla to turn his back on the Muḍakkāru. As it often happened that in the Cālukya wars several Cōla princes fought together on the same field, the inscriptions of successive rulers also often supplement each other.

It is possible, therefore, that the future Vīrarājēndra was also present on this field; and if that was so, this battle must be treated as identical with that of Kūḍal-Śangamam of the records of Vīrarājēndra. A long description of this battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, with some details not found in Rājēndra’s records, is given in Vīrarājēndra’s inscriptions even of the second year † (A.D. 1063-4). It seems hardly likely that two first-class engagements took place on the same field in less than three or four years. In some of his later inscriptions ‡ occur expressions which imply that

* 87 of 1895; SII. v. p. 271 ll. 32-39. † 113 of 1896; 718 of 1909.
‡ SII. iii. 84, 1. 8. Hultzsch thinks this a reference to the fourth encounter preceding that in which Kampili was burnt (ibid. p. 195.)
Vīrājēndra had taken part in the fight at Muḍak-kāru before he became king, and that, in consequence, he came to be called Iraṭṭarāja-kula-kālan. If this view is correct, at least three Cōlas were present at the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and took part in the fight: the king Rājēndradēva, the heir-apparent Rājamahēndra, and the king’s brother Vīra-Cōla Karikāla (Vīrājēndra), whose achievements came to be recorded in his inscriptions in detail when, after the death of Rājamahēndra, he became heir-apparent and later king.

The account of the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and its antecedents given in the early inscriptions of Vīrājēndra is as follows: *

"(He) drove from the battle-field in Gangapādi into the Tungabhadrā the Mahāśaṁantas, whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows, along with Vikkalan who fought under (his) banner at the head of the battle. † (He) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (viz., Vikkalan) had again despatched into Vēngai-nāḷu; fought the Mādaṇḍa-nāyakan Cāmuṇḍarājan and cut off his head; ‡ and severed the nose from the face of his (viz., Cāmuṇḍarāja’s) only daughter, called Nāgalai, (who was) the queen of Irugaiyān and who resembled a peacock in beauty.

"The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless sāmantaś, together with these (two) sons of Āhavamalla, who were called Vikkalan and Śinganānan, at Kūḍal-Śangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave van-guard in advance, and having himself remained

* SII. iii. p. 37 (ll. 3-8) identical with 113 of 1896.
† I have adopted the reading: "ikalunai viruduo malaikkum" of 113 of 1896.
‡ Hultzsch translates: "ēṟṟavam-śrattinai-yarutu" into "cut off the head of the corpse" apparently failing to notice that "ēṟṟavam" is made up of "ēṟṟu" and "avan." cf. ēṟṟu van-śrattinai (113 of 1896).
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close behind with the kings allied to him, he agitated by means of a single mast elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner troop, * (he) cut to pieces Śingan, (the king) of warlike Kōsalai; along with the furious elephants of his van-guard. While Kēśava-danḍanāyaka, Kēttarasān, Mārayan of great strength, the strong Pottarayan and (Irēcçayan) were fighting, (he) shouted "(Follow) Mūvendi, (who wears) a garland of gold!" and cut to pieces many sāmantas, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Maduvanjan, who was in command, fled; Vikkalan fled with dishevelled hair; Śingan fled, (his) pride (and) courage forsaking (him); Anñalan and all others descended from the male elephant on which they were fighting in battle, and fled; Āhavamalla, too, to whom (they were) allied, fled before them. (The king) stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, (seized) his (viz., Āhavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, † white cūmaras, the boar-banner, the ornamental arch (makara-tōraṇa), the female elephant (called) Puṣpaka, ‡ and a herd of war-elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amidst (general) applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour."

Irugaiyan is said in Rājendradēva's records to have fled with Āhavamalla, Vikramāditya and others from the battle of Muḍakkāru; his wife suffered mutilation in the Vēṅgi fight of Vīrarājendra with Cāmuṇḍarāya just before the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. And Vīrarājendra is said to have 'seen the back of the hostile Śaḷukki' at Muḍakkāru before he became king, and there seems to be no other campaign narrated in Vīrarājendra's inscriptions that will explain this last reference unless it be the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, described in such detail and said to have taken place before his second year. It is

* i.e. the van-guard (of the Cōla king)-Hultsch.
† Mūgha-dāmbar.
‡ The text is Puṣpaka-pāṭhīyum.
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difficult to resist the conclusion, already suggested, that the Muḍakkārau of the records of Rājendradēva and Rājamahendra and the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the early records* of Vīrarājendra refer to one and the same engagement. The same event is apparently once at least mentioned under the name of Muḍakkāru in the inscriptions of Vīrarājendra himself.

Where Rājendra's records simply state that Āhavamalla desired to avenge himself for the defeat at Koppam and advanced in great force, those of Vīrarājendra show us the extent of the progress made by the Cālukyas by recording the necessity for chasing them through Gangapādi to the banks of the Tungabhadrā and thereby indicate how little the Cālukyas had suffered in the actual extent of the territory ruled by them even after Koppam. They also imply, by what they say about Cāmunḍarāya's movement against Vēngī, that an important, but unsuccessful, attempt was made by the Cālukyas to divide the attention of the Cōḷas between two fronts. This is noteworthy as evidence of the interest of the Western Cālukyas in Vēngī apart from any complications arising with regard to the succession after the death of Rājarāja-narāṇendra. † We have already had some evidence, though slight, of the eagerness of the Western Cālukyas to court the friendship of their Eastern cousins. In fact the possession of Vēngī made the Cōḷas formidable to the Western Cālukyas; the Cōḷas well understood the importance of Vēngī to them and took care to marry their princesses to the rulers of Vēngī for generations together and otherwise to keep

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* Another engagement fixed at this same place for a later day did not come off. See post, pp. 326 ff.
† Contra S. K. Aiyangar-Ancient India p. 121.
on friendly terms with them. For the same reason, the Western Cālukyas, who looked upon Vēṅgī as a lost dominion, made vain efforts to undo the results of their slackness when it was too late. *

Kūḍal-Śangamam must be located at the junction of the Tungabhadra and Kṛṣṇā rivers. † The first battle at this place, the one with which we are now concerned, took place after the Cālukyas were driven across the Gangapādi up to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and after the failure of an expedition sent into Vēṅgī by the Cālukyas. On a later occasion, when the Cālukya failed to meet Vīraraṅgendra at the same place as previously arranged, the Cōla planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra before he retired. ‡ The Śangamam meant by the inscriptions must, therefore, be some confluence of rivers on the course of the Tungabhadra. The choice lies

* Another view of these events is possible. Muḍakkāru may not be Kūḍal-Śangamam; Irugaiyan may have fought at Muḍakkāru, and this need have no connection with the mutilation of his wife in the Vēṅgī campaign of Vīraraṅgendra, which preceded the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. As Vīraraṅgendra’s record is dated in his second year (c. A.D. 1064) and the E. Cālukya Rājarāja-narēndra died in 1063, it is just possible that Vikramaṇḍita’s entry into Vēṅgī (Cāmuṇḍaraṇya’s expedition) was connected with some succession dispute after Rājarāja’s death. On this scheme, we have to assume that the battle of Muḍakkāru—whatever river may be meant—took place c. A.D. 1060; and three years or so later came the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam recorded in the inscriptions of A.D. 1064. On the whole the view adopted in the text, based on the identification of Muḍakkāru with Kūḍal-Śangamam, seems simpler, and there appears to be nothing that can be urged against such a position. It should also be observed, in this connection, that Vīraraṅgendra’s inscriptions of the second year say nothing about his helping Vijayaṇḍita to gain or regain the Vēṅgī throne,—an event which is not mentioned as having taken place till after the second battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and about the fiftieth year of Vīraraṅgendra (c. A.D. 1067). So that if we drop the somewhat uncritical assumption that Vikramaṇḍita and Vīraraṅgendra concerned themselves about Vēṅgī only after Rājarāja-narēndra’s death, the course of events becomes clear and perhaps more easy to follow.

† SII. iii. p. 32. 
‡ SII. iii. 30, 1, 26.
between Kūḍali at the junction of the Tungā and Bhadrā in Mysore, or that of the Tungabhadrā and the Krṣṇā. While the name Kūḍali points to the former as the site of Kūḍal-Śangamam, the Vēngī interlude seems to make the latter more probable; a satisfactory identification of Kāndai or Karandai, where the Cōḷa awaited the Cāḷukya for about a month on the second occasion, may decide the choice more definitely.

The latest regnal year in Rājendra's records is the twelfth, † corresponding to A. D. 1063. He was succeeded by Vīrarājendra already heir-apparent for sometime after the death of Rājamahendra. Gangāpuri continued to be the Cōḷa capital under Rājendra II and is mentioned as such in an inscription from Kanyākumāri, ‡ while another from Kuttālam makes mention of a big bazaar within the fort of this capital city. § Of the queens of Rājendra, only one is mentioned by name in his records, a Kīḷānaḍigal. His daughter Madhurāntaki was the wife of the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Rājendra II, afterwards Kulottunga I. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājendradēva II, prominent mention is made in his records of the Milāḍa chieftain Narasimhavarman who is said to have ruled Milāḍu

* Fleet suggested the confluence of the Paṅca-gangā and the Krṣṇā in the neighbourhood of Khidrāpur (Koppam) as the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the Cōḷa inscriptions; and identified Karandai with lācal Karali in the same place (EI, xii p. 298). But as he does not seem to have written the more detailed note promised by him on the subject, it is impossible to see how he would have met the objections to these identifications that arise from the narrative of the campaign as given in the Cōḷa records which do not once mention Raṭṭapāḍi as having been entered by the Cōḷa forces on this occasion. On the later occasion Raṭṭapāḍi is said to have been devastated; but the pillar is erected on the banks of the Tungabhadrā.

† 144 of 1898. ‡ T.A.S. i 164-8. § 102 of 1926 (Vr. 9). ¶ E.I. v. p. 77 v. 11; Cellīr v. 12.
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2000 after his abhisēka and coronation under this title. * Others were Sēnāpati Araiyan Kaḍakkan-gonda-sōḷan, † and Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāḷvān who is mentioned in an inscription from Ceylon, ‡ and who may be identical with Araiyan Rājarājan alias Vīrarājēndra Jayamuri-nāḍāḷvān of another inscription from Karuvūr. §

The Vikramāśōḷan-ula ¶ records that Rājamahēndra made for Ranganātha, the god of Śrīrangam, a serpentine couch set with many precious stones; and the Kōyil-olugu, a late work on the antiquities and traditions of the Śrīrangam temple, though it knows nothing of the serpentine couch, mentions many structural alterations in the temple as the work of Rājamahēndra, commemorated in the name Rājamahēndran - tiruvīdi. An inscription ** of the twelfth year of Kulottunga I from the Salem district states that in Rājamahēndra’s reign there was a land revenue assessment in Kolli-malai-nāḍu. The name of Rājamahēndra’s queen, Lōkamahādēvi, seems to be preserved in a fragmentary inscription from Cidambaram. ††

For a study of the reign of Rājakōsari Vīra-
rājēndra I, (accession A. D. 1062-3), we possess a considerable number of inscriptions with praśastis in two main forms and in various redactions, which fit into one another with remarkable correctness. ‡‡ The longer praśasti beginning Tiruvaḷar-tiral-puyattt gives in its earlier form a list of the king’s relations on whom he conferred

‡ 612 of 1912. § S.II. iii. 21. ¶ II. 40-42.
‖ In the section on Rājamahēndran kainkaryam.
** 502 of 1930. †† 612 of 1930.
‡‡ An admirable discussion of Vīrarājēndra’s records by Hultsch is found at S.II. iii pp. 192-6.

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various official positions, * but omits this list in its later editions. † The praśasti grows in length as the reign advances, and new events are incorporated in it. The shorter introduction beginning Vīramē-tuṣāiy-āgavum passes through many changes and attains in the seventh year an altogether new cast, and records facts not otherwise known. These changes will be noticed subsequently when they are of any historical importance. The Kalingattupparaṇi and the Vikrama-sōlān-ulā record no events of the reign of Vīrarājēndra other than the battle of Kūdal-Śangamam. The Takka-yāgapparaṇi, ‡ on the other hand, mentions his friendship with Vikramāditya VI.

Early in his reign, the king appointed § Madhurāntaka, described as his son tan-tirup-pudal-vay, to rule over Tōṇḍaimanḍalam with the title Cūḷēndra; another Gangaikōṇḍa-sōla, also called son, tiṇḍīral maindan, was made the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy over the Pāṇḍya country. It is difficult to decide, in the light of subsequent events, whether the terms pudalvan and maindan are to be understood literally or only as terms of endearment applied to more distant relatives. Nor, on the former assumption, can it be decided if either of them was the son who was the brother-in-law of the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and who had a short rule, on Vīrarājēndra’s death, as Parakēsari Adhirājēndra. The king’s elder brother Ālavandān and a certain Muḍikōṇḍa-sōlan also received titles and recognition; but though they too seem to have been placed in administrative charge of

* SII. iii 20; 113 of 1896 (SII. v. 976).
† SII. iii, 30.
‡ V. 774. Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar’s identification of this king with Rējarāja II seems rather doubtful.
§ 113 of 1896; SII. iii. 20, p. 33.
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parts of the empire, the inscriptions do not tell us what exactly were the areas so entrusted to them.

The early wars ofVirarajendra against the Western Calukyas, which resulted in the battle of Kudal-Sangamam so graphically described in the inscription of his second year from Tiruvengkada, were fought by him, as already observed, perhaps before he came to the throne or was even recognised as the successor to his elder brother Rajendradeva. The bitterness that characterised the Calukya wars of this period becomes clear from the eagerness of Virarajendra to count up every little victory gained by him or his lieutenants as a personal affront to Someshvara I Ahavamalla. "In perfect accordance with the longer redaction of the introduction, in which the battle of Kudal-Sangamam is stated to have been the third encounter with the Calukyas, the Tirunamallur inscription of the fourth year attributes to Virarajendra I the biruda 'who saw the back of Ahavamalla three times'."† The Kanyakumari inscription also gives a general description of the battle of Kudal-Sangamam, not very different in character.‡ In the Karuvur inscription of the fourth year,§ we hear for the first time that Virarajendra killed the king of Pottappi, the Keralas, the younger brother of king Dhuravarsa, and Virakesari, the son of the Pandya Sri Vallabha. The Manimangalam inscription¶ of the next year adds to this list an expedition against Udagai and the Keralas, from which Virarajendra returned after collecting a large tribute in the form of elephants. Whether these achievements, altogether obscure in their nature and origin, were part of the

* 113 of 1896.
† Hultsch, SII. iii. p. 193.
‡ I v. 76.
§ SII. iii 20.
¶ SII. iii 30.

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continuous war with the Cālukyas that forms the central feature of this reign, or were minor punitive expeditions which had nothing to do with this war, there is no doubt that the ‘hot battle’ which is next mentioned as having taken place by previous engagement on the banks of a river, of unknown name, did form part of the Cōla-Cālukya hostilities. For in this battle seven Cālukya generals who are named and the kings of the Gangas, the Nūlumbas, the Kūḍavas and the Vaidumbas are said to have suffered decapitation; and before the Cōla king could get their heads nailed to the gates of his capital, Gangaikōṇḍa-sōḷapuram, * the Cālukya king, stung by the intolerable disgrace that had befallen his troops on this field, was roused to a greater effort against his Cōla opponent. Sōmēśvara, we learn, reproached himself saying: ‘It is much better to die than to live in disgrace,’ and wrote and despatched a letter to the Cōla king in which he assigned as the field for the next battle the very spot at Kūḍal whence his sons and himself had fled before in utter rout, and declared that whoever did not come, through fear, to the appointed field, should thenceforth be no kings but outcastes † who had incurred disgrace in war. This message from the Cālukya, when it was delivered to Vīrarājēndra, greatly pleased him. Accordingly he set out for the fight, and awaited at Kāndai the arrival of the Cālukya king for one full month beyond the date fixed by him. The Cālukya ran away and hid himself in the Western ocean; and the Cōla king subdued all resistance in Iraṭṭapādī by putting

* It must be noted that all the events up to this point are mentioned in a fourth year record found in Mājūr, of which only the praśasti is preserved (194 of 1911; E.C. ix Cp. 85.)

† The term “pirattā” seems to be the Sanskrit word “khratta” rather than the Tamil “purattān” a fraud or liar contra Hultsch. SII. iii p. 69.
to fight Dēvanaṭha, Śitti and Kēsi, each in a separate direction, and by setting fire to towns; he also planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tūṅgabhadrā. Then the Cōla monarch seems to have made an effigy of Sōmēśvara and subjected it to various indignities, * before turning his attention to Vēngī where, apparently

* This, I think, is the real meaning, as suggested by A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar (Life and Times of Cēḷukya Vikramādiṭiya VI. Tamil Edn. pp. 22-3 and n. 3). Hultzsch understands this rather obscure passage as referring to Vīrarājēndra’s alliance with Vikramādiṭiya. But that, I think, belongs to a later stage of the war when Sōmēśvara I was no more and to the first fight of Vīrarājēndra with Sōmēśvara II. On the present occasion, Vīrarājēndra is still fighting the entire family of Sōmēśvara I and on every front. The division between Vikramādiṭiya VI and his brother which gave Vīrarājēndra the chance of an alliance with the former did not, it seems, arise until after the death of Sōmēśvara I, of which Vīrarājēndra had no knowledge on this occasion. The Maṇimangalam inscription of the fifth year, therefore, cannot be said to anticipate, as Hultzsch says it does (S.II. iii pp. 194-195), the events recorded in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh years of Vīrarājēndra. For one thing, the word pirattam in l. 27 of the Maṇimangalam record makes it impossible for us to identify him with Vikramādiṭiya VI (cf. l. 22 of the same record; also Takkaygalapparai v. 774, where pirattam, an unfriendly Cēḷukya, is contrasted with trattam, a friendly one). Again the expressions of the records of the sixth and seventh years make it clear that they are referring to a single occasion, which is different from that of the Maṇimangalam record and in which Vikramādiṭiya became friends with Vīrarājēndra. S.II. iii. 83. (Yr. 6), says that Vīrarājēndra burnt Kampili and occupied Karāḍigal before Sōmēśvara (II) could unite his necklace (ll. 7-8), and this is the first occasion of an encounter with the Cēḷukyas after the conquest of Vēngī on behalf of Vijayaśānti V; 84 (Yr. 7) records (ll. 5-6) that on the same occasion, Sōmēśvara (II) was forced to abandon the Kannaraḷaṇa and that the submissive Vikramādiṭiya was invested with the necklace by the Cōla king. The Vikramānkalīda Karita also places the alliance between its hero and the Cōla king some time after Sōmēśvara I’s demise and on the banks of the Tūṅgabhadrā; and according to the same poem, at the time of his father’s death, Vikramādiṭiya was absent on a conquering tour which extended to Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa, which, again, seems very probable, as Vīrarājēndra himself had to go off to Vēngī after Sōmēśvara I failed to keep his engagement with him at Kūḷal-Sangamam. Lastly, it does not seem necessary to assume that the kaṭṭhikā (necklace) was necessarily a symbol of heir-apparenship and not of kingship in general, and hold, as Hultzsch does (S.II. iii p. 194), that in the sixth year of Vīrarājēndra, Sōmēśvara was alive and Sōmēśvara II was still only crown-prince (I.A. xx p. 267 under 17–Vijayaśānti V and the references given there). Even if the kaṭṭhikā was a symbol of subordinate position, Sōmēśvara II’s untying it may mean that his father was no more and that he had become ruler in his own right,—probably the best view of the situation.
owing to the exertions of the Western Cāḷukyaś, things had gone against Vijayaḍitya, the ally of Virarājendrā.

The question why Śomēśvara I failed to keep an engagement fixed by himself and thus suffered once again the imputation of cowardice at the hands of his Cōla enemy cannot be answered with certainty. The date of the occurrence was some time in the fifth year of Virarājendrā, and from the details preserved in the record the exact day which is mentioned in the Maṇimangalam inscription is seen to have been Monday 10th September A.D. 1067. * Śomēśvara sought relief from an incurable disease by religious drowning in the Tungabhadrā and the date of this occurrence was March 29, A.D. 1068. † The assumption has generally been made that Śomēśvara's absence from Kūḍal-Śangamam on this occasion was due to his illness and death. ‡ It should, however, be observed that as early as the 10th September A.D. 1067 we find recorded not only the absence of Śomēśvara from Kūḍal-Śangamam but the subsequent campaign of Virarājendrā in Vēngi and Cakrakūṭa which resulted in the restoration of the Vēngi kingdom to Vijayaḍitya VII. On the other hand, Bilhaṇa states distinctly that Vikramāditya VI was encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā § on his way back home after his conquests when the news of his father's death reached him. And his language, though we cannot be sure about it, seems to rule out the protracted illness of Šomēśvara I, who was suddenly

* A.I. vii p. 9.
† Vikramāṅkhaṛtha Carita iv 44-68; EC. vii Sk. 136.
‡ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India p. 123; A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar op. cit. p. 23.
§ iv 36.
taken ill, in the midst of his rejoicing over his son's successes in the digvijaya. Unsatisfactory as it seems, we can, for the present, only assume that if Sōmūś vara's absence was due to illness, his ailment was of a rather longer duration than Bilhana's account implies.

The conflicting nature of our sources and the fecundity of modern research, carried out sometimes under the subtle influence of the nascent patriotism of the Andhra country, have greatly obscured the course of events in the Vēngī kingdom during this period; one can hardly be too cautious in dealing with this phase of our subject. A more detailed consideration, however tentative, of the course of events in Vēngī will become necessary when we reach the problems connected with the accession of Kulōttunga I to the Cōla throne. Here we may note simply the facts as they are gathered from the inscriptions and the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita which seem to speak for themselves. The Manimangalam inscription records that from Kūḍal-Śangamam Virarājendra proceeded to Vēngī, after issuing a challenge to the Cālukya, saying: "We do not intend to return (home) till after we reconquer the good Vēngī country, once ours; listen! if you are a Vallava, * come and defend." This challenge to the Cālukya is a clear indication that the Vēngī country had just at that time passed into the hands of the W. Cālukyas from Virarājendra or from his ally, Vijayāditya VII. The rhapsody of Bilhana on Vikramāditya's digvijaya during the lifetime of his father seems to furnish the clue to the real situation by including Vēngī and Cakrakūta † in an otherwise

* Means both 'a strong man' and 'Cālukya.' † iv. 29, 30.
impossible list of conquests attributed to him. Apparently Vikramāditya did succeed in transferring Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa from their rulers to himself and adding them to his father’s dominions. Attention has been drawn already to the evidence from some Western Cāḷukya records of this period showing their eagerness to gain control of Vēngī. But if the Maṇimangalam record speaks truly, the success of Vikramāditya in the east was shortlived; for it states that in a decisive battle on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa, in the neighbourhood of Bezwāda, Vīrāṇājendrā inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Cāḷukya forces commanded by Jananāṭha,* Rājamayān and others compelling them to flee into the jungle for refuge. After this, the Cōla crossed the Gōḍāvari, marched across Kalingam and beyond Cakkarak-kōṭṭam. † Having thus regained Vēngī, he bestowed it on Vijayāditya who had sought his protection, before he returned to his capital Gangāpuri, adorned by the splendour of victory gained in many a fight. ‡

The second engagement at Kūḍal-Śangamam, which Āhavamalla failed to keep, and the resumption of the Vēngī country, which followed, are briefly alluded

* We have a number of undated inscriptions at Drākṣarāma recording vows taken by chieftains promising exclusive allegiance to Śri Parṇataka, Konśrinmai-koṇḍar Sarvālukārāya Śri Viśuvvardhāna Mahārāja. Perhaps Vīrāṇājendrā is meant by these titles and the records are of this period (ŚI. iv. 1269-1275).

† 182 of 1915 distinctly says that the Cāḷukya forces were met at Śakkarak-kōṭṭam and defeated by Vīrāṇājendrā - pādaik-kāḍalīvī vāda-tīvra-Cakkarak-kōṭṭtaṇa pūk-kūḍānāpādā Śaḷukkiyut - tāṇāyaik-kanal-pāda nārī: cf. also the early inscriptions of Kūḍātunga.

‡ Hültzsch has clearly misunderstood the phrase - "īgalādaippūṇḍa jayattiru-voṭum" which he translates into: "with the goddess of victory, who had shown hostility in the interval," and in which he sees "an admission of the fact that the Cōlas had experienced reverses," ŚII. iii. p. 70 and n. 4. The 'īdat' after 'īgal' is clearly a locative suffix to the preceding word meaning 'battle,' not 'hostility,' in the context.
to in the shorter praśasti of the fifth year of Viṣṇu-
rājendra I. * These imply that, by the reconquest of 
Vengi, Viṣṇu-rājendra fulfilled some vow made by his 
elder brother; † though we cannot be sure of it, this 
perhaps means that the Cōla control over Vengi had 
been lost some time during the reign of Rājendra-dēva 
II and that he had died without being able to recover 
it; if this view is correct, the Western Cālukya occu-
pation of Vengi must have been more complete and 
lasted longer than has so far been believed, and 
Sōmeśvara I must have recompensed himself for the 
defeat at Koppam by substantial success in another 
direction. The Kanyākumāri inscription ‡ also states 
that Vengi and Kalinga, though part of the hereditary 
dominion of the Cōlas, had been neglected by his 
brother and allowed to fall under the occupation of 
hostile kings, and that Viṣṇu-rājendra regained them for 
the empire.

Viṣṇu-rājendra had his attention drawn to Ceylon 
by the efforts made by Vijayabāhu 
Ceylon War. 
to extend his power from Rōhana 
and to expel the Cōlas from the island. The 
Mahāvamsa and the only inscription of Viṣṇu-rājendra 
which gives an account of this war are agreed that 
Vijayabāhu did not succeed in attaining his object. 
In the details, the two accounts differ. The Mahāvamsa 
says § that when the Cōla king heard of Vijayabāhu’s 

* Hultsch S.II. iii. p. 193.
† Hultsch identifies this elder brother of the king with Ālavandha, 
S.II. iii. p. 194.
‡ v. 77.
§ CV. Ch. 58 vv. 1-77. Codrington (Short History p. 56) says: “A first 
attempt to secure Polonnāruwa was made in or about A.D. 1066 but ended in 
failure, and Vijayabāhu was compelled to fortify himself at Viṣṇagiri (Vattigala in Kōgalia district).” I think that the fortification at Viṣṇagiri belongs 
to the later campaign of 1070 of which the narrative in the CV. begins 
with v. 18.
designs, he sent off his Sōnāpati who was then in Pulatthinagara against the Singalese ruler. The Cōla general entered Rōhaṇa, plundered Kajaragāma and returned to his province. Vijayabāhu saw the strength of the Cōla forces and was distracted by rebellions and treachery in his own camp. Nothing came of his effort. The inscription of Vīrarājēndra dated in his fifth year, A.D. 1067, states that the king sent a large army which crossed the sea in a number of ships without erecting a causeway, defeated the Singalese forces, compelled Vijayabāhu to seek refuge in flight, made his queen captive, and restored the whole of Ceylon to Vīrarājēndra’s sway.* We cannot accept the last statement literally; Vijayabāhu renewed the struggle with better results three or four years later, and he could not have done this if he had lost his hold on Rōhaṇa.

For the transactions of the rest of Vīrarājēndra’s reign we have to depend exclusively on the shorter praśasti in its later editions. Records of the seventh year † mention that Vīrarājēndra conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of a king who had come in search of his aid and protection, and handed it over to him. If the place of this event in these records indicates its chronological position in the reign, it must have occurred before the sixth year, c. A.D. 1068. We know as yet little of the relations between the Cōlas and the empire of Śrī Vijaya, which no doubt is signified by the term Kaḍāram, in the interval that elapsed between Rājēndra’s campaign against Sangrāma-Vijayōttunga-varman and the reign of Vīrarājēndra. Consequently we have no means of

† 175 of 1894; 266 of 1901, S.II. iii. 84.
elucidating this brief reference to a second expedition against Kaḍārām in this reign.

On the death of Sōmeśvara I, Sōmeśvara II came to the Cālukyan throne in A. D. 1068 (11th April), and Virarājendhra took the occasion to renew the ancient feud. The inscriptions of Sōmeśvara II state this fact clearly and imply that the Cōla began by attacking the fortress of Guttī and ended by retreating in haste before Sōmeśvara. * The Cōla inscriptions and Bilhana tell another story. The former state that before Sōmeśvara could unite his kaṇṭhikā, that is, on the occasion of his coronation as king, † Virarājendra burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍīgal, a village in the Lingsagar Taluk of the Raicūr district, ‡ and that he forced Sōmeśvara to abandon the Kannara country, and invested the Śaḷukki Vikramāditya with the kaṇṭhikā and Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country conquered on his account, because he had come and sought the aid of the Cōla monarch. § This occasion is no doubt the one mentioned in the Takkuyāgapparaṇi which says that the Cōla king, here called Rājaγambhīra, took away the fillet of royalty from the Piraṭṭan and conferred it on the Iraṭṭan for the protection of the celebrated seven and a half lakh country. ¶ And the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita tells the same story, embellished from the standpoint of the hero of the poem. Soon after his father’s death and brother’s accession, Vikramāditya VI quarrelled with his brother who had fallen into evil courses, and left Kalyāṇa with his younger brother Jayasimha and destroyed the troops sent by his elder brother

* Ec. vii Sk. 136.  † SiI. iii, 83.  ‡ EI. xii. pp. 295, 309.  § SiI. iii. 84.  ¶ v. 774.
Sōmeśvara in pursuit of him. He reached the Tungabhadrā and rested his army for a time. * Then he became desirous of war with the Cōla and started on the expedition after spending some time in Banavāṣi. Jayakēśi and the Ālupa king did him obeisance, † and the Cōla himself, unable to resist the advance, sent an ambassador and offered his daughter in marriage to the Cālukya prince, and Vikrama agreed to retire to the banks of the Tungabhadrā, where the Cōla king subsequently met him, the marriage was celebrated and the alliance between the two kings concluded. ‡ It may be noted that Jayakēśi I, the Kaḷamba king of Goa who was ruling in this period, is said in Kaḷamba inscriptions to have placed the Western Cālukya firmly on his own throne, and to have brought about peace between the Cōla and the Cālukya at Kāṇcī. § All these lines of evidence point to the conclusion that soon after the death of Āhamallā, trouble arose between Sōmeśvara II and Vikramāditya, on some matters of importance, if not about the succession itself, that Vikramāditya's younger brother Jayasimha, and the Kaḷamba Jayakēśi of Goa took his side in the dispute, that Jayakēśi officiated as Vikrama's ambassador to the Cōla, seeking Virarājendrā's aid for his ally, and that as a consequence of the powerful intercession of the Cōla monarch, Sōmeśvara II was compelled to part with portions of his hereditary dominions to Vikramāditya almost immediately after his accession to the throne. Though we have no other evidence for it than that of Bilhaṇa, the marriage of Vikramāditya with a Cōla princess may be accepted as a fact.

* Vikramāṅkha Carita iv 69—v. 10.
† v. 25-6.
‡ v. 28—vi. 3.
§ JBRAS. ix. p. 278, 242; BG. 1, ii p. 567.
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Vikramāditya’s inscriptions with the title Trailōkyamalla and bearing dates earlier than A.D. 1076, which marked the commencement of the Cālukya-Vikrama era, are found in the southern parts of the Cālukyan empire; * and this goes far to confirm the hypothesis of a division of territory between the Cālukya brothers. It was not many years before the younger brother completely displaced the elder, as we shall see.

In summing up the earlier achievements of Viśvarājendrā, his later inscriptions which record the transactions just noticed, mention at the outset the beheading of the Pāṇḍya, the collection of tribute from the Kēraḷa and the subjugation of Ceylon, †—events which recall the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja and Rājendrā. It is quite possible that as in the fight at Muḍākkaṟu, (which we have identified with the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and which is mentioned at the end of this prasasti and the beginning of the grant portion), Viśvarājendrā took part in the campaigns conducted by his brothers in the southern countries, long before any idea of his accession to the throne dawned on his mind. The wars against Sōmēśvara in which Viśvarājendrā took part are briefly summed up in this form of the prasasti in the statement that the Cōla king saw the back of Āhavamalla, that is to say, put him to flight, on five different occasions. ‡

From the Tirunāmanallur inscription of the fourth year, and the Yōgi-mallavaram and Kanyākumāri records of the seventh, § Viśvarājendrā is seen occasionally to have appropriated

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* e.g. 127 of 1913; 455 of 1920; *EC* xi Cd. 82; *S/Z* iii p. 65.
† *S/Z* iii. 84 ii. 1-2.
‡ *S/Z* iii. p. 194.
the full regal titles of the Western Cāḷukyas such as Sakala-bhuvanaśraya, Mēdinī-vallabha and Mahārājādhirāja, besides specially Cōla titles which, like Āhavamallakulakāla, recall the victories won against the Cāḷukyas. He also styled himself Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Rājaśraya, and Rājarājēndra, titles which, together with Vallabhavallabha, Vīra Cōla, and Karikāla, are found in the Kanykumārī inscription as well.* The same inscription tells us that Vīrarājēndra presented a fine ruby called Trailōkyasāra for being mounted on the crown of the Dancer of the Golden Hall, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram † and that he endowed many brahmadaṇyas in the countries of Cōla, Tuṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gangavāṇi, and gratified forty thousand Brahmans, learned in the Vedas, by gifts of land. ‡ We have already noticed that Gangāpurī was the capital of the Cōla empire in this reign as well, and that at the end of his wars he returned to it in state. A palace in Gangaiṅondha-śōla-puram called Śīlakārāla-mūlīgai and a throne in it called Rājēndraśēla Māvali-vīṇarājan are mentioned in a record of the fifth year. § The latest regnal year of Vīrarājēndra that is found in inscriptions is the eighth, which is mentioned in a record ¶ of the third year of Parakēsari Adhirājēndradēva, the son and successor of Vīrarājēndra, and the brother-in-law of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. Vīrarājēndra’s death must have occurred, therefore, early in A.D. 1070. Śrāvana Asleśa was the asterism of his birth. ‖ One of his queens, Arumōlimañgai, survived till the fifteenth year of Kulōttunga I; her name is mentioned in an incomplete inscription of that year from Tanjore. ** The presence of Buddhism in the Cōla kingdom in the reign of

* vv. 75; 77-8.
† v. 79 (fragment).
‡ vv. 80-81.
§ 182 of 1915.
¶ SII. iii. 57 li, 11-12.
‖ 182 of 1915. l. 25.
** SII. ii. 58. p. 234.
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Virarājendra, and the influence of Buddhist scholarship on Tamil literature, are attested by the Viraśōliyam, a curious work on Tamil grammar conceived on ultra-Sanskritic lines by Buddhamitra, who calls himself chieftain of Ponperri. This place is identified by Venkayya with Ponpetti in the Paṭṭukkōṭṭai tāluq of the Tanjore district.*

* ARE. 1899, paragraph 50; SII. iii. p. 197; Viraśōliyam-Peyiram.
CHAPTER XII.

THE ACCESSION OF KULÖTTUNGA I

A.D. 1070

Virarājendra died early in A.D. 1070, the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded on the throne by Parakēsari Adhirājendra who had a very short reign of some weeks' duration and was followed by Rājakēsari Kulōttunga Cōla I on the 9th June A.D. 1070. * As we find inscriptions of Adhirājendra dated in his third year, and as the exact date of Kulōttunga's accession is quite clearly attested by his dated stone inscriptions from the Telugu country, it is evident that Adhirājendra must have been chosen heir-apparent by Virarājendra some time in 1067-8. Adhirājendra's relation to Virarājendra may be inferred from the explicit statement in the Vikramānkanedēva Carita that on the death of his father-in-law, Vikramāditya started for Kānci and Gangākunḍapura in order to place his wife's brother on the Cōla throne. † Why his reign was so short and how the Eastern Cālukya prince Rājendra II came to occupy the Cōla throne in 1070 are questions that do not admit of decisive answers. The evidence bearing on them proceeds from several quarters. These various sources of evidence differ so much from one another, and suggest so many explanations of the occurrences that the conviction is borne in upon us that almost every one of our authorities had strong motives to put forward a separate version of the course of events.

* E.I. vii p. 7 n. 5.  † vi. vv. 6-25.
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As a result of several inter-marriages, for some time the members of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty had become plainly Cōḷas at heart, far more than Cālukyas. The following genealogical table illustrates the interrelation between the two dynasties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rājarāja I (Cōḷa)</th>
<th>(E. Cālukya.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rājendra I</td>
<td>Kundavā m. Vimalāditya m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendra II Ammangadēvi m. Rājarāja Narendra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhurāntaki m. Rājendra II (Cālukya) Vijayāditya VII (Kulottunga I)</td>
<td>Śaktivarman II.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Eastern Cālukya copper-plates of the period fall into two sets, one of them mentioning the transactions of Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, omitted by others, a feature not unknown in other passages of E. Cālukya history, as for instance the grants of Bādana and Tāla II which seem to form a class apart, mentioning facts about the interregnum before the accession of Śaktivarman I, omitted elsewhere. The facts as set forth in the first set of plates are the following.

After twelve years had elapsed from the accession of Rājarāja-narendra, his step-brother Vijayāditya ousted him from the throne and crowned himself king in Śaka 952, A.D. 1030; the grant which mentions this fact is dated in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya. Then the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II, which do not mention any regnal year, state that Śaktivarman was crowned as king in the year Śaka 983, on a

* IA. xx p. 277.
† Pamulavīka plates of Vijayāditya VII. ii, 62-3; JAHRS. ii. 267.
‡ (ibid) l. 81.
day corresponding to 18th October A.D. 1061, after Rājarāja had enjoyed a reign of forty-one years; they omit the coronation of Vijayāditya in A.D. 1030. * Lastly, the Ryāli plates (two sets) of Vijayāditya VII omit all reference to the occurrences of A.D. 1030-2, give forty-one years to Rājarāja, state that Vijayāditya took by force the kingdom of his step-brother without his knowledge (in his absence?), † that he handed it over to his son Śaktivarman out of the love he bore him, and that, when Śaktivarman died at the end of one year by a bad stroke of fate, Vijayāditya was only persuaded with difficulty, like Arjuna at the death of Abhimanyu, to resume the duties of state. These grants are dated in the twelfth year of Vijayāditya's rule. There is nothing in the palaeography or the dating of these records that raises any doubt as to their genuineness.

Alike in their chronology and in their narration of events, these plates differ from those of Kulōttunga which will be noticed presently. These imply that Rājarāja-narēndra came to the E. Cālukya throne in 1018 after Vimalāditya had occupied it for seven years from A.D. 1011, thus completely vindicating the date of Vimalāditya's accession calculated by Kielnhofer, 10th May 1011. ‡ But the facts that the Raṇastapūṇḍī grant of Vimalāditya is dated in his eighth regnal year, and that Rājarāja-narēndra's coronation is stated elsewhere to have occurred in A.D. 1022 should not be lost sight of. Though the grants of Vijayāditya VII

* JAHRS. v. pp. 33. ff.
† parokṣam Rājarājasya bhrūtur-dvaimāturasya yah /
paryagrahīn-mahē-rājya-sāriyam vīra-sūrya yutah ||

My thanks are due to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Madras Museum for assisting me in consulting the unpublished Ryāli plates in his custody. See also ARE. 1925. II 5; JAHRS. v. p. 44, v. 16.
‡ EI. vi pp 349-50.
and Śaktivarman II thus agree with those of the time of Kulottunga I in ascribing a rule of forty-one years to Rājarāja-narēndra, they seem to reckon the years from a different starting point, A.D. 1018, which is four years earlier than the date usually given, in the later grants, for Rājarāja’s coronation, A.D. 1022. The language of the Ryāli plates and the date of Śaktivarman II’s coronation even raise a doubt if Vijayāditya waited till the natural end of Rājarāja’s life or deposed him earlier. In any event, seeing that Vīrarājēndra’s inscriptions before his seventh year (A.D. 1068-9) do not mention his having had anything to do with Vijayāditya, there is no room for assuming, as has been sometimes done, that he interfered in any dispute relating to the succession, on Rājarāja’s death, between Kulottunga I and Vijayāditya VII or that he helped to keep out the former. †

The hostility of Vijayāditya VII to Rājarāja, and possibly to his son Rājēndra-Kulottunga, that becomes apparent from these plates has led to the identification of Vijayāditya VII with Viśnovardhana-Vijayāditya (of some Western Cāḷukya inscriptions) who bears Eastern Cāḷukya titles like Sarvalokāśrāya and Vēṅgi-mañḍalēśvara. Fleet who first proposed this identification, basing himself mainly on the similarity of names and titles, ‡ subsequently gave it up and made the Western Cāḷukya prince a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I, not mentioned by Bilhaṇa, apparently because he played a very insignificant part. § In recent years, Fleet’s original identification has again found support from scholars under the influence of the newly discovered copper-plates of

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* This date is given as Ś. 986 in ARE. 1914 II 10 and 983 in App. A. (ādī). The text is: guṇa-rāma-nidhi. The astronomical details fit 983 better.
† ARE. 1901, paragraph 12; S.II. iii p. 128.
‡ IA. xx 277-8.
§ BG. I, ii 454 and n. 5.
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Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, and attempts have been made to prove that after the failure of his first usurpation (A.D. 1030-32), Vijayāditya left the Vēngī country and sought service under and support from Sōmeśvara I.* But there are several considerations militating against this view, and the arguments urged in its favour are by no means conclusive. It is true that a marriage relation between the two branches of Cālukyas such as was postulated by Fleet is impossible, and Vijayāditya-Viṣṇuvardhana, if he was a son of Sōmeśvara, could not have had an Eastern Cālukya princess for his mother.† It may also be conceded that the omission of this name by Bilhaṇa, and the phrase tatpādapadmāraṇdhaka in the inscriptions, describing the relation of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya to Sōmeśvara I, raise a doubt as to whether he was the son of Sōmeśvara though he is elsewhere called maga and nandana.‡ But whether he was a son of Sōmeśvara or not, it seems unlikely that this Western Cālukya feudatory was identical with the step-brother of Rājarāja-narēndra. The dates of the known inscriptions of the feudatory are: A.D. 1064 and 1066, and his inscriptions bearing these years are found in the Mysore and Bellāry districts, and he acknowledges the overlordship of Sōmeśvara in these years. But what we gather from the Eastern Cālukya plates is: (1) that, if Vijayāditya VII was exiled at all, it must have been some time after A.D. 1032, at a time when the Western Cālukya feudatory with whom he is sought to be identified is not known to have recorded any inscriptions; § and (2) that in the years A.D. 1063-70 he

* JAHRS. i p. 215; v 206-8; ARE. 1925 II 3.
† ARE. 1925 II 3.
‡ Fleet. BG. ibid.
§ The Maṇimangalam inscription (A.D. 1046) of Rājarājēśvaraja has been thought, quite wrongly, to contain a reference to Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. JAHRS. i 219 n. 33. We have only the name Vijayāditya in l. 3 among the leaders of the army, and this proves nothing.
must have been ruling in Vēngī after the death of his son Śaktivarman II. Again, there is no getting over the fact that about A.D. 1067-8 Virarājendra did reconquer Vēngī from his enemies and hand it over to Vijayāditya VII, which clearly means that Vijayāditya could not have been the feudatory of Sōmēśvara I about the same time. Lastly, the title Vēngīpuravarēśvara is borne as early as A.D. 1053 by Sōmēśvara-dēva, the son of Sōmēśvara I, * which is proof that this title is for some unknown reason borne in this period by the governors of W. Cālukya provinces. It seems impossible therefore to uphold the identification of the two Vijayādityas of the Western and Eastern Cālukya records of the period.

To return to the evidence from the Eastern Cālukya copper-plates. Three grants of the sons of Kulottunga, known as the Tēki, Cellūr and Pittāpuram grants, dated respectively in the seventeenth, twenty-first and twenty-third years of his reign, narrate in almost identical terms the course of events in Vēngī as it was described by Kulottunga himself to his son Rājarāja-mummadīcōḍā, while sending him to Vēngī as viceroy of the northern province of the Cōḷa empire. † From these plates we learn that, at the death of Rājarāja after a rule of forty-one years, Rājendra was first crowned as lord of Vēngī and attained great celebrity. He was then crowned in the Cōḷa-rājya, not less exalted in status than the position of Dēvēndra. He married Madhurāntakā, the very Lakṣmī risen from the ocean, namely Rājendra-dēva, the tilaka of the Solar race. He had many children by her, and to one of them, Rājarāja, he said: "Child, the great kingdom of Vēngī was, in

* Mulgunḍ inscription EI. xvi. p. 53.
† EI. vi. 35. SII. i. 39, IA. xix. p. 427; EI. v. 10.
days gone by, entrusted by me to my paternal uncle, king Vijayāditya, as I was desirous of undertaking a conquering tour (or according to the Cellūr plates, 'as I was desirous of securing the Cōla kingdom'). He too, who was like a god and resembled a lion in his strength, went to heaven after ruling the kingdom for fifteen years." And the Tēki plates make it clear that Vijayāditya's death occurred some time in A.D. 1077; * this would mean that Kulōttunga appointed him as his deputy in A.D. 1062 or thereabout.

In order to reconcile these statements of Kulōttunga on his relations with Vijayāditya VII with what we know of them from other sources, we must recall the time and circumstance of the utterance attributed to Kulōttunga. By 1077 Kulōttunga was firmly seated on the Cōla throne; and securely established at the head of a prosperous and extensive empire, he was addressing his own son, after the death of his uncle and on the eve of sending him out as viceroy to the northern kingdom. Paternal solicitude as well as good taste and policy required that, rather than expiate on ancient family feuds that deserved to be forgotten, he should give the best possible account of the past history of the viceroyalty that the young prince was about to take upon himself.

That Vijayāditya's relations with Kulōttunga and his father, however, had been nothing so pleasant as Kulōttunga afterwards represented them to his son, becomes clear not only from his Pāmulavāka, and Rāli plates, and the Telugu Academy plates of

* Rājarāja Cōḍa-gangā was crowned in Vēngi in Śaka 1006 (v. 34); before him Vīra Cōḍa was viceroy for six years and Mummaḍi-cōḍa for one year (vv. 19 and 17), so that the beginning of Mummaḍi's viceroyalty fell in Śaka 999 or A.D. 1077.
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Śaktivarman II discussed above, but from other evidence as well. We learn from Eastern Ganga inscriptions that even after Kulottunga became Cōla emperor, the hostile relations between Vijayāditya and his nephew continued more or less unabated. The Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga* state that his father Rājarāja having, in the first instance, become the lord of the goddess of victory in a ‘Tamil battle’, then married Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōla king. The same lady is described elsewhere in unmistakable terms as the daughter of Rājendravarma Cōla and the chief queen of Rājarāja. †

The Ganga king is also said to have offered help to Vijayāditya at the end of his life. The grant that mentions the ‘Tamil battle’ also states that “when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left the country of Vēngī, as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōḷas,” Rājarāja of Kalinganagara “caused him to enjoy prosperity for a time in the Western region,” that is, Vēngī to the west of Kalinganagara. ‡ The approximate date for these occurrences is furnished by the Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati dated Śaka 997, A.D. 1075, which makes a pointed reference to Vanapati’s successes gained on behalf of his Ganga overlord against the Cōḷa forces. § A war between Kulottunga and the E. Ganga Rājarāja followed by a peace sealed by a dynastic alliance, a mediation by Rājarāja Ganga

* IA. xviii pp. 166-9; Korni plates, JAHRS. i pp. 106. fl.
† IA. xviii. pp. 163-4.
‡ IA. xx. p. 276.

§ 271 of 1896; EL. iv. 45. E. Ganga Rājarāja came to power on May 20, A. D. 1070 (JRE. 1919, App. A. No. 4.) 248 of 1896, dated Śaka 990, records a gift by a queen of his predecessor Vajrahasta. It is surprising that, in utter disregard of all chronology, these inscriptions should have been dragged into a discussion of Virājendrā’s movements in JAHRS. i. p. 215.

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between Vijayaśitya VII and his nephew Kulottunga on a subsequent occasion, and the demise of Vijayaśitya some time after the successful intercession of Rājarāja are thus clearly attested by the Ganga records of the time.

If Rājendra-Kulottunga was first crowned as lord of Vēngi, as the later E. Cālukya plates assert (in contradiction to those of Vijayaśitya), it is remarkable that these plates fail to give us the exact date of this coronation as they do of most other coronations. The Telugu inscriptions of Kulottunga containing both regnal years and Śaka dates support the date A.D. 1070 for the commencement of his rule, and this was the date of his accession to the Cōla throne.* The crux of the Kulottunga problem is, in fact, the question: what did he do with himself in the interval between his father’s death and A.D. 1070? Fleet added up the two statements in the Tēki and Cellūr grants that Kulottunga appointed his uncle as deputy in Vēngi because he wanted to have (i) a conquering tour and (ii) the Čōlarājya, and stated that ‘Kulottunga acquired the Cōla crown by hostile invasion and conquest,’ and placed this event in A.D. 1063, in spite of the indication of a much later date for it furnished by the Vikramāṇkadeva Carita. † He also pointed out that Kulottunga’s conquest and annexation of the Cōla empire were not entirely the result of a failure of the Cōla succession, and that it must have been powerfully aided by a rebellion in the Cōla country and a state of anarchy of which we get some idea from the Kalingattupparapi. Later writers, while they have recognised the mistake in Fleet’s date for

* SII. iii. p. 127.
† IA. xx. 277, 282.
these occurrences, have not been so ready to give up his suggestions of hostile invasion, and in fact have added to it the charge of political murder against Kulōttunga. Reserving the literary sources for more detailed consideration at a later stage, it may be observed here that the course adopted by Fleet in putting together two alternative statements made in peculiar circumstances about past events and evolving the theory of hostile invasion seems to be of doubtful validity, and that even the Vikramānkapādu Carita does not contain the remotest suggestion that Kulōttunga put his rivals out of the way by secret murder, or even by open fighting. And now we must remember what Fleet was not aware of, viz., that the supposed appointment of Vijayāditya by Kulōttunga to deputise for him at Vēṇgi and his occupation of the Cōla throne are separated by the whole interval of the reign of Vīrarājēndra.

At the time of his father’s death and the forcible seizure of the Vēṇgi throne by Vijayāditya mentioned in the Ryāli plates, Kulōttunga, or Rājēndra as he was then known, must have been a youth in his teens. For considering that he lived on to have a long rule of fifty years from A. D. 1070, it is hardly likely that about A. D. 1062 he was more than twenty years of age. His earliest Tamil inscriptions record certain facts which seem to indicate how Rājēndra engaged himself when he was thus kept out of his inheritance. The records of his second year † state that, with the aid only of the strength of his arms and

* ARE. 1899 paragraph 51.
† SII. iii 64-7, as corrected by Hira Lal, EJ. ix p. 179 n. 1 and 2. Also 125 of 1900 with the pūrāṇa arivai introduction recording the same transactions in other words.
his sword, he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured many herds of elephants, levied tribute from the Nāgavamśī king, Dhārāvarṣa of Cakrakūṭa, and gently raised the country in the eastern region, like Viṣṇu raising the Earth from the ocean in his boar incarnation, and seated her, to her great pleasure, under the shade of his parasol. ‘The lotus-like nila-magāl (earth-maiden) in the direction of the rising sun’ is clearly by itself and in the context a periphrasis for Pūrvadēśam, * and the elaborately ceremonial character of the language of these records seems to imply that Rājēndra at least succeeded in making himself acceptable as a great benefactor of that country, if not also as its ruler. His records soon came to describe these achievements as belonging to the period of his ilangōp-paruvam, when he was still heir-apparent. † If this view is correct, we must conclude that Rājēndra spent the best part of the period A.D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar state, and possibly even carved out for himself a small dominion beyond it in the Pūrvadēśa, even if he did not gain complete control over the Cakrakūṭa state and annex parts of the Pūrvadēśa to it, as his inscriptions imply. Possibly this northern extension of the influence of Vēṅgī, so closely allied to the Cōḷas, was the cause of Vikramāditya’s expedition against Vēṅgī and Cakrakūṭa, counteracted by the campaign of Vīraraḷēndra culminating in the battle of Bezwāda. It will be remembered that in the course of this campaign, Vīraraḷēndra is said also to have marched up to Śakkarakkoṭṭam. After the death of Vīraraḷēndra, Kūḷōttunga marched into the Cōḷa country in good time to get himself accepted as

* Hultzsch’s equation of this phrase with Vēṅgī (S.II. iii p. 133) is hardly satisfactory, while Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is wide of the mark in suggesting that there is a reference to Kaṭāram here (Ancient India, pp. 130-1).

† S.II. iii. 68.
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king; but more of this later. And as he did some fighting during these years and subsequently came to look upon the whole period as a sort of probation for the Cōla throne, he might have felt justified in saying that he left Vēngī to his uncle Vijayāditya at the death of his father for a double reason. *

We may now turn to the literary evidence on the subject of Kulottunga's accession. On one matter the evidence of two works is in complete accord with that of the inscriptions. Both the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita and the Vikramaśoṅgan-ulā † are explicit in stating that Virarājėndra was succeeded by another king before Kulottunga came to the throne; the ulā by its very brief reference giving no particulars whatever of his reign, and the

* It is obviously impossible to discuss fully all the theories that have been suggested about Kulottunga's position in 1063-70. I am fully alive to the responsibility of adding one more to these, not to my knowledge suggested before by others. My only warrant is that this seems to be the normal interpretation of the language of the inscriptions of Kulottunga himself. The other views centre round the hypothesis that Rājandra was yuvacaka to his father Rājaraja-narēndra when he fought the campaign against Dharāvarṣa or that he was yuvacaka to Viraṛājėndra. The latter seems impossible, in view of Adhirājandra's position and inscriptions. The former hypothesis is quite feasible, provided the date is not placed too early. (JAHRS. i. pp. 217-8). But what, on this basis, can be the force of the claim that Kulottunga gently raised the land in the eastern quarter and seated her under his umbrella? Another view makes Kulottunga a dupe of circumstances who, having, after a fight in which Śaktivarman II was killed like Abhimanyu (an inference not supported by the language of the Ryali plates), made his peace with his bereaved uncle, found himself baulked in his design upon the Cōla throne by the prompt usurpation of Virarājėndra (JAHRS. v. pp. 208-11). This writer has apparently overlooked the probability that Virarājėndra might have been recognised as heir to Rājandra on the death of Rājamahėndra. He is also clearly wrong in mixing up Vasaḷ-karpadeva's inroad into Trikalinga with these transactions, for he did not come to power till A.D. 1073 (EL. xii p. 207). Hultzsch's view that before A.D. 1072 Rājandra-Kulottunga took Vēngī from his uncle Vijayāditya VII who appears to have received it from the Cōla king Virarājėndra (S.II. iii. p. 132) goes against the express statement in the Tēki and other grants that Vijayāditya ruled Vēngī continuously for fifteen years, and is now contradicted by the Ryali plates of the twelfth year of Vijayāditya c. A.D. 1074; but the E. Ganga records (p. 345 ante) must be taken into account here. See also ARE. 1914, II 10 where S.II. iii. p. 128 is followed.

† II.44-5—Angavanpit heartpurindavani kāthānum.
Carita by directly stating that he lost his life in a rebellion that occurred within a few days of his installation*, imply that he had a very short reign; this king was no doubt Parakēsari Adhirājendra of the inscriptions. And Kulōttunga himself recognised the legitimacy of Adhirājendra's position when he styled himself Rājakēsari. In some of his records, however, is found a double praśasti which, by combining the two forms viramē tuṇai-yāgavum and pugalmūdu vilanga, seems to set up a claim that Kulōttunga should be considered the direct successor of Vīrarājendra. † And the Kalingattupparani of Jayangonḍār, makes it a point to ignore the reign of Adhirājendra. ‡ This poem is often cited in support of the notions that at his birth Kulōttunga was adopted by Rājendra Cōlādēva I into the Cōla family and that he was brought up in his maternal grandfather's court. § But there is nothing in the actual words employed by the poet to suggest either a formal ceremony of adoption or to enable us to know where the prince spent his early years. In fact the date of this prince's birth must be placed at the end of Rājendra I's reign, some time after A. D. 1040. By that time Rājadhirāja I had long been associated with his father as yuvarāja, and there were several brothers of his perhaps occupying responsible posts in the administration of the empire. There was no need for any adoption; and considering his marriage

* vi. 26
† 156 of 1923 (Yr. 2); 197 1919 (Yr. 5), the former having only viramē tuṇai; 197 and 199 of 1929 and 434 of 1912 (Yrs. 37, 38 and 43). ARE. 1913, II. 33.
‡ Verse viii. 29 asserts that directly after the victory of Kūdal-Śangamam the earth, to her great good fortune, passed into the hands of Abhaya, the hero of the poem. The 'mannar-mannan' or 'mannar-vīran' of x. 25 cannot be Adhirājendra as Hultsch thinks (S.II. iii p. 129), but Vīrarājendra.
with Madhurāntaki, it is impossible to postulate it. In fact all that Jayangondār says is that on the birth of the child, the queen of Gangaiakoṭa-śōla raised him in her hands and expressed her admiration of the marks on his limbs by observing that he was fit to be a son of the solar line born for its protection; in the very next verse the poet takes good care to add that the kings of both the lunar and the solar dynasties, that is Rājarāja-narendra and Rājendra Gangaiakoṭa, experienced joy on the occasion of the birth of the prince. * After a conventional account of the early years of the prince, the poet states that Abhaya (Virarājendra) made him crown prince, and then proceeds to describe his digvijaya of which particulars are furnished only with reference to the northern direction. He is said to have made his mark in Vayirākaram and Śakkarakkōṭam. He was still in the north engaged in these campaigns when the Cōla king died in the south, and there ensued anarchy and confusion until Abhaya Kulottunga returned and restored order. This account of Jayangondār is remarkable in some ways. It studiously refrains from mentioning Adhirājendra and asserts that Virarājendra made Abhaya crown prince for the rule of the Earth, meaning no doubt, the Cōla kingdom; and it recounts details of campaigns in Wairagarh and Cakrakūta exactly like the early inscriptions of Kulottunga to which attention has been drawn above. Though the poet aims, as Fleet has remarked, at treating Abhaya on the whole as a Cōla prince rather than as Cālukya, he has still not altogether suppressed the Cālukya connections, and in his account of the

* x, vv. 5-7.

† 'Abhaya' in this verse x. 18 does refer to Virarājendra cf. viii 29; and from this account of Virarājendra's recognition of Kulottunga, the conclusion has been drawn that Adhirājendra was a bastard with no title to the throne.
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youthful achievements of Abhaya he follows the early records of the reign rather closely. Above all, his account leaves no room for doubt as to the whereabouts of Abhaya at the time when his chance arrived to seize the Cōla throne. It is also of some interest to note that in the account of Abhaya’s digvijaya, and in the attempt made, in the inscriptions, to combine the prāsasti of Viṇarājendra with that of Kulottunga, and thus cast a doubt on the legitimacy of Adhirājendra’s rule, the poem and the inscriptions are in perfect agreement.

The Vikramāṇkadeva Carita of Bilhana gives the story from yet another point of view, which is as hostile to Kulottunga as the Kalingattupparāṇi is favourable to him. * Soon after Vikramāditya’s marriage, his father-in-law the Cōla king, died and the kingdom fell into a state of anarchy. When he heard of these things, he set out for Kāncī with the definite object of helping the late king’s son to the throne. At Kāncī, Vikramāditya spent some days in bringing the wicked (duṣṭavarga) to their knees, and then marched to Gangākunda where he destroyed the forces of the enemy and finally secured the throne to the Cōla prince. After spending about a month in that city, Vikramāditya, apparently satisfied that peace had been restored, retired to the Tungabhadrā. Within a few days after his return, the news reached him that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion and that Rājiga, the lord of Vēṅgi, had captured the throne vacated by the Cōla prince. Vikramāditya VI marched at once against Rājiga. The latter induced Sōmeśvara II to combine with him; and a battle was fought. But the victory rested with

* vi. 7-26.
ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I

Vikramāditya VI; Rājiga fled and Sōmeśvara II was taken prisoner. This lost Sōmeśvara the throne; and shortly afterwards, according to the poem, Vikramāditya VI allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekkan.' *

Certain questions naturally arise from this account: who was responsible for the troubles that followed Vīrarājendra’s death and rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya to come over to Kāncī and Gangākūndā to secure the succession for his brother-in-law? Who were the wicked people of Kāncī and the hostile forces of Gangākūndā whom Vikramāditya had to suppress before Adhirājendra could feel secure on the throne and Vikramāditya himself retire to the Tungabhadrā? And what was the nature of the rebellion in which Adhirājendra lost his life within a few days after Vikramāditya’s retirement? There is no direct statement in the Vikramānkadēva Carīta of Kulottunga’s complicity in these conspiracies and rebellions; but the facts that they paved the way for Kulottunga’s accession to the Cōla throne, that Vikramāditya VI marched against him and made an attempt to oust him after he occupied it, and the silence of the Kalingattupparanī on Adhirājendra’s reign seem to furnish some ground for the inference that Kulottunga’s ambition and intrigue brought about these occurrences. But a strict regard to the actual statements of Bilhaṇa may not support any conclusion more precise than that of Fleet, † that Kulottunga Cōladēva I was enabled to seize the Cōla crown through internal disturbances in the Cōla kingdom, which culminated in the death of the last Cōla king.'

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An attempt has been made * to connect these internal disturbances in the Cōla kingdom that led to the extinction of the direct line of the Cōlas with the story of the persecution suffered by Rāmānuja and his disciples as it is narrated in Vaiṣṇava hagiology. Without minimising the difficulty of reconciling all the data proceeding from a mass of contradictory legends, but confining our attention to the professedly earliest biographies of Rāmānuja like the final chapters of the Divyāsūricarita † and the Yatīrāja-vaiśhavam, ‡ it is just possible to identify the Cōla who died as Krimiṅgaṇṭha in consequence of the persecution to which he subjected Rāmānuja and his followers with either Adhirājendra, or possibly with Vīrarājendra with whom the direct Cōla line practically comes to a close. The categorical statement in the Divyāsūricarita that God Śiva of Tiruvārūr proclaimed the end of the rule of the kings of the Cōla family, § and the chaos at the end of Vīrarājendra's rule which is attested by, but not accounted for, by the Kalingattuppāraṇi and the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita, and which might have been the concomitant of a religious upheaval, lend plausibility to the suggestion thus made. But it must be recognised that the details of the chronology of the life of Rāmānuja furnished by other works are not easy to explain on this assumption, and that it is perhaps impossible to reconcile all the data furnished by legend on any single hypothesis. ¶

* IA. xlii pp. 217 ff.
‡ IA. xxxviii pp. 129 ff. See, however, IA. x1 p. 152, for a critique.
§ xviii 84.
¶ To refrain from dogmatism in dealing with such shifty material is as necessary as it is difficult. Krimiṅgaṇṭha-Cōla has generally been identified with
ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I

Before concluding this discussion of the circumstances of Kulottunga's accession, it must be pointed out that the provenance of the inscriptions of the early years of Kulottunga now known does not confirm the views to which Hultsch gave expression in his masterly introduction to Kulottunga's inscriptions of these years. It shows, on the contrary, that from A.D. 1070 onwards Kulottunga was practically master of the entire Cōḷα country, except, of course, for the hostile movement of Vikramaḍitya VI which remained to be dealt with, and the risings in the south, always ready to break out on every possible occasion and now favoured by the confusion following Virarājendra's death. Inscriptions of Rājendra's second year* with the characteristic introduction or with a verifiable date are found in Kaḍḍamangalam (South Arcot) and Vāḷuव (Tanjore); of the third year † at Ālangudi, Nallūr (Tanjore), Iḍaiyār and Tribhuvani, (South Arcot). And

Kulottunga I, on the strength of the name Kulottunga given to the Cōḷa persecutor of Rāmānuja in late works like the Kāyilolugu. A. Govindaśvaṃin-Life of Rāmānuja (Madras 1906) p. 170. S. K. Aiyangar Ancient India pp. 150 and 207. Dr. Aiyangar is inclined to date the decline of Cōḷa power from the end of Kulottunga I's reign. op. cit. pp. 152 and 318. It has been pointed out that the traditional date for the foundation of the temple at MŚukōṭe is against this identification of Krimiḥaṭa. (IA. vol. xii. p. 224). It is possible that Kulottunga' is used in late works as a generic name for Cōḷa. The name is not found even in the Gurusavamparaprabhāva. (Āyirappadī; ed. Madras 1927). Krimiḥaṭa-Cōḷa is said to have uprooted and thrown into the sea the image of Gōvindarāja from the front of the Naṭarāja shrine at Ĉidambaram, and this act of sacrilege is placed by the Divyāśiricarita at the very beginning of the Cōḷa persecution of Viṣṇuism, (xvii 72). The same fact is recalled by the much later Prapannamṛṣṭam (quoted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar op. cit. p. 320). The poet Ṭṭakāṭṭan seems to attribute this deed to Kulottunga II—Kulottunagāḷan-uḷḷa l. 76-8; Kāṭarāḷaḷam-uḷḷa l. 64-6 which is most explicit, and Takkayūgapparanaṇī v. 777. But no one, on this account, seems to be prepared to identify the persecutor of Rāmānuja with Kulottunga II. This king is, however, known to have extended the temple of Naṭarāja by putting up new structures and 'gilding' it and it may be that the Tamil poet in describing this act of his attributes to him a deed of one of his predecessors. Otherwise the genuineness of even the Divyāśiricarita would be suspect.

* 358 of 1917; 425 of 1912.
† 497 of 1920; 55 of 1911; 279 of 1929; 185 of 1919.
there are records of the second and fourth years already giving him the name Kulōttunga. * It seems necessary therefore to give up the ideas that some years elapsed after Rājiga entered the Cōla kingdom and before he actually occupied the territory on the banks of the Kāvēri; and that his formal assumption of Cōla sovereignty in the fifth year was marked by the adoption of the name Kulōttunga. † The fact seems to have been that, as is implied by the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita, Rājiga came to the south soon after Adhirājendra’s demise ‡ and appropriated to himself the whole kingdom of the Cōlas, in so far as it was possible to do this by a single formal act. In fact, he became the Cōla king. It remained of course for him to hold the new position against Vikramāditya’s attack and to suppress other disorders. And if it is true, as seems likely, that some other records bearing early regnal years like the second and third of Kulōttunga § are also really his, then it becomes quite certain that the title Kulōttunga was also assumed by him from the very commencement.

To sum up the results of the discussion. Despite the statement in the Kalingattupparani that Vērārājendra made Kulōttunga his crown prince, the evidence of Adhirājendra’s inscriptions, the Vikramāṅkadeva Carita and the Vikramaśolanulā makes it clear that this could not have happened, and that, consequently, we have to assume that the court-poet of Kulōttunga introduced this story to give validity to Kulōttunga’s title to the Cōla throne.

* 156 of 1923, (2); 101 of 1928, 468 of 1913 (4). † SII. iii pp. 132, 140.
‡ The civil war between Adhirājendra and the ‘usurper’ postulated in ARE. 1904 paragraph 21 is pure myth. (See n. on 386 of 1903 Yr. 4, post Vol. ii. Appendix).
§ 145, 147, 151 of 1906; 142 of 1929; 55 of 1911; 586 of 1907; 267 of 1917; 126 of 1912.
ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNCA I

There is no direct statement even by Jayangondār that Kulöttunga was either adopted into the Cōla family or that he was brought up in the Cōla court. The copperplate grants of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, those of Vijayaṁditya VII, of Śaktivarman II and of the sons of Kulöttunga himself, together with the early Tamil records of Kulöttunga's reign, lead us to reconstruct the period of Kulöttunga's youth and his career until he came to the Cōla throne somewhat as follows. At the time of his father's death, his uncle Vijayaṁditya made himself master of the Vēngī kingdom and kept the prince Rājendra, as he was then called, out of his inheritance. Alone and unaided, he sought a life of adventure across the Vēngī frontier in the land of Cakrakūta and Pūrvadēśa. Possibly he carved a small principality for himself and after making his peace with his uncle Vijayaṁditya, especially as, after the death of Śaktivarman II, this must have been easy, he bided his time hoping that in some manner he might gain the Cōla throne for himself. The confusion that followed the death of Vīrarājendra in the internal affairs of the Cōla kingdom helped him to achieve his object in spite of the attempts of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI to prevent the union of the Vēngī and Cōla kingdoms in the same hands. The evidence is not clear on the question of Kulöttunga's complicity in the rebellions that at first obstructed the accession and then shortened the rule of Adhirājendra. There is just a possibility that these disturbances were religious in origin and connected with the Cōla persecution of Vaiṣṇavism in the days of Rāmānuja, a fact well attested in legends, though the details of the story are very obscure. In any event, Kulöttunga began to rule in the Cōla kingdom from about the 9th June A.D. 1070. * In his later

* EI. vii. p. 7 n. 5.
inscriptions Kulōttunga claims to have obtained the Cōla crown by right and thereby become an acceptable companion to the land of the Kāvēri in her loneliness.

* SII. iii 63. 'Podumai' does not mean 'prostitution' as Hultsch understands it. The idea is that Lakṣmi, the wealth of the southern country, had become common, ownerless, and the land of the Kāvēri lonely, unaccompanied, when the Cōla succession failed; both found a remedy for their situation in the coming of Kulōttunga.
APPENDIX
SELECT LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CÔLAGS AND RELATED DYNASTIES (CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.)

This list is intended to furnish a handy reference to the most important epigraphs on which the history of the Côlag is based. As far as possible, all the inscriptions of definite historical or social importance have been included, and references given to the known editions of published inscriptions. Most of the unpublished inscriptions have been consulted by me, thanks to the courtesy of the Archaeological Department, and the data gathered from their study have been incorporated in the summaries of the records. These will be found arranged in the order of regnal years of the rulers in whose reigns they were recorded, the inscriptions of each regnal year being arranged in the alphabetical order of the villages where they are found. Records dated on a numbered day in a regnal year are placed at the end of that year, e. g., 185th day of year 10 will be found at the end of year 10 and before year 11. Only a few of the Râjakôsari and Parakôsari inscriptions have been included under the particular reigns to which they may be assigned. In the case of most of them, however, the identity of the ruler is either obscure or disputed; hence they have been put together in separate groups, and placed at the beginning of the list. Inscriptions of other contemporary rulers have also been listed wherever, as in the case of Kîşâna III, such a list is calculated to elucidate the course of Côla History.
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The following abbreviations are used for the names of districts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anantapur</td>
<td>An.</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Arcot</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Arcot</td>
<td>SA.</td>
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<td>Bel.</td>
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<td>Chingleput</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
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<td>Chittoor</td>
<td>C.</td>
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<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td>Coi.</td>
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<td>Cuddapah</td>
<td>Cud.</td>
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<td>Ganjam</td>
<td>Gj.</td>
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<td>Godavari</td>
<td>God.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guntur</td>
<td>Gu.</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Kanara</td>
<td>SK.</td>
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<td>Kar.</td>
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<td>Mal.</td>
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<td>Tin.</td>
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<td>Tri.</td>
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<td>Cn.</td>
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<td>Mysore</td>
<td>Mys.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pudukkottah</td>
<td>Pd.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Travancore</td>
<td>Tv.</td>
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</table>

Also, caturvēdi-mangalam is abbreviated into catm., and n-d. signifies 'no date.'
RĀJAKĪŚARIVARMAN

Year 2—Lālguḍi (Tri.)—Five kaḷaṅju for some lamps in the temple by Arangan Paṭṭūlagan of the Madhurāntaka-terinjā-kaikkōla-pañjai, a Kaikkōla of Sōḷamāṉēviyār Vēḷam (in Tanjore). 89 of 1892; SII. iv 536.

"Śendalai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp deposited with the sabhā. 61 of 1897; SII. iv 10.

"Śrīnīvāsanallūr (Tri.)—Thirty sheep and thirty goats for a lamp in the temple of Tiru-kurakkut-turai-perumāṇaḍīgan at Mahēndra-mangalam. 586 of 1904.

"Śrīnīvāsanallūr (Tri.)—Registers the tax-free lands of the temple and allots the revenues therefrom for its various requirements. A special vāriyam and the kaṇakku did the work. 596 of 1904.

"Tirumaṇaṇjēri (Tj.)—An arrangement by Udaiya-pirat-ṭiyār Śembiyan Māḍēviyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa, regarding expenses for the temple from the proceeds of 14 vēḷi of land in Mūlanguḍi. 21 of 1914.

"Tirumeynāṇam (Tj.)—The assembly of Nālūr, a brahma-dēya transferred the right of collecting angāṅḍik-kūli in the bazaar of their town (enagāḷ) to the temple of Mūlāsthamattu Māḥādeva of Tirumayyānam—the rate being kāśinvāy nāḷī of each measurable stuff like paddy and rice brought up for sale from outside Nālūr; kiḍandu viṭṭāna kuvāḷal (heap) nāḷī; one palam of articles sold by weight; one pāḷu on each basket of betel-leaves; two nuts for each basket of areca-nuts. This transfer was apparently in consideration of 25 kāśu received by the assembly from the temple. 321 of 1910; SII. iii 90 *

"Tirunāṅgēvaṟe (Tj.)—Gift with the consent of the guild (Nagara-anuvaṟaiyāl) of vāṟavaṟai collected annually till then by the Nagaram (i. e., the Peru-nagarattūr of Kumāra-māṟtandha-puram) on account of two flower gardens of the Milādṉaiyār-pañjī of that

* Palaeographically of the time of Aditya I. H. K. Sastri.
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village; the gift was made for the renovation (puṇḍuk-
kupparam) of the gopura and the tiruccurulai (called Mouna-kumara-mattanjan) in the paḷḷi.

222 of 1911; SII. iii. 91 *

Year 2—Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaiṇju of gold by Śōlappaperumānaṭigal Perunāṟkkilśi-śōḷan for lamp.

143 of 1928.

" Tiruppuugalur (Tj.)—Silver vessels to god Pugalur-dēva. Another damaged record in year 3 of ... varman records gift of a silver vessel by Pattan Dānatongiyār queen of Uttama Cōla-dēva.

70 of 1928.

" Tiruvengaldu (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings to the temple of Tiruvengaldu-dēva by one of the Pārthiva-
śekharat-terinnja-kaikkōlar. ♠ 491 of 1918.

" Tiruvīḍaimarudur (Tj.)—Eight ḫakkāṣu to the shrine of Purāṇa-gañapatī on the south side of the Mūlasthāna at Tiruvīḍaimarudil by a native of Īmanallur, a brahmadesya in Vaḍagarai-maṇṭi-nāḍu. 239 of 1907.

" Udāiyāruguṭi (SA.)—Land and house-sites by purchase for feeding 15 Brahmans and 5 Śivayōgis and for paddy for a Brahman who supplied water for the sacred bath of god.

577 of 1920. ♦

Year 3—Allūr (Tri.)—Gift of waste land with the permission of Viraśōla-Iḷangōvēḷ alias Parāntakan Kuṇjaramallan.

380 of 1903.

" Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Loan raised from the temple by the Ûrār of Tirukkkaṟṟalipurattu-Menālur. The interest on the loan of 18 kalaiṇju, 3 maṇjāli and 1 kunji was one ḫakku of oil every day. SII. i. 84.

* cf. 199 of 1907; ARE. 1912 II. 12. Kumāra-mattēṇḍa was a surname of Nandivarman II.

† Wrongly explained as ‘a body of weavers’ so named after Rājarṣa I in ARE. 1919 II. 10.

♦ This seems to refer to Āditya II falling a victim to some treachery on the part of local chiefs; their lands were confiscated by Rājarṣa, and these lands, after purchase by another, came to be used for feeding Brahmans in the Śiva temple at Kūṭṭumānār-kōyil of which Udāiyāruguṭi was a hamlet, ARE. 1921 II. 31.
RAJAKESARI

Year 3—Kilapaluvur (Tri.)—Two silver vessels to the temple by queen of Vikramaśōla Iļangōvējār and daughter of Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar. 110 of 1895; SII. v. 671.

"Kumbakōnam (Tj.)—Sale of land by the assembly (mulaparusaśi) of Tirukkuđamūkki to a Veļļāla, Araiyan Kalangāmalai, for feeding (uttamāgram) a Śiva-yōgin in a temple. 227 of 1911.

"Kumbakōnam (Tj.)—Mentions one of the Vīra-śōla-* teriṇja-kaikkōlar of Tanjore. 228 of 1911.

"Kumbakōnam (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple for 500 kalaṇju of gold by the assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkki, in order to pay a part of 3,000 kalaṇju, a daṇḍam levied upon them by Madiraikoṇḍa-udaiyar in his 38th year. Mentions Pāṇḍippaḷai as those to whom the amount was to be paid and the temple of Jalasāyana. 255 of 1911. †

"Olagapuram (SA.)—Sheep for lamp by Ambalavan Gaṇḍarādittanār, a perundaram of the king, who built the temple of Śrī-Kailāyattu-Paramasvāmigaḷ; Ulōga-mādēvi-puram a taniyūr in Ōymā-nāju. 129 of 1919.

"Pāṇḍāravādai (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, by a Veļļāla of Iḷamangalam a suburb (piḷāgai) of Rājakēsari-catm., to a resident of Manōramac-cēri † for bringing water from the river for the sacred bath of the deity. Coin karungāśu mentioned. The purchase was bināmi, (anyanāma-karaṇam) 238 of 1923.

"Pāṇḍāravādai (Tj.)—Land by a native of Puḷḷamangalam residing at Naratongac-cēri, as a jīvita to a person for bringing water daily from the river for sacred bath. 276 of 1923.

"Salem (Sm.)—Five kalaṇju of gold for feeding Brahmins in the temple by a merchant belonging to the maṇi-grāmam of Koṭumbāḻur. 47 of 1888; SII. iv. 147.

* Title of Parintaka I., cf. Samarakēsari and Vikramaśinga in other names of similar groups of Kaikkōlar. 278, 279 of 1911, ARE. 1912 II. 16.

† Perhaps Gaṇḍarāditya, Rājāditya having died. ARE. 1912 II. 15.

‡ Parakēsari-cēri in the same village mentioned in 268 of 1923. See also next entry.

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Year 3—Śendalai (Tj.)—Gold (for lamp) deposited with the sabhā. 62 of 1897; SII. vi. 11.

" Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Mentions two persons among the Samarakēsarit-teriṇja-kaikkōlar. 24 of 1895; SII. v. 580.

" Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Mentions Samarakēsari - * and Vikramaśinga-teriṇja-kaikkōlar. 278 of 1911.

" Tirukkoḻambiyūr (Tj.)—Assembly of Dūvēdimangalam makes tax-free some temple land in return for 14 kāsū. 53 of 1925.

" Tirumalavāṇi (Tri.)—Gold by a native of Tondai-nāḍu for aval (crushed rice) offering on the Ārdra day in the month of Mārgaṇi to Gaṇapati. The temple, which is picturesquely situated on the bend of the Kolīḻam river, is called Punal-vāyil-Śrī-kōyil. 98 of 1920.

" Tiruneḻungaḷam (Tri.)—Year six in words. Image Lōkasundari set up by a private individual in the temple of Tiruneḻungaḷattu Āḻvār. Also land for offerings. 682 of 1909.

" Tiruvāḻittur (SA.)—96 sheep by Rāman Siddhavaḍa-van alias Vikkarama-śōla-Milāḍudaiyān of the Bhārgava gōtra, for lamp in the temple at Tiruvāḻittur, a dēvadāna in Vāvalūr-nāḍu, a division of Aruvā-nāḍu. 29 of 1922.

" Tiruvellagai (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Vēdas. 519 of 1905.

" Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Sale of land by residents of Erumbiyūr and the assembly of Śrikaṇṭha-catm., to Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān. 123 of 1914.

" Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land by assembly for singing Tiruppadiyam in temple with uṭukkaik and tāḷam. The donor was Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān. Refers to a śimāvivāda between sabhā and ūr. 129 of 1914.

* Also in 279 of 1911 same year and place.

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RAJAKESARI

Year 3—Tiruvialaimarudur (Tj.)—Paddy by Tiraimur sabha and Tiruvialaimarudil nagaratthir, Tirukkoyil-udivaiyar and Srikaryam-aray-ginja Irumudi-soja-pallava-Araiayar.
152 of 1895; SII. v. 716.

"Tiruvialaimarudur (Tj.)—Provision for supply of two tender coconuts daily to the deity. Six karungasu with Tiruvialaimarudil Senaiyar.
242 of 1907.

"Tiruviilagei (Tj.)—Land by assembly of Murugavel-mangalam for maintaining three musicians (kalam and gong) during sribali to Mangala Nakkir in the temple of Mahadeva.
116 of 1926.

"Tiruvisalur (Tj.)—Land by queen of Uttama Cola-deva, who seems to have been the daughter of Maladuvaiyar.
325 of 1907.

"Tiruvisalur (Tj.)—Mentions mother of Sri Uttama Cola-deva.
327 of 1907.

"Udaivyargudi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Panjitatavatsalac-ceri.
543 of 1920.

"Udaivyargudi (SA.)—Gold by a Brahman lady of Vadaruvir in Panni-nadu for lamp.
599 of 1920.

"Udaivyargudi (SA.)—19 veli of land by three persons for feeding 56 Brahmans; king Uttama Cola mentioned.
614 of 1920.

"Urdayur (Tri.)—Mentions Kirtti-murtanda-Brahmadhirajan.
182 of 1907.

"Vedhicalam (SA.)—Assignment by residents (urom) of Nerkuppai of some devadana lands got from the king to an individual for supply of sandal paste etc.
57 of 1918. 

* A number of Rajak records ranging from year 3 to year 16 come from this place. The temple here came into existence only in Parantaka I’s time. Hence this Rajak must be either Ganjaraditya or Sundara Cola. But the name of G. is omitted in the Kanyakumari inscription, and he perhaps had a short reign, or was only coregent with his father. ARE. 1921 II. 27.

† Mentions a grant by Uttama Cola and hence may be of Rajaraja I. ARE. 1918 II. 23.
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Year 3+1 Nangavaram (Tri.)—Land for maintaining the boat plying in the tank at Ariñjigai-catm. 342 of 1903. *

Year 4.—Gudimallam (N.A.)—Land, two paṭṭis of 1000 kuḷi each, for offerings etc., to an image of Kūttapperumāl set up in the Parasurāmēśvara temple by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍjarādittar. † 222 of 1903.

Innambūr (Tj.)—Temple called Ariñjigai Viṇṇagar was built in the name of Śatti-Ariñjigai alias Tennavan Viḻupparaiyan of Innambar, and provision made for feeding five Brahmans in the temple. 321 of 1927.

Tirukkurugāvūr (Tj.)—Remission by the assembly (sabhā) of Poygaikkudi of the taxes due on the lands granted to temple. 430 of 1918.

Tirumāḷam (Tj.)—Crown set with gems to the temple of Mahākāḷattu Mahādēva by Kāripuliyan ‡ alias Śōjamāriyam of Paḻuvūr in Kunrak-kūṟgam. 114 of 1910.

Tiruppāḷanam (Tj.)—Land for two gardeners in a garden endowed by the father of the donor, a merchant. 149 of 1928.

Tiruttṇi (N.A.)—Lamp. Endowment to be supervised by the ‘annual committee’ of Tiruttṇiyal. (Samvat-sara-vāriyam of the sabhā). 432 of 1905.

Tiruvaḷandaian (Ch.)—Twenty kalaṇju of gold by a merchant of Purusottama-mangalam in Vaḻuvā-nāḍu, a district of Malai-nāḍu, for a perpetual lamp in the Varāhadēva temple of this village for ghee (neyyyenṇai) supplied as interest by the residents of Paḻuvūr. 263 of 1910.

* 341 n-d. grantha verse gives names of tank and donor; 343 n-d. (Tamil) gives details of daily removal of silt, and of repairs to boat.

† Perhaps son of Madhurāntaka Uttaṇa Cēṭa, son of Gaṇḍjarādittan. cf. S.II. iii. 49 (ARE. 1904 I 20). This Gaṇḍjarāditya II must have been the religious devotee, author of Tiruvilāppā, rather than the son of Parāntaka. (Venkayya) ASJ. 1905-6 p. 173, n. 5.

‡ cf. 117 of 1910 of Year 2 of Parak, who took the head of Pāḍiyya. The Rējak. of this record must be the immediate predecessor of Parak. Ariñjaya or Āditya II. ARE. 1910 II. 17.
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Year 4.—Tiruvavurumbur (Tri.)—15 kalaiju of gold by Tiruvvaranga-dēvarajiyāl Śeṇadan-ṣeyyavāy-manī for a lamp and a pot of water every day to the temple of Tenkailāyattu Mahādēva at Śrikanṭha-catm.

Uḍaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Land by purchase for the mid-day meal of three persons every day. 560 of 1920.

Uḍaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Land (iraiyili) by the great assembly of Vīranārāyana-catm., assembled at Vīranārāyaṇavinnagar, for food offerings thrice a day to the deity. 562 of 1920.

Veppakkam (Ch.)—Construction of a sluice (bāmbu) by a certain Kēralan Rājadittan alias Nāṇi-viccādaramārāyana who had the jivita in Vēlkkon-mangalam in Kunra-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uṟṟukkāṭtu-kōṭṭam. 419 of 1923.

Year 4,—day 89—Śrīrangam (Tri.)—A settlement re: the temple dēvadānas and other matters by the Perunguri-sabhā of Śrīrangam. 69 of 1892; SII, iv. 516.

, day 204—Mēlappaluvur (Tri.)—Grant of certain rights in the temple of Tiruttōṭṭam-uḍaiyār built by Paḻuvēṭṭaraṇayan Kaṇḍan Maṇavaṇ who seems to have been staying at Śēnāpuram in Malāḍu.† 394 of 1924.

Year 4 + 1—Tiruvāmattur (SA.)—Lamp by Śigya-mārāyan of Īkkudi and his brothers, on behalf of Candirāccan, son of Kāli alias Minavan Mārāyan of Tennavan-māḍēvi in Ven-nāḍu. 27 of 1922.

Year 5.—Kāmrasavalli (Tri.)—Land (made tax-free by sabhā) for śidārī by a Brahman of Ādanūr. 74 of 1914.‡

Kīḻur (SA.)—Sheep for lamp. Mentions queen of Vikrama Cōla Malāḍuḷaiyār, who was the daughter of Pāṇḍiyanār. 7 of 1905. §

* Later than Parāntaka I. ARE. 1915 II. 20.
† Maḷāḷṭur-cēnāpurattē irukka (Text).
‡ 4th Jan. 964 A. D. (Sundara) or 2nd Jan. 991 A. D. (Rājarāja)—K. V. S. Aiyar, EI. xix. p. 86.
§ cf. 10 of 1905.

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Year 5.—Kumbaköyam (Tj.)—70 Ḩakkāu for offerings.

Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvāyappăḷi Śrīkṛṣṇa Perumāḷ Name Lōkamahādēvi-catm., and the Gaṇapperumakkaḷ doing śrīkăryam to this god (inda dēvarkku) mentioned.

292 of 1897; SII. vi. 270.

Paḷūr (Tri.)—One vēli of land for offerings to Paramēśvara at Tiruppaluvūr in Viḷattār-nāḷu by the chieftain Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ alias Pirāntakan Viṟa-sōḷan.

346 of 1918.

Pulallūr (Ch.)—Land for offerings at mid-day service to Tirumēṛraḷi-mahādēva of the village, and for a flower garden, at the instance of the assembly of Paramēśvara-catm. in Eyyirkēṭtām, the members of the annual supervision committee and two other persons.

47 of 1923.

Tinḏivanam (SA.)—Lamps to Tiruttinēḷśvara at Kiḻangil.

143 of 1900; SII. vii. 157.

Tiruvaiyāṉu (Tj.)—25 kaḷaṇju of gold for half a lamp deposited with the Nagarattār of Śivapuri.

135 of 1918.

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Land for feeding 15 Brahmins by Śembiyana Vēdi-vēḷār.

103 of 1914.

Tiruvēṟumbūr (Tri.)—Decision of the assembly of Śrīkanṭha-catm. that no taxes shall be levied on the temple belongings; the persons who violate this decision will be shunned and treated as grūmakanṭakas, and fined by the Māḥēśvaras. The settlement was engraved on the Śrivimāna by the committee supervising the affairs of the temple for the year.

133 of 1914.†

Year 6.—Allūr (Tri.)—Gold for supply of bathing water to temple.

383 of 1903.

* Indicates original employment under Parāntaka I. Hence, this record is one of Gaṇḍārādiya or Parāntaka II. ARE. 1919 II 10.

Year 6.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—900 sheep by the king for ten lamps in his name in the temple of Aṅganaṭṭi Durghiyār; an adhikārin distributed these among certain persons who in turn had to supply ghee. These sheep were got when Śippuli-nāḍu and Pākki-nāḍu were conquered * by Paraman Maḷapāṭiyār alias Mummuṭi-Cōḷan, chief of Kārukuṇḍi in Taṅjavūr-kūṟram. 79 of 1921.

Kāverippākkam (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp to the Kirttimārttāṇḍan-kālapriya temple. † 382 of 1905.

Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—Land, 4,000 kuṭi, tax-free, to Viṣṇu temple at Ratnāgrahāra, also called Maṇimaṅgalam alias Ulōkamahādevi ‡ catm. in the Tamil part. The deity is called Dvārapurīdeva. The Mahā-sākhā agree not to collect iṟai, ecçcoṇu, veṭṭi, veṇadi-kāṇam or anything else, and to condemn every one who does so to pay a fine of 25 kaḷāṇṭu.

7 of 1892; SII. iii. 27.

Paḷangōṭil (NA.)—Lamp by Pāpayan, son of Nūḻambar-Vīra-śōḷan. § 362 of 1925.

Paḻūr (Tri.)—Land by a native of Kāraikkūḍi for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple. 349 of 1918.

Paṇḍāraṇgāḍai (Tj.)—Village Kundamangalam, given tax-free (mīḷā-vigaiyili) to the temple of Bhūmīsundara-vīṇaṅga Paramasvāmi at Simhaviṣṇu-catm. in Mudicē-ṇāḍu, built by the donor Kaṇṇandai Arivāṇan Bhūmīsundaran alias Sundaraṇāḷa-Mūvēndee-vēḷān. For securing the exemption from taxes, the donor deposited 200 kaḷāṇṭu of pon with the assembly of Simhaviṣṇu-

* Pākki-nāḍu is the northern part of the Nellore District. Śippuli-nāḍu must also have been there cf. ARE. 1913 II 18; also 160 of 1912 of year 34 of Parṇtaka I for the earliest conquest. ARE. 1921, II 31.

† Built possibly by Kaṇḍa III who, in his Karha inscription, says that he was encamped at Meḻpēṭi for ‘establishing his followers in the southern provinces’, and for ‘constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍaṁrittēḍa, Kṛṣṇēvarā and others’ (EL. iv p. 281). If this view is correct, this inscription may be one of Arīhaya, probably a Rājakēsāri. ARE. 1906 II 21.

‡ After queen of Maḷaṅaḷa 1?

§ These names imply a time soon after Parṇtaka I. Nūḻamba and Vīra may be the same as Nūḻamba Triḥhuvana-dhīra or his son Nūḻamba and the Ganga Pṛthivipati II (EL. iv pp. 88, 223). ARE. 1925 II 10.
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catm. Paddy was being sold at 15 kalam per kaññju. Interest rate was 75 per cent per annum. 232 of 1923.

Year 6.—Pulallūr (Ch.)—Lamp to Tañḍaladēva by the great assembly of Paramēśvara-catm. 49 of 1923.

"Salem (Sm.)—40 pon by Šelvan-aṭigal to feed Brahmans every year on stated occasions, at the rate of 25 Brahmans per kaññju, with three curries, half pidi of ghī, curd and betel. The occasions for feeding were the festival in the temple of Kīḷivaṇmaṇudaiyār in Salem and Māśī Makham. 49 of 1888; SII. iv 149.

"Tiruccīrγambalam (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by assembly of Kūḷakkudi for lump amount received by them from a person, the amount being utilised for offerings to the deity at Tiruccīrγēmam, a dēvadāṇa-brahmadiyā in Rājarāja-valanādu. 187 of 1926.

"Tirumālpuram (NA.)—A gift by Madurāntakan Gaṇḍarādītta. 268 of 1906.

"Tiruvaγumbūr (Tri.)—Land sold tax-free by the Perungurī-sabhā of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. met in the Tiruccitakūtam of the village; the land was to serve as provision for feeding one Brahman daily in the manner detailed. 101 of 1892; SII. iv 549.

"Tiruvaγumbūr (Tri.)—Land by a resident of the village for feeding in the choultry on the sacred hill a Brahman versed in the Veda. The Perungurī-sabhā of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. met in the Tiruccitakūtam of the village for making the land igaiyili. 127 of 1914. *

"Tiruvaγumbūr (Tri.)—Land set apart for feeding Brahmans versed in the Veda. Made tax-free by sabhā of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. Wide discretion to Panmāhēśvarar in enforcing sabhā’s decision. 130 of 1914. †

"Tiruvaγumbūr (Tri.)—Land as igaiyili by assembly of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. for the Maḍavilāgam of the temple. 131 of 1914.


† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.); 27th December 964 (Sundara-con, preceding entry) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rājarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar, E.J. xix p. 86.
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Year 6.—Tiruvidaimarudur (Tj.)—The Cōla queen (Vāna ?)—* van Mahādēvi came to worship the god. Meeting of sabhā and nagaram of the place. 215 of 1907.

" Tiruvirānāśvaram † (Tj.)—Gift of land by purchase. 117 of 1911.

" Uḍaiyārgudi ‡ (SA.)—Land by purchase to the assembly called Śāsanuuddha-caturvedibhatta-perumbadi-sahasradāna-perumakkaṉ of Viranārāyaṇa-catm. by Śēkkiḷaṭh Araiyan Śāṅkaranārāyaṇan alias Śōḷa-mutta-rāiyar of Māṛpaluvūr(of Maṇayiṅkōṭṭam in Toṇḍai-nāḍ) as charity to the temple. 585 of 1920.

Year 6.—day 55—Śambanārkōṭil (Tj.)—Fragment of an introduction (Rājādhirāja II ?). Land, for welfare of the king, for worship and repairs in temple by the assembly of Talaicceangālu. Mentions Rājasundaravadi. 174 of 1925.

Year 7.—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Land by wife of Aḍīgāḷ Pāḷuvēṭṭa-rāiyar Kanḍan Māṇṇ for daily offerings. 226 of 1926. §

" Kuttālam (Tj.) Temple constructed by Śembiyan Mahādēviyār, mother of Uttama Cōla. Gift of lands by her as provision for offerings, worship, music and other expenses, and for twenty-five Brahmans reciting the Śāma, Taittiṛiya and Chandōgā Śāma in the temple. 103 of 1926. ¶

" Olagapuram (SA.)—Sale of land by the Nagarattār of Ulakamādōvipuram to Gangan-Ambalavan Gaṇḍarādittasōḷa Viḷṇapparaiyan of Kuvalālam in Gangarasāiyira for being presented to the temple for laying out a flower-garden. Mentions Kalikanṭaka-peruvarambu. 127 of 1919.

* Text has (Paṇca).
† Perhaps Rāmanadēccaram of the Devarām-ARE. 1911 II 17.
‡ Kāṭṭumānārkōṭil (Cdm).
§ Palaeographically Rājarāja I-ARE. 1926 II 17.
¶ Ascribed to Parakēsari Uttama Cōla in ARE. 1926 II. 18, apparently because Uttama is named at the beginning of the record. But year 7 of Rājarājakēsari is mentioned later; perhaps a record of Rājarāja’s time.
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Year 7.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Eighty kalaṇju of gold by Dharmak-kaṭṭalai-kal borrowed from the temple by the assembly of Aparājīta-catm., a hamlet of Tīru-vaṭal-puram, on interest at 10 kalaṇju per annum, the rate being 1/8 kalaṇju per kalaṇju per annum, and a fine of 1/8 pon for each day of default. 255 of 1921.

Tīruveṅumbūr (Tri.)—Land for feeding three Śivayōgins and two Brahmans in the choultry on the sacred hill of the Āḷvār at Tīruveṅumbiyūr. 101 of 1914.*

Tīruveṅumbūr (Tri.)—Land for a channel by the sabhā of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. 102 of 1914.

Tīruveṅumbūr (Tri.)—Sale of land by assembly of Peruvēṅgūr to Vājān Vīranāṟyāṉaṇaś Āḷvār, who is said to have constructed the Śrī-śrīvīmaṇa of Tīruveṅumbiyūr Āḷvār. Land also made iyaiyili by sabhā after taking iyai-kāval-dravyam. 104 of 1914. †

Tīruveṅumbūr (Tri.)—Sale for 45 kalaṇju of the right to levy some paddy on lands by the assembly of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. to Śembiyān Vēdivēḷān for digging the village tank. 105 of 1914. ‡

Tīruveṅumbūr (Tri.)—Land as jīvita for maintaining a watchman, bought from the ūr for money provided by Śembiyān Vēdivēḷān, who built the central shrine. 112 of 1914.

Year 8.—Śendalai (Tj.)—Assembly of Candraḷōkai-catm. sold one vēḷi of land, tax-free, to a person for upkeep of an ambalam which he had erected in the village. 202 of 1926.

* 27th December 964 A.D. (Sundara) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rējarēja)
K. V. S. Aiyar EL, xix p. 86.

† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.), But the names Vīranāṟyāṉaṇa and Uttama-śilī-catm. make this impossible. Either 14th January, 964 A.D. (Sundara), or 11th January 994 A.D. (Rējarēja)-K. V. S. Aiyar EL, xix. p. 86.

‡ See note under preceding entry. Either 15th August 963 A.D. (Sundara) or 12 August 993 A.D. (Rējarēja)-K. V. S. Aiyar EL, xix. p. 86.
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Year 8.—*Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Twenty kaṇāju gold for lamp by Ādittan Kannaradēvan, * son of the Cōja king. Sabhā and ār in charge of the endowment.

38 of 1895, *SII. v. 595.*

*Tirunēdungālam* (Tri.)—Land to a native of Śūralūr by the Māheśvaras, temple servants and residents of the village.

683 of 1909.

*Tiruppalāttuṟai* (Tri.)—Land to Paramēśvara temple at Tiruppaṉambudūr in Uttamaśili-catm., a brahmaṇḍēya in Ten-karai, by an officer of Pillaiyar Arikulakēsari-dēvar. † Sabhā makes the land tax-free. 176 of 1907.

*Tiruppalāttuṟai* (Tri.)—Land to Tiruppaṉambudūr Paramēśvara by one of the perundāram of Pillaiyar Arikulakēsari-dēva. ‡ The land was made ēṟaiyilī by the Perungūri-sabhā. 570 of 1908; *SII. iii. 111.*

*Tiruppalāttuṟai* (Tri.)—Land, tax-free, by the Perungūri-sabhā of Uttamaśili-catm. Mentions the servant of Āḷvār Arikulakēsari-dēva who figures as donor in the preceding record (570 of 1908).

574 of 1908 §; *SII. iii. 112.*

*Uttaramēṛur* (Ch.)—Land sold tax-free by the Mahāsabhā for feeding daily twenty Brahmans in the Kurukṣētra temple of the village. The charity was to be administered by the authorities of the temple (ikkōyil kri-kāryam beyvār) 40 of 1898, *SII. vi. 323.*

* i.e., Kṛṣṇa, son of Āditya. Archaic palaeography. Āditya I perhaps had a son, an unknown brother of Parāntaka. Thus, archaic Rājakesari inscriptions may be those of Āditya I, and likewise, Parakēsari records, those of Vijayēla. (Hultsch in *ARE. 1895* paragraph 12). cf. 251 of 1894 of Rājak 20; 356 of 1903 of Parak. 15; 218 of 1904 of Rājak. 37. Also T. A. G. Rao in *MCC. Magazine* Vol. 24. pp. 123-9, agrees with Hultsch.

† Son of Parāntaka I (*E.I. vii pp. 141-2-ARE. 1908 II 51.*

‡ If Arikulakēsari is identical with Ariājaya, the Rājakesari of this record may be Gaṇḍarādītya *ASl. 1908-9*, p. 122 (H. K. Sastri).

§ King identified with Gaṇḍarādītya by H. K. Sastri. Tiruppaṉarupai and Tiruppaṉambudūr were apparently hamlets of Uttamaśili, quite close. For Arikulakēsari, see 316 of 1903 of Parak. 3 (Parāntaka I), and *E.I. vii p. 141.* He is said to be a military officer of Parāntaka in *ARE. 1909 II. 38,* where also the Parak. of 316 of 1903 is taken to be Gaṇḍarādītya.

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Year 8.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—A resolution of a full meeting (ābāla-vṛddhar-amaīya) of the Mahāsabha, met in the big maṇḍapa, by which patti-kāṭi was not to be collected after a certain day and the Śraddhāmāntar were authorised to punish breaches of the resolution.

62 of 1898; SII. vi. 345.

Year 9.—Alanguṭī (Tj.)—Land, on a solar eclipse day, by the headman of Taṇijāvūr for mid-day offerings every day to Rāgbava Perumāḷ at Irumbūlai in Simhaviṣṇu-catm. a brahmadēya on the S. bank. 498 of 1920.

Badūr (N.A.)—Land as iṣiyili to temple by the residents (ūr) of Vādavūr. 410 of 1922.

Śendalai (Tj.)—The Perungūri-sabhā of Candiralēkai-catm. purchase land in the 53rd kuḷumbu of the village, and assign it as iṣiyili bhūratappangu to Śinginandil-Svarūpa-bhaṭṭa of the Āṭrēya gōtra and Vaikhānasa sūtra, a native of Perumbuliyūr, who has to read the Bhāratam every day in the ambalam built in the brahmasthāna of the village by one Vairamēgha-bhaṭṭāra. Whoever enjoys the pangu after the first incumbent has to do the same.

63 of 1897; SII. vi. 12.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Two bits of land by purchase by two members of the assembly for expenses during the festival to Tirupperundurai-perumān-adigal.

209 of 1926.*

Tirunāgēśvaram (Tj.)—Mentions Ariṇjigaip-pirāṭṭiyūr, a Bāṇa queen and daughter of prince Arikulakēsari; and the Simhāḷas.

215 of 1911.†

Tiruvīḷaimarudūr (Tj.)—The laying out of a śigu-sēṅbāga flower-garden by Tiruvēṅkāṭṭu-pīcean.

260 of 1907.

Year 10.—Melappaluvūr (Tri.)—The residents (Nagarattār) of Avani-Kandarpapura had the inscription engraved to

* Kāditya I, ARE. 1926 II. 17.
† The date is doubtful in the original; the regnal year may be 2 or 3, ARE. 1912, II 16.
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the effect that the mantrupāṇu prevailing at Nandipuram from olden times should also be in force in this village. Order issued by Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavanan Kaṉḍanār. 365 of 1924.

Year 10—Türucculi (Rd.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu)—Frag. Lamp. 417 of 1914.

" Tiruvudaimarudur (Tj.)—Twenty ūakkāsu equal to 10 kalāṇju pon for a lamp by Poduvan Śītraṭi, a woman (penḍāti) of the retinue of Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār, the ācciyār of Ānaimēṟṟuṇiṉa Uḍaiyār. Twenty-four kalāṇju more for taṇṭir-amudu-vaiṭṭil. 156 of 1895; SII. v 720.

Year 11.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Two paṭṭams of gold made by the auditor of temple accounts (? śrikāryam āraṇyapperṟa) out of 13½ kalāṇju and 2 maṇḍādi collected as kuṟra-daṛṟam from three persons including the Nagarakaraṇattān of the place (ivuṟ). 35 of 1895; SII. v 592, same as 283 of 1911.

Year 11, day 300—Türuppundurutti (Tj.)—30 pon for lamp by Nangai Śattaperumāṇār, the mistress (bōgiyār) of the Coḷa king. 105 of 1931. *

Year 12—Kiḷappaluvūr (Tri.)—Ninety sheep for lamp by Aḏigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavanan Kaṉḍan. 229 of 1926. †

" Talaicangāṇu (Tj.)—Lamp by a merchant of Kollam in Malai-nāḍu. 202 of 1925.

" Tiruvaṉiṉiṉu (Tj.)—Lamp by a queen, Śembiya . . . . dēviyār alias Kulamāṇikka Nambirāṭṭiyār. 250 of 1894; SII. v 549.

" Tiruviṉalur (Tj.)—Ninety-six sheep for a lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍya country. 37 of 1907.

Year 12 + 1.—Mēlapaluvūr (Tri.)—Assignment of a temple land to an individual by the temple authorities at the instance of Aḏigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavanan Kaṉḍanār. 370 of 1924.

* Āditya I. ARE. 1931, II. 4.
† Sundara Coḷa—ARE. 1926 II. 7.
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Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Eight mā of land reclaimed for one lamp in each of the two shrines in Avanikandarpa-Iśvara temple in Kunrāk-kūṟram, under orders of Nakkan Pūdi Paluvēṭṭaraiyan Kumāran Kaṇṭalan. 357 of 1924.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—50 kalāṇju gold to Tiruneyttānattu-Mahādeva by Tennavan Pirudi Māṟāsān alias Kaṭṭi Orriyūrān, and Varagūpa-perumānār queen of Parantaka Iļaṅgōvēḻar. With this gold some land was converted from dry to wet cultivation. Among the boundaries is Karikālakkaraī. 287 of 1911; SII. iii. 113.

Year 14.—Paiṇḍāravaṇḍai (Tj.)—Twenty karungāsā by Šenda Nakkapirān Bhaṭṭa Sarvakratu-yājiyār (cf. 234 of year 7.) The interest on the amount, 3 kāṣu was to be given to the best reciter of certain prescribed portions of the JaiminIya Sāma Veda on the night of the Ārdṛa festival in Mārgalī after the sacred bath of the deity. It was stipulated that no prize-winner should compete a second time. 266 of 1923.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṇju of gold for lamp by Naṅgai Śāttapperumānār, the concubine (bōgiyār) of the Cōla king. The sabhā and ār undertake to maintain the lamp, by assigning some temple land for the charity, and use the money for making a Namana-maṇḍapa to the deity. 36 of 1895; SII. v. 593; 234 of 1911 is copy of the same.

* Another name of Vikramakēsari, contemporary of Āditya II. But this Iļaṅgōvēḻ is mentioned in 27th and 21st year of Rājāk. and Parak. inscriptions, and it is difficult to fit such high figures into the 35 years before the accession of Rājārāja. (ARE. 1912 II. 18). Venkayya suggested Āditya's time for Vikramakēsari; but palaeographically it seems to be earlier,—H. K. Sastrī, who makes this a Gaṇḍarāditya record. SII. iii iśīd.
Year 14.—Vēṭal (NA.)—Viḍāl is called also Māḏēvi-ārāṇidimangalam. * Mentions Kanakaviṇakkurattī, a female disciple of Ġupakārtēbbāṭārar, and her disciples (vāḷiṃṇaṃ-kīyār.) The vāḷiṃṇaṃ, lay disciples, undertake the protection and feeding of those 400 tāpasis, as there was no agreement (koḷḷadamaiyil) between them and the 500 male members of the monastery (ikkōyir-piḷaigal.) 84 of 1908; SII. iii. 92.

Year 15.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Lamp by an inhabitant of Tāṇjāvūr. Ends: Ippatiṭāda mūḷaiṭṭaṃum piramadēyak-kīḷavarum uṟōmmum. 39 of 1895; SII. v. 596.

Year 16.—Kāvaṇūr (NA.)—400 kuli of land by a member of the assembly (āḻunganam) for lamp to Puli-pagava-dāva. 158 of 1921.

Mēḷippaḷuṭvūr (Tri.)—An order communicated to Vēḷān Cintāmaṇi, the headman of Tattanūr, permitting the adoption of the old scale of taxes prevailing at Nandipuram † for the village Pāḷavūr by the chief Adīgal Pāḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Māṟavaṉ Kaṇḍanaṅ § to whom Kambibiyān Pirāntakān alias Karuviḍāip-pēraraṅyān had petitioned. 367 of 1924.

Tirucceṅgōḍu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 625 of 1905.

Tiruvaiyāṛu (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Mūvaṟaiyān Pāḷi Nakkan bought from Andanūr-ūṟū for thirty kāḷaṇju. 249 of 1894; SII. v. 548.

Year 17.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Land by one of the members of the temple of Tiruvēṅgambam at Kaccippēḍu for sandal paste to god at Rājaḻamalai-catm. The charity was under protection of Śrī-kōyir-kaṇavāriyāp-perumakkaṭ. 206 of 1915.

* On the kīḷaḷai, eastern road, like Neṟkuṇam. ARE. 1909 II 36.
† Palaeographically Āditya I.
‡ cf. year 10—365 of 1924.
§ This person is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Pirāntaka. Must be later, perhaps of the time of Sundara Cūḷa. cf. 381 of 1924, Parakāṣari (Yr. 13). ARE, 1924 II 10. Text has date, 1(0).
THE COLAS

Year 17.—Panḍāravāḍai (Tj.)—Undertaking by two persons to supply ghi and paddy to temple in return for cows and money received by them at various times in the reign of ‘Madiraikonoḍa Mārāyar.’ 230 of 1923.

Panḍāravāḍai (Tj.)—Agreement by certain persons to burn lamps in the temple for the money they had received from the temple in the years 1(2), 14 and 19 of ‘Madiraikonoḍa Mahārāyar.’ 237 of 1923.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Ten kaṇāṇju gold by a lady for offerings (tiruvamidu). Deposited with the Vaļavācālaip-perumakkāḷ, the interest being “niṣadi kuruni nel.” 58 of 1897 *; SII. vi. 7.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—100 sheep with the sabhā for lamp by the Cōla queen Kilāraḍigal. 41 of 1895; SII. v. 598.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Twenty pon for lamp by another Cōla queen Temnavan Mahādeviyār. 42 of 1895; SII. v. 599.

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Thirty kaṇāṇju gold for a nandāviḷakku by ‘Niyamattu Irāśa-mattāṇḍapattu Nakkan Aiyārāḍigal,’ the concubine (bōgiyār) of the Cōla king. 244 of 1894; SII. v. 543.

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Thirty kaṇāṇju for lamp by Deviyār . . . . kolāliyār for which the sabhā of Ādambuli(n)-guḍi gave tax-free land. 245 of 1894; SII. v. 544.

Tiruviḍaimarudur (Tj.)—Land for jasmine garden by sabhā and ūr of Tiraimūr and nagaram of Tiruviḍai-marudil. 216 of 1907.

Tiruvirāṁiśvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the gaṇattār of Madanamaṇjari-catam. 138 of 1911.

Year 17, day 122.—Ukkal (NA.)—Mentions a meeting, in the local Viṣṇu temple, of the Mahāsabha of Śrī-Vikram-ābharana - catm. including the samvatsara-vāriyappurumakkal and the ēri-vāriyap-perumbhaṭṭar for the year, and others. 31 of 1893; SII. iii. 13.

* 6-A of 1899 i.e., SII. vi 442 is another similar record of same date.
RAJAKESARI

Year 18.—Kiliyanur (SA.)—75 kalanjju of gold to the sabha
by an individual for feeding five Brahmins every
day. 155 of 1919.

"Sendalai (Tj.)—Twelve kalanjju of gold by Marambavai,
for lamp to the PiJari temple of Magalam at Niyamam.
13 of 1899 *; SII. vi. 449.

"Tiruverumbur (Tri.)—Land for lamp to Ten-Kailayatti-
Mahadeva at Srikaantha-catm. 119 of 1914. †

Year 19.—Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Saangu iranju ivai sudavarkku
bhogam (incomplete). 58 of 1895; SII. v. 615.

"Tiruvaiyuru (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Kaccippettuk-
kudiriaci-cori Ammakanar magalar Solla-perumana-
digal deviyar Aliisi-kattaigal. Mentions (in recording
boundaries) Paluvettaiyar Nambi Maravanar Tirup-
pallittamam. 238 of 1894; SII. v. 537.

"Tiruvaiyuru (Tj.)—Sheep (18.) for lamp by Solla-
perumanaigal Dev ....... ttu Aundur Tirunaraana
Mahadevi. 239 of 1894; SII. v. 538.

"Tiruvudikkuudi (Tj.)—Ten kalanjju gold for lamp;
undertaking to burn a lamp with 1/4 measure of oil
every day, as interest on the sum, by 'Tiruvudikkuudi
Tiru (kkv). .... mambu ninju devar pani seydum'
and others. 67 of 1895; SII. v. 624.

"Tiruverumbur (Tri.)—Land for lamp and offerings by
a Brahman lady who built the shrine of Adittabhattha-
raka on the hill. 118 of 1914.

Year 20.—Brahmadesam (NA.)—Land for feeding a Brahman in
the temple of Pondai Perumanaigal by one of the
ajungaattar of Rajamalla-catm. in Tiruvgamba
puram. 237 of 1915.

"Kujuumiyamalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by one of the
female relatives of Perumbidjugu Muttaraiyan.
314 of 1904.

* cf. 16 of 1898—Year 24.
† Later than Parantaka I. ARE, 1915 II. 20.
THE COLAS

Year 20.—*Tiruccendurai* (Tri.)—A certain merchant of Tañjāvūr named Karuṇāṭaka Puḷalāya] Śeṭṭi built the temple called Puḷalāya Viṇṇagār and set up the deity. He purchased and gave to the temple the land adjoining it. 325 of 1903.

" *Tiruppaḷanam* (Tj.)—One hundred sheep left with the pūdamūlattār for one lamp and occasional service. 124 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 686.

Year 20, day 333—*Tiruvaiyāru* (Tj.)—Land for lamp by the nurse (tāti) of Kannaradēva. 251 of 1894 ; *SII.* v 550 ; *MCC. Mag.* xxiv. p. 128.

Year 22.—*Mēḷappaluṣūr* (Tri.)—Land, 8 mā, to temple by Vaḷjugan Mādavan Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyan Kumaran Maṉavaṇ, after reclaiming some waste land in the dēvadāna villages, to provide for one perpetual lamp in each of the shrines in the Amanikandarṇa-Īśvara-grha. 360 of 1924. *

" *Tirakkōl* (NA.)—Gift to Gangāsūrap - perumbalḷi at Rājendrapuram. 277 of 1916.

" *Tiruppaḷanam* (Tj.)—397½ palam of (?) to temple by Mārpiḷḷugu Kaḷvaṇ Amarakaḷan † of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr. 169 of 1928.

Year 23.—*Puduppākkam* (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, to temple of Bhaṭṭaḷi by assembly of Nallaḷimangalam, in Mēṟpaḷu-gūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Maṉayir-kōṭṭam. Mentions Iḷamakkaḷ Kārtigaiḷ-kaṇattār. 61 of 1923.

" *Tiruccendurai* (Tri.)—Sale of land to Pūdi Ādicca Piḷḷāriyār by Paruḍai of IṢānamangalam for 5 kaḷaṇju by Viḍēļviḷḷugu. 320 of 1903. †

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Land by Āyiravan Ėණādi, headman (kiṭān) of Ārkkāḷu. 18 of 1920.

* cf. 357 of Year 13.
† Perhaps a Muttaraya chief of the locality. ARE. 1928 II 2.
‡ cf. 316 of 3 Parak.
RAJAKESARI


"Ukkal (NA.)—A record by the sabba of Aparajitacatm., of the receipt of 200 pōn from Śedirūr-Trivikkarama-bhaṭṭa, alias Brahmadhirajarat of the miyālunγavum of Uttarameṣu-catm., for feeding 12 Brahmans. Interesting details.

19 of 1893; SII. iii. 1. ↑

Year 24.—Nerkuṇam (NA.)—Gift of three fields as erippatṭi by Nambiyamallanar, son of Nṛpatunga-maṅgaḷap-pēraraiyar, for the benefit of the tank at Nerkuṇam (Singapuranaṭṭuk-kīḻvali-Nerkuṇam). Ānāvīya daṇḍamūṭṭiṇṭu eppērppatṭa mancupāṇum ērikkuk-kuṇṭṭilēṇ Nambiya mallanēn. 86 of 1908; SII. iii. 93. ¶

"Niyamam (Tj.)—Five kaḷaṇju gold by Aḍīgal Kaṇḍan Mārambāvali, § queen of Nandipottaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, for offerings to god and feeding twenty Brahmans and the 'taḷippaṇi-śeyyum māṇigal.' The interest is stated to be 1/8 kaḷaṇju per kaḷaṇju per pū (harvest). The money was on deposit with the temple priest, Ittaḷippaṭṭuṭṭiyāṭṭan Īṉṉaṅkāṟṉārra Vāmādevan Tiruvēṅkāḷan. 16 of 1899; SII. iii. 94. ¶

"Śendalai (Tj.)—Five kaḷaṇju for lamp by the wife of a learned Brahman. 208 of 1926 |

"Takkilam (NA.)—Piritipatīyār son of Māramaraiyar gave a silver vessel (kuṇḍi) weighing 317 kaḷaṇju to

* Perhaps Aḍītya I, who ruled for at least 28 years, espoused the daughter of a Pallava chief. Rājaṛ, records from Tiruppalanam with years 21 to 26 may, hence, be his. Palaeography supports this—ARE, 1928 II. 2.

↑ Perhaps Aḍītya I.—Hultsch.

¶ Palaeographically, Aḍītya I. ARE. 1909 II. 36. Īnāvīya-daṇḍām is taken to be the name of a tax by H. K. Sastri; but Īnāvīy may have the meaning 'as occasion arises.'

§ 13 of 1899 (Yr. 18); 301-A of 1901 from Tiruccennambūṇḍi.

¶ Palaeographically Aḍītya I.

|| Aḍītya I; 210 of 1926. ARE. 1926 II. 17.
THE COLAS

Tiruvāral-Mahādeva on the occasion of a solar eclipse.
5 of 1897; SII. v. 1368; EI. xix. 12 *.

Year 25.—Ālambākam (Tri.)—Land to temple of Saptamātrikas by the assembly of Dantivarma-maṅgalam. 705 of 1909.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷaṅju gold for lamp, deposited with the Śivapuri-nagarattār. 243 of 1894; SII. v. 542.

" Tiruvellaiyai (Tri.)—Thirty cows for a lamp by Śembiyān Maḷanāṭṭu Veḷān alias Korrān Mārān. 522 of 1905.

Year 26.—Tiruppallānam (Tj.)—Gift of a rudrākṣa necklace, set with gems to the deity by Gangamāttāṇḍar alias Śembiyān Pṛthivī-gaṅgāraiyar, son of Mahādevar of Pangaḷa-nāḍu. † 177 of 1928.

Year 26, day 181—Śrīrāngam (Tri.)—90 kaḷaṅju of puttaṭīka-ḍanda śemmai-pon. Interest rate was one kālam and one tūṇi of old paddy, yielding 120 kālam per annum, for feeding four Brahmanas (daily.)? 70 of 1892; SII. iv. 517.

" day 280-Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Twenty kaḷaṅju gold for maintaining a place for supply of drinking water during part of the year, before the pragāṇi-maṇḍapa of the village. The total interest yield per annum was 3 kaḷaṅju, at 3 maṇjūṭi per kaḷaṅju per annum (15 per cent). The supervision of the charity was with the tank-committee. 75 of 1898; SII. vi. 360.

* Palaeographically earlier than Parāntaka I. The donor here is the same as Pṛthivīpati II, son of Mūrapimba, and later, friend of Parāntaka I. Date must be either 7th June 894 A.D. or 28th May 895 A.D. giving acc. 870 or 871. The Kanyākumari record says that, Āditya killed Aparājīta, whose friend at Śrī-Puṇambiyam (870 A.D.), was Gaṅga Pṛthivīpati I, grandfather of the present donor. 'The Čōḷas apparently did not count for much' at the time of the battle of Śrī-Puṇambiyam. K.V.S. Aiyar, EI. ibid.

† cf. 139 of 1928, Parak. Yr. 11. Aḷivin-kaḷḷariyār an alias of Pṛthivī-gaṅgāraiyar. 428 of 1902 (S. 871 or A.D. 949) mentions a Kaḷḷanangai, daughter of Pṛthivī-gaṅgāraiyar who died at Arungunam, Pangaḷa-nāḍu, part of Palkungan-kōṭtam, was in the N. Arcot dt. A Pṛthivīganga-raiyar was a feudatory of Parāntaka I, and later of Kaḷḷa III, ARE. 1928 ii 3.

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RAJAKESARI

Year 27.—Brahmadéṣam (NA.)—Gold for lamp and for feeding a Brahman by Nallulān Īraḍimāṇan Āṭṭamūṭti.

230 of 1915.*

"Tirukkalukkunram (Ch.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu) On being petitioned by Puttan, son of Kuṇavan, the king renewed a gift of land to Tirukkalukkunṟatu Śri Mūlahanattu-perumāṇadigal, originally made by Skandaśiṣya and continued by Pāḍavikoṇḍa Naraśinga-poṭṭaraiyar.

167 of 1894; EI. iii. 279.†

"Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Land for lamp by purchase from the assembly of Mārpiḷugu-catm.

15 of 1920.

Year 30.—Tiruvellagai (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Veda.

518 of 1905.

Year (3)7. ‡—Melōvūr (SA.)—Mentions Kannara-dēvar.

218 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Ālamākkam.—Gift of Land, purchased from the sabhā of Dantivarma-mangalam, which had a tank called Mārpiḷugēri.

712 of 1909.

Kōvilaṭi (Tj.)—Temple of Tirupperṟatturai Emberumān built of stone by Śeṃbiyan Vēdī Vēḷān, who also bought some land from the sabhā of Tiruppēṟūr, for uvaccak-kāṇi.

279 of 1901; SIII. vii. 499.

Perungalūr (Pd.)—Fragment in early characters recording a gift of gold. Mentions a temple of Mahādēva at Śoḷacūḷāmaṇi-catm., and the village of Perungōḷūr.

203 of 1914.

* Āditya I. The high regnal year will not suit any other Rājak. before Rājarāja I. Same donor in 224 of 1915-Parāntaka I, Yr. 17. ARE. 1916 II 9.

† Āditya I. Palaeographically pre-Parāntaka. Kuṇavan Puttan is also mentioned in 103 of 1931. Rajak. n-d.

‡ Text has 2(7).
THE COLAS

_Tiruccattnai_ (Tj.)—Gold for lamp by Tribhuvana-
mädöviyar Vayiri-akkanär, queen of the Cōja king and
mother-in-law of Kāḷupaṭṭigal. 180 of 1931.

_Tirunçeṇgalaṃ_ (Tri.)—Money for lamp. Refers to
Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa Mahā(rāja.) Near this is another
fragment of Maduraikōṇḍa Parakāśari. 696 of 1909.

_Tiruviḷakkudī_ (Tj.)—Money by a merchant for sounding
gong † in the temple. 133 of 1926.

* cf. 100 of 1931.

† This purpose is not clear from the very damaged text though we
have: _ittā ṣeyakay ... alīnu ṣiga._
PARAKESARIVARMAN

Year 2.—Karuttaṭāṅgudi (Tj.)—Mentions Virāḷappuṇeruṇu in Tanjore. Agreement registering the sale of days (of worship) in three temples by two persons to a third.
49 of 1897; SII. v. 1412.

" Kūḷūr (SA.)—Gift of 192 sheep for two lamps by Šembiyān Mīḷāḍaiyār. 271 of 1902; SII. vii. 900.

" Kūḷūr (SA.)—(4)80 sheep for five lamps.
281 of 1902; SII. vii. 910.

" Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by one of Uḍaiyār Vīra-sōla-teriṇja-kaikkōlār.
251 of 1911.

" Paṇḍāraṇājai (Tj.)—Gift of thirty kâśu for a lamp by the wife of a merchant of Tribhuvana-mādēvīp-pēran-gāḍi at Taṇjāvūr.
274 of 1923.

" Śrīrangam (Tri.)—Gift of 410 pon for feeding a Brahman (vēdam-vallān) at mid-day (uceippōdu) service to god Ranganāṭha. The number of dishes and other details prescribed.
73 of 1892; SII. iv. 520.

" Tirucceṇduvai (Tri.)—Twenty kaḷaṇju gold for lamp with paruḍai of Iśāna-mangalam. Weight viḍēl-viḍuṇgu. The donor was Koḷumbāḷur Nakkan Vikramakēsariyār, the dēviyār of Tennavan Ilāngōvēl alias Maṟavar Pādiyār.
306 of 1903.

" Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Gift of land, after its purchase from the temple for feeding four Brahmans, by Karraḷi-patṭālakan of the Arumolī-dēva-teriṇja-kaikkōlār.
144 of 1928.

" Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Land given for five drummers for the temple by Araiyan Ādittan Vīman.
162 of 1928.

* Perhaps father of Vīman Kundavai, mother of Parantaka II. If so, the king was Arilējaya who had a short reign of not less than three years, ARE. 1928 II 3, contra ARE. 1921 II 26 where Vīman Kundavai is connected with Čājukya Bhīma.
THE COLAS

Year 2.—Tiruppaḻanam (Tj.)—Land given by Araiyan Ādittan Viman for offerings during the ardhayāma and for lamp. 172 of 1928.

" Tiruvāṇṭilaṣṇai (Tj.)—Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly (sabhā) of Śāttanūr * to a member of the Ādittapannat-terinda-kaikkōlar for the maintenance of a cocoanut and flower garden to the temple. 135 of 1925.

" Tiruvuṇṭaimarudūr (Tj.)—Mentions the Śingalāntakata-terinda-kaikkōlar. † 244 of 1907.

" Tiruvuṇṭaimarudūr (Tj.)—Records the erection, by the Kaikkōla-Perumbadai, of window, door, door-post and steps in front of the big maṇḍapa called Tigai-Āyirattaṅṅṟuvar. 253 of 1907.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟuṇḍi ‡ (SA.)—Gift of 96 sheep and a ram for lamp to Tiruvanantēvarattāḻvār of Viranāṟṟayapa- catm., by Parāntakan Mādevadigal alias Śebiyan Mādeviyār, the daughter of Maḷavaraiyar and queen of Gaṇaṭarādittan called here also Mēṟkēḷṕarulīna-dēvar. 540 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟuṇḍi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a member of the Kōdanaṭarāmat-teriṉja-kaikkōlar. 545 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟuṇḍi (SA.)—Aryan Gēyaviṭāṅkan, one of the Tāyatongat-teriṉja-kaikkōlar, gave ten kāśu for cloths to Kūṭṭar, to the south of the stone temple of Tiruvanantēvarattāḻvār. He also built in the temple shrines to Kūṭṭar, Gaṇapati and Piccar. 555 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟuṇḍi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by the Parāntaka- teriṉja-kaikkōlar on behalf of one of themselves. 574 of 1920.

" Uḍaiyāṟṟuṇḍi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by one of the Mūttavāḷ-perṛa-kaikkōlar. § 581 of 1920.

* 136 of 1925 is similar.
† Also in 590 of 1920. (Uḍaiyāṟṟuṇḍi.)
‡ Near Kōṭtumunāṟṟkōyil (Cidambaram Tq).
§ 584 of 1920 is similar.

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Year 2.—Udaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Gold by Kōyil-perṟṟḷ also Vāna-
van-māḍēviyār, daughter of Pūpāla-śekariyār, for a
lamp and mid-day offerings in the temple and for
the sumptuous feeding, once a day, of one Brahman
learned in the Vēda. 594 of 1920.

Udaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Gold, 12½ kaḷaṇju, by Paluvēṭ-
araiyan Kōḍaṇṭan Tappili-dharmman for a lamp in the
central shrine of the temple. 609 of 1920.

Year 2+1.—Pullamangai * (Tj.)—The village assembly (sabhā)
met in the maṇḍapa opposite to the Tiruvālanduṟṟai
temple and sold 1½ mā of land to the temple of
Kāḷāpiyāri of Naḷuvirčēri for 25 kāṣu and allowed it
to be tax-free as before. 549 of 1921.

Tiruvēṭimēḷai (Tj.)—Silver dish for śrībali to temple
by a certain Tāṅrōṇri-tanīccēvagan, (tāṅrōṇri being
the god’s name.) 439 of 1908 †

Year 3.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Land to Amarēvāra-Perumāl at
Dantivarma-mangalam by the sabhā of that village.
720 of 1909.

Allūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Ganga-māḍēviyār, wife
of Viraśōla-Ilangōvēḷār, on the occasion of her sati. ‡
376 of 1903.

Kilaiyōr (Tj.)—Gold for supply of ghī on new moon
days by a certain Tūppil Sattikumārabhaṭṭan residing
at Viraṅrāyaṇap-cēri of Viraṅrāyaṇa-catm., § on the
northern bank. 92 of 1925.

Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—25 kaḷaṇju of gold for lamp by a
native of Neḍum-pūraiyyār in Malai-nāḍu.
248 of 1911.

Paṇuḷāravāḷai (Tj.)—Four mā of land to a learned
Brahman who was doing pūja to Tirucceyalūr-perumāl
at Rājakēsari-catm. 252 of 1923.

* Text gives Paṇupati-kōyil.
† The king is said to be Vijayaḷaya in A.R.E., 1909 II 35.
‡ The text is: "Iyengōḷār-dēvīyār Ganga-māḍēviyār-Appāṭiyār-
kūṟṇāttādu."
THE COLAS

Year 3.—Śiyamangalam (NA.)—Land. Mentions Gangarāja with surnames Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi* and Mummaḍli-sōḷac-cembiy-śrigangaraiyār, who was governing Palkunra-kōṭam, Venkunra-kōṭam and Śingapura-nāḍu, (portions of modern N. and S. Arcot.)

69 of 1900; SII. vii. 73.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇṭju of gold for a lamp by Mulūr-nangai, † mother-in-law of the king. The gold was left with the sabhā and the Pādamūlatār.

45 of 1895; SII. v. 602.

Tirakkōl (NA.)—Sheep for ghi to the Jaina temple (pallu) at Tāṇḍapuram by Eranandi alias Naratonga Pallavaraiyān, a native of Nelvelli in Nelvelli-nāḍu of Tenkaraip-Panaiyur-nāḍu in the Śōla-maṇḍalam.

276 of 1916.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇṭju of gold for a lamp by Mulūr-nangai, mother of queen Śōla-mādēviyār. ‡

169 of 1931.

Tirumalavāṭi (Tri.)—Land by purchase for lamp by Ariṇjigaiṅkēṇi daughter of Mūṭṭa Uḍaiyār. 8 of 1920.

Tirunāmānanallūr (SA.)—Land reclaimed for temple of Tiruthoṇḍiśvaram by Vikramābharaṇa Pallavaraiyān under orders of Munaiyadaraiyār Aparāyīṭan Kulam-aṅkikkerumānār.

369 of 1902; SII. vii. 999.

Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇṭju of gold for lamp by Mulūr-nangai.

125 of 1895; SII. v 689.

Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Thirty kalaṇṭju of gold by Nakkan Ariṇjigai alias Parāṅṭaka Pallavaraiyān for a lamp to be maintained in the temple by the Nagarattār of the village.

165 of 1928.

* Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi was a surname of Mārasimha II (EL. v p. 177). But, as it is not likely that he ruled in Pallava country as a Cōḷa feudatory, this chief was perhaps related to the local Ganga chiefs Śankaradēva and Sōmaṇāthaḥdēva of the Tiruvallam records of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I-ARE. 1900, paragraph 18.

† See also under Tiruccatturai and Tiruppaḷanam.

‡ 107 of 1931 (Tiruppūnduruttī) is similar.
PARAKESARI

Year 3.—Tiruvāduturai (Tj.)—The boundary (of the land ?) purchased from the assembly of Śirupuliyūr by the ūr of Karai-nalūr in Pērāvūr-nāṭu.

107 of 1925.

" Tiruvaikāyū (Tj.)—Land for three lamps. Nandā-viḷakku iravum pagalum-erivādārku.

234 of 1894 ; SII. v. 533.

" Tiruvāmattūr (SA.)—Twenty kalāṇju gold for two lamps by Śebiyan Kaṭṭimāṇaḷiḷaḷ who built the Tiruccurru-manḍapam, the gold being left in charge of the sabbhā, and ūr of the place.

403 of 1903.


425 of 1903 † ; SII. iii. 95.

" Tiruvaṅgāmalai (NA.)—Gold for lamp by the Cēra queen Kilāṇaḷaḷ.

470 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 58.

" Tiruvēdkkuṭi (Tj.)—Thirty kalāṇju gold for lamp in the temple of Parakēsari-purattu-mahādēva, left with the Parakēsari-purattu-nagarattār.

66 of 1895 ; SII. v. 623.

" Tiruvēṣṭiṇnarudūr (Tj.)—A silver kalasam by a native of Paṇḍi-nāṭu.

247 of 1907.

" Uduaiyāruguṭi (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a Brahman of Paṇḍitavatsalac-cēri. ‡

556 of 1920.

" Uduaiyāruguṭi (SA.)—Land for akkāra-aḍiyal to god.

582 of 1920.

" Uduaiyāruguṭi (SA.)—Gold by Paṇcavan-mahādēvi, wife of Araiyan Mahimālaya alias Parāntaka Muttaraiyan,

* If this man was an officer of Gaṇḍarāḍitya's, the inscription must be one of Parāntaka I. H. K. Sastri.

† 426 of 1903 is a similar gift by the same donor, which mentions no king but is dated S. 8(79). A few years after Takkālam, this falls in Gaṇḍarāḍitya's reign, who must have been a Parakēsari according to the large Leyden grant. AKE. 1904 paragraph, 20.

‡ Evidently so called after Parāntaka I. Same cēri in 559 of 1920.
for a lamp to Candraśekhara-perumāḷ in the Anantēśvara temple.

Year 3.—Uḍaiyārguḍi (SA.)—The supervisor of temple affairs for the year distributed the temple lands among the temple servants in proportion to the services rendered by them.

Year 4.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—The sabhā of Kallājuppurā raised a loan from the temple of 20 kaḷaṇju by Kaccipēṭṭu-āṇikkal; the interest on the loan was 90 kāḍi of paddy per annum which was to be taken and measured out in the premises of the temple by the āramai-śeyyum vāriyap-perumakkal.

"Kilappaluvār (Tri.)—Lamp to temple by the dāviyār of a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, who was the daughter of .... varaiyar.

"Melappaluvār (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The sixteenth year of Parakēśari Uttama Cōla is quoted and Aḍigal Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar mentioned.

"Nangavaram (Tri.)—Land to two trumpet-blowers of the Sundarēśvara temple in the village called here Ariṅjigai-catm.

"Tirthamalai (Sm.)—Gold for lamp. Mentions queen of Micumūḍi-śōla-perumāḷ. The temple is called Kāḷalālvār.

"Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—Gold by Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri.

"Tirumalai (NA.)—Four kaḷaṇju gold for feeding one aḍigal in the palli on the Tirumalai.

"Tirumanaṇṭēri (Tj.)—Gift of 96 sheep for a lamp, of a lamp-stand, and of the stone on which the inscription is

* Perhaps of Vijayālaya—SII. iii p. 17 n. 4.

† Called also Nangai-Brahmadēya in Rājagambhirā Vaḷa-nāḍu (334 of 1903 of year 34 of Kōṅerimaikoppān.)

‡ The earliest Cōla inscription in this locality; it shows that the Jaina settlement on the hill is older than the time of Rājarāja I, ARE. 1908 II, 51.
PARAKESARI

engraved by a penqāṭṭi attached to the (royal?) kitchen at Taṇjāvūr. 11 of 1914.

Year 4.—Tiruvvāmāttur (SA.)—Lamp by Kaṇḍarādittan alias...
Mahārājan of Vāṇagappādi. 404 of 1903.

" Tiruvoṇkādu (Tj.)—Gold ornaments by a Kaikkōlan.
Below this is another record of resumption and reassignment at a higher rate of rent of some temple lands.
495 of 1918.

" Tiruviddaimarudur (Tj.)—A gold hand (hastaka) set with precious stones. Gift by a merchant.
198 of 1907.

" Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—36 sheep for a lamp by the head-
man (kilān) of Ārkādu.
124 of 1926.

" Tiruvilišalur (Tj.)—100 sheep for lamp by Nakkan
Ariṇjigai alias Pirāntaka Pallavaraiyan.
18 of 1907.

" Vēlaccēri (Ch.)—Land for lamp and offerings to Kāḷa-
bhaṭāri given by the sabhā of the village.
317 of 1911.

Year 5.—Ālamĕkkam (Tri.)—Land to Amarēśvara-perumāl,
Mārpiḍrugēri and sale by sabhā of Dantivarmamangalām mentioned.
715 of 1909. *

" Kīlūr (SA.)—Gold, 15 kāḷaṇju, for lamp by queen of
Vāṇakōvaraiyars, called Ilājaigai magajār Nangai Kula-
māṇikkattūr. Interest rate was kāḷaṇjūn-vāyt-tingal
urisp-paṭi.
299 of 1902; EL. vii. 141.

" Pūvālakkudi (Pd.)—Construction of the manoḍapa.
147 of 1907. Pd. 42.

" Salem. (Sm.)—Year described as 'Tiruvvēpithu-collān-
nirayānju aiṇjāvadu.' The sabhā of Rājarājēśraya-
cērī accepted an endowment of five kāḷaṇju gold
for a lamp.
43 of 1888; SII. iv. 141.

" Śiyamangalam (NA.)—Land by purchase from ār by an
inhabitant of the Pāṇḍya country to Tirukkāṛaṇi-

* ARE. 1910 II 14.
mahādēvaṟ at Śiyamangalam in Tennāṟṟūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Palkunṟa-kōṭṭam in Jayangondasōḷa-
manḍalam. 60 of 1900; SII. vii. 64.

Year 5.—Takkōḷam (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp. “Iccirikōyil-
āṟayōnum padi(yum) (p)ādamŭlattōnum Takkōḷattil
nagarattōnum” take charge of them. 60 of 1897; SII. v. 1369.

" Tiruccattūṟai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp (by the queen of)
the Pāṇḍya king Pirāntakan. 133 of 1931.

" Tiruccengāṭtangūḍi (Tj.)—Land for two lamps by the
assembly of Marugal in lieu of money (pon) taken
from a certain Virasōḷan alias Uttamaśōḷa-nenmal-
nāṭṭu-mūvenda-vēḷān. 60 of 1913.

" Tirukkalāvūr (Tj.)—Land. Īakkāśu mentioned. The
donor was Śīṅgan Kaliyan alias Uttamaśōḷa-mūvenda-
vēḷān of Kommaipākkam. 46 of 1910.

" Tiruvēṅgavāsāl (Pd.)—(Verse). Lamp by a native of
Maḷanāḍu. 239 of 1914.

Year 6.—Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Gold, 1½ kaḷaṇju and paddy,
three kalām, as kōṟṟu to Alayūre-cākkaṟ for enacting
three scenes of the Śākkaik-kūttu on the Āsvati day
of the festival in Arpaśi at Tiruvālanduṟai-nallūr.
250 of 1926.

" Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—The cows donated to the temple
for lamps could not be protected from robbers by the
temple authorities and were sold for gold. 315 of 1904; Pd. 44.

" Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by Varagunāṭṭi,
daughter of Muttaraiyar * and queen of Śembiyan
Irukkuvēḷar. 337 of 1904; Pd. 45.

" Pullamangai (Tj.)—Land to temple for morning service
by Śembiyan Mahāvali Vāṇaraiyar. 559 of 1921.

* Vīḷḷivijīvu-muttaraiyar. Irukkuvēḷ was the same as Vikramakēśari
(ARE. 1908 p. 88) the contemporary of Āditya II-K. V. S. Aiyar EI. xiii. p. 138.
PARAKESARI

Year 6.—Śomūr (Tri.)—Gold, 2½ *kalaṇju*, for lamp by Pirāntakan Puruṣottaman of the Dānatongat * - teriņja kaikkōjar.

208 of 1917.

" Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gold, 83 *pon* (*kalaṇju*), for two lamps by an *uvaccan* of the temple (*ittai*).

27 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 584.

" Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gold, 25 *kalaṇju*, for lamp deposited with the sabbhā and ūr.

47 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 604.

" Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Sheep for lamp by Kāman Tāyan, a teacher (*vālti*) of Iḍaiyāru.

17 of 1920.

" Tiruppaḷāṇam (Tj.)—Gold, 30 *kalaṇju*, for lamp by Tippāṇja-alajgiyān Maraṇavan. The sabbhā of Aṇiya-mangalam invested it in buying 6 *mā* of land.

148 of 1928.

" Tiruppaḷāṇam (Tj.)—Lamp, and 25 *kalaṇju* for its maintenance, by a servant of the headman of Karugāvūr.

153 of 1928.

" Tiruppāḻkkaṇal (NA.)—Gold for lamp. The supervision of the charity was vested in the annual tank supervision committee.

685 of 1904.

" Tiruvāṇṇītūr (SA.)—Refers to the mason Arugūrttacan Nārāyanavan Vaikundan who built the temple (*Abhirāmeśvara*).

413 of 1903.

" Tiruvīḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Record of an *iraiyili-ślai* given by sabbhā of Tiraimūr, nagaram of Tiruvīḍaimarudil and others.

219 of 1907.

" Tiruvilakkuṇḍi (Tj.)—Land, after being purchased tax-free from the assembly of Viḍelviḍugu-catm., given for lamp to Kūtapperumāḷ in Tiruvilakkuṇḍi in the same place.

121 of 1926.

* Was this a surname of Pirāntaka I? Śomūr has Pirāntaka’s records. The *Konguṭhūṭākkaḷ* attributes the conquest of Kongu to Aditya I and Pirāntaka does not claim to have conquered it. *ARE.* 1918 II 22.
THE COLAS

Year 6.—*Tiruvillimilalai* (Tj.)—Gold for feeding four Brahmans given by Amarabhujangan Muppuji alias Gaṅgara-gaṇḍa-Pallavaraiyan. 436 of 1908.*

Year 7.—*Pullamangai* (Tj.)—Great assembly of Pullamangalam sold 1½ mā of land for an endowment in the temple by Āridan Māranārāyaṇan. 551 of 1921.

"Siddhalingamādham (SA.)—Money for two lamps by a female servant of Varagūr-kōṭṭamudaiyān. 422 of 1909.

"Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp left with the sabhā and ūr of Tiruneyttānam. 28 of 1895; *SII.* v. 585.

"Tiruppākkaḍal (NA.)—Sabhā accepts an endowment for offerings and places it under control of the annual tank-committee. The corpus was apparently used for repairing a breach in the tank-bund. 688 of 1904.

"Tiruvāṭuturai (Tj.)—Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Śāṭṭanaṇī for 15 kāṣu endowed to the temple for the sacred bath of the deity at Uttarāyaṇa Sankṛānti by Ōmāśi Ōṛriyūran Kūṭtan of Tiruvānaikkā, a dēvadāna-brahmadēya in Kilijūr-nāḍu. 127 of 1925.

"Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Building of the temple mentioned. Land for a person singing dēśī. 233, 234 of 1907.

"Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Sale of land to revenue officers (puravu-varī tiṇaik-kaḷattār) by the assembly of Vidēḷviḍugu-catm. 135 of 1926.

"Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—30 kaḷaṇju of āṛkkag-cemmai pon for lamp deposited with the sabhā of Maṇāli near Tiruvorriyūr (Tiruvorriyūrp-purattu Maṇāli-sabhai-yēm). 402 of 1896; *SII.* v. 1357, same as 165 of 1912.

* This, like some other records, is on a pillar in a minor shrine in a temple which bears only later Cēḷa records. The pillars were evidently secured from an older structure. Vijayālaya; *ARE.* 1909 II 35.

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PARAKESARI

Year 8.—Kiṭappaḻuvūr (Tri.)—Twelve sheep by Kāman Kōviyār, wife of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyār Vikramaḍitya, for one pidi of ghi daily to the temple. 237 of 1926.*

Paṇḍāravaḍai (Tj.) Tax-free land by madhyastha for music by five persons during śrībali every day. 272 of 1923.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Details of the expenditure of paddy got annually from the dēvadāna village Purnagai. 204 of 1926.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷaṇju of gold for lamp by Pāṇḍiyanār Mānābharaṇa-dēvi .... kilavan. 26 of 1895; SII. v. 583.

Tiruppāḷanam (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a native of Nandipuram alias Āyirattalī. 145 of 1928.

Tiruppalātturai (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The village is called Tiruppāḷurai in Uttamaśili-catm. a brahmaḍeya in Tenkara. 173 of 1907.

Tiruppalātturai (Tri.)—A copy of an inscription of the 18th year of Madiraiṅkonda Parakēsari and of another of the same king, twentieth year. Among the boundaries occur names: Vīraśrikāmukā-vadi; Ādīcch Vāykkāl; Kōḷāṅḍarāma-vadi; Uttamaśili-Vāykkāl. The Perungūrī sahō of Uttamaśili-catm., ordered the re-engraving of the records found on the older śrīvimāna. 174 of 1907; SII. iii. 133. †

Tiruvellārai (Tri.)—Twenty kaḷaṇju of gold by the queen of Uḷaiyār-Anaimēṟguṉinār (Rājāditya) called Irāyirandēvi-ammanār, to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī ‡ of the big temple at Tiruvelļārai. 534 of 1905; SII. iii. 132.

* Was the king Uttama Cēḷa? ARE. 1926 II 20.

† The king may be Ariyāyaya, or Āditya II or Uttama Cēḷa; probably the last. H. K. Sastri.

THE COLAS

Year 9.—Erumūr (SA.)—Ten kaḷanju of tūlai pon paid to the village assembly for remission of dues on seven mā of land presented to the temple. 393 of 1913.

" Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Land for śribali and tirupalī-elecī. Mentions Kōdāndarāma-Vāykkāl. 78 of 1914.

" Kīḻappalūvūr (Tri.)—Māḷava Konkaṇi Śenni Nambiyār, uncle (māmaṇi) of Aṭṭigal Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar Māravān-Kaṇḍanār, made a gift of land by purchase for a lamp in the temple of Māravanisvara-ghṛattu Mahādēva.* 219 of 1926.

" Kīḻappalūvūr (Tri.)—Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar Māravān-Kaṇḍanār purchased land and assigned portions to several persons for service and for lamp before Māravanisvarattumahādēva. 249 of 1926.†

" Kūhūr (Tj.)—25 kāśu for lamp to Ādittēsvaram-ūdaiya Bhāṭṭārakar by a certain Astraśiva with the tiruvuṇñāḷigai-perunakkāl of the temple. 292 of 1917 ‡

" Paṇṭṭārāvēi (Tj.)—Land for expenses on Sankrānti days and 108 copper water pots for bath by the queen-mother (Ūḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār) on behalf of prince Gaṇḍarādittamadhuṟṟantakan Uttama Čōja. § 250 of 1923.

" Tiruccengōdu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brāhmaṇs by a native of Īrōṇu. 636 of 1905.

" Tiruppalāṭṭurai (Tri.)—An exchange of land, by the saḥā of Uttamaśili-catam. Mentions an image of Sūryadēva in the temple at Tiruppārrūṟai. 177 of 1907.

* cf. Sambandar on Pāluvūr, esp. v 11, on Malabar Brāhmaṇs worshipping here, ARE. 1926 II 9.

† Parak. identified with Uttama Cōja ARE. 1926 II 19.

‡ Record of Parāntaka I whose father was Āditya. ARE 1918 II 22.

§ This makes it a record of Uttama Cōja ARE. 1924 II 13 (where Śembiyan Mahādevṉ’s charities for Uttama in the reign of Śrījāraja are referred to in support of the identity.)
PARAKESARI

Year 9.—Tiruvodi (SA.)—Gold for ghi to seven temples: Tiruvirattanam, Tiruvaranavasi, Tirunagisvaram, Tiruvagatiisvaram, Tiruvagisvaram, Tirusidainjal, Tiruppalajjju. 368 of 1921.

Tiruvellai (Tri.)—Gold, 25 kalanjju, for lamp by a native of Ilaikkudu who was a royal officer called Kumaran-kon. 524 of 1905.

Year 10.—Anjanallur (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by Puliyur-nattu-adigal, queen of Ebmiyan Irukuvel alias Pudi Parantakan. 348 of 1903.

Karuttatangaatl (Tj.)—Images of two door-keepers set up by Sembarkkottattu Pattiina-nattup-palam-pattinnattu irukkum vejlatti Arunilimalai-pirattti. 51 of 1897; SII. v. 1414.

Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—90 sheep by natdr of Kunnakurram for lamp to Maavaniavaram-udaiyar. 217 of 1926.

Kiliyanur (SA.)—Provision for offerings on new moon days by one of the duhnganam of the village. 148 of 1919.

Kujiunmilai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by the queen of Ebmiyan Irukuvel. 321 of 1904.

Tillaiithanam (Tj.)—When a person described as Vilattu-nattukon enquired into the affairs of the temple (ivur srikaryam-arayaniyka), those who were doing nagaravariyam in this place (ivur) agreed to maintain a perpetual lamp from the proceeds of angalikkuli collected by the ur-suvargal. 40 of 1895; SII. v. 597.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Gold by Ebmiyan Buvaniganga-rayar alias Alivin Kailarasai for a lamp Kumaramattandan. 177 of 1931 *

Tiruccendumai (Tri.)—Sale of land to Nangai Pudi Aditta-paadjari by parudai for 7½ kalanjju by videl-vidugu-kal. 309 of 1903.

* ARE. 1931 II. 8.
THE COLAS

Year 10.—Tiruccenduvaï (Tri.)—Gold by Pudi Adicca Piḍāri.
311, 314 of 1903. *

" Tirumalavădi (Tri.)—Silver salver (pingālam) for betel offerings to Tirumalavădi Udaiyār by Nakkan Tillaiyalaguṉyār alias Șōla-mădeviṉyār. Weight called vaiyagattār-kal mentioned. 1 of 1920.

" Tiruppalonam (Tj.)—Lamp by Tennavan Mădeviṉyār, queen of Rājakēsari. 166 of 1928.

" Tiruppugambyiam (Tj.)—45 sheep for half a lamp. 76 of 1897 ; SII. vi. 25.

" Tiruvēṅkăṭu (Tj.)—25 kalaṅju of gold for lamp by Śadirayan Uṛtamaśiliyār wife of Vannāduḍaiyār. 482 of 1918.

" Tiruvenṇainallūr (SA.)—Lands to temple by purchase from the sabḥā of Tiruvenṇainallūr by Aparāyitan Uṛtamaśōla Mārāyān. 429 of 1921.

" Udaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Twenty Ḳakkāṣu by Śemiṇyan Mūvēndavelān for lamp. 554 of 1920.

" Udaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Gold for land for feeding five Brahmans in the temple at mid-day; the donor was Nandi-pūṭtān alias Śemiṇyan Mūvēndavelān. Mentions tāḷam and vaṭṭil, five of each. 593 of 1920.

" Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai (Tri.)—140 sheep for two lamps (90 and 50) by Viranārāyaṉan alias Śemiṇyan-mārāyān, a perundanam of Vira-soḷa-Iḷangōvēḷ of Koḷumbāḷur, to the temple of Kaṅkudi † in Nandivanma-mangalam. ‡ 470 of 1908 ; SII. iii. 98.

Year 11.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Land for lamp by a member of the aḥunganam of Dantivarman-mangalam. Mentions Mārpiṭugēṛi in Dantivarman-mangalam. 711 of 1909.

* 315 of 1903 n-d. records lamps by Śemiṇyan Iḷangōvēḷ alias Pudi Aditta Piḍārān.
† Ancient Dēvīram name for Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai—H. K. Sastri.
‡ In the 10th year of Rājarṣa I this name was changed into Rājāraya-caṭam. For Vira-soḷa Iḷangōvēḷ, see 323 of 1903 - AKE. 1909 II 37.
PARAKESARI

Year 11.—Anılanallor (Tri.)—Śembiyan Irukkuvēl alias Pādi Parāntaka built the stone temple (Vaṭatirthanātha) and granted land to it with the permission of Parakēsari. This land was made the kāṇi of Araiyan Virasōlan by order of king in year 18. 359 of 1903. *

"Pāṇḍāraṇādai (Tj.)—Lamp by one of the Madhurāntakat-teriṇja-kaikkōlar. 240 of 1923. †

"Tiruccattugai (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Cēdi-mahā-dēviyār, queen of the Malāḷu chief Siddhavaṭṭat-adīgal. 193 of 1931.

"Tiruccengāṭṭangudi (Tj.)—Land sold by the assembly of Marugal for the endowment of a lamp. 62 of 1913.

"Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Thirty kaḷaiṇju gold for a lamp by Prithivi-gangaraiyar, § son of Mahādeva of Pangala-nāḍu. 139 of 1928.

"Tiruvidaiarudū (Tj.)—Gift of 18 eating vessels (tālam) weighing altogether 2,624½ palam and a large spoon (sattuvam) weighing 5 palam for feeding Brahmans in the local śālai—Tiruvidaiarudu-Uḍaiyār-śālai-vaṇṇam-pirāmaṇarkku. 150 of 1895, SII. v. 714.

"Uḍaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Land for lamp by a lady, Nakkan Piratamādevi alias Mummuḷi-sōḷat-talaik-kōli, daughter of Ārūrdēvanār. § 563 of 1920.

Year 12—Kōḷaiyār (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by the big assembly of Tiruvaḷundūr on land given for a flower-garden by Kanṭan Mallan alias Udyaṇāṭṭaṇḍa Mūvendavēḷar, headman of Nāgana-kuḍi in Ambar-nāḍu. 94 of 1925.

* cf. 360 of year 25.
† Must be a record of Uttama Cōja AŒ. 1924 II 13.
‡ EL. vii, p. 135, for a Narasimhavarman (of the time of Kannarādeva) who had the title Siddhavaṭṭat-adīgal.
§ cf. 177 of Rājak. 2(6).
¶ 485 of 1918 (a-d) from Tiruvenkāḍu mentions a lady Ārūran Ambalattē-ḍīgal.
THE COLAS

Year 12.—Kīlappalāvūr (Tri.)—180 sheep for two lamps by Aḻigal Pāluvaṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Sundara Sōjaṇār.

120 of 1895; SII. v. 681.

" Nangavaram (Tri.)—Lōkavidyādhara Brahmādhirājan reclaimed some land and presented it to the goddess Umā-bhaṭṭārakī with the previous permission of the sabbhā. 332 of 1903.

" Pallikonḍa (NA.)—Agreement by the assembly of Nandikampa-catm. to remove silt from the tank every year to the extent of 20 kuṭi with the interest on an endowment by a resident of Iraiyānśēri in Kaccippēḍu. 474 of 1925.

" Šendalai (Tj.)—Mentions Paḷḷiyuḍaiya Kanakasēnabhāṭāra, probably a Jaina. 7 of 1899; SII. vi. 443.

" Tirakkōl (NA.)—Paddy to Kanavira-sīttadīgal. Mentions Šembiyan Šembottīḷaḷānār, son of Viḍēl-vidugu Šembottīḷaḷānār, alias Gaṇaperumānār. 279 of 1916.

" Tiruccengōḍu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 628 of 1905.

" Tiruppallanam (Tj.)—Gift to temple by Pūdi Kūttan of Māramangalam. 147 of 1928.


" Vyddhācalam (SA.)—Śrikyōil, snapana-manḍapa, gopūra, sūryālai and minor shrines constructed by Šembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Śri Uttama Cōla, daughter of Maḷaperumāṇadīgal, and queen of Gaṇḍarādīta-dēvar, son of Parāntaka-dēva alias Periyaśōjanār; gift of gold ornaments and silver vessels to the temple by Uḍaiya Pirāṭṭiyār. 47 of 1918. †

" Vyddhācalam (SA.)—45 sheep for half a lamp to Sūryadēva of Tirumudukkanṭam. 56 of 1918.

* This name makes the inscription a record of the reign of Rājarāja I.
† A record of Uttama Cōla.

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Year 13—Anjanallur (Tri.)—Gold 30 pon for lamp by Tingal-nimmaādīgāl, queen of Šembīyan Irūkkuvēḷar, invested with the ur. 357 of 1903.

Milappājivār (Tri.)—Gift of an image of Gaṇapati, a pedestal, and a golden flower by the temple manager Nāvaliruḍaiyān Kaṇṭhan Tēvaḍī to the temple with the permission of Aḍīgaḷ Paḻuveltārāiayar Kaṇṭhan Sundara Ṣōḷan. 381 of 1924.

Nāngupāṭṭi (Pd.)—Refers to Viraṉḷan Uttamaśīlān. 341 of 1914.

Tirukkurugāvār (Tj.)—Land by Šemban Aruḷan Uttamaṉḍī alias Uttamaśīḷā Mūvēndavēḷān * to nine persons for beating drums in the temple of Tiruvēḷaḷai-Mahādeva at Tirukkurugāvār. 434 of 1918.

Tirupplānām (Tj.)—Land to temple by Pūdi Kūṭṭan of Mangalam in Nallūr-nāḍu. The king † was staying at Paḷaiyāṟu. 141 of 1928.

Uyyakkonḍān Tirumalai (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp by a Brahman woman. 471 of 1908. ‡

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Dry land to Sūryadēva by residents of Nerkuṟṟai; converted into wet land later. 59 of 1918.

Year 14—Āṭṭur (Sm.)—Paddy to Tirumēṟṟaḷi Nakkar at Malaiya-mānāru, a brahmādeya in Āṭṭur-kūrṟam in Milāḍu, by three servants of that temple. 407 of 1913.

Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for feeding 15 Śaivas for seven days during the Māśi Makham festival of Tirumēṟṟaḷip-perumāṇaādīgāl at Tirunilakkunṟam, a dēvadāna in Kunriyūr-nāḍu. 334 of 1904.

Parandūr (Ch.)—A transaction of the sabbhā of Aparājita-catm. in Purisai-nāṭṭup-perundarappuram. Mentions sabbhai-vāriyam and ēri-vāriyam. 74 of 1923.

* cf. 433 of 1918 (Year 15)
† Identified with Uttama Cōḷa-ARE. 1928 II 3.
‡ Earlier than 472 of 1908 of year 2 of Parakēsāri who took Vira Pāṇḍya’s head which is below this. cf. 470 of 1908 of Parak. 10-ARE. 1909 II 37.
THE COLAS

Year 14.—Tirumāl puram (NA.)—Provision by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāḍittar for bathing the image of the deity every month with 108 pots of honey, gẖī, curd etc.

280 of 1906.

" Tirunequngalaṃ (Tri.)—Gẖī for agnikārya * thrice a day. Gift made by one Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa who was enquiring into temple affairs on behalf of Uttama Cōḷa Brahmādhirāja-kanmi Śembiyan Vaṭapuraśīyūr-nāṭṭu- Mūvēndavēḷān. 684 of 1909; SII. iii. 140.

" Tiruvaiyāgū (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Paluvēṭ- ūtaraiyan Kaṇḍan Amudan. 252 of 1894; SII. v. 551.

" Tiruvöttār (NA.)—A defaulter tracked by the tiruvunvāţīgai of the temple and made to pay for a lamp to be maintained by him. 102 of 1900; SII. vii. 112.

" Tiruvöttār (NA.)—Sheep lost in a raid (sāţai) and 200 fresh ones given by Uḍaiyēr Śembiyan Mahādevi for two lamps. 104 of 1900; SII. vii. 114.

" Uḍaiyērgudi (SA.)—Gift of some tank-irrigated land, by purchase, by Kāli-kāṭṭaḷi, one of the Uḍaiyēr-Karikāla ↑-sōlatterinjā-kaikkōḷar to seven musicians (uvaḍcar) for conducting the śrībali to Tirumul[l]ūr-uḍaiya Paramēṣvara of Tirumul[l]ūr alias Simhaviṣṇu- catm., a brahmādeva of the Kā-ṇāḍu. 617 of 1920.

Year 15—Aṇganallūr (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Pūdi-Māḍēvaḍigal, queen of Kannaradeva. 356 of 1903.


* Agnikārya—not upānsana; hence there was no goddess in the temple ARE. 1910 II. 18.

† This must be Ṛdiya II; hence the king of this record may be Uttama Cōḷa. ARE. 1921 II 29.
PARAKESARI

Year 15.—Kānčipuram (Ch.)—Land by purchase from the merchants of Kānčipuram by Ācānan Śenācānan of the Mūttavāḻpeṟṟa-kaikkōḷar for offerings to Karikāḷappillaiyār in the temple of Teṟkirūnda-nakkār in the western block of Kāḻumbiḍuḷugu in Kāṇci; and gift of three kāsu for lamp in that temple. 84 of 1921.

" Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Sheep for ghi. Mentions Pāļuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavāṉ Kāṇḍan as having built the temple (Vaṭamūḷēsvāra). * 245 of 1926.

" Kuṟumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nāṉ. 328 of 1904.

" Māmandūr (Ch.)—45½ sāvā-mūvāp-pēṟuṟu (sheep) for ñ lamp by two persons contributing equal shares. The half lamp was to be burned by day before Vāḷisvaram-Uḷaiyar of Narasimha-mangalam. 40 of 1888; SIII. iv. 138.

" Mēḻappaluvūr (Tri.)—Land in Uṟṟāṭṭur as janmabhūmi to Vēngadalavan Arangan alias Śembiyan Viraināṭuk-kōṇār by the assembly of Kūṅrück-kūṟram, under orders of Pāļuvēṭṭaraiyar Kāṇḍan Maṟavān, with the condition that the donee should pay 25 tāḷacemmarai-pon annually as fixed assessment (nilaiyirai) on the land. 356 of 1924.

" Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Money for ghi for lamp, deposited with the assembly of Arikulakēsari-catm. 46 of 1918. †

Year 15, day 143.—Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Land to Tiruvayōdhya Perumāṇaḻigal. The Mahāsabhā took pūrvācaram and assigned to the god as igaiyili all the igai land in Pūṅgōdai-pūṇḍi saying: “kuḍigalai veṭṭiyum amaṉiyum igaiyum eppēṟṟappāṭtidum kollappēṉāṉagavum.” 14 of 1898; SIII. vi. 297.

* cf. 219, 249 of year 9. King identified as Uttama Cūḷa in ARE. 1926 II, 19.

† Either Parṇantaka I or Uttama Cūḷa ARE. 1918 II 22.

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Year 16.—*Kilappaluvūr* (Tri.)—Land as *dēvadāna* (for offerings) by a private person. 244 of 1926.

" *Kiliyanūr* (SA.)—Mahāsabhā of Kiliyalūr agree to make farmers contribute to annual repairs of a tank named after a person who gave money for the same purpose. 160 of 1919.

" *Kuṭumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nādu. 350 of 1904.


" *Tirukkalāvūr* (Tj.)—Land as *iraiyili* to Mahādeva by the Mūlaparaḷaip-perumakkal of Tirukkaragāvūr. 35 of 1910; *SJII*, iii. 123 †

" *Tiruttaṇi* (NA.)—Sale of land by assembly of Tiruttaṇiyai. 438 of 1905.

" *Tiruvērumbūr* (Tri.)—Land for *ārdhayāma* offerings by the ūr of the village. 128 of 1914.

" *Ukkāl* (NA.)—Land to temple. *Nilam* figures as unit of land-measurement. The gift was made to Bhuvana-māṇikka-viṣṇugṛha by the Mahāsabhā, including the *samvatsara-vāriya* and the ēri-vāriyap-perumakkal at the request (vīṇappam) of Cakrapāṇi-nambi who was doing *śrikāryam* for Perumān-ādigāḷ. 28 of 1893; *SJII*, iii. 11. ‡

" *Uraiyyūr* (Tri.)—Provision for daily requirements of Tiruvāḍaitalai-perumāḷ at Uraiyyūr. 183 of 1907.

" *Uraiyyārgudi* (SA.)—Land by two vāniyar, and gold for its reclamation; two batches of 80 and 20 Brahmans were to be fed for merit of the donors' uncle in the choultry erected by them. 621 of 1920.

* Queen of Parāntaka I *ARE*: 1929 II 27.
† Uttama Cūjā or Parāntaka I—H.K. Sastri.
‡ Hultzsch identifies the king with Vijayālaya on account of the absence of distinguishing surnames. *SJII*, i. 85, 148; and iii 12 (Intro.d).
PARAKESARI

Year 16.—Valappuranaññu (Sm.)—Pirāntakan Māādevādīgaḷ alias Śembiyan Māēdeviyr, mother of Gañḍan Madurāntakan alias Uttama Gōla, deposited 100 kaḷāṇḍī of gold with the ārār of some villages in Kollimalai-nāḍū, the ārār agreeing to pay monthly interest to the saḥbā who were to dispose of it in the manner laid down. 503 of 1930.

Vṛddhācalaṃ (SA.)—Land and cooking utensils to Tirumudukuruṇam-udaiyr for offerings in the evening by Irungōnār Nāraṇan Piritipatiyr. 51 of 1918.

Year 16, day 33—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land as Ḣraikāyili to Śrī- kurukṣeśattup-perumāṇḍigaḷ for tiruccennaññai after taking pūrvacāram. 34 of 1898; SII. vii. 317.

day 257—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Land to the temple of Mahādeva in the neighbouring village of Tīṇṭāṭūr for tiruccennaññai by the Mahāsabha of Uttaramērūr:

‘Pūrvacāraṇ-goṇḍu Ḣraikāyiliyāga watta bhūmiyāvadu’.

4 of 1898; SII. vii. 286.

Year 20—Kuttālām (Tin.)—(Vallēltutu)—Cows and sheep for lamps. 444 of 1917.

Tiruttangal (Rd.)—(Vallēltutu)—31 cows for lamp to Tiruvēṅgadāṇanilai-perumāṇḍigaḷ at Tiruttangāḷ by a resident of Kāḷanur in Malli-nāḍū. 557 of 1922.*

Year 21—Kūṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Mentions Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷār alias Āccan Vikramakēsariyr. 335 of 1904; Pd. 65.

Kūṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gift of a village by Madurāntaka-Irukkuvēḷ alias Ādittan Vikramakēsari. 336 of 1904; Pd. 63.

Kuttālām (Tin.)—(Vallēltutu) 26 sheep for lamp to Kuttālattup-perumāṇḍigaḷ by Dharmaseṭṭi alias Śaḷaiyangavaiyan of the Maṇikkirāmam of Tenvāra-nāḍū. 439 of 1917.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—90 sheep and lamp-stand by a native of Adhirāja-mangalyapuram. 363 of 1921.

* Parāntaka I: ARE. 1923 II 25.
THE COLAS

Year 22.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭēluttu)—Land for lamp by Kandan Iravi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Kuttālam is said to be in Tenvāra-nādu. 441 of 1917.

"Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—Land as dēvadāna by Madurāntaka Irukkuvāl alias Ādittan-pūṇi to Tiruccendurai-kāṟṟalip-paramēśvara. 318 of 1903.

"Tirukkalittāṭṭai (Tj.)—Land for offerings by a member of the āḷunganattar of Amaninārayaṇa-catm. in Vaiḍagarai. 295 of 1908. *

Year 23.—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—Land by Viraśoja-Iḷangōvel alias Ādittan † Tiruvorriyūr-aḷigal on the occasion of his marriage, (vivāhadaksinai). 323 of 1903.

"Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Gift of 25 kaḷaṇju of gold for which the sābha sells land for a lamp in the temple of Tiruneyyṭānam. Among the boundaries occurs the phrase: "Varagunaṇaperumāṇa † vilakkukku-vaitta kūr-cē." 277 of 1911; SII. iii. 127.

Year 24.—Kuttālam (Tin.)-(Vaṭṭēluttu)-Cows for lamp by Ariyam-poduviyūr, wife of a ...raṇa Pallavaraiyan. 442 of 1917.

"Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Gold for lamp by Śembiyan Mūven-davēḷān alias Śattan Ulagan, chief of Vandāḷaṇ-jeśī in Tirunāraiyyūr-nāţu (of the Śoḷa-nāţu). The money was deposited on interest with Kulumaṅip-pākkam near Māṅgāţu. Rate of interest 15 per cent. 176 of 1912.

Year 25.—Andanallūr (Tri.) - Land by a certain Araiyan Vira-śoḷan. 360 of 1903. §

† Regnal year (23) first figure being doubtful.
‡ Wife of Parāntaka Iḷangōvel who gave some land in year 13 of Rājakūsari (Gañgoḍētiya). After Gaṇḍarāḍitya who ruled 18 years, there must have been at least four kings before A.D. 985 - Aṭṭiṇaya, Sundara-Cōla. Parāntaka II, Āditya II and Uttama, of whom the first probably and the third and fourth were Parāktśarīs. This record may be one of Aṭṭiṇaya whose records are otherwise unknown, or better Uttama Cōla—H.K, Sastri.
§ cf. 359 of year 11.
Year 25.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatṭēluttu) - Nine Ḫakkāṣu for lamp by the ūr of Tirukkāņaṁjūr in Kajakkudi-nāḻu. 443 of 1917.

Year 26.—Tiruccengōḍu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 639 of 1905.

Year 27.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatṭēluttu) Lamp to Tirukkuṟṟalattu Mahādeva. 438 of 1917. Tiruccengōḍu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 631 of 1905.

Year 28.—Kunbākoṇam (Tj.)—Gold for lamp. 246 of 1911. Tiruccengōḍu (Sm.)—Gold for feeding. 638 of 1905.

Year 31.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—(Vatṭēluttu) Fragment. TAS. i. p. 237. *

Year 32.—Kuṟumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by Mayilai Tīṇṭal in Šaṅbhīya-pa-Pallavavaraiyar of Pudukkuḍi. 322 of 1904. Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Gold, 25 kalaṇḍu, for lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍya country. 57 of 1895; SII. v. 614.

Year 33. †—Tiruppallatturai (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp. 252 of 1903.

Year 34.—Śmūr (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Šīrūr in Miya-maḷa-nāḷu. 205 of 1917. Sucindram (Tv.)—(Vatṭēluttu)-50 sheep with Paraḷai-sabhaḷyār for lamp, to Nānjināṭṭu Tirue-civindiarattumādēva. 81 of 1896; † EI. v. p. 42; TAS. i. p. 237.

Year 35.—Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vatṭēluttu)-Six buffaloes for lamp by a native of Vallapuram in Maḷa-nāḷu. 447 of 1917.

Year 36.—Śinnamanūr (Md.)—(Vatṭēluttu) Lamp. The village is called Āḷanāṭṭup-piramadēya Arūkēsarinūr. 443 of 1907; § SII. iii. 109.

* May be Parāntaka I. T. A. G. Rao. † Text has 23. † Vijayālaya (Hultsch) - Parāntaka I (T. A. G. Rao). § Parāntaka I ARE. 1908 II 51.
THE COLAS

Year 37.—Tirugōkārṇam (Pd.)—Gold. 308 of 1904.

Year 40.—Tiruvanḍarkōyil (Pondicherry.)—90 sheep for lamp; mentions Tribhuvanamādēvi-caṭm., a brahmađēya on the northern bank of the Peṇnpār. 376 of 1917. *

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Marandai (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭējuttu)-Land for offerings to the Visṇu temple at Mārandāyanallūr, a brahmađēya in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu. 313 of 1918.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)-158 pon (kaḷaṇjū) for feeding, with the interest thereon, some persons on the day of Kēṭtai in the month of Cittirai, the natal star of Śembiyan-Mahādēviyār, the mother of Uttama Cōḷa. 489 of 1925.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—120 sheep for a lamp by the Cōḷa queen Paṇcavaṇ-mahādēvi. 338 of 1906.

Tiruvirāṇīsvaram (Tj.)—Money for lamp by a merchant of Viraśōlap-perunderu of Taṇjāvūr. 128 of 1911.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.) — Gold for lamp to Jēṣṭaikōyillīn kīlāttiḻi-mahādēva on the bank of the tank at Kumaṇa-pāḍi in the town (iivūr). The samvatsara-vāriyapp-perumakkal were made responsible for maintaining the lamp. 10 of 1898; SII. vi. 293.

* Parṇintaka I Are. 1918 II 22.
PARAKÉSARI VIJAYALAYA.

*Tirunešungalām* (Tri)—Tribhuvana-cakravartin Kōnērin-
maikoṇḍān. A gift of land according to an earlier
charter of Parakēsari *alias* Śri Vijayālaya Čōḷa-dēva.

675 of 1909.

See under Parakēsari:

Year 2. + 1.—*Tiruvilīmīḷalai* 439 of 1908.
Year 4.—*Kāṅcīpuram.*  *SII.* i. 85.
Year 6.—*Tiruvilīmīḷalai.* 436 of 1908.
Year 16.—*Ukkal.*  28 of 1893.
Year 34.—*Sucindram.*  81 of 1896.

under Vikrama Čōḷa:

Year 5—*Kilputūr*  164 of 1915,

mentioning a gift in year 4 of Vijayālaya.
RAJAKESARI, ADITYA I.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Tondainādu-pavina (paravina?)
Śōjan-palyānaiikkōk-kandanāyina Rājakēsarivarman. Gift of 100 sheep by Kaṭamba-mādevī, wife of Vikkī-
Aṇṭan on whom was bestowed the hereditary title Śebiyan Tamilavēl with other marks of dignity by
the Cōla king and by the Śrāman Śtḥānu Ravi.

286 of 1911; SIL. iii. 89.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 2.—Tirumeyyānam.

Year 3—Tirunāgēśwaram.

Year 8.—Tillaisthānam.

Year 9.—Śendalai.

Year 14.—Vēḍal.

Year 18.—Śendalai.

Year 23.—Tiruppaḷanam.

Year 24.—Neṟkuṇam.

Year 27.—Brahmadēsam.

Year 34.—Tondamānāḍ.

under Parāntaka I:

under Uttama Cōla:

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumāḷpuram

321 of 1910.

222 of 1911.

38 of 1895.

209 of 1926.

84 of 1908.

13 of 1899.

161 of 1928.

19 of 1893.

86 of 1908.

16 of 1899.

208 of 1926.

5 of 1897.

230 of 1915.

167 of 1894.

230 of 1903.

286 of 1906.
PARAKESARI PARANTAKA I.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 3—Kumbakōnam.—A daṇḍam of 3000 on the city in Parāntaka’s 38th year. 255 of 1911.

Year 8—Tīlaiśthānam—Kaṇnaradēvan a brother of Parāntaka. 38 of 1895.

Year 2—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Land by Pūdi Āditta Piḷāri* on the day of a solar eclipse. 310 of 1903.

Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Two gardens by Pūdi Ādicca Piḷāri, queen of Arikula-kēsari, as viṭṭāppuṟam to the deity of the stone temple built by her. 319 of 1903; SII. iii. 126.

Ś. 832†—Candattūr (NA.)—Death of Māvali-Vānarāyar alias Kudi-pāri-tanḍil-kāmanār, residing in Ígmalārī-mangalām, in a cattle raid at Candattūr. 168 of 1921.

Year 3—Tiruccendurai (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Gold, 60 kaḷanju, by Pūdi Ādicca Piḷāriyār, daughter of Tennavaṇ Iḷangōvēḷār‡ and queen of Arikulākēsariyār, son of Śōja-Perumānaḻiggai, to the god of the stone temple of Candrasēkharā which she had built at Tiruccendurai, near Ísānamangalām (Brahmadēyam Íśānamangalattu Tiruccendurai). The gold was weighed by viṭṭēviṭṭu-gukal and left in charge of Ísānamangalattu Paruḻai; interest at the rate of tūṇi and padakkā per pā yielding a total of 60 kalam per annum. 316 of 1903; § SII. iii. 96.

* May have been the daughter of Pūdi or Māgavaṇ Pūdiyār. Hence, Parakēsari of this record must be Uttama or Āditya II. The eclipse points to A. D. 972 in Uttama Cēḷa’s reign. H. K. Sastrī.

† This shows that in A. D. 910 Parāntaka had not yet conquered the Eṅgas.

‡ Another name of Māgavaṇ Pūdiyār. H. K. Sastrī.

§ The king of this record was Gaṇḍarāḍitya. A. D. 956-7 ARE, 1909 II 38, But see p. 150 n. ante.
THE COLAS

Year 3.—Tirukkōṭikāval (Tj.)—Maduraikonḍa Parakēsari. Copy of an old Pāṇḍya inscription. 11 of 1931.


" Tiruvāṉṭurai (Tj.)—(Parakēsari). Purchase of land in Śirāḷaicūr by Kāṭṭhī-pīccan of Tiruvāṉṭurai, who allotted it among one Tiruppadiyam-hymner, those bringing water for the sacred bath, and the pipers of the temple. 139 of 1925.

Year 4, day 325.—Tiruvidiyamudur (Tj.)—Mentions the using up in building the central shrine of stones with inscriptions registering endowments for lamps in the temple. Copies of these records were accordingly made; and one of them was in the reign of the Kāḍu-paṭṭigaḷ Nandipōttaṇaṟaiyvar who had endowed a lamp called Kumāramārtarṇa. The order to copy and re-engrave the records was issued by a meeting in the Nāṭakaśālā of the temple in which were present: itṭēvar śrikāryam tirattakkāṅja Tiraimūr-sabhaiyārum Tiruvidiyamuduril Nagaratārum Tirukkōṭil-uṭtaiyārgaḷum and two others, the accountant and manager of the temple.† 199 of 1907; SII. iii. 124.

Year 7.—Madhurāntakam (Ch.)—Parāntakadēva. Land by the Perungūri-Mahāsabhai of Śṛi-Madhurāntaka-catm., as tiruvidiyaiṭṭam to Ayōdhya Perumāḷ. 126 of 1896; † SII. v. 991.

" Takkōlam (NA.)—Gold, 10 kaḷaṅju, by a lady for a boat to be launched in the big tank. The sabhā of Parundur undertake to supply as interest 150 kāḍi of paddy for its maintenance, to be collected with the paṅcaṭva. 252 of 1921.

* cf. 126 of 1925 of year 25.

† Probably the earliest record of the new temple. Either Parāntakal or Vijayāṭaya. The earliest ascertainable inscriptions here are those of Parāntaka.

† Characters of a later time—SII. v. p. 377 n.
Year 9.—Sholingur (NA.)—The king granted the revenue from a field called Vamśavārī (Vamśavārījanītan-nṛpadēyam) for the maintenance of a tank called Cōḷa-vāridhi on the bank of which the inscription is engraved on a rock. The execution of the grant was entrusted to the Ganga Prthivipati II Hastimalla who was made Bāṇādhīraṁja. Mentions battle of Vaḷḷīḷa in which Prthivipati distinguished himself.

9 of 1896; EI. iv. p. 221.

Year 10.—Karuttaḷaṭānguḍi (Tj.)—(Parakēsari). 90 sheep by Madurāntakan-Gaṇḍarādittan to Karundīṭtai-guḍi Mahādēva. 42 of 1897; SII. v. 1405.

*Tiruvāṁāṭṭur (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa Parakēsari. Land. Mentions the king’s other name, Śrī Parāntaka-dēva, and an officer of his named Sōḷaśīkhā-ṁañi Pallava-raiyān. A case of diversion of charitable endowment from one purpose to another closely allied: land set apart for the maintenance of a mahāmātra who took care of the elephant which carried the śribali was now employed to sound a gong (śenḍai koṭṭuvadāga) as the old service had stopped. 423 of 1903.

*Tiruvīḍāimariaudur (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa Parakesari. An endowment for the uvaccar. Mentions the agent of the Cōḷa king in Kongu. † 258 of 1907.

Year 11—Pullamangai (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. Land to temple by assembly. 558 of 1921.


*Tiruccēṭṭugai (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. 30 pon by Cōḷa queen Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār on behalf of her mother Nanguṭṭtiyār. 130 of 1931.

* Text reads: padūṇāṭaduvadu.

† ARE. gives the date (30); but the text gives 10.
Year 12—Kilappaluvir (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. Commander Nakkan Sattan of Paradur gave 90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvandalurai Mahadeva, to commemorate the victory of Paḷuvēṭṭārajāya Kaṇḍan Amudāṇdanar when the Paṇḍya king helped by the Ceylonese army attacked the Cōla king at the battle of Velur and died. 231 of 1926.

"Takkōlam (NA.)—Maduraikondu. Agreement of the assembly of Tiruvural to measure out 1125 marakkāl of pāṇevarā paddye due from the dēvadāna village Parundur by the marakkāl which would hold 7 nāli and 1 urī by the Rājakēsari-nāli. 261 of 1921.

"Tiruppārkkadal (NA.)—The Mahāsabhā including the members of the year of the kujumbu, tōṭa, kaḷani, and vaḍa-kaḷani-vāriyams, the Bhaṭṭar and others order the acceptance by the ēṛi-vāriyam of an endowment of 120 kaḷanju of 9½ māri gold as the corpus from the interest on which were to be fed every day four Brahman āpurvins versed in the Vēda in the Śālai-manḍapa built by the donor. This was instituted for the merit of four warriors (śevakar) who died in a frontal attack (nēṛī senra) led by the donor, Śennip-pēraraiyar, at Velur on the occasion when the Paṇḍyan and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle (asti-kaḍai sēyda ṃāṅgu) with the Cōla king (perum-māṇaṇīgal). 693 of 1904; SII. iii. 99.


"Uttaramerur (Ch.)—Madiraikondu. Rules for elections to the vāriyam. Title Parāntaka at end. 2 of 1898; Studies vi.

Year 13.—Tirukkalukkanuram (Ch.)—(Vaiṭṭuttu) Madiraikondu. A private gift of a lamp by Āmūrkkōṭṭattu Kāraik-kāṭṭūr Neṭumāṛcāṭṭan Śennip-pēraraiyan and his 

* This was the second war. Rājasimha was the name of the Paṇḍya king and Velur was apparently in the Paṇḍya country. cf. Udāyendiram plates of Pūṭhivipati II, vv. 10-11 ARE. 1926 II 16.
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mother Kōyinangai. The sabhaiyār to protect the charity. 168 of 1894; EII. iii. p. 281.


Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by queen Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār. 242 of 1894; SII. v. 541.

Uttaramēṟur (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Revision of rules regarding elections to the vāriyam. Titles of the king: Vīranārayaṇa, Dēvēndra, Cakravartin, Paṇḍita-vatsalan, Kuṇjara-mallan and Śūraśūlāmaṇi. 1 of 1898; Studies vi.

Uttaramēṟur (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold, 12½ kalaṅju, for lamp to Tiruppulivanattu Mahādēva given to the sabhā by a member of the yāḻunganam of the village (iuvūr). 87 of 1898; SII. vi. 372.

Year 15.—Erode (Coi.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Agreement of the people of Elukarait-tiruvāyppālī-nāḍu to pay certain taxes for the worship of Veṇṇaikkūṭta-nāyanaṅ in the temple of Paḷḷi konḍalīyār at Írōṇu: —½ paṇam on each kuṇṭi; ½ each from bridegroom and bride in marriages; 1 kunṛ and 1 maṅjāḍi of gold as Śuṅkaṭṭupāṭṭam. 167 of 1910. †

Kāṅcipuram (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 270 sheep for three lamps for which three uthakku of ghi had to be supplied every day by Caḻaparākrama Maṅḍi and his descendants, on pain of a daily fine for default of 4½ (?) at the dhamnāsana. There is also an undertaking to pay one maṅjāḍi of gold every day to the ruling king (angāḏu kōvukku) if the charity fails (muṭṭil). SII. i. 82. ‡

* This must have extended partly into Mysore country. cf. 281 of 1911, (Year 18); 457 of 1911 (Year 29) - ARE. 1912 II 13.

† Characters of a later time. Perhaps copy of a genuine record. cf. 258 of 1907 (Yr. 10) and Parāntaka records from Tiruccengōṅu. ARE. 1911 II 20.

‡ SII. i 83 is similar 180 sheep.
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Year 15.—Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for lamp at each of two temples. Mentions a person with the surname Arikuḷantā-vāraṇa-Pērārāiyar. 345 of 1904.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikonda. Gifts of gold for lamps, one each, in the temples of Tirumūlattānattu-perumānāḍigaḷ and Tirumēṟṟaḷi-perumānāḍigaḷ by two persons, viz., one of the Pillaiyār Kōḍanṭar * maḷaippalḷippuṇḍir (7½ kalaṇju for nandāvilakkku), and one woman engaged for making sandal (śāndu) to the same prince (3 kalaṇju for pagalvilakkku). 347 of 1904; SII. iii. 101.

Uttaramēṟur (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Land to temples of Tiruppulivanam and Tulāvrattāḷ. The āṟu who sold the land and got its price, undertook themselves to perform the duties connected with the charity, though ordinarily the samvatsara-vāriyam did so. 8 of 1898; SII. vi. 291.

Year 15, day 55.—Uttaramēṟur (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Rules for testing gold (pon samaṇjisan-gāṇbadarkku) by a committee specially constituted by election for the purpose by order of the sabhā. 12 of 1898; SII. vi. 295.

Year 16.—Brahmadēsam (N.A.)—Madiraikonda. The assembly Aṇjaḷāṭasam fixes the remuneration to the tank accountant. The koruv was four nāḍi of paddy every day, and seven kalaṇju of pure gold every year, and a pair of cloths (graṇṭi-kūra). Each accountant had, while presenting the accounts every year, to undergo the ordeal of red-hot iron (maṇju); if he passed the ordeal successfully, he got pāḍaḷėśa (? quarter of the surplus) as bonus; else he was fined 10 kalaṇju; no corporal punishment was to be inflicted. 226 of 1915.

Kuṭumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for lamp by a native of Koḻungōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu. 351 of 1904.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—400 sheep for 4 lamps by the king's son Kōḍanḍarāma. 379 of 1902; SII. vii. 1009.

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Year 16.—Tiruppuzambiyam (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īlamumkoṇḍa.
Seven cows for ghū by two persons. 331 of 1927.

Year 16, day 222—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land bought from ryots by order of assembly for renewing and widening a road which, owing to a flood, had become unfit for use even by cattle. The garden committee executed the order of the assembly.
9 of 1898; SII. vi. 292.

Year 17.—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 325 kuṭi of land for offerings by Nallulāṇ-Ūraḍimagan Aṭṭamūtti.
224 of 1915.

Pērangiyūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land by sabhā of Pēringūr.
200 of 1906.

Śrīrangam (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Thirty pon by śem-mai-paṇḍūraṅ-kal for lamp, forty for camphor, and one for cotton wick (paṇju-tīrī); and a silver lamp-stand (nilai-viḷakkku). Tiruvāranga-sabhā took charge of the endowments.
72 of 1892; SII. iv. 519.

Tiruccennambūṇḍi (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 16 kaḷāṇju gold for lamp by Guṇavān Śūratongī, one of the retainers (paṇivāram) of Nambirāṭṭiyār Arumolī-nangai, the daughter of Palūvetṭaraiyar.
299 of 1901; SII vii. 520.

Tiruppalaḷam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold by Ācāraṇi of Koḻumbāḷūr.
140 of 1928.

Tiruviḷaiṉarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Paddy by inhabitants of Tiruviḷai-nāḷu.
245 of 1907.

Year 18.—Pulamangai (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Royal gift as kuṭi-nikkiya-dēvadānam of five and odd vēli of unalienated land yielding 500 kalam of paddy and 5 kaḷāṇju of gold to Tiruvālandurai-Mahādēva.
555 of 1921.

* Earliest mention of conquest of Ceylon so far known occurs only in year 37. Perhaps this title was assumed after Vēḷūr and fully justified only later. ARE. 1927 II 10.
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Tiruvirāimarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for a lamp by a merchant of Kumāra-mattāṇḍapuram in Tenkari-Tiraimūr-nāḷu. 262 of 1907.

Year 19.—Kilappaluvur (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep with sabhā of Sirupaluvur. Lamp by Daṇḍi Aḍigalār of Umbalappāḍi. 236 of 1926.


Pillaippakkam (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Regulations for election of members to the assembly by the wards of Ninnavur in Palkunra-köttam. 176 of 1930.

Takkolam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 800 kāḷi of paddy left with Mapayil-kottattu Tiruvirāl-purattup-pondaiappakkattu sabhā. Interest rate of 4 nāḷi per kāḷi per annum yielding in all 100 kāḷi; the man who came to collect this interest was to be given two meals a day (nishadam iraṇḍu sōgu). 8 of 1897; SII. v. 1371.


Vēḍal (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions Vinṇagar Vayiramēgan and a Kāḷāmukha Daśapuriyān † of the Hārita goṭra and Āpastamba sūtra. 85 of 1908.

Year 20.—Tiruppallatugai (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 20 kalaṇjū gold for lamp by valavan tamakkai-yrmaiyāḷāna Aṛiṇjigai Aḍittan. 255 of 1903; SII. viii. 648.

Tiruvirāimarudur (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for green-gram offering. Forty kalaṇjū deposited in parts with the sabhā and ūr of Tiraimūr. 201 of 1907.

* cf. 290 of 1911 (Year 14)
† cf. 129 of 1907 from Koḻumbeḷūr (Vikramakēsari). Mēḷpāḍi had a maṭha of Lakulīśa Pāḍupat, perhaps a branch of the Kāḷāmukhas, at the beginning of the 11th century A. D. ARE. 1909 II 37.
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Year 20.—Tiruvōrīyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Mentions wife of Kērala Kuṟumban alias Parakēsari Mūvēndavēḻar of Vaḻudi-vāl-mangalam. 173 of 1912.

Year 21.—Kauṇḍiyūr (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Thirty kāḻaṅju gold by an inhabitant of Taṅjāvūr, and fifteen kāḻaṅju by another for mid-day offerings, converted into land. The Tirukaṇṭiṇiyūr sabhai was in charge of the endowment. 14 of 1895; SII. v. 569.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Paddy and gold with Kayattūr Īṟūr of Tiruvūṟalpuram in Panmā-nāḷu of Maṇayil-kōṭṭam. 12 of 1897; SII. v. 1375.

Year 22.—Kīṟappāḻūvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep with sabhai for lamp by Nandin-kaḷṇatti, a penṉāṭṭi of the vēḷam of Gaṉḍarādittar ↑ of Taṅjāvūr. 241 of 1926.

Siddhalingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Sale by the villagers (Ūṟ) of Marudūr, to Iraiyāṅkūṭi-kilavan, of the right of taking water for irrigation to balippattṭi through the sluice of the tank in their village, for a specified sum of money. † 376 of 1909.

Tiruvaiyāḷu (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by a queen’s mother (Cōḷa-māḍēviyār-tangal-āccci) Perumāḷ Tiruvārāngi. 225 of 1894; SII. v. 524.

Year 23.—Grāmam § (SA.)—Madiraikonda. 90 sheep for lamp by (people of) Tirumunaippāḍi. 744 of 1905.

Oddantangal (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Land as ĕripatṭi for repairing breaches in the tank in Tuṅṇāḷu. 206 of 1921.

* The records of this king at Tiruvōrīyūr range from years 20 to 38 and are perhaps the earliest Cōḷa records in the Northern corner of the Tongai-maṇḍalam, apparently not conquered by Aditya I (Rajak.) as no records of his are found there. ARE. 1913 II 18.

† Second son of Parantaka I and author of a Tiruvilaiyappā; already a grown up prince, ARE. 1926 II 16.

‡ Text does not give the name of the person and the sale; says simply ‘urittakac-ādhuṇṭṭam’.

§ Called Parantaka-catm, in 193 of 1906.

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Year 23 + 1.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 455 kalāṅju of gold for a kōlgai to the Tiruvūral-Mahādēva temple. 251 of 1921.

Year 24.—Jambai (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions the building of a maṇḍapa at the town of Vāḷaiyūr by Viranāraṇi-yār, queen of prince Gaṇḍarādittar and daughter of Sōḷamādevīyār; also endowment by Nagarattār in whose name the maṇḍapa was built. 108 of 1906.

" Kuttālam (Tin.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by Pirāntakan Uttamaśili. 446 of 1917. *

" Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Three forehead plates made of gold collected from several sources (palīsīapppon and tanṭappon) by Kāmakkōḷanār. An undertaking by the temple servants to burn two perpetual lamps in the temple with 180 sheep purchased out of 20 kalāṅju realised from various sources in the 26th year of the king. 378 of 1924.

" Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Forty Ceylon kalāṅju † of gold equal to twenty pon for a lamp given by Pirāntakan Arikulakēsari, the king’s son. 25 of 1895; SII. v. 582.

" Tirukkalāvūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp by Nakkan Śandirādēvi of the Jayabhīmataḷi ‡ at Taṅjāvūr. 38 of 1910; SII. iii. 102.

" Tiruviṭhaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Ānaimangalam in Paṭṭinak-kūṟram. 259 of 1907.

* This and 448 of year (36) are the only two records of this king so far found in the Pāṇḍya country. 63 of 1905 from Ānaimalai of year 33 still left it doubtful if his conquest extended beyond the capital and its outskirts. The conquest of the whole Pāṇḍya country is mentioned in the Udaiśadhiram and Tiruvālangātu plates. Eight Voṭṭeluttu records from Kuttālam (Tin.) are also naturally to be assigned to this king. ARE. 1918 II 22.

† Text has: Ilakkalāṇju. Ceylonese kalāṅju was 10 manḍai, while the Taajore one was 20. See also 156 of 1895, ARE. 1895, paragraph 12.

‡ cf. SII. ii. 66 p. 292; ARE. 1910 II 16.

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Year 24.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 12½ kāḷāṇju of gold for lamp by the son of one of the yāḷungañattūr. The ēri-vāriyam of each year was to supervise the charity. 58 of 1898; SII. vi. 341.

Vēppanganēri (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. A grant of 1,000 kuḻi of land by the assembly of Kāvanūr as ērippāṭṭi. 166 of 1921.


(Solar eclipse) Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Fifteen kāḷāṇju of gold for lamp by Kilinallūr Kilavan alias Śebmiyan Kilārnāṭṭukkōn of Kilinallūr in Śoli-nāḍu. The sabbā and ūr of Vadiyūr agreed to supply the oil for the lamp. Mentions Vallavaraiyar. 235 of 1915.

Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Undertaking by the assembly of Uttamadāṇi-catm. for the daily supply of ghi for one lamp as interest on gold (9 kāḷāṇju-tippōkku śebmon) received by them from the temple. 359 of 1924.

Siddhalingamaṟṟam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land for music thrice a day during worship. 387 of 1909.

Tillaisthānām (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. An enquiry into temple affairs by royal writ; the Nagara-vāriyakkūṭtam has part in the enquiry; fine of 12 kāḷāṇju is levied on some defaulters, and is used for making a paṭṭam and for festival. 31 of 1895; SII. v. 588.

Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep by the Nāṭṭu-manṟūdigāl for lamp. 345 of 1927.

Tiruvāṟṟutvai (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. 11 mā of land for maintenance of pipers in the temple by Tirukkāṟṟalipiccan * who is stated to have built the Gōmukṭiśvara

* 132 of 1925 (n-d.) is the name label of this person figured as worshipping a linga on the S. wall of the temple.
temple at Tiruvāḷuturai. On receiving 16½ kāḻāṇju of gold, the assembly of Śirrānaicār made the land tax-free. 126 of 1925.

Year 26.—Erumūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a lady. The sabhā agree to see that the lamp is regularly maintained. 381 of 1913.

" Kaṇḍiyūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land given in exchange for 10½ kāḻāṇju of gold endowed by Pillaiyar Parāntakan Uttamaśili for a lamp (pagalvilakkku). The sabhā of Tirukkaṇḍiyūr made the exchange. 19 of 1895; SII. v. 575.

" Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of reclaimed land for lamp by Kāṭan Pūdi, a native of Nelvāyil (Nelvāyil-uḍaiyān) in Mīgōlai Vilā-nādu. 380 of 1924.

" Tiruccatūrai (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Nangūrimangai of Mayilārpil on behalf of her daughter Śōla-sīkhāmaṇiyār, the queen of the Cōḷa king. 158 of 1931.

" Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp and one Ceylonese (Īā) lamp-stand by a native of Śōla-nādu. 184 of 1912.

" Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. A part (of Tiruvorriyūr?) called Śūra-sūḷaśaṇip -perundēru. 187 of 1912.

" Udayēndiram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Resolution of sabhās of Kāṇjivāyil alias Igal-maṟai-mangalam and Udayacandra-mangalam to live together as one village thereafter. SII. ii. p. 370; EI. iii. p. 147.

Year 27.—Ādīgudi (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp by a native of Anbil, a brahmadiya in Kīḻ-kūṟṟu, a subdivision of Kīḻār-kūṟṟu, to the temple of Tiruvādīgudi. 106 of 1920.

* Surname of Paḻakata 1 AKE. 1913 II 13.
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Year 27.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṃḍa. Lamp by a merchant of the Māṇigrāmam of Ādittapura in Tiruneyttānam. The gold given for the purpose was taken charge of by Paradāya-nakkan Śrīkandana.*

33 of 1895; SII. v. 590.

“Tiruccengōḍu (Sm.)—Madiraikoṃḍa. Money for a lamp entrusted to the sabhā of Tiruccengōḍu, while the people of the eighteen districts (nāṭṭār) were to protect the grant.

640 of 1905.

“Tiruvīḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṃḍa. Land to maintain a drummer (uṭukkai-vāsippān) who had to play on the uṭukkai thrice a day (mūṇu sandiyum). The land was given by an officer auditing temple affairs (śrīkāryam arāykinā), the sabhā of Tiraimūr, the nagarattār of Tiruvīḍaimarudil, the tirukkōyil-uḍaiyār and the pati-pādamulattar, assembled in the theatre (nāṭaka-sālai).

157 of 1895; SII. v. 721.

“Tiruvīḍalūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṃḍa. Provision for the supply of bathing water from the Kāvēri to the deity. The village is called Avani-nārāyaṇa-catm. alias Vēmbāṟur, a dēvadāna and brahmadēya on the northern bank.

35 of 1907.

“Tiruvōgiyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṃḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by Dēvan Kēsari alias Kuṇjaramalla † Pallavaraiyan.

167 of 1912.

Year 28.—Erumūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṃḍa. The śrīvimāna was built of stone and the gōpura with aṣṭaparivāra erected by Irungōḷan Kuṇavā Aparājītan; 3½ vēli of land given by the same person with the permission of the king, Śoḻapperumāl Parāntaka-dēva, to the temple of Śrīturukkōyil-bhaṭārā at Urumūr, for tiruccennal, arcanaḥbhoga and the maintenance of the drummers for śrībali.

384 of 1913. ‡

* cf. 31 of 1895 of year 25.

† A surname of the king, ARE. 1913 II 18.

‡ 379, 381 and 382 with earlier regnal years in the same temple. Either the construction was finished earlier than year 28 or the earlier grants got engraved in that year after the completion of the work, ARE. 1914 II 15.
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Year 28.—Kilūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp to Tirukkōvalūr Tiruviraṭṭānattup-perumāḻ by the queen Rājadēviyār Tēṣāṭākki-perumāṇār, daughter of Milā-
duḍāiyār Kayirūr Perumāṇār.

279 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 141.

Periya Varikkm (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 500 kulī of land by assembly to the wife and children of Sāmī-
nāyakkan, a hero who fell in a cattle raid in Varik-
kiyam alias Candirāditya-mangalam.

180 of 1921.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep and an Iḻavilakkku by Citrakōmalam, a female servant (parivā-
rattāḷ) of the queen Kōkkikāḷaṅgāḷ, mother of Rājā-
dittadēva, who * ordered the construction of the stone
 temple of Tiruttōṇḍīśvara (Bhaktajanēśvara) at Tiru-
nāvalūr in Tirumunaippāḍi.

335 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 133.

Tiruppaṭanam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp,
Mentions the queen of Sōḷapperumāṇāṅgāḷ, Śeyabh-
vana Cintāmaṇiyār of Kāvirippūmpāṭṭinam. †

137 of 1928.

Vēdāraṇyam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp
by Arunḍīdi-Kaliyan of Marudūr, an officer of Śrī-Para-
kēsari.

445 of 1904.

Year 29.—Bairakūr (Mys.)—(Kanarese) Madiregoṇḍa. A memo-
rial stone for a person who recovered the cows, slew
and died. 457 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 203. ‡

Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold diadem to god in charge of the gaṇappumakkal doing śrīkār-
 yam of Śrī Pondābbhaṭṭārakar. 202 of 1915.

* It is not clear if the mother or the son built the temple. See Venkayya ASI. 1905-6 p. 180 nn. 7 and 8.
† cf. 46 of 1923 (Yr. 34.)
‡ Rice (p. xxiv) says that this is an isolated instance of such an early Kan. Cōḷa inscription and suspects a later date. But 290 and 281 of 1911 (years 14 and 15) furnish evidence of Parāntaka's sway in Kongu-ARE. 1912 II 13. And there is nothing against the genuineness of this record, H. K. Sastri. EI. x. Additions etc.

" *Grāmam* (S.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. Lamp by some servants (*kōripillai*gal) of prince Rājāditya to the temple of Śrī-Āṭruttalī Mahādēva. 745 of 1905.

" *Grāmam* (S.A.)—Madiraikonḍa. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 182 of 1906.


" *Tiruccānūr* (NA.)—Madiraikonḍa. Lamp apparently by a native of Koḍungōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu (Cranganore in Cochin ?). Tiruccānūr is called Tiruccōkunūr twice, and its sabhā mentioned. 260 of 1904.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (S.A.)—Maduraikonḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to the shrine of Agastyēśvara by a physician of Pīḷḷaiyūr Rājāditya. 325 of 1902; *SII*. vii. 954.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (S.A.)—Maduraikonḍa. Two lamps to Rājāditya Iśvara and Agastyēśvara by a servant of Rājādityadēva. Also twenty sheep for offerings at ardhayāma. 347 of 1902; *SII*. vii. 977.

" *Tiruvōgriyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikonḍa. Thirty *kaḷaṇju* of *ūrkarccenmai-pon* for lamp to Mahādēva by Iravi Nili, daughter of Vijayarāga-dēva, ‡ the Kēraḷarāja. The amount was apparently invested on a field in Tiru-

* cf. 735 of year 36.

† Portrait of warrior. Palaeogr. same as Tirukkaṭukkuṟṟam inscription (168 of 1894) of year 13. The raid was by the W. Ganga king. (*ARE*. 1896 paragraph 6.)

‡ Perhaps the son or brother and successor of Śīhāṇu Ravi, if at all he was an actual ruler of the Cēra country. H. K. Sastrī.
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vogriyur which yielded an annual interest of 4\ 4 \ ka\l\a^n\u{j}u at the rate of 3 ma\n\j\a^\u{d}i per ka\l\a^n\u{j}u.

169 of 1912; SII. iii. 103.

Year 29—Tiruvogriyur (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Gold, urka\r\c{c}cem-
mai 40 ka\l\a^n\u{j}u, for feeding a learned Brahman by a
native of E\t\i\i\y\u{a}kuricci in Pa\n\d\i\-n\u{d}u who had
accepted service in the temple (karmiy\u{y}-vandu).

182 of 1912.

Year 30—Kumaramangalam (NA.)—Madiraikonda. Death of
Manukulan Singaperum\u{a}n in a cattle raid (erumait-
toru) after recovery of the cattle.

186 of 1921.

Tiruppallanam (Tj.)—Madiraikonda. Gold by K\r\i\-Accan of Ayirattali in Kil\r\-k\u{g}ram and the merchants
of the village for burning lamps in the temple.

164 of 1928.

Tiruvogriyur (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Sixty ka\l\a^n\u{j}u gold
for two lamps by K\o\d\a\j\a\d\a\r\a\m\a an, eldest son * of the
C\o\l\a king Parak\e\s\a ri. Part of it, thirty ka\l\a^n\u{j}u, was
perhaps borrowed on interest in the 35th year of the
king by the \u of Vel\j\i\v\i\y\i\l at the rate of 3 ma\n\j\a^\u{d}i
per ka\l\a^n\u{j}u per annum (15%) with the undertaking to
provide two meals a day for the person who went to
collect the interest.

164 of 1912; SII. iii. 105.

Tiruvogriyur (Ch.)—Madiraikonda. Gold for lamp by
Arindigai Perum\a\n\a\r, son of C\o\l\a-perum\a\n\a\a\d\i\g\a, to
god \i\v\a at \A\h\i\r\a\r\a. Thirty ka\l\a^n\u{j}u, † called
niska in the Sanskrit part, formed the amount of
the endowment.

170 of 1912; SII. iii. 104.

Year 31—Gr\a\m\a m (SA.)—Madiraikonda. Gift of vessels by men
who belonged to the (army) of prince R\j\j\j\j\i\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j

187 of 1906.

Kattamacci (C.)—Madiraikonda. Sale of land by
villagers, (\u).

61 of 1907.

* i. e. R\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j\j

† Invariably about 80 grains—H. K. Sastri.
Year 31.—Takkölam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold by queen of Gōvinda Vallavaraiyar and the daughter of the Cōla king Parāntaka-dēvar for lamp in the Tiruvūral-Mahādeva temple at Takkölam, which the residents of Śembūḷalai undertook to maintain.

245 of 1921.

Takkölam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Similar gift by queen Viramādēvi, * the residents of Ūrāḍagam agreeing to maintain the lamp.

246 of 1921.

Takkölam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Tēnūr on the banks of the Vaigai in the Pānṭi-nāḍu.

248 of 1921.

Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Dūvēdimangalam, a brahmādēya in the same nāḍu as the temple, viz., Pērāvūr. The standard for the gold was ārkaṛccem-mai. †

50 of 1925.

Tirumālputram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by the Cōla queen Amudan Perrāl alias Pallavan Mādēviyar of Kānattūr in Umbāḷa-nāḍu.

303 of 1906.

Tirumālputram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by the queen Amani-mādēviyar who came from Pānṭi-nāḍu.

314 of 1906.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant (ānai-āl) of Rājaditya-dēva.

330 of 1902; SII. vii. 959.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land by the nurse (tādi) of the Cōla king Parāntaka. Mentions Karikāla-karai among the boundaries.

129 of 1895; SII. v. 693.

Tiruppalanam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp by Poriyaluman, brother-in-law of Irumukkaraiyar.

134 of 1928.

* Same as the queen mentioned in 245 of 1921.

† We have also: pāḷangūḍiṇoṇḍum oppadu. cf. SII. iii p. 229, ARE. 1925 II 10.
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Year 31.—**Tiruvaiyāṟu** (Tj.)—Madiraikonoṭa. Five vēli of land for feeding Śivayōgins, given to Niyāmādhanaśvāmigaḷ śīṣya-praśīṣya-vargattār by Irumadilōjaḷ-pallavaraiyan *alias* Namban Aiyāṟadigal. 241 of 1894; *SII.* v. 540.

**Tiruvaiyāṟu** (Tj.)—Madiraikonoṭa. Silver lamp and land by the queen of the Cōla king, Vaiḷavaṇ-Mādevi-yār, the daughter of Nīrāṇāyp-pāḍiyār.

248 of 1894; *SII.* v. 547.

Year 32.—**Kil-muttugūr** (NA.)—Madiraikonoṭa. Marks the spot where a tiger was killed by Kumāranandi Pulaḷappan of Vaḷagarai-Mukkuṭṭūr.

2 of 1896; *EI.* iv. p. 179.*

**Tirunāmanallūr** (SA.)—Madiraikonoṭa. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tiruttōṇīśvārā *alias* Rājāditya Īśvara by a servant of prince Rājāditya-dēva.

326 of 1902; † *SII.* vii. 955.

**Tiruttanī** (NA.)—Madiraikonoṭa. Land to Subrahmanya temple apparently by one Parakēsari Muttaraiyan.

439 of 1905. †

**Tiruvīḻimalai** (Tj.)—Madiraikonoṭa. Sheep for lamp.

440 of 1908. §

**Ūttukkāḷu** (Ch.)—Madiraikonoṭa. Construction of a tank.

347 of 1906.

Year 33.—**Ānaimalai** (Md.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Madiraikonoṭa. Records the digging of a tank called Kaliyanēri after the donor Marudūruḍaiyan Arunidi-Kaliyan, an adigāri of the Cōla king. Mentions the temple of Narasingaperumāṇadīgaḷ on the Tiruvāṇaimalai.

63 of 1905; *SII.* iii. 106.

* Palæographically same as No. 1 of year 29. There is a bas-relief of a man fighting a tiger with his sword.

† 328, 336, 348 are similar gifts of servants of R. in the same place.

‡ Said to be ‘apparently later than Rājarāja I,’ but not explained how. *ARE.* 1906 II 21.

Year 33.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Twelve kaḷaṇju of gold for a lamp by Aḷagasaṁra-krama-vittan, son of Kuḍāl Kiḷār Maṇiśivahatṭa Sarvakratukkaḷ, one of the āḷungaṇam of Rājamalla-catm. 218 of 1915.

Kāvanūr (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 400 Kuḷi of land for lamp to Śrī Karapurattu Perumāḻ by a member of the āḷungaṇam. 161 of 1921.

Kiḷār (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkoṭalūr Tiruviraṭṭanattu Mahādeva, by a Malaiyāṇa- graiccecvagan of the army of Piḷḷaiyār Arikulakēsari. 280 of 1902; † EI. vii. p. 141.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of Rājāditya’s Malaiyāṇaparivāra. 343 of 1902; SII. vii 973.

Uḍaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Three vēḷi of land by Nandissiruppirān alias Ananta-Vikramappērāiyan, a mahāmātra, for feeding twenty-five Brahmans; also gold for two perpetual lamps in the temple at Tiru- anantisvaram. 539 of 1920.

Year 34.—Kōvilaṭi—(Tj.) Gold, 10 kaḷaṇju, for lamp to Tirucceṭḍaimuḍi Mahādeva, by wife of Vimalanuṣaṇ Edānnikki, an inhabitant of Śālikkārām in the Pāṇḍya country. 287 of 1301. SII. vii. 507.

Pulallūr (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Ten kaḷaṇju of gold by the queen Śeyyabhumā-cintāmaniyār for lamp at the shrine of Śrī-Rāghava in the temple of Tiruvayyōddhi at Pulvelūr in Eyiṅkōṭtam 46 of 1923.

Sōmūr (Tr.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Kēraḷa paḷḷi (mum)ma(gi)-kkirani(rū)mi iḍuvittā paḷai. 68 of 1890; SII. iv. 392.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by queen Mallisvarattu Nambirāṭṭiyār Tennavanmahādeviyār alias Nārāyaṇa Nangūri Nangāiyār,

* Pillar bearing the inscription apparently brought from the neighbouring Perumēḻ temple.

† Engraved in continuation of 279 of Year 28.
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called here Śōla-perumāṇaḍigal Mahādēvyār.

44 of 1895; SII. v. 601.

Year 34.—Tiruttanī (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍā. Land by the assembly.

449 of 1905.

Tiruvaiyār (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍā. Lamp by queen Cōlaśikhamani, who was Mayilāppi. ........ Nanguri Nangaiyār magaḷār.* 226 of 1894; SII. v. 525.

Tiruvōrriyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍā. 96 sheep (navati in Sans, part) for lamp by Māran Paramēśvaran alias Śebmiany Śōjīya-varaiyan of Śīrukulattūr, ‘who captured Śītpuḷi, † destroyed Nellūr, and on returning from there, made a grant to the temple of Mahādeva at Tiruvōrriyūr.’ (Śītpuḷi⁰yai-yeṟindu Nellūraliṭṭu mīḍu pōdugiryaṇ). The donor is called Virakṛti in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning.

160 of 1912; SII. iii. 108.

Tonḍamānād (C.)—Madiraikōṇḍā. Gold for feeding 1,000 Brahmins on certain festival days. Mentions temple of Kōdaṇṭarāmāśvara alias Ādityēśvara ‡ and a certain Paḷḷippaḍaiyudaiya Vāgliśvara-paṇḍita-bhaṭṭāra.

230 of 1903.

Uyyakkōṇḍān Tirumalai (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍā. 90 sheep for lamp to Tirukkarkuḷi-Paramēśvara of Nandipancamangalam, a brahmādēya on the southern bank, by Pirāntakan Mādevādigaḷār, the wife of Pirāntakan Gaṇḍarādittadēva § and the daughter of Mahāperumāl.

96 of 1892; SII. ii. 75; iv. 543.

* cf. 44 of 1895 above (same year).

‡ He must have been the E. Cējukya Bhūma II or one of his subordinates. ARE. 1913, II 18. Perhaps a later member of the Nīṣēḍa dynasty to which Pūṭhivī Vyaṅghra, the enemy of Udayacandra, belonged. H. K. Sastrī. cf. 236 of 1912 n.d.

† Venkayya thought that this name was connected with Rājāditya (or Gaṇḍarāditya). 164 of 1912 (Yr. 30) makes it clear that Rājāditya had the title Kōdaṇṭarāma. But Āditya died at Tonḍamānāṭur and the temple may have taken its name from him. He might have had the surname Kōdaṇṭarāma, H. K. Sastrī SII. iii. 105 i.e. 164 of 1912.

§ The author of the Tiruvaiippa-Hultsch, SII. ii. p. 374, contra Venkayya on 222 of 1903 of Rājak. Yr. 4.
Year 35.—Emappērūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land by a Brahman for a flower-garden to supply daily a garland six spans long to the deity. 527 of 1921. *

Tukkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land, house sites and certain privileges by the headman of Pāśāli in Pāśāli-nādu to residents of Anaikaraipurūr in consideration of their maintaining a sacred lamp in the temple of Tiruvūṟal Mahādeva. 254 of 1921.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 329 of 1902; SII. vii. 958.

Tiruvāṟutuṟṟu (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Remission of taxes on land purchased for the temple by Kandan Śāttan of Nerkkoppai in Taṅjavūr-kūṟgam, by the assembly of Sirrānaicciūr for money received from the donor at the rate of 1½ kaḻāṉju per mā. This and another piece of land got from the same assembly by Tirukkāṟṟal- piccan (122 of Year 38) were for the maintenance of servants who blew the conch and horn, held the parasol (vītāṉam) and looked after the flower-garden. 125 of 1925.

Tiruvāṟutuṟṟu (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Fourteen vēḷi of land bought from the Tiraimūr sābhā and the Tiruvēḻaimarudil nagaratār. Mentions Paḻangāviri among boundaries. 149 of 1895; SII. v. 713.

Tiruvolliyūr (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Fifty kaḻāṉju of gold for feeding two Mahāvratis every day, by Ilāḷaippēṟaraiyaṉ alias Sōḷaśikhāmaṇi †-Pallavaraiyaṉ. 168 of 1912.

Year 35 + 1.—Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 25 kaḻāṉju gold for lamp deposited with the Patī-pādamulattār. Another gift of 15 pon for tiruvamidu to Kalangiccuḷar-nitta-bhujaga. 43 of 1895; SII. v. 600.

* Text gives date 34.
† Surname of Pāṟantaka. AKE. 1913 II 18.
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Year 36—Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikona. Records that Veḷḷan-gumaran, the Kērāḷa general of prince Rājāditya, son of Madhurāntaka, built of stone a Śiva temple (Āṟuttaḷi-Mahādeva) at Mauligrāma, i.e., Muḍiyur on the Peṇṇai river. The record is dated Kali 4044 and Kali day 1,47(70)37 corresponding to 14th January, Saturday, 943 A. D.

735 of 1905; ASI. 1905-6 pp. 182-3;

"Kiṭappaḷuvūr (Tri.)—Madiraikona. Agreement by three servants of the temple to put up two picotahs (ēttam) for water for bathing the god and for the flower-garden for money received. 218 of 1926.

"Kuttālam (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Madiraikona. Two lamps by the headman of Kiṭinallūr. 448 of 1917.

"Tiruvāḷuturai (Tj.)—Madiraikona. Land, after purchase (tax-free) from the assemblies of Śīru-puliyur and Śīṟṟanaicur, for the maintenance of two hymners, two gardeners, and two maid-servants for gathering flowers for garlands, for offerings in the temple, and for feeding, under the supervision of the donor’s descendants, the Śivayōgins and the Māhēśvaras on the seven festival days beginning with the asterism Mūla. Mentions Maṭapati often. 111 of 1925.

"Tiruverumbūr (Tri.)—Madiraikona. Sale of land by the Perunugur-mahāsabha of the brahmādēya Śrīkaṇṭha-catm., for “tippōkkuc-cembon kaḷaṇṭil pēṟṟu uraiyum tuḷaiyum vaḻuvādai invrū-āṉu kaḷḷūr-konḍa pon paṭinaingaḷaṇṭju” and another 15 kaḷaṇṭju for iṟaiṅkāval-dravyam on the same land. 100 of 1892; SII. iv. 547.

Year 37.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Madiraikona. 14½ kaḷaṇṭju gold for lamp by one of the āṉuganattar of Rājamallacatm. in Tiruvēgampapuram. 217 of 1915.
Year 37.—Lālgudi (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land for two Brahmans * chanting the Tīrūppadiyam thrice every day in the temple of Tiruttavatturai Mahādeva. 99 of 1929.

Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of lands in Kaṇṭamangalam to the temple of Anantanārayaṇa-Paramasvāmin of Kaccippōḍu who was pleased to lie on his serpent couch in the Tiruveṅkā (the Vēgavatī river) (Tiruveṅkā-āṇai-kīṭandarūṭina) by some private persons of the same village for 367 kalāṇju gold. 21 of 1921. †

Kīṭappalavūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by Māṅarkudi, a ganattān of Munpālai in the Mīḷalai-kūṟram in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 230 of 1926.

Śrīnīvāsanallūr (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for a lamp, a copper water pot, a lamp stand and a silver tray. 589 of 1904.

Tiruccengōṭu (Sm.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp. 632 of 1905. ‡

Tiruvelḷarai (Tri.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for feeding a Brahman versed in the Vēda. 86 of 1910.

Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land for lamp by a merchant of Mayilāppil in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. 147 of 1895; SII. v. 711.

Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Mentions a certain Kavaṟāmoji-Māḍēvan alias Tōṇḍaradippōḍi. 207 of 1907.

Uḻaiyāṅguṇi (SA.)—Maduraiyum Īḷamum-kōṇḍa. Money (90 kāṣu) by a woman-servant of the temple kitchen for feeding three persons every day. 553 of 1920.

* contra Sudra 5duvās doing this now. ARE. 1929 II 25. 104 of 1929 (Rājāk. Yr. 3.) is a gift supplementing this endowment.

† Palaeography two centuries later. Perhaps copy of an old record. Recalls story of Viṣṇu saving a sacrifice by stopping Sarasvati who took the shape of a stream. ARE, 1921 II 25. Tiruccandaviruttam 63, 64.

‡ Proof of Kongu conquest ARE. 1906 II 21.

"Ukkal (NA.)—Madiraikona. Gift of village of Śodi-yambākkam, to the north of Ukkal, as a ḍēvaḥōga by the assembly of Ukkal for various items of expenses detailed, with the remission of veṭṭi, veṭṭīḷai and vālakkāṇam, the right to punish the crimes and sins of the villagers being also vested in the temple: ‘iṅvār-kūḷigaḷaik-kurramoṭa-maṅguṟṟāṇu dēvārøy daṇḍit-uttukkolvar-āgavum.’

* 30 of 1893; SII. iii. 12.

Year 38.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Madiraikona. † Land. Danti-varma-mangalam a brahmadōya on the north bank (of the Kāvērī). 714 of 1909.

"Ānandamangalam (Ch.)—Madiraikona. Five kālaṇṭu of gold for feeding one devotee (aṭiyār) in the Jina-girippalji by Vardhamānap-periyāḍīgal, a disciple of Vinaiyābha-śūra-Kuravaḍīgal. 430 of 1922. ‡

Year 38. §—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Madiraikona. 250 of 1911.

"Paṇḍāravūḷai (Tj.)—Madiraikona. 270 of 1923.

"Pillaippākkam (Ch.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-koṇḍa. Lamp. 170 of 1930.

"Śrīnivāsanellūṭ (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-koṇḍa. † Sale of land for lamp by Mūlaparuḍai. 605 of 1904.

* In add. and corr. to SII. iii. kūṟṭadōṭam is explained as ‘fine imposed on persons for defaults’, and maṅguṟṟāṇu as ‘a similar fine imposed by the village assembly’. The translation of Hultsch is as given above.

† No reference to taking of Ceylon in year 37. ARE. 1910 II 16.

‡ Engraved on a boulder with three groups of Jaina figures carved in a line—ARE. 1923 II. 113.

§ From here all dated inscriptions are noted with the titles of the king.

¶ Not in the text, which only gives the title Parakēṣari.
PARANTAKA I

Year 38.—Śrīrangam (Tri.) — Madiraikōṇḍa. One hundred kālāṇju gold for Sahasradhārā to Ranganātha.

71 of 1892; SII. iv. 518.

" Tirukkōḍikāval (Tj.)—Maduraikōṇḍa. Land and gold for offerings in the temple. 15 of 1931.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a merchant. 342 of 1902; SII. vii. 972.

" Tiruvadi (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp. 362 of 1921.

" Tiruvāṉṭurai (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land to temple by assembly of Śīrānaiccūr for money paid on account of the temple by Tirukkarraḷi-picean.

122 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṉṭurai (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Remission of taxes on the lands of the temple by the assembly of Śīrānaiccūr for money receiyed by them from Tirukkarraḷi-picean.

142 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṉṭurai (Tj.) — Madiraikōṇḍa. Five hundred kālāṇju of gold by Parāntaka-dēvar for constructing the temple with stone from kuḷappāḷai upwards.

143 of 1925.

" Tiruviḻaiṉarudūr (Tj.) — Madiraikōṇḍa. Mentions Immadi Sōja Pallavaraiyan and the Paḻangāvirinirōḍukāl.

195 of 1907.

" Tiruviḻaiṉarudūr (Tj.) — Madiraikōṇḍa. Lamp for merit of Ariṇjiyaippirāṭṭiyār.

252 of 1907.

" Tiruviḻiḻiḻalai (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa.

441 of 1908.


547 of 1920.

" Udaiyāṛguḍi (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for lamp by a native of Maḷa-nāḍu.

596 of 1920.
THE COLAS

Year 38.—Uḍhāiyārguṇḍi (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Three vēli of land for feeding 25 Brahmans in temple. The king remitted the taxes on this land. Tettavan Viluppērāraiyan, called ‘nammaganār’ by the king, had built a hall in which the assembly met. 604 of 1920.

Vilāppākkam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. The sinking of a well, by a female disciple of Ariṣṭanēmi-pidāran of Tiruppānmalai. * The ‘twenty-four’ of the ur to protect the charity, a penpalli.

53 of 1900; SII. vii. 56.

Year 39.—Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa.

Tirukkaḷāvūr (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari who also took Īlam. Land by a servant (penpālī) of queen Villavan Mādēviyār. The pararjai of Karugāvūr near Tirukkuḷamūkki, a dēvadāna in Vādagarai Pāmbūr-nāḍu, get the money, take charge of the land and make it tax-frẹ; also agree to pay a fine of 100 kaḷāṇju for default as a body and 50 as individuals. Cultivation rights mentioned.

37 of 1910; SII. iii. 110.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Madiraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Sale of land.

Tiruvāmanallūr (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājēditya.

351 of 1902; SII. vii. 981.

Tiruvāmanallūr (SA.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. One hundred sheep for lamp by Mahādēvadīgaj, a queen of prince Rājēditya-dēva and daughter of Iḷāḷarāyur, for the merit of her elder brother Arāyur Rājēdittan Pugalippur-gaṇḍan.

363 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 134. †

* Another name for Paṅcapāṇḍavamalai, a Jain centre from the Pallava period to that of Rājarāja I. AKE. 1900, paragraph 16.

† Hultzsch says that Iḷāḷarāyur was a title borne by a line of local chiefs which included Vīra Cōṇḍa, son of Pugalippavargāṇḍa, perhaps the same as the elder brother Rājēdittan of this record. See also EI. iv. p. 139.
PARANTAKA I

Year 39.—*Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.) — Maduraiyum *Īlamum-kōṇḍa.* Lamp. 367 of 1902; *SII.* vii 997.

" *Tiruvāṉavai* (Tj.) — Maduraiyum *Īlamum-kōṇḍa.* Provision by Kaṟṟaḷi Piccan and the *dēvaṅkanmis* of the temple for expenses on sankrānti days and special bath on the two ayanasankrāntis, by purchase of 3 *mā* of land for 8 *kāḷaṅju* received from Kaṟṇipuliyūr Nakkan of Taḷikkaḍambūr in Kāṟ-nāḍu, on the north bank. 140 of 1925.

" *Tiruvaiyāṇu* (Tj.) — Maduraiyum *Īlamum-kōṇḍa.* Lamp. 233 of 1894; *SII.* v. 532.

" *Tiruvaiyāṇu* (Tj.) — Maduraikōṇḍa. 143 of 1918.


Year 40.—*Allūr* (Tri.) — Maduraiyum *Īlamum-kōṇḍa.* Land. 384 of 1903.


" *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj) — Maduraiyum (Īlamum)kōṇḍa. Sheep for lamp. 235 of 1911.

" *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.) — Maduraiyum (Īlamum)kōṇḍa. Two lamps to Sūryadēvar and other gifts. 253 of 1911.

" *Kūram* (Ch.) — Madiraikōṇḍa-Īlam-pugunda. Astronomical data corresponding to Saturday, 25th July 946 A.D. (Kielhorn). Sabhā of Kūram met at night and made a *vyavasthā.*

34 of 1900; *SII.* vii. 35; *EL.* vii. p. 1.


353 of 1918.


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Year 40.—Srirangam (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. 345 of 1918.

" Sucindram (Tv.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. 100 sheep to Paraḷḷaiavaiyār for two lamps in two shrines in the Tiruccivindiram temple by a merchant of Karavandapuram in Kaḷākkuḍi-nāḍu. 82 of 1896; EII. v. p. 43.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Land, for lamp. 310 of 1906.

" Tiruvaiyārum (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. 232 of 1894; SII. v. 531.

" Tiruvaiyārum (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land for feeding a Brahman sumptuously every day in the Tiruvaiyār-udaiyār temple by queen Ariṉjigai, daughter of Iḷaḍarāyar. 144 of 1918.

" Tiruvellāgai (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 520 of 1905.

Year 41—Allūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Provision for singing Tiruppadiyam hymns every day. 373 of 1903.


" Lāḻguṭi (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa. Land for offerings. 88 of 1892; SII. iv. 535.

" Lāḻguṭi (Tri.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp. 108 of 1929.

" Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sheep for lamp by Pūvan Māṟan of Neḷiyatali in Koṭungōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu. 313 of 1906.

PARANTAKA I

Year 41.—Tiruvissāḷūr (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Gold for lamp. 23 of 1907.

" Tiruvissāḷūr (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. 328 of 1907.

Year 8 + 37—Tiruvēṅkāṭu (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Land for offerings to Tiruvēṅkāṭu-perumāḷ by a native of Koḻun-gōḻūr in Malai-nāḍu. Mentions gōsālai. 465 of 1918.

Year 4(6) *—Kaṇḍiyūr (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Land. 15 of 1895; SII. v. 570.

" Tirucoatturai (Tj.)—Lamp. Mentions Trailōkya Mahā-deviyūr. 135 of 1931.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following:

Allūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Waste land, never known to have been under the plough, reclaimed and given to āṟādhikkuḷ yōgiyūr. 385 of 1903.

Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Twenty kāḷaṅju of gold for lamp by Śōlaśikhamāṇi Pallavaraiyan of Nelvēli in Īnga-nāḍu. The ēri-vāriyap-perumakkāḷ were in charge of this gift. 213 of 1915.

Grāmam (SA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold, 10 kāḷaṅju, for lamp, by a native of Kōṭṭāḷu. Sabhā of Tirumudiyyūr in charge. 740 of 1905.

Kāḷaṅjūr (NA.)—Year 4. Maduraiyum Iḷamum-kōṇḍa. Land for daily offerings by the assembly of Kāḷaṅjūr. 189 of 1921.

Kāṇciapuram (Ch.)—(Floor of the Rājasimhāśvāra temple). Madiraikōṇḍa. Mentions Tirukkarrali-unṇāligai. SII. i. 145.

Kuḻumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. The king is also called Śōla-perumāṇaṅgāḷ and Śrī Pirāntakar. Gold for a lamp by his son Śrī (Kō)daṇḍārāman. † 318 of 1904.

* The figure is clear on the stone SII, v. p. 226 u.

† 230 of 1903 of year 34. ARE. 1905, II. 9.
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Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Sale of land by assembly, Mūlaparūṭaip-perumakkal, for feeding two persons in a temple. Mentions Āyirattali in Kilaṅ-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Ten(karai)-nāḍu and abhiṣēkadaḵṣiṇai. 249 of 1911.

Nangavaram (Tri.)—Madirai-koṇḍa. Mentions Ariṇjigai-catam. and a Piḷḷāri temple called Kāḷabhaṭṭāri alias Śāṭṭanūr-nangai. 345 of 1903.

Sendalai (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-koṇḍa. Land for offerings under protection of the sabhā and the pan-māḥēśvarar. 14 of 1899; SII. vi. 450.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp by a servant of Madhurāntaka Pallavaraiyar. 253 of 1921.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. Gold for lamp by prince Parṇāntakan Uttamasīli.* 301 of 1906.

Tiruvvīḍai.mcudār (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Purchase of land with gold granted for a lamp by Piḷḷaiyār Uttamaśiliyār. Mentions Mahēndra-mangalam and nāṭṭu-vāykkāl. 196 of 1907.

Tiruvvīśaltur (Tj.)—Madiraikōṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by...nāṭṭuk-kāman-Iyakkanār †-parivārattu Isakka-nayya Nangai. 29 of 1907 †; SII. iii. 107.

* Was Uttamaśili-catam. in Pāṇḍyaṅkalīśani-vaḷa-nāḍu (SII. ii p. 229) the same as Uttamaśili in the Trichi Taluq and called after this prince? ARE. 1907 II 31.

† Apparently a member of the royal family, not mentioned elsewhere. H. K. Sastri.

‡ Treated as of year 3 and as the earliest reference to the conquest of Madura in ARE. 1907 II 32. But the date of this record is doubtful. The year may have been two figures of which the first is built in, and might be 1, 2, or 3. SII. iii p. 242, n. 2.
KANNARADĒVA.

Ś. 868—Bāgali (Bel.)—Katyēra of the Cālukya family was governing the Kogāli 500 and the Mā-śīyavāḍi 140. 75 of 1904.

Ś. 871—Śāgpuram (NA.)—Year two, perhaps of Rājāditya, acc. A. D. 948 (Hultzscl), in which Cakravarti-Kannaradēva overthrew Rājāditya and entered the Tōṇḍai-maṇḍalam. * Construction of a pond called Kaṭṭinangai-kūḷam, so called after a woman who died at Arungunṟam. She was the daughter of Attimallan alias Kannaradēva-pīritivī-gangaraiyar. 428 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 194.

The following inscriptions contain the description Kuṭṭiyum-Taṇṭaiyum-kōṇa Kannaradēva:

Year 5.—Siddhaḷingamaṇḍam (SA.)—Land for offerings by sābhā of brahmadēyaṁ Śirṛingūr. 375 of 1909. †

Year 15.—Kūram (Ch.)—Gift by a Kūrattu Āśiriyan. 36 of 1900; SII. vii. 37.

Year 16.—Ukkal (NA.)—The sābhā met in the mukha-maṇḍapa Bhuvanamāṇikka-Visṇugṛha, apparently to effect the sale, on conditions, of a part of the common lands of the village to some persons. A curious clause forbids any one to set up a prior claim to this land by the production of title-deeds or other evidence. SII. iii. 7.

Year 17.—Tirukkalukkunṟam (Ch.)—Lamp by Kāraiṉuṭaiyān Baladēvan alias Parāntakap-pēraicaiyam. 169 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 284.

Year 18.—Tiruvvorrīyūr (Ch.)—Opens with a Sanskrit verse mentioning Caturānana’s place in the maṭha getting the

* The Āṭakūr inscription dates this event in Ś. 872 current, A. D. 949-50. EI. vi. p. 51.
† Spurious - p. 158, ante.

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gift. Thirty kaṇṭju of ārka-cemmai-pon for lamp by the son of a merchant of Mānyaḵēṣa, in the camp (kaṭaka) of the Vallabha king, deposited with the residents of Śerruppeḍu (Chetput). 177 of 1912. *

Year 18.—Uttaramērū (Ch.)—12½ kaṇṭju gold for lamp with the ūr, the samvatsara-vāriyam being responsible for its proper maintenance. 89 of 1898; SII. vi. 374.

Year 19.—Tirukkalukkunγam (Ch.)—A person constructs an ambalam, buys some land from oneĪśana Śiva alias Nakkaḍi-bhaṭṭan which he endowed as ambalappuγam for supply of water and fire (taṇṇir-attuvaḍakum akkini-γṭuvaḍakum). The sabha made this land tax-free after collecting a lump sum (iγai-dravyam) from him. 170 of 1894; EI. iii. p. 285.

" Tirunmalai (NA.)—Lamp to the yaka on the Tirumalai at Vaigāvūr by a servant of Gangamādevi, queen of Kannaradēva-pṛtiγangaraiyar. 65 of 1907.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—90 Sheep for lamp. 354 of 1902; SII. vii. 984.

" Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp. 366 of 1902; SII. vii. 996.

Year 20.—Tiruvogriyur (Ch.)—One hundred niskas of pure gold by Caturānana Paṇḍita, pupil of Niraṇjana-guru, for bali in temple. An account of the career of the Paṇḍita given in the grantha part. Favourite of the Vallabha king. 181 of 1912.

Year 22.—Tiruvogriyur (Ch.)—Gold, ārka-cemmai 30 kaṇṭju, for lamp by the mother of the Vallabha king Kannaradēva. Perpetual interest 15%. 179 of 1912.

Year 23, day 296.—Uttaramērū (Ch.)—Mahāsabhā records that all the revenues which were due from Uḷḷiyūr to the ūr were made over to Īśvara-bhaṭṭa of Tiruvulli-yūr for providing music thrice a day for śrībali. The Uḷḷiyūr people were granted sole right of managing

* cf. EI. iv. p. 281.
the temple without interference from any external authority (eppēppaṭṭa-kōrum pugappeyudadāgavum).
41 of 1898; SII. vi. 324.

Year 25.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—A resolution of the village assembly relating to the levy and proper collection of fines.
77 of 1898; SII. vi. 362.

Year 27.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Sheep for lamp.
2 of 1897; SII. v. 1365.

" Tiruvōttūr (NA.)—50 sheep by Kōدانḍa-manṛāḍi for a pagal-viḷakku.
101 of 1900; SII. vii. 111.

Year 28.—Kāvanūr (NA.)—A vyavasthai by assembly of Kāvanūr that seller and purchaser, and mortgagor and mortgagor of lands must be of the same community in case of lands being gifts to gods, physicians and ājīvakas.
159 of 1921.

(n-d.)—Doṇḍaśivara (Mys.) (Kan.). King’s encampment at Melpadri after defeating and killing the Cōla king.
112 of 1899.

" Kūḷūr (SA.)—Gift of Vaiḍumbara Mahārajā Śri Vikrama-māditya ruling Malāḍa,  Vāṇakoppāḍi, Śingapura-nāḷu and Venkungra-kōṭṭam.
16 of 1905.

The following inscriptions mention only Kannaraḍēva without any title:—

Year 16.—Tiruvadi (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to Gōvindavīṇṇagar in Adhirāja-mangalayapura, by Kaliyan Manṛāḍi Aiyana alias Rājadittā Pallavaraiyar who had the kāṇī of Śembūr-kōṭṭam.
28 of 1903; SII. viii. 300.

Year 17.—Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—10 kaḷaṇṇju of gold for a lamp by Narasimhavarman of the Malayakula. The sabhā and ûr of Ševalai in Veṇṇainallūr-nāḷu undertake to supply every year 100 nāḷi of ghī by mahādēvi measure. The expression Ševalai-sabhai-ûrōm is also used.
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Year 18—Siddhalingamañjam (SA.)—Land in Kōdiyūr by assembly of Śrīringūr to a dancing woman (Tirupulippa-gavar nirutta-viṣṭani) and her descendants for dancing before god during procession. 370 of 1909.

Year 19—Kīḻūr (SA.)—Fragment. Mentions sabbhā of Nittavinōda-cetm. on the north bank of the Penṇai in Vāṇakōp-pādi. 269 of 1902; SII. vii. 898.

Year 20—Kīḻūr (SA.)—Gold, 15 kaḻaṉu, with nagaram of Tirukkovalūr for a lamp. 232 of 1902; SII. vii. 859.

Year 21—Kīḻūr (SA.)—Land purchased from sabbhā of Tirukko-valūr and given to Tiruvirāṭānamuṣaiya Perumāṇ-adigaḷ by Vaidumba Mahārāja Śandayān Tiruvaiyān. * 268 of 1902; EI. vii. pp. 142-3.

Year 22—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sale of land by sabbhā for bhāṭṭavṛcti. 175 of 1902; SII. vii. 802.

Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Lamp. 176 of 1902; SII. vii. 803.

Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sheep by manṟaṭṭis of Vākūr-nāḍu at the rate of one sheep while ‘ascending the kaṭṭil.’ 177 of 1902; SII. vii. 804.

Year 23—Kīḻūr (SA.)—90 sheep. 266 of 1902; SII. vii. 894.

Year 24—Kīḻūr (SA.)—2,304 sheep for 24 lamps by Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyān to Tiruvirāṭānattālvār. 267 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 144.

Siddhalingamañjam (SA.)—Gold for a gong and three trumpets to temple. 385 of 1909.

Year 25—Grāman (SA.)—Gift by Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyān Śrī Kaṭṭha. 743 of 1905.

Year 26—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Placing of four stones in the wall. 172 of 1902; SII. vii. 799.

Jambai (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp and gold for offerings to Śūryadeva in temple of Tiruttāntōṅri-āḻvār at Vāḷaiyūr. 112 of 1906.

* cf. 236-A of 1902 (SII. vii. 864) of Rājarāja 27, which quotes this gift.
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Year 26.—Kīḻūr (SA.)—100 sheep for lamp by Kōmaḷam, daughter of Vānavan Mūvēndavēḷān.

270 of 1902; SII. vii. 899.

"Vēḻūr (NA.)—Land to Pannappēvāra built by Pannap-pai on the Sūdāḍu-pārai-malai (‘the hill of the gambling rock,’ now called Bāvāji hill) by Nūḷumba Trībhuvanadhīra.

10 of 1897 * SII. i. 51; EI. iv. pp. 81 ff.

Year 27—Bāḥūr (Pondicherry.)—Land for feeding two persons (183); and maintaining in the temple a Brahmān versed in Vēḍa for worship and a man to supply water for the sacred bath (184).

183, 184 of 1902; SII. vii. 810, 811.

Year 28—Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Half-lamp.

364 of 1902; SII. vii. 994.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Kīḻūr (SA.)—Gold, twenty kaḷaṅju, for snapana (bathing) to the god on every sankrānti, by Vīraṭṭan Vīranāraṇiyār, the senior queen (mūṭta-dēviyār) of Vaidumba Mahārāja Tīruvaṭiyanār. One kālam of cleaned paddy was the interest which the sabhā of Nēnmali alias Mīlāḍa-māṇikkam agreed to measure out in the temple (tūyavākki kālipparambaṭṭu tīru-muruṭṭuk-kōṭu senṭalantu kūṭuppōmāṇōm); they were also to feed each of the persons who came to collect this paddy (innel tāṅuvaṟṟkkku meykaṅju).

Mentions that 60 kālam by pēṟiḷamai was equal to 75 kālam by eṅṇālīk-kāl.

235 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 143.

Tīruvaṇṇāmalai (NA.)—20 cows.

475 of 1902; SII. viii. 63.

* Palaeographically same as that of Kaṭṭiyum Tuṉjaṭṭum-kōṭa Kannaradēva. Hultsch EI. iv. p. 82.
RĀJAKESARI GAṆḌARĀDITYA.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 8—Tiruppalāṭturai. 570 of 1908.

" Tiruppalāṭturai. 574 of 1908.

Year 9—Tirunāgēśvaram. 215 of 1911.

PARAKESARI ARIṆJAYA.

See under Parakēsari:

Year 2—Tiruppaḷanam. 162, 172 of 1928.

under Sundara Cōja:

Year 12—Uḍaiyārguḍi. 572, 587 of 1920.

under Rājakēsari:

Year 9—Tirunāgēśvaram. 215 of 1911.

under Rājarāja I:

Year 29—Mēḻpāḍi—Tiruvārinjēśvaram built by Rājarāja as Ārṇūrtuṇjina-dēvaṟkku-pallippaḍai. 86 of 1889; SII. iii. 17.
MADIRAIKONDA RĀJAKESARI.

Year 5.—Karikkal (NA.)—A piṭāri-kōyil erected by the wife of a Viravālaṅjiyian of Maṅiyāḍi in Pulivala-nādu.

12 of 1896; El. iv. p. 331. *

Tiruvorriyūr (Ch.).—Gift of sheep by one of the Kaleśi-Perundaram who had accompanied Uḍaiyār Uttamaśoja-dēva † to the temple of Tiruvorriyūr-mahā-dēva.

246 of 1912; SII. iii. 115.

Veḻaccēri (Ch.).—Sheep by one of the yāḻunganattar of the village.

315 of 1911; SII. iii. 114. ‡

Year 7.—Veḻaccēri (Ch.).—Sale of land for the maintenance of a lamp in a Gaṅapati temple, newly built. "Veḻicēri Mahāsabhaiyom emmūr brahmasthānattē kūṭṭak-kūṭaiavarak-kūṭi-yirundu vigkīnga nilam."

306 of 1911; SII. iii. 116.

Year 12, day 130.—Madhurāntakam (Ch.).—Gift of land, purchased from the unappropriated common land of the village and made tax-free, to the temple of Tiruvēn-kāṭṭil-Paramēśvara for the long life and victory of the king.

396 of 1922.

Year 14.—Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.).—Lamp.

75 of 1897; SII. vi. 24.

Year 17.—Allūr (Tri.).—Gold.

377 of 1903.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.).—Lamp.

2 of 1920.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.).—Lamp.

307 of 1906; SII. iii. 118.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.).—Lamp.

308 of 1906; SII. iii. 117.

* Palaeographically resembles the Tamil inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrākūṭa. Hultsch.

† Son of Gaṅgarāditya Madirai. Rājak. ‡ Royal titles due to an early choice for succession. ARE. 1913 II 19.

‡ King identified with Gaṅgarāditya. Got title from Parāntaka I, father; succeeded him immediately as Rājāditya had died.—H. K. Sastri.

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RĀJAKĒŚARI SUNDARA CŌLA.

See under Rājakēśari:

Year 6.—Kāvērippākkam. 382 of 1905.

under Uttama Cōla:

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumālpuram. 286 of 1906.

for Ponmāligai.

under Rājarāja I:

Year 16.—Tirumalai. A Cūra queen of Parāntaka II. 61 of 1899.

" Tiruviďaimarudūr " 159 of 1895.

Year 21.—Dādāpuram.—(daughter Kundavai). 8 of 1919.

Year 2.—Tiruvēsaiūr (Tj.)—Rājakēśari. Land for feeding a Vēdabrāhmaṇa by Pirāntakan Irungōḷar alias Śīriyavēḷar of Koṭumbāḷūr. * Gift in charge of Mahāsabhā of Avani-nārāyaṇa-catm. 317 of 1907; SII. iii. 119.

Year 4.—Tiruvēsaiūr (Tj.)—Rājak. Land purchased for (1)30 Itakkāśu from the Perungurip-perumakkal of Amani-nārāyaṇa-catm. by Pirāntakan Irungōḷar alias Śīriyavēḷar. 320 of 1907; SII. iii. 120.

Year 5.—Tiruvēsaiūr (Tj.)—Sundara Cōla. Gift of some taxes (gatānaka?) for whitewashing (?) the temple, and of a lamp by Śīruvēḷa described as Irungāṭakula-pradīpa and Pirāntakasyāṭmaja-vargavarya. 40 of 1907; SII. iii. 121.

Year 7.—Tirukkaḷittattai (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-irakkina Perumāḷ Śrī Sundara Cōla-dēva. Land purchased and made ĭraiñi for 156 kaḷanju of red gold (śembon) given to God Śrīkuḍittattai-udaiyār of Vaḍagarai-Vēmbarṟūr by Pirāntakan-Śīriyavēḷan alias Tirukkarralippiecan, who was serving as general of the king's forces. 291 of 1908; EI. xii. pp. 121–6.

* See Rājarāja I. Year 27—116 of 1896; MV. Ch. 54 vv. 12 ff.
RAJAKESARI SUNDARA COLA

Year 12.—Uḍaiyārgūḍi (SA.)—Rājakēsari. Land by purchase by Uḍaiyapirāṭṭīyār Vīman Kundavaiyār, the acciyār (mother?) of Ariṇjīya-Pirāntaka-dēvar, * for bathing god with 1,000 pots of water on the sankrānti day of every month. 572 of 1920.

Uḍaiyārgūḍi (SA.)—Rājakēsari. Land by purchase by Āditan Kōdaipirāṭṭīyār, queen of Ariṇjīgaivarman who died at Ārrūr, for bathing god during Citrai-Viṣu with 108 potfuls of water; another gift by Uḍaiyapirāṭṭīyār Vīman Kundavaiyār for 1000 potfuls of water for same purpose. 587 of 1920. †

Year 14.—Tirukkalittaṭṭai (Tj.)—Rājakēsari. Two lamps, twenty-five Iṭakkāsw for each, by Rājādicci and Kuṅjaramallī the wife and daughter of Śiriyavēḷār. 299 of 1908 ‡; SII. iii. 122.


The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Koḷumbāḷur (Pd.)—Madhurāntaka Sundara Cōla. Mentions Pūḍi Paṭṭālagan. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

Tirukkalittaṭṭai (Tj.)—(Perumāl) Sundara Cōla ‘who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest’. Mentions Pirāntakan Śiriyavēḷār, a general, and Ponmāligai. 302 of 1908.


† cf. SII. iii. 17 (86 of 1889) of year 29 of Rājarāya I. Pūḍi Āditan Piṭārī was another queen of Ariṇjīga. Sundara does not seem to have been the son of this dowager queen as he refers to her by name. Identity of Ārrūr doubtful. ARE. 1921 II 26.

‡ Wrongly assigned to Āditiya II Karikāla, son and successor of Parāntaka II Sundara, in ARE. 1909 II 40.
Year 2. — *Kumbakkanam* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Sale of land by assembly for a private endowment of a lamp in the temple. 224 of 1911. *

Tirumālam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Mentions Kāri Pulijyan alias Sōjamārāyyan, a certain Niraṇjana Pāṇḍita and servants of the temple of Ambar Śrī-Mahākālam. 117 of 1910. †

Uḍaiyāṟguḍi (SA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Three kāśu by Aranaiyān Gēvāṁtānān of the Śingalāntakattērījīna Kaikkōḷār for cloths to the Kūtta of the stone temple of Tiru-anantīśvaram. 557 of 1920.

Uyyakkǒṇḍam-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkarkkuḍi ‡ Paramēśvara by Irungōḷakkōn alias Pugalvār-pirangganān Avanivallān. The dēvakanmis had to supply every day ½ measure of ghi by the sūlavaḻakkū. 472 of 1908; SH. iii. 199.

Year 3. — Kāvanūr (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Four hundred kutil of waste land by the assembly of Kāvanūr for daily night offerings to Puli-pagava-dēvā. Measuring rod called kādiṣai-kalattuk-kōl. A further gift of 800 kutil, also to be reclaimed, for lamps at the three services of the deity and for keeping watch of the temple by residing near it with a guard. 160 of 1921.

Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Sale of land by the assembly of Śrī Kuḷandai to Kōyil-mayilai alias Parāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān § of Śirīngin in Êṅgā-nāḷu, for feeding twenty apurvis versed in the Vēda and

* This is indirectly mentioned in 225 of 1911 of year 5. *ARE.* 1912 II 20.

† Text gives year 3. ‡ The name of the place in the *Dēvāram.*

§ Adhikārī in charge of *śrī-kēṟyam* in the temple of Tiruvīḷaimarudūr (154 of 1895, 214, 255-6 of 1907). Continued in same capacity under Uttama Cēḷa, and was called Madhurāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān. * His was evidently one of the offices which were solely in charge of public charities and financed by the state.* *ARE.* 1912 II 19.
five śivayōgins in the Śrī-kōyil of Tirukkil-kōṭattu-perumāl. Land called śālābhōga. 230 of 1911.

Year 3.—Kumbakōnam (Tj.) — Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa. Sale of land to Śrīrangaṇuḍaiyēn Kōyil-mayilai alias Parāntaka Muvēnda-vēlān by the mūla-paruṭṭap-perumakkal of Tirukkuḍamukkil, which he presented as a bhāṭṭavṛtti to those who expounded the Prābhākaram. 233 of 1911; SII, iii. 200.

" Tāyanūr (SA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyant-talai-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp. 359 of 1909. *

" Tiruvāṇṇāmalai (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyant-talai-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp. 471 of 1902; SII, viii. 59.


Year 3 + 1.—Tiruvōḍaiantarudūr (Tj.)—‘Vīrapāṇḍiyanai ērindu talai-koṇḍa ’. 256 of 1907.

Year 4.—Kāṇḍiyūr (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyant-talai-koṇḍa. Mentions brahmaṇadēyam Periya-vānavan-mahādevi - caturvēdi-mangālattu yālunaṇappattār. 18 of 1895; SII, v. 574.

" Kumbakōnam (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyant-talai-koṇḍa. Gift of 90 sheep, distributed equally between two manaḍēis, for a lamp by peṇḍāṭṭi Dévayan Pujālakkān alias Avanikēkānan of Kīlai-Vēlām at Taṉjavūr, called after Uḍaiyāpirāṭṭiyēr Kīlēnāḍīgāl, the mother (ācci) of Ānāmērīṛṛuṇānēr. 226 of 1911; SII, iii. 201.

" Paṇḍāravāḍai (Tj.) — Pāṇḍiyant-talai-koṇḍa. Land for lamp by Āsūrī Ādīta-piḍārān Kramavittān, a member of the āḷunaṇām of the village Rājakēsāri-catm. 236 of 1923.

* Three records of Pārthivēndrāvarman also come from this place. There is no clue as to the contemporaneity of the two kings or their relation to each other. AKE. 1910 II 17.
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Year 4.—Paṇḍāravāṇa (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyana-talai-koṇḍa. Twenty kīṣu, equal to ten kaḷaiṇju, for a lamp in the temple of Tiruccēlur-mahādēva by Nilan Tyāgi, wife of a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mādēvi Perangāti at Taṅjāvūr. 241 of 1923. *

Śīyamangalam (N.A.)—Vira Paṇḍiyana-talai-koṇḍa. Mentions Śri Gangaraiyan... Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi etc. † 70 of 1900; SII. vii. 74.

Tāyanūr (SA.)—Vira Paṇḍiyana-talai-koṇḍa. 80 sheep for lamp by a native of Maṇḍaiulkattur. 360 of 1909.


Tiruppukambiyan (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyana-talai-koṇḍa. Land as Nandavanappuram to Ivvūr-tiru-nandāvanam-maṇḍalangāppān. 69 of 1897; SII. vi. 18.

Tiruvudaimarudur (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyana-talai-koṇḍa. Śigṛingan-udaiyān Köyil-mayillai, the adigārgaṭ in charge of (ārāykinjā) śīkāryam, the sabhā of Tiraimūr, the Nagarattār of Tiruvudaimarudil and the devakānmi met in the theatre (nāṭakāsāla) and arranged for āriyakāṭṭus ‡ before the god of Tiruvudaimarudil by setting apart one vēli of land for Kittimaṉikējan alias Tiruvel-araiaccākkai, who had to dance on 7 occasions (specified) in a year and receive as korru fourteen kalam of paddy from the treasury of the temple. 154 of 1895; SII. iii. 202.

Uṭalaiyarugudi (SA.)—Paṇḍiyana-talai-koṇḍa. Dining utensils and money (gold) for feeding one person sumptuously every day. Śīkāryam-ārāyum-ganpp-perumakkakal in charge. 610 of 1920.


* 246 of 1923 quite similar gift by wife of another merchant.
† cf. 69 of Parak. Yr. 3.
‡ Śilappadikāram iii. 12-25 and notes thereon.
Year 4.—*Ukkal* (NA.)—Vira Paṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. An endowment by a Veḷala Śenai for the supply of water for six months and *agniṣṭāi* (fire pans) for six months in the Brahmagrāma of the village. The charity was to be supervised by the members in charge of village affairs for each year (*avvava-samvatsarangalil grāmākāryam tiruttum perumakka*).

32 of 1893; *SII.* iii. 14.

Year 4, day 170.—*Tiruvidaimarudur* (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Mentions Tiruvidaimarudil Āḷvār śrīkāryam-ārāy-kirga adigārīgal Śirīngan-ṇālaiyān Kōyil-mayilai Parāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān. Tiraimūr was by the ṣādanam a kuṭiṇikkīdēvādaṇā which had to give as paṅcāvāram 256 kalam of paddy. But the paṇīnārū (scale of expenses in the temple) showed only 160 kalam. It was denied that the dēvādaṇā was kuṭiṇikkī. Then the adigārīgal called for the original document making Tiraimūr a dēvādaṇā and found that it was kuṭiṇikkī and accordingly raised the scale of expenses. 214 of 1907; *SII.* iii. 203.

Year 5.—*Bāhūr* (Pondicherry)—Paṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Lamp.

173 of 1902; *SII.* vii. 800.

"*Kumbakōnām* (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Sale of land by the Mūlaparudai-pērumakkaḷ of Tirukkuḷamūkkil, a dēvādaṇā in Vāḷagarai-Pāmbūr-nāḍu, to the penḗḷṭṭī Perayan Tribhuvanasundari of the Paḷaiya-vēḷām at Taṇṉjavūr for 85 kaḷānju of gold which she had deposited as an endowment for feeding a Śivayōgin. The land mentioned in 224 of 1911 was one of the boundaries of this land. 225 of 1911; *SII.* iii. 204.

"*Paṇṭāraḷavāḷai* (Tj.)—Paṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Money by a resident of Monīramac-cēri for offerings to the image of Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭāraka in the temple on the day of Ārdra in Mārgalī. Mentions the coin *akkaṭam.*

275 of 1923.

"*Tōḷḍūr* (SA.)—Vira Paṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Ten sheep for lamp to Kiḷanda Perumāḷ by Śūramittirap-peru-
manḍili, son of Irugasṛan residing at Kilvali-Tonḍur in Singapura-nādu.

282 of 1916.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

_Tiruvaiyāṟu_ (Tj)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp by a man of the Tribhuvana-mādevi-yār-vēḷam; also a lamp-stand, _tarā-nilai-vilakku._
240 of 1894; _SII._ v. 539.

_Tiruvanāṭimalai_ (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. 96 sheep for lamp.
469 of 1902; _SII._ viii. 57.

_Tiruvīṭaimarudur_ (Tj)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-konḍa. Land for maintaining the _campaka_ flower-garden laid out by Tiruvēṅgadattu-piccan.
249 of 1907.

See under Rājakēsari:

Year 2—_Uḍaiyargudi._
577 of 1920.

* Text gives year 4.
PARTHIVENDRAVARMAN

Ś. 892—Kalambūr (NA.)—No name of king. Lamps to
Kalikēsari* Vināgar-dēvar by the assembly of
Kalamūr. 246 of 1909.

Year 2.—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Pāṇḍiyant-lai-kondu. All temple
lands owned to date made tax-free by the assembly of
Ainjiṣṭāsām in lieu of the amount of gold, 86 kaṇṭaja,
which it owed to the temple. Also sabhā to
manage temple affairs by its vāriyam, a gaṇam being
forbidden. 195 of 1915.

" Brahmadeśam (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyant-lai-kondu-Kō-
Mahārāja. † Fifteen kaṇṭaja gold with gaṇapperu-
makkal for a lamp by a merchant of Tiruvēkāmba-
cēri. 223 of 1915.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyant-lai-kondu-partma-
mahārājājā. Land made tax-free by the sabhā; the
ūr were not to collect any dues. 88 of 1898; SII. iii. 152.

Year 3.—Takkōlam (NA.)—Mentions a couch (tiruppallik-kaṭṭil)
given to the Tiruvūral-ālvār by Arumōli-nangai, the
queen of the king (Uḍaīyār). 7 of 1897; SII. iii. 166.

" Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Records the building of the
temple and the enclosing verandah by the Virāṭa king
Anayaman alias Paramanāḍalāditya. 267 of 1906.

" Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Gold for lamp by Nārāyaṇa
Kramavittan alias Vaidumbar-āditā-brahmādhi-rājan.
304 of 1906; SII. iii. 165.

* Was Kalikēsari a title of P.? cf. 676 of 1904-Yr. 5. ARE. 1910 II 59.
† This supports the identification of this king with Rājamūrayar,
ARE. 1916, II. 78.
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Year 3.—Tiruppārkkαposal (N.A.)—Mentions a meeting in the abhiṣekamaṇḍapa of the big temple of the locality (ivvār-periya-tali) at which were present the Mahāsabhā of Kāviriippakkam alias Amininārāyaṇa-catm., including the members for the year of the samvatsara-, tuṭṭa-, ēri-, kaḷāni-, paṇcavāra-, kaṇakkuk-, kālingu-, and taḍi-vali-vāryiams, the śri-vatavi-nāraṇap-perumakkal, Pallavan Pirammādarāyyan who was ruling the town (ūr-āṭṭinga), and the superintendent (kaṇkāni) Arumbākkilān. The trustees of the temple made a submission to the meeting that a garden and field of the arcanābhōga of Tirukkarapurattu Perumān were silted owing to breaches in the river and lying waste; the kaḷāni-vāryiams were then directed by the assembly to give 1400 kuḷi of land from the village maṇḍikkam. * 692 of 1904; SII. iii. 156.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādhhipati-varman. The Perungūri-sabhā gave land to Śrī-bṛndāvanattu-perumāṇaḷīgāḷ for tiruccennaḍai, nandāvīlakku and arcanābhōgam.

73 of 1898; SII. iii. 153.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa-Pārthivēndra Ādittaparamkkk. † Land by sabhā after taking pārvacāram to Tiruvāyppāḷip-perumāṇaḷīgāḷ for tiruccennaḍai, lamp, śrībāli and arcanābhōga.

38 of 1898; SII. iii. 158.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. Igaiyili land by Perungūri-sabhā after taking pārvacāram to Aiyān-mahāśāsta, in the south of the city.

15 of 1898; SII. iii. 167.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. Igaiyili land by Perungūri-sabhā after taking pārvacāram to Kurukṣētra-dēva.

16 of 1898; SII. iii. 160.

* This corresponds to modern ‘purumboke’ and the assemblies had the disposal of it—H. K. Sastri.

† This ‘undoubtedly refers to Pārthivēndravarman’ and ‘may establish the king’s possible connection with the Cōḷa Ādityavarman’ (Āditya II).

H. K. Sastri.

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Year 3.—**Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Land by Perunguri-sabhā to temple after taking pūrvācāram. This land was part of the land escheated to the village owing to default in payment of dues, (iṟaiyirādu ūrnōkki viḻunda pāmi).

17 of 1898; *SII* iii. 162.

" **Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Land by Perunguri-sabhā as vyākhyaśvritti to a person teaching the Vyākaraṇa-śāstra in the town.

18 of 1898; *SII* iii. 161.

" **Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Land by sabhā to Tiruppulivanan-uḍaiyār.

19 of 1898; *SII* iii. 154.

" **Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. The Perunguri-sabhā make a list of lands belonging to Tirumālīrūṇjōlaip-perumāṇaṇḍigaḷ of the town, (nam-mūr).

21 of 1898; *SII* iii. 163.

" **Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. The sabhā declare tax-free some lands of Durgā-bhaṭṭāraki, after accepting as pūrvācāram the gold due as interest (poli-ponnēy) on account of the documents (kaiyeḷuttu) of this Bhaṭṭāraki and of the sabhā of Dāmōḍara-cēri.

22 of 1898; *SII* iii. 159.

" **Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. The Perunguri-sabhā gave land as iṟaiyili after taking pūrvācāram to Jyeṣṭhā at Kumanṭāḍi.

23 of 1898; *SII* iii. 169.

" **Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Land by sabhā likewise to Kumanṭāḍi Kīḷai-śri-kōyil.

25 of 1898; *SII* iii. 168.

" **Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. The Perunguri-sabhā gave iṟaiyili land for amudu, lamp and arcanā to Mahāviṣṇukkaḷ.

26 of 1898; *SII* iii. 164.

Year 3, day 119.—**Uttaramērūr (Ch.)**—Pāṇḍiyan - talai - kōṇḍa Pārthivendraḍhipati-varman. The Perunguri-sabhā

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made *içaîyili* some land of Śrī-Gōvardhanattu-
perumāṇāḍiṇgal. 13 of 1898; *SII. iii. 157.*

Year 3, day 173—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa. Land made *içaîyili* by the Perunguri-sabhā which got *pūrvācāram* from some person.

60 of 1898; *SII. iii. 155.*

Year 4.—Takkōlam (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to image of Durgā in the temple of Tiruvūral-ālvār by a native of Mahā-
rājapāḍi (E. of Kōlār, including parts of Cuddapah and Chittoor).

14 of 1897; *SII. iii. 173.*

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthi-
vēndrādhipati-varman. Tax-free land purchased from the Perunguri-sabhā and given as *śrī-bali-bhōga* to Subrahmanya-bhaṭāra of the town.

55 of 1898; *SII. iii. 171.*

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthi-
vēndrādhipati-varman. Land given by Perunguri-
sabhā as *içaîyili arcanābhōga* to a certain bhaṭṭa after taking *pūrvācāram* from a merchant of Kāṇeḻpuram.

24 of 1898; *SII. iii. 170.*

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanait-talai-koṇḍa. 180 *kuḷi* of land given to Gaṇapati in the temple of Kōnērī-
nangai at Kumaṇpāḍi and recorded by Mahāsabhā.

27 of 1898; *SII. iii. 172.*

Year 5.—Tāyanūr (SA.)—Land at solar eclipse for five persons providing music for *śrībali* in the temple of Taṅka-
kamalai Mahādeva at the request of the residents of Tāyanūr made to Nīlagangaraiyan Appāvan Nāṭṭaṇgal.

362 of 1909; *SII. iii. 178.*

" Tāyanūr (SA.)—A declaration that a certain document (*ōlai*) was lost, that two persons had received their full dues on a loan of 30 *kaḷaṇju* which, apparently, with interest, had become 45 *pon* and that if they recovered the lost document at some future date, they should treat it as invalid (*dead*).

364 of 1909; *SII. iii. 175.*

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Year 5.—Tirumullaivāyil (Ch.)—Mentions sabhā of Kalikēsari-catm. (name of Tirumullaivāyil?) a tan-kūr-ṛu-devadānam in Puḷār-kōṭṭam. 676 of 1904; SII, iii, 174. *

"Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍīyanait-talai-kōṇḍa. Record by Perunguri-sabhā. Ḳraiḷiḷi land set apart as viṣaharabhōga to be enjoyed by persons appointed to the place by the sabhā, 36 of 1898; SII, iii, 177.

"Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍīyanai-talai-kōṇḍa. Ḳraiḷiḷi land to temple by sabhā after taking pūrvācāram. 28 of 1898; SII, iii. 179.

Year 6.—Brahmadēśam (N.A.)—Land for feeding one Brahman versed in the Vēda. The great men of the assembly of Ainjāṭaṁam of Tiruvēkambapuram in Rājāmalla-catm. made the land tax-free and placed the charity in the charge of the members of the gaṇavāriyam. 208 of 1915.

"Pāṭi (Ch.)—Sale of land from the sabhā-māṇīkkam to temple by sabhā of Kuṟaṭṭur alias Parāṇtaka-catm. in Ambattur-ērik-kīḷ-nāḍu of the Puḷār-kōṭṭam. 225 of 1910; SII, iii. 181.

"Podavūr (Ch.)—Land for lamp by Tennavan Māḍēviyār. 69 of 1923.

"Tiruvuṇḍandai (Ch.)—Parākēsari Vēndrādivarman. Twelve kaluṇju for lamp by a native of Taiyūr or Talaśayanapuram. 269 of 1910; SII, iii. 180.

"Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍīyanai-talai-kōṇḍa Pārtihvēndrādhripati-varman. Land set apart, after purchase as śrī-bali-bhōga to Tiruvunnaǔrp-perumāṇaṅgala. 20 of 1898; SII, iii. 182.

"Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Land as Ḳraiḷiḷi for tirucceṇṇaṅdai to Kurukṣētra-dēva of the town, by the Perunguri-sabhā. 37 of 1898; SII, vi. 320.

* Perhaps the king of this record is different and earlier in time, as the record is very archaic—H. K. Sastri.
Year 7.—Takkolam (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to Tиру-viṣal-āḷvār. The phrase ‘neyyennai’ occurs in this record (as in some others). 4 of 1897; SII. iii. 184.

Uttaramēr (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanait-talai-koṇḍa. The Perungūṟi-sabhā declare some land of the Kurukṣetrattu-perumānaḥgilag to be tax-free, after getting pūrvaśāram from a person. 79 of 1898; SII. iii. 183.

Year 8.—Tiruvāḷandai (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Kō-vi-Rājamārāy ār. A record of the sabhā and ūr of Tiruvāḷavandai. Gift of an image of Manavāḷapperumāl to temple of Varāhasvāmin by two Brahman residents of Talaśayānapuram alias Taiyūr; and also of gold for offerings. 264 of 1910; SII. iii. 186.

Year 9.—Āṇaiक्कत्तृत्त (NA.)—The ūr of Aṉai Akkaraippūdūr give to Āditta-dēva, belonging to emmūr vaikhānasan Kalinikki-bhaṭṭan, some land and a house to the south of the temple as arcanābhōga. The land given is described thus: “emmūr vilaiyuv-pattiyil dēva kutṭaiyum uṇangal-pidiyum.” 288 of 1895; SII. iii. 187.

Kāṭṭūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrāṭi-Adhipati-varman. Sale of land as taṇṇīrppāṭṭi by ūr to Patṭaiyanār, the mēnāyakam (superintendent) of the Perundaram, who built the ambalam of this village. 252 of 1912; SII. iii. 188.

Maduramangalam (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by Oḷōka-Mahārāy ā r to temple of Oḷōkamahārāy ā r-Tiruċcīṟam-balattāḷvār at Maḷalai-mangalam in Maṇayir-kōṭṭam. 320 of 1909; SII. iii. 189.

Podavūr (Ch)—Sale of land, free of taxes, by uravar to Patti, brother of Tennavan-mādeviyyār, who had the proprietary right over the village (iuvūr āvāta) of Mērpiḍavūr in Puriśai-nāḍu. 68 of 1923.

Year 10.—Takkolam (NA.)—Kō - Pārthivēndrāṭhipati - varman. The sabhā of Rājamāṭāṇḍa-catm. (Maṇayir-kōṭṭatto
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Tiruvūralpurattu tan-kṛṣṇu) accepted from Kumaraṇfangai, the daughter of Nandinangai, herself the daughter of Tiruvūral-dēvanār, gold weighing 92 kāḷaṇju (by dharmakāṭṭaḷai-ēḷai?) to be used for offerings to Kaḷigai-viṭanka, set up by Kumaraṇfangai in the Iraṇa-śinga-virar-paḷḷiḷk-kaṭṭīl-maṇḍapam in the temple of Tiruvūral-dēvar. Mentions 92 kāḷi of paddy by marakkāl Kaṭvaramoḷi.

13 of 1897; SII. iii. 190.

Year 10.—Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Viṭa Pāṇḍiyan - talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndraṭādi-varman. 96 sheep for a lamp to Gōvindapāḍi-dēva by Vāṇarāja Alagamaiyan.

327 of 1906; SII. iii. 192.

" Velacceri (Ch.)—Land for offerings to the temple of the Seven Mothers by a native of Māḷa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Sōla-nāḍu.

316 of 1911; SII. iii. 191.

Year 11.—Kaṭalur (SA.)—Lamp by Nagarattār.

281 of 1915.

" Kurram (Ch.)—Sale of land tax-free by the āḷūm-sabhā to a person for building a rest-house (ambalam) and for the supply of water in it during summer.

105 of 1923.

Year 11, day 324.—Uttaramērur (Ch.)—Pārthivēndradhipati-
varman. Land given by the queen (Ūḍāiyār-dēviyār) Vīllavan-mahādēviyār to the image set up by her and to the temple for śrībali and arcanaḥbhōga, 2920 kuḷi; the mahāsabhā take pūrvačāram and make the land tax-free; the śraddhāmantas were to enforce the proper maintenance of the charities; they had power to levy a fine up to 25 kāḷaṇju for default.

32 of 1898; SII. iii. 193.

Year 12.—Kāṉeipuram (Ch.)—Fifty kāḷaṇju of gold by Danmaponnār alias Traḷiōkya Māḍēviyār, the queen of Perumāṇaḍīgal; and 200 kāḷi of paddy to be supplied as interest on this amount at 4 per kāḷaṇju. Money deposited with the ur of Tiraiya-mangalam.

17 of 1921.
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Year 12.—Tirumāl puram (NA.)—Anaiyaman Paramanādittan, called Virāṭarāja, built a māṇḍapa in the temple. 323 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II. 65.

"Tirumāl puram (NA.)—Gift by Virāṭa king (Anaiyaman’s son?) for feeding fifteen Brahmans daily.
324 of 1906.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhīpati-varman. Land.
69 of 1898.

Year 12, day 184—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Land by Viśuddhamatipāṇḍitar for abhiṣēka to god. The gāṇappermakkal of the kōyil-vāriyam had to supervise this.
241 of 1915.

"day 326—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhīpati-varman. Land, after purchase from the farmers of the town, given to god of the Śrī-Vali-śiṣṇugṛha built at Uttaramērūr by Kongaraiyar, for music at śrībāli (śrībāli-koṭṭuvādarākkku) by queen (Tambirāṭṭiyār) Tribhuvana-mahādeviyār. The sābhā took pūrvēcāram from the same queen and made the land igaiyilli. The śraddhāmāntas had power to fine defaulting persons 25 kāḷaṇju each.
49 of 1898; SII. iii. 194.

Year 13.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Thirty kāḷaṇju gold for maintaining the abhiṣēka-brāhmaṇa by a daily wage and two cloths in every six months; endowment by Mūvāyiravan Trairūjya Ghaṭikā Madhyasthan. Kāḷaṇju is equated with nīśka. The gāṇappermakkal for each year in charge.
197 of 1915.

"Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Fifty kāḷaṇju of gold by queen Danmaponnār alias Trailōkya-mādēviyār. Residents, ür, of Pannaippuram, were required to supply 100 kāṭji of paddy as interest to the temple,
18 of 1921.

"Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Thirty kāḷaṇju by same queen to residents (ür) of Pondūr for one lamp. Measure: üragattu-minūr-kōḍak-kīl-nāḷi.
19 of 1921.
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Kiṣīyanūr (SA.)—Twenty-five sheep for lamp by a certain daṇḍpanāyaka. 157 of 1919.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyana-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivendra-rādhi-varman. Twenty-five kāḷaṇjju of gold for two lamps left with sahā of Pattālam alias Ejuṇūruva-catm. by Vajjavai-mahādēviyār, daughter of Nandi-varma Kaṭupatīgala; (perhaps the queen of P.) 266 of 1906; SII. iii. 197.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Land, 2000 kuḷi, by purchase, for feeding a Brahman in a maṭha at Siṟriyāṟrūr. The donor was Perumāḻ-pirakērum-ānaiyāḻ Mannan Kannan alias Vārahappēraraian. 328 of 1906; SII. iii. 198.

Tirumullaiyīl (Ch.)—Pārthivendra-rādhipati-varman. Viḷattūr-kilavan Śingajā Vira-nāraṇan, a native of the Cōla country, gave ninety sheep for a perpetual lamp to the Mahādēva of the village, a dēvadāna in Pulakēkoṭṭattu Veḷḷaiyūr-nāḍu. 683 of 1904; SII. iii. 196.

Uttarameṟṟ (Ch.)—Pārthivendra-rādhipati-varman. Queen (Perumāṇāṭigala nambirāṭṭiyār) Tribhuvana Mahādēvi gave 192 sheep, for two lamps, to the Perumāṇāṭigala of the Kongaraiyar Śrīkēyil, distributed equally between the Veḷḷaiyar of Panmaic-cēri and the merchants (viṟṟāṭigala) of Naṟṟuvilangūḍi. Stops rather abruptly with the clause: "Iviṟṟa āṟu kāḷaṇjju kāṟaṇ-viṟṟu anṟṟē-kōvukku dēvaradiyāṟe niṟṟada-māṇ-jāḍip-pōn da. . . . . ." 52 of 1898; SII. iii. 195.

Vengalattūr (NA.)—Land to temple. 94 of 1921.

Year 13, day 120.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Thirty kāḷaṇjju of gold by Caturan Mūvāyiravan Trairāja Ghaṭikā-Madhyaś-
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than. It was placed under the charge of Gaṇavāri-yap-perumakkal of Rājamalla-catm. subject in case of default, to a fine to be levied by the Śraddhāmantar. Mentions dhanmakkaṭṭalai-tulai-nilai.

194 of 1915.

Year 15.—Parandūr (Ch.)—Tax-free gift of land for maintenance of seven musicians for service during śrībali.

75 of 1923. *

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Year 2.—Kuhur (Tj.)—Land by purchase for offerings and worship to Aditta Isvaram Udayiar. 287 of 1917.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Remission of taxes on temple land by the assembly of Videlvitudugcatm. for 50 kasu received from some Karikala-Solat-terinja-kaikkojar.

136 of 1926. *

Year 3.—Minjur (Ch.)—(Verse) Madhurantaka. Temple of Solakulasundara-Vinnagar constructed in this year by one Kesavan Karukkaikkon for god Alivalak-kseava.

134 of 1916.

Year 4.—Kumbakonam (Tj.)—Parakesarivarman. Sale of land by the Mulaparudai of Tirukkuadamukkil for a lamp in a temple in the name of Kari Kolamban, a Kaikkoolan.

245 of 1911; † SII. iii. 129.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakesarivarman. A silver vessel of 400 kalaNju for holding offerings to god, presented by Ayyan Marasingan § alias Virasekharaka Muvendavelan.

114 of 1926.

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Parakesarivarman. Two kasu to the temple by Panaiyan Kodanjan, one of the Ijaiyavall-perra-kaikkoolar.

125 of 1926.

Year 5.—Vilanagar (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings at ardhayama service to Tirunalarkoily Mahadeva at Vilainagar, a brahmadesya on the south bank, by Ora hottesth Srbbaiyar, the chief queen (agramahadeviyur) of king Uttama Cola. Mentions the stream Neriyundaicolap-paru.

165 of 1925.

Year 6.—Konerivajapuram (Tj.)—Land for lamp to Adityesvaram § -udaiya Mahadeva at Tirunallam.

638 of 1909; SII. iii. 130.

* Date may be April 12, A. D. 969. ARE. 1926 App. E and II 17.
† 22nd April, A. D. 975. ARE. 1912 II 20.
‡ Perhaps so called after Ganga Marasimha ARE. 1926 II 18.
§ After Gangaarditya I ?
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Year 6.—*Paḷankōyil (NA.)—Parakēsarivarman. Village Ōdiyam-baliam given as a tax-free *devudāna to Mahādeva at Tiruppalan-gōḻur by Kampanān Irāman alias Uttama-sōla Piridi-gangaraīyan, chief of Pangaja-nādu * in Palkunra-kōṭṭam, with the consent of the king got while he was at Kāncipuram. Mentions a Mīnavanom Mūvēndavēḷān as the vākal-kēlvi. 352 of 1925.

"Tiruvaṇḍainai (Ch.)—Parakēsarivarman. Lamp to Maṇavāḷa Perumāl * to be maintained with $\frac{1}{4}$ measure of oil every day as interest on 30 kaḷaṇjū of gold accepted by the ār of Tiruvaṇḍainai; who undertook never to remit the interest in cash (pon) on pain of a daṇḍam at the dhannmāsana of $4\frac{1}{2}$ kāṇam and a maṇiṟṟupāṭu of 1 maṇiẏaḷi pon to the ruling king (angūṟkōvukku) for every day of default. The oil was to be given regularly to the Tiruvaṇḍainai-vāriyar.

268 of 1910; SII. iii. 125.

Year 8. †—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Parakēsarivarman. Sheep for lamp by one perhaps of Uṭḍaiyār-Gaṅțḷarādittat-terirāja-kāikkōḷar. 229 of 1911; SII. iii. 131.


"Tiruvenkāṭṭu (Tj.)—Parakēsarivarman. Land for lamp by a queen of Uttama Cōḷa. 486 of 1918.

Year 9.—Kaṇḍiyār. (Tj.)—Lamp and offerings on the birthday of the donor, Puduvōrṇḍaiyān Māyaṇ Kāṇjanan alias Villavan Mūvēndavēḷān, to Tirukkaṇḍiyār Viraṭṭanattu Mahādeva. 13 of 1895; SII. iii. 134.

Year 10.—Nallūr (Tj.)—An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Mahādeva at Nallūr by Mānakkūṟai-Viranāṟiyāṇa-

* In the Bēḷa country. The chief was perhaps the son and successor of Pūṭhivipati II. ARE. 1925 II 11.

† This image was presented to the temple of Varṇādēva by Rājamēḷiyār. 264, 266 of 1910 ARE. 1911 II 19.

‡ 30 Jan; A. D. 579. ARE. 1912 II 20.
nār under orders of the king, Śrīkāryam ārācciyil uḍaiyār tirumugam koṉuvandu.

41 of 1911; SIT. iii. 136.

Year 10.—Uḍaiyāruguḍi (SA.)—(Grantha). Building of the sabhā by Nambiyenbān and land for feeding 100 Brahmans in that hall.

578 of 1920.

Year 11.—Tirukkōṇikāval (Tj.) — Parakēsariwarman. Construction by Śembiyan-mahādēviyār, with stone, of Śrī-vimāṇa of the temple, an old brick structure, and re-engraving of old inscriptions that lay scattered on the walls of the temple. One of them is a Mārañja-daiyān record (4 + 9 yr.) containing a gift of Varaguna-mahārāja.

36 of 1931.

Year 12.—Gōvindaputtūr (Tri.)—Land, made tax-free, by Śēkkilān Araiyam Sankaranārāyanan alias Śōla-muttaraiyam of Kūvannur to the temple of Śrī Kailāyattu Paramasvāmi at Periya-vānava-mahādēvi-catm.

158 of 1929.

Gōvindaputtūr (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Ambalavan Paḻuvūr-nakkan alias Vikramaśōla-mārāyan, the perundaram of Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, built of stone the Śrī-vimāṇa of the temple at Vijayamaugalam in Periyavānava-mahādēvi-catm., a brahmadeva on the north bank.

165 of 1929.

Gōvindaputtūr (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Sheep for lamp by Aparāyitan Seyyavāyaṃa, wife of Ambalavan Paḻuvūr-nakkan alias Vikramaśōla-mārāyan of Kuvāḷām, who erected the stone temple.

166 of 1929.

Gōvindaputtūr (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Sheep for lamp by Kāṇci-Akkan, wife of Vikramaśōla Mārāyar (See 166).

167 of 1929.

Melappalūvūr (Tri.)—36 sheep for lamp in the northern shrine of the Mahādēva temple at Avani-Kandarpaiśvara-grham, a dēvadāna in Mannup-perumbalūvūr in Kungā-kūṟram.

379 of 1924.

* Figures also in 168, 163 and 160 of years 3, 7 and 7 respectively of Rājarāja I. See also 164 of year 14 Uttama Cōḷa.
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Year 12.—Şembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Money to be deposited with the catuvēdi-bhaṭṭattānap-perumakkal, for offerings on birthday of Şembiyan-mahādēviyār, by five queens of Uttama Cōḷa, Paṭṭan Dānatongi, Maḷapāḍi Tennaṅān - mādēviyār, and Vāṅnavan - mahādēviyār, daughter of a certain Irungōḷar, and the daughters of Vīḷupparaiyār and Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyār. 494 of 1925.

Year 12. *—Tiruvilākkuḍi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Remission of taxes by assembly of Viḷōḷviḍugu-catm. on lands purchased by Ayyan Mārasingan alias Viraśekhara Mūvendavēḷān for lamp and for water from the Kāvērī. 112 of 1926.

Uḍaiyārguḍi (SA.)—Parakēsari. Land for feeding five Brahmins every day and a perpetual lamp in the temple by Adīgal Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Gaṇḍan Sundara-sōḷan for the merit of his younger brother Gaṇḍan Śatrubhayankaranār. 592 of 1920. †

Year 13. †—Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gift of land by Viṟanāṟaṇiṇiyār, daughter of,.... and Nambirāṭṭiṇiyār of Śrī Uttamaśōḷar, for providing garlands of flowers to the Tirukkil-kōṭṭattup-perumāḷ temple. The land was sold to the donor by the mūlaparudai of ......... 240 of 1911; SII. iii. 137.


* February 16, A. D. 980 (?) ARE. 1926 App. E. and II 17.
† Uttama Cōḷa was the only Parak. in this period who ruled over ten years; hence all Parak. records from this place with years 10 to 16 may be his. The name of the feudatory given here, perhaps taken from Paṟñantaka II, also leads us to give this Parak, a place among his successors. ARE. 1921 II 29. See also Vṛddhācalam under Parak. 12.
‡ 9th June, A. D. 982 ARE. 1912 II 20.
§ A. D. 981-2 ARE. 1908 II 53.

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Year 14.—Aṇḍanallūr (Tri.)—Parakēśari. Gift of land by Šembiyani Irkkukvēḷ alias Pūdi Parāntakan, * who built the stone temple (Vaṭṭṭirthanātha) at Anuvanallūr Tiruvālandurāi. Gift of dēvadāna on the day of Jalasamprōkṣaṇa. Contains the phrase: Tiruppadiyam pā......... 358 of 1903; SII. iii. 139.

Gōvindaaputtūr (Tri.)—Parakēśari. Ambalavan Paḻuvūr-nakken alias Vīkramaśōla-mārāyan, the perundarum of Uttamaśōla, built of stone the Śri-vimāna of the temple of Vijayamangalattu-mahādēva, and made a gift to it of the village of Neḻuvāyil. 164 of 1929. †

Tirumullaiyāyil (Ch.)—(modern Characters). Gift of land, purchased tax-free for 80 pon from the sabhā of Ambattūr, by Taṇṭiratta-mahādēviyār Šembiyani Mahādēviyār, queen of Gaṇḍarāṭṭa-perumāl and daughter of Maḷavaraiyār.

669 of 1904; SII. iii. 141; MCO. Mag. ix. p. 109.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp in the nāṭakaśālai-maṇḍapa in the temple erected by Attāman Ayyāran alias Kaṇḍatōḷ Gaṇḍappayyan of Pūṇganṟam.

398 of 1921.

Tiruvilakkūḍi (Tj.)—Parakēśari. Silver vessel, weighing thirty Ḍakkāśu, for water offering (taṇṭir-amudu) to deity during the worship. Gift by Ayyan Mārasingan. (See 112 of year 12). 133 of 1926.

Year 14, day 216.—Tirumāḻpuram (NA.).—Kō-nōn-inmaikoṇḍān. Gift of a village. Śīrṇyāṟṟūr in Maṇaiyil-nāḍu, a subdivision of Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭam had been granted as a dēvadāna and brahmadēya in the 21st year of Tōṇḍa-maṇiṅgāṟṟūr-aṉūṉa Uḍaiyār, to the sabhā of Puduppāk-kam, a brahmadēya of Puriṅsi-nāḍu in the same kōṭṭam. Though a sāsana was drawn up in the next

* Son of Vikramaśōari of Koḻumbūḷūr (Venkayya) ARE. 1908 II 88, 91 quoted also by H. K. Sastri.

† The Sanskrit part of the record says that he got the title Vīkramaśōla-mahārāya from the king, proof that Vīkrama Cōḷa was a title of Uttama Cōḷa, ARE. 1929 II 29.
year, the village was not entered in the accounts as a dēvadāna and brahmadēya. This mistake was rectified in the fourth year of Parakēsarivarman who took Madurai and Ílam, and the sabhā of Puduppākkam were remitting the produce and gold due from them to the Mahādēva temple at Tirimālērū. In the 36th year of the king last mentioned, the dues from Puduppākkam were increased as the result of a fresh grant; the village assembly did not remit the new items properly, and the temple authorities lodged a complaint to the king when he was in the ground-floor (ādi-bhūmi) of the pon-māṭigai within his palace (nam-viṭṭin-ullāl) at Kāncipuram. The king after due enquiry fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple. Interesting details of administrative procedure given. 286 of 1906; SII. iii. 142. *

Year 15.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Mentions Tirumayāna-purattukkaṭavul-sabhai who accept an endowment of gold for a lamp.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gift of lands for offerings and worship in the temple of Kailāsamudaiya-mahādēva built by Uḍaiyarirāṭṭiyār Madhurāntakān Māṭēvaḍigajār alias Śembiyan-māṭēviyār, mother of Gaṇḍan Madhurāntakā-dēvar alias Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, by Uraṭṭayan Śorabbaïyār alias Tribhuvanamāṭēviyār, queen of Uttama Cōḷa, who purchased, for the purpose, some land to supplement her own.

485 of 1925.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. List of articles required for worship etc., on sankrānti days for which provision was made by Uraṭṭayan Śorabbaïyār, the mūḷa-māṭirāṭṭiyār of Uttama Cōḷa.

488 of 1925.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gold forehead plate for the image of the deity by Paṭṭan Dānatongiyār, queen of Uttama Cōḷa. The village with the

* See Introduction to this record by H. K. Sastri for the reasons for assigning it to Uttama Cōḷa.
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temple of Kailāsamūdaiyār was founded by Śembiyan Mahādēvi, as a brahmādēya in Aḷa-nāḍu on the south bank. * 490 of 1925.

Year 15.—Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Fly-whisk with a gold handle by Paṅcavan Mahādēviyar, queen of Parak. Uttama Cōḷa. 491 of 1925.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. 507½ kālāṇju by a lady (queen?), Kaṇṇapparaśiyār alias Sonnamahādēviyar, for offerings on the day of Kēṭṭai in Cittirai, the birthday of Śembiyan Mahādēviyar, the founder of the temple and the village. The money was to be in the charge of Caturvēdi-bhaṭṭattānappurumakkal. 492 of 1925.

Tiruvorğiṇṭh (Ch.)—An image of Śrībali-dēva, eight bugles (kāḷam) and 24 fly whisks with gold handles made by order of Uttama Cōḷa, (dēvarāyamey-kōṇju ponnāl ṣeyvittik-kōṇukka). Mentions an officer Śenniyeripāḍai-cōḷan-Uttamaśōḷan. 166 of 1912; SII. iii. 143.

Year 16.—Āḍuturai (Tj.)—Temple of Āpatṣahāyēśvara built by the mother of Śrī-Madhurāntaka-dēva alias Śrī Uttama Cōḷa. Mentions the name Tirukkurangāduturai for the place; and the re-engraving on the new structure of worn-out inscriptions mentioning endowments to the shrine. 357 of 1907; SII. iii. 144.

Mēḷappalāvūr (Tri.)—Provision for lamp in temple by Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Māravānār. 395 of 1924.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Parakēsari. 590 kālāṇju of gold by Ārūrán Ambalattāḍigal, a queen of Uttama Cōḷa, and another gift of 145 kālāṇju (in both cases weight by ēṛkkal) by Uraṭṭayān Śorabbai alias Tribhu-vana-mahādēviyar, for offerings on birthdays of Śembiyan Mahādēvi. The committee called Śāsana-baddha-caturvēdi-bhaṭṭattānappurumakkal, to whom the gifts were entrusted, is said to have been the creation of Śembiyan-mādēvi herself. 496 of 1925.

* This statement is repeated verbatim in 491 and 492.
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Year 16.—Tirukkolambiyyur (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Land as tiruc-
cennaḍaip-puram to Madhurāntakan Umā-bhaṭṭāraṇiyār
in the Tirukkolamba-dēvar temple by Āruṇa Ponnamba-
balattādiṭaḷ, the queen of Uttaṇa Cōḷa, after purchasing
it from a lady Kāḍal Śingam, through her son Mahā-
māṭran Gautama Kēśāvan Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ of Śāttanūr.
Taxes remitted by assembly of Pērāvūr in return for
a lump payment. Ḫakkarungāsu mentioned.

47 of 1925.

"Tiruppuḷagur (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Land as Ḳaṭiyili by
Uttaṇa Cōḷa-mādeviyār alias Gōpan-sākappu......, after
purchase from the sabhā and tanippurūsār, to
Kailāsamaṇḍāya Mahādeva at Tripura ...... mangalam
a brahmādeva in Kūṛamba-nāḍ.

66 of 1928.

"Tiruvarūṇiyur (Ch.)—888 kalāṇju of tūḷai-nigai-pun
from the revenues of the temple (dēvarāyamey-kūṭṭi)
for a salver (kuṭṭatīṭaḷ), and 40 kalāṇju for offerings
by Nandisaraṇa alias Parakēsari Viḷūpparaṇyan of Elī-
ṇūr, (Elīṇūr-kīḷavan), who was the officer managing
the temple affairs (ṛi-kāryam-arāyinīga) at the time.

245 of 1912 ; SII. iii. 145.

Ś. 901 and Kali 40(8)0—Uyyakkakōṇān - Tirumalai (Tri.)—
Uttaṇa Cōḷa Parakēsari. Land, for offerings.

456 of 1908 * ; SII. iii. 135.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following :

Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Mentions queen Viṇārāyaṇiyaṛ.

3 of 1906.

Kōṇērīvājapuram (Tj.)—Temple of Tirunallamaṇḍāiyāṛ †
was built of stone by Mādevaḷiṭaḷ, queen of Gaṇḍa-
rāḍitta-dēva and mother of the king.

450 of 1908 ; SII. iii. 146.

* Though very seriously damaged, this record is invaluable for its date.
† Called elsewhere Āḍityēvara from Gaṇḍarāḍitaṇya who is figured in stone
in this temple. SII. iii pl. xi.
PARAKESARI UTTAMA COLA

Tulaiccangādu (Tj.)—Silver vessel (sambaram), weighing 151 kaļaŋju, to the big temple of Mahādēva by Pirāntakan Mādevigaḷ alias Śembiyān Mahādēvi, mother of Uttama Cōla. 204 of 1925.

Tirunagaiyār (Tj.)—Land for offerings to the temple of Siddheśvaram-ulaïya-mahādēva by queen Pirāntakan Mādevaṅgalār alias Śembiyān Mādeviyār who gave birth to Uttama Cōla. 159 of 1908; SII. iii. 149.

Tiruppūlatturai (Tri.)—Mentions construction by some one (king?) of Dayāparap-pērambilam and the grant of some land as ambalappuram, made iṟaiyilai by the assembly which received a lump payment. Iṟaivyili-yēga panīcū......nilamudalum pottagattum iṟaivyilē Tiruppūlatturai śri vimānattē śālēkhai ṣeydu....... iṟaikēttuk-koḻuppōmānōm perungugi-sabhaiyōm. * 569 of 1908; SII. iii. 150.

* H. K. Sastri translates: "Caused the deduction of the taxes (to be entered) in the land register (nilamudal ?), the tax register (pottagam)" etc.
RĀJAKĒSARI RĀJARĀJA I

(Acc. 25th June—25th July A.D. 985)

Year 2.—Tirunayaiyūr (Tj.)—Rājak. Silver vessels and a chauri of gold to the temple by Udaiya-piraṭṭiyār Śembiyan Mahādēviyār alias Pirantakam Mādēvaḍigāḷar. * 156 of 1908.

" Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Rājak. Silver vessels by Śembiyan Mahādēviyār for (merit of) Śri Uttama Cōḷa-dēva. 570 of 1904.

Year 3.—Gōvindapattra (Tri.)—Rājak. Sabhā of Periya Vānav Mahādēvi-catm. got 200 kāḷaṇṭu from a perundaram of Mummuḍi-Cōḷa-dēva, Ambalavan Pālūvūr- nakkan alias Vikrama-śōḷa-Mahārāyaṇ, for the īgaikāval on 1¼ vēli of land. 168 of 1929.

" Kīḷappalūvūr (Tri.)—Rājak. Two silver vessels by the wife (dēviyār nambrāṭṭīgalār) of Vikrama-śōḷa-Iḷangōvēḷar, daughter of Pālūvēṭṭaraiyār, when Kauśikan Nakkan Māyaṇ was looking after temple affairs (śrī-kāryam-ārāyaṇīkā) under orders from Aḍīgaḷ Pāluvēṭṭaraiyar Kāṇḍan Maṇavaṇ. 110 of 1895; SII. v. 671.

" Kīḷappalūvūr (Tri.)—Rājak. Two gold ornaments by Aḍīgaḷ Pālūvēṭṭaraiyar Kāṇḍan Maṇavaṇ. 111 of 1895; SII. v. 672.

" Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Rājak. List of articles such as golden pot, paṭṭam, gold flowers, with their weights noted, as presented to the temple of Śri Kailāsamudaiyār by the mother of Uttama Cōḷa in the month Mīna in that year. 497, 498 of 1925.

* The presence of this lady’s name is the reason for assigning this and similar records to this king. (ARE. 1909 II 41).
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 3.—Tiruccengāṭṭangudi (Tj.)—Rājak. Rājarāja-dēva. Land for two lamps to shrine of Śrīla-dēva by Veḷḷālan Ulagan Śirriyan alias Tappillā Mūvēndavēḷān.

56 of 1913.

"Tirukkaḷittattai (Tj.)—Rājarājak. Land for offerings and for supply of 108 pots of bathing water at monthly Sankrāntis to the temple of Mahādēva at Amanināra-yaṇa-catm. by Kīlāṇādīgaḷ, the daughter of Vilupparaiyar and queen of Uttama Cōla-dēva, son of Gāndharādittā-dēva.

298 of 1908.


453 of 1908.

"Tirumālpiram (NA.)—Lamp. Gold with ērēr of Śerukūr by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍharādittān.

285 of 1906; 292-A of 1906.

"Tirumālpiram (NA.)—Sale of land for upkeep of a lamp. Mentions Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍharādittān and Śōla-mādeviyār alias Paṇcavan-mādeviyār, (queen of Mummuḍi Cōla), † the latter being donor.

294 of 1906.

"Tirumālpiram (NA.)—Gold by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍharādittān.

295 of 1906.

"Tirumālpiram (NA.)—(Gr. and Tam.) Gold for feeding Brahmans by Madhurāntakan Ācappīḍāraṇ (Āditya in the grantha portion), son of Vīra-śōla-Ilāngovēḷār of Koṭumbāḷūr in Kō-nāḷu.

306 of 1906. ‡

"Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.)—Rājarājak. Silver pot by Uḍaiya Pirāṭṭiyār, mother of Śrī-kaṇḍan Madhurāntakan alias Uttama Cōla, on behalf of her son to god at Tiruppurambiyam. A weighing scale called inguraitaiyāk-kālī.

338 of 1927.

"Tiruvaiyāku (Tj.)—A chauri to temple by Paṇcavan Mādeviyār, queen of Mummuḍi Cōla.

147 of 1918.

* Title assumed in this year? - ARE. 1909 II 42.
† i. e., Rājarāja I.
‡ Rājarāja I. Sanskrit part gives name Rējarāja.
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Year 3.—Tiruv or r i y u r (Ch.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi Cōla-dēva. Gold necklace (palittongal) called Rājarājan; an ottuvaṭṭil of gold called Mummuḍi-sōḷan, and a gold door for the Mēvāsi called Rājarājan, by a certain Vaiṣikkēytnai Gūnasīlan of Mullak-kurumbu in the Cōla country, for the merit of Aḍīgal Nīrāḍi, chief of Ürūkkāḍu, a village in Āvūr-kōṭṭam of Sō-ṇāḍu, who was in charge of śrī-kāryam of Tiruvorriyūr-āḷvaṛ. The jewels were made from accumulated savings of 810 kalāṇju from the temple income. 235 of 1912.


115 of 1895; SII. v. 676.

Śembiyanmahāḍēvi (Tj.)—Remission by assembly of taxes on some temple lands. 493 of 1925.

Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi Cōla. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Agniśvara at Tirumāḻpuru by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāḍitār with a committee of five members. Proof obtained of neglect and misappropriation of endowments. 283 of 1906. *

Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—96 sheep for a lamp by Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyar Tambirānḍigaḷ Vānava-māḍēviyar alias Tribhuvana-māḍēviyar, the mother (ācči) of Śrī-Rājendra Cōla-dēvar and the queen of Śrī Rājaraṇa-dēva.

117-A of 1896†; SII. v. 982.

Year 4, day 24.—Madhurāntakam (Ch.)—Kandaḷur-sālaik-kalam-arutta Rājak. The mahāsabhā of the place agreed to conduct a festival to god Tiruvenkāṭṭu-Paramēśvara with the twenty-five pon, collected from a merchant of Vīra-sōḷappērangaḍi; and the tax kālaḷavu-kōḷ-kūli. The madhyastha was also a signatory.

395 of 1922.

* 282 of Year 12.
† 448 of 1913 is same but fuller.

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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 4, day 154.—Madhurántakam (Ch.)—Kāndalūr-sālak-kalam-ārutta. An assignment of land by the mahāsabhā of Madhurántaka-catm., for opening round the temple a street which was named Tiruvenkāṭṭup-perun-deruvu; restrictions placed, and privileges granted to the Śivabrāhmaṇas, uvačcar, tapaśvins and the dēvarāḍiyār who were allowed to settle in it. 397 of 1922.

Year 5.—Dārāsuram (Tj.)—Land for sacred bath and śrībali to āḻvār of Tirusōmiśvaram at Tirukkuṭamūkku.

3 of 1915.

Kiḷappaluvūr (Tri.)—Rājak. Land sold by sabhā of Śirupaluvūr to Adigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavaṉ Kaṇṭan. 118 of 1895; SII. v. 679.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—An order of the assembly to the āṟ-vāriyam (Frag.)

495 of 1925.

Tiruccengōḻu (Coi.)—(Copper-plate) Rājakēsari. Lands to Paramēśvara of sacred Mūlāsthāna at Tūsīyūr by Kollimalāvaṉ Oṭṟiyūrān Piridiganaḍavarman. SII. iii. 213.

Tiruvanṭarkōvil (Pondicherry)—Rājak. The silver vessels and gold of Tiruvāṟai-nakkan-kōyil Paramasvāmin having been utilised in former years by the sabhā, certain lands were given in exchange to the temple in the 28th year of the reign of king Kannaradēva. Mention is made also of a gift of land in the 14th year of Madiraikoṇṭa Parakēsari. 359 of 1917.

Tiruvēṭṭikupp (Tj.)—Rājak. Thirty iron torch-lights (iruppup - pīḍi - viṭakkku) by Rājarāja-dēva, fifteen servants being retailed for holding the lights. 68 of 1895; SII. v. 625.

* In this record the word 'kāṇaṟṟu' about which Krisnha Sastri makes curious surmises seems really to mean 'boundary stone' and is by no means, either a reference to the 'hero-stones' of Tamil literature or an engraver's mistake for 'kāṇṭṟṟu.' The word is very clearly engraved and occurs in three places in the same plate.

† i.e., 967-8 A.D., also the initial date of Uttama Cōḷa - ARE. 1918 II 23.

‡ Each man held two lights. cf. 53 of 1895 of Yr. 6.

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Year 5 —Tiruviṣaḷūr (Tj.)—Gold by a queen of Rājarāja-dēva by name Vaṭṭān Kāḷan Tongiyār for feeding five Brahmans. One hundred ḫakkāśu yielding 15 kāśu as dharmappaliśai. 19 of 1907.

Year 6.—Ś. 913.—Jōḍī - kempanapura (Mys.) — Cōḷa-nārāyaṇa. Land. MAR. 1917 p. 42.

" Takkōḷam (NA.)—Undertaking by the residents of Puriśai to pay interest in the form of paddy on 20 kalaṅju of gold received from the temple of Tiruvūral. 244 of 1921.

" Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Rājak. Fifty iron lights (iruppu-vilakkku) by Rājarāja-dēva for the śrīvali at night; oil 2 measures; the following were to hold these torches: eight sweepers (tirumeḷukkiṭuvār), four buglers (kāḷumūdīgal), one cook of the śīlai (aḍuvān), three tenants (kuṭigal) of the flower-garden (nandavanam), and eight others, resident in houses belonging to the temple, who are not dēvar-nivandakkārer and are used to hold the lights every day. 53 of 1895; ŠII. v. 610.


" Tirumanaṇṭjerī (Tj.)—At the command of Uḍaiya-pirāṭtiyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa, Āḷūrān Kamban alias Tirukkarṛal-picecan of the village gave 16 kalaṅju of gold for sandal paste etc., to Mahādēva at Tirumanaṇṭjerī, which is stated to be near Kaḷalangudi. Mentions pīṭilīgaivāri. 9 of 1914.

" Tiruveṅkāṭu (Tj.)—Rājak. Mentions images made and jewels and vessels presented by Parāntakar Māḍēviyār alias Śembiyān Māḍēviyār, daughter of Māḷavaraiyar, mother of Uttama Cōḷa and queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, in the fourth and sixth years of Uttama Cōḷa, in the fourth

* Sunday 1st December A.D. 989. Ef. ix p. 207 (Kielhorn).
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

year of Rājakēsari, in the 3rd and 10th years of Para-
kēsari and in the second year of Gaṇḍarāditya-đēva

Year 6.—Tiruvīśaḷ (Tj.)—Mentions a person belonging to the
Uḍaiyar Kōḍaṇḍarāma-tanicōvagam. 342 of 1907.

Year 7.—Aṭaṅgādriputtār (Tj.)—Land by sabhā of Pāradāyakūḍi,
a brahmāṇḍēya, to temple for offerings. Mentions the
construction of the central shrine with stone by Pullāli
Śattan Kārivēḷar Kaṇḍarādittan alias Mummuḍi-
Śōliyavaraiyar. 283 of 1908.

Elvānāśūr (SA.)—Mentions the 15th year of Śrī-Uttama
Cōḷa-đēva, the son of Šembiyan Māḍēviyār and two
Milāḍu chiefs. 176 of 1906.

Gōvvindaputtār (Tri.)—Ambalavan Paḷuvūr-nakkkan alias
Rājarāja Pallavaraiyan of Kuṇalālam, a perundaram
of the king, appointed Śeṭṭapōsān Veṇṇayakramavittan
as manager of the temple of Viśaiyamangala-đēvar;
and the sabhā entrusted the manager with certain
powers. 160 of 1929.

Kuhūr (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Rājarāja Pallava-
raiyan of Kuṇalālam, one of the perundaram of the
king. 291 of 1917.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Gift by Uraṭṭayan Šorabbaiyār
alias Tribhuvana-māḍēvaḷīgaḷ, the senior queen of
Uttama Cōḷa, of 100 kāṣu, deposited with the
Śāvanahaddha - caturvēdi - bhāṭṭatāṇa-perumakkaḷ of
Śrī-kailāsam. From the interest, offerings were to be
made in the temple on the Cittirai-tirukkuṭṭai day,
the asterism of her mother-in-law, Šembiyan Mahādēvi-
yār, who founded the village. 480 of 1925.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—Land by royal order to śrīkāryam
śeṭhēṇa Minavan Vilattur-nāṭṭuk-kōṇ for an endow-
ment for offerings (as detailed) in temple.
55 of 1895; SII. v. 612.

* This āl surname of Gaṇḍarāditya and the fact of his rule are new.
Rājarāja is the first Rājak. after Uttama Cōḷa. Palaeography is in support of
this. The order of reigns mentioned in the inscription is not chronological.
ARE. 1919 II 14.
THE COLAS

Year 7.—*Tiruvallam (NA.)*—A Brahman set up an image of Umā-bhātāraki and granted a lamp. He also purchased 1700 *kuṇi* of land tax-free, after paying ‘vilaidrayamum igaïdravyamum’ to the sabbā of Mandiram alias Jayamēru *-śrikaraṇa-mangalam,* and made it over to the Śivabrāhmaṇas who had to feed the lamp and supply the offerings.

8 of 1890; *SII. iii. 50.*

† *Tiruvallam (NA.)*—A visit to Tikkāḷi Āḻvār temple by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādīttanār ‡ who caused 1000 jars of water to be poured over the god. He also held the Śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple and the sabbā of Tirukkāḷivallam to account for the income and expenditure of the temple scheduled in the tiruvāṇai and the tiruvōlai; (rest of the inscription is built in).

10 of 1890; *SII. iii. 49.*

‡ *Tiruvallam (NA.)*—Details of expenditure for 74 *kaḷaṇju* of gold, realised as fine from the Śivabrāhmaṇas for misappropriation of temple lands, and 7 *kaḷaṇju* and 4 *maṇīṭī* which Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādīttanār who scrutinised the temple accounts had added to make up the deficit. The four *vāriyar* of Tikkāḷivallam, the two *vāriyar* of Mandiram, and two *kaṅṭanis* were to look after the expenditure in future. Paddy quoted at forty *kāṭi* per *kaḷaṇju.* Rate of interest 12%.

‡ This settlement is quoted in 227 of 1921 of Yr. 4, day 114 of Rējēndra I.

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RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I


" Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai (Tri.)—2,432 kalānjī of gold to Uyyakkoṇḍa-nīyānār ṭ temple for festivals by sābhā of Rājāsraya-catn. 457 of 1908.

" Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp, and a lamp-stand, by Malaiyavvai-dēvīyār, daughter of Pottappic-cōḷar Šattiyaraiyar and queen of Irungōḷa Prithipati Amani-mallar. Also 2 mā of land for flower-garden. 49 of 1918.

Year 8.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Lamp to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Perumāḷ at Tiruvāyppāḷi by a resident of Dantivarma-mangalam. 708 of 1909.

" Darśanakkōṇpu (Tv.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Kāndalūr-sālak-kalam-aṟutta. Mentions a meeting in the dēvadōna Tiruvarankōṇpu of the Karaṇattār for looking into the Taliṅkkaṇakku and Šavaikkkaṇakku. (Frag.) TAS. i. p. 238.

" Kilappāluvūr (Tri.)—Paḍāi Iḷaiya Iraṇamukha-rāman killed Kaikkōḷa Baladēvan Vayiri in a duel (uruvik-kutti); Adigāl Pāluʋēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavaṇār adjudged the case and as a result 90 sheep were given by the culprit for a lamp. 109 of 1895; SII. v. 670.

" Marudāḷu (NA.)—Land for a lamp by residents (nāṭṭom) of Marudāḷu to the Perundirukkōyil-āḷvār temple for the merit of Kalipperumān of Mākaṇār Pūṭtūr Āi who fell that Marudāḷu may not be destroyed. † 411 of 1912.

" Paṅcapañḍavamalai (NA.)—Remission by Uḍaiyār Vira-sōḷar, son of Uḍaiyār Ilādarājar Pugalvippavar-gaṇḍan,

* EI. iv pp. 136 ff.
† Called Tirukkāṅkudi-Viḷamiya-dēvār—in other 10th century records. ARE. 1909 II 42.
‡ Rice, Mysore and Coorg. pp. 186 ff.
of karpūra-vilai and anniyāyava-va-dāṇḍavirai in the village of Kūrakanpāḍi, an ikaiyilip-pallicceandam, on a representation from his wife Ilāḷa-mādēviyār that the collection of these dues by previous (kilppagal-aṇḍa) Ilāḷarājar affected this charity (Tiruppānmalai) adversely. 19 of 1890; EI. iv. p. 139.

Year 8.—Rēddipālem (Nel.)—Lamp by Mummudi Vaitumba Mahārājan alias Viṣṇu-dēvan alias Durai Araṇān.

N.I. G. 88.

Tiruvaṇandai (Ch.)—Tirumagaľ-pōla. Ilam, but not Raṭṭapāḍi. Sabhā and īr agree to maintain a lamp to Śri Bhaṭṭāraki of Śri Varāha-dēva, the goddess set up by a merchant of Mylapore, who gave also 15 kāḷaṇju of gold towards the lamp. 261 of 1910.

Tiruvirāmiśvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp and offerings by Kudiraikkāra Śōbhānayyān. 146 of 1911.

Year 9.—Āḍuturāi (Tj.)—Some temple land reclaimed by Śembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Uttama Čōja-dēva, and called Śembiyan Mahādēvi. 362 of 1907.

Kīḻur (SA.)—Gold for lamp by Kandaṇan Āmirtavalli, the mother of queen Ulōka - mahādēviyār; it was deposited with the Tiruvunṇālīgai sabhai. Also Īḻaṇṭakku worth two kāsū. 239 of 1902; EI. vii. p. 144.

Kuhūr (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple by some persons called Kōliyakkudāyār, who were unable to raise the money for paying som fines imposed on them. Mentions the harassing of royal officials in collecting the fine. 277 of 1917.


* cf. 395 of year 16 Uttama Čōja. Hence this Rājak. is Rājarāja I - who has no attributes up to year 9, becomes Kāndalūr-Ilaik-kalam-agutta in years 10-12, and has later on the Tirumagaľ introduction. ARE, 1924 II 10. Kāndalūr expedition placed in the middle of 995 A.D., because some records of year 10 (234, 248 of 1926) mention it while others (193 of 1926) do not ARE, 1926 II 23.
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Year 9.—Mēlpāṭi (C.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Ilam and Raṭṭapāṭi included. 96 sheep for lamp; liquid measure Rājakēsari. 97 of 1921.

" Paṇḍāravāḍai (Tj)—Silver plate and bronze stand to temple by Śembiyan Mahādēvi. 262 of 1923.

" Tirugōkarṇam (Pd.)—Land for up-keep of a tank by a Brahman from the Cōja country. 307 of 1904.

" Tiruneṭungalām (Tri.)—Land for (feeding) Śivayōgins. 687 of 1909.

" Tiruppūrampiyam (Tj.)—Some gold ornaments and a silver vessel were made out of the savings of the temple treasury between the second and ninth years of the reign. 78 of 1897; SHI. vi. 28.

" Tiruvāṭutiyai (Tj.)—Land as nṛtya-bhōga, on behalf of the temple, by the assembly of Śattanār met in the hall (cattusālai) to Kumaran Śrī-kaṇḍan who had the sākkai-kāṇi of the village, for acting the seven ankas of the Āriyakkuttu on festival days in Purattāśi in the temple of Tiruvāṭutiyai-ālvār. Provision is made for the supply of rice flour, betel leaves and areca nuts, gāḥi for mixing collyrium and turmeric. 120 of 1925.

" Tiruviḍaiyarudur (Tj.)—Gift of ornaments to Umābhāṭṭāraki by a servant of Nambirattiyār Śrī Paṇcavan-Mahādēviyār of Kōdanḍarāma-vēḷam of Taṇāvār. 278 of 1907.

Year 9, day 158.—Uttaramērur (Ch.)—Decision of the Mahāsabhā about the payment of fines imposed on several castes and communities of the place either in the king’s courts or otherwise †. Mentions the mukha-maṇḍapa of the Tulābhāra Śrī-kōyil ‡ where the assembly held its sittings. 197 of 1923.

* Year doubtful (9). † contra ARE. 1923 II 28.

‡ Probably the Sundara Varada temple whence the inscription comes. Perhaps the king performed a Tulābhāra here, sībīd.
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Year 10.—Darśanakkōppu (Tv.)—(Vatṭeḻuttu). Kāndaḻūrc-cālaik-kalam-aṟutta. One lamp by the sabhā for the merit of Pullanārāyaṇan. 


Kilappaluvūr (Tri.)—Kāndaḻūr-salai. Land by Araiyan Sundaraśōjan of the perundiyam of Paḻuvēṭtaraiyar Kaṅṭan Maṟavaṅar for the supply every day of a garland made of two nāṭi of tumbai flowers: ‘irundāḷit-tumbai-palṭṭāmam.’ 106 of 1895; SII. v. 667.

Kuhūr (Tj.)—Kāndaḻūr-salai. Land and house-site to Āditya Iśvara temple for the Śittirait-tiruvilā in the shrine of Nambi Āruṇan, by the ār and kaṇiṟyudaiya Kōliyakkuḍaiyārgaḷ. 299 of 1917.

Kūram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A sabhā-śrimukham of the sabhā of Kūram providing for repairs etc., of a matha. 33-A of 1900; SII. vii. 34.

*Sucindram (Tv.)—(Vatṭeḻuttu). Fifty sheep with the Mūḷaparādaś-sabhāi for lamp to Tiruc-civindirattumahāḍēva by Iḷanāṭṭu Maḷavaiyian Śenni Kaṅṭan. 71 of 1896; EI. v. p. 44; TAS. i. p. 238-9.

Tiṇḍīvanam (SA.)—Sālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Land, 2910 kuli, claimed for a musician who was to play on the lute (viṇṭai) and a vocalist to accompany the lute in the Tiṇḍīśvara temple at Kiḻangil. 141 of 1900; SII. vii. 154.

Tiruccengōḍu (Coi.)—(Copper-plate). Rājakēsari. (A) An order of Maḷavaiyian Sundaraśōja that the iṟai collected by him from the Nagarattār of Tūṣiyur viz.,

* The astronomical data in this record reduce the king’s accession to 25th June - 25 July A.D. 985. Kielhorn, EI. vi. p. 20
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mulumanai-kāllum arai-manai araikkāllum, shall be in the form of nīrīva-īcāi; and that in the case of dues under danṭangurram, the practice of Nandipura shall be followed. (B) Kollimalavan Piradigandan makes an endowment for the merit of his father who died in Ceylon (engan-āccar-iṭattuppaṇḍa avar śrimadāḥattukku-cīrupāṇ). SII. iii. 212.

Year 10.—Tirumāḻpuram (NA.)—Kāṇḍāḻur-śālai etc. Gold by Kuḷakkuḍaiyan Arunīḷai Śrīkṛṣṇan alias Mūvēnda Piḷavūr Vēḷar. A tiruppadiyam beginning Kōlanār-kuḷal composed by the father of the donor in praise of Gōvindapāḍi-āḻvār was to be sung at a festival.

333 of 1906.

" Tiruvilāṉarudūr (Tj.)—Kāṇḍāḻur-śālai. Gift of a gold flower by one Hṛdayaśīva of Tirupputtūr. 197 of 1907.

" Tiruvilāṉarudūr (Tj.)—Kāṇḍāḻur-śālai. Gold image of Umāsaḥitar by queen Paṅcavan Mahādēvi. 254 of 1907.

" Tiruvilāḻur (Tj.)—Kāṇḍāḻur-śālai. Money for lamp to Tiruvilāḻur-perumāḷ at Avananārāyaṇa-catm., a dēvadāna and brahmadēya. 3 of 1907.

" Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Kāṇḍāḻur-śālai. Land, by purchase, for water supply and a lamp. The tank, Kōkkiḷanādippērēri, is mentioned among the boundaries. 196 of 1919.

" Uyyakkoṇḍān - Tirunalai (Tri.) — Kāṇḍāḻur - śālai. Gift, by Sembiyāṉ Madhēvyār, mother of Kaṇḍan Madhurēntaka-dēvan alias Śrī Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, to Śrī Kārkuḍi Vilumiyār at Nandipana-mangalam, of a jewelled crown comprising: gold 149 kāḷāṉju; silver 190 odd kāḷāṉju; muttu (pearl) 700 in number; māṇikkam 3; and diamond (vayiram) 27.

95 of 1892; SII. iv. 542. †

* cf. SII. iii. 213 of year 5.

† 459 of 1908 seems to be same record.
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Year 10. — Viṣayanaṇāyaṇam. (Tin.) — (Vatṭeluttu)-Kāndāḷur-
śālai. Land as śalābhūga purchased from sabhā as iyaiyil, and fifty sheep for lamp to Manōmaya Iśvarattu
Perumāṇādi[; charities under supervision of sabhā.

7 of 1927.

Year 11.*—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Śālaik-kalam-ărutta. Provision
by sabhā of Vākūr for annual repairs to the tank at Bāhūr, at the rate of padakku-nel per pū per mā of
land in the village. 178 of 1902; SII. vii. 805.

" Brahmadēṣam (NA.)—Śālaik-kalam-ărutta. Village
called Rājamalla † catm. of Tiruvēgamabuparam in
(Dāmar)-kōṭṭam. 190 of 1915.

" Kōnērīvajapuram (Tj.)—Kāndāḷur-śālai. Gift by Uḍaiyapa-
rāṭṭiyār for singing the Tiruppadiyam. (?) †
631 of 1909.

" Olagapuram (SA.)—Kāndāḷur-śālai. Land for offerings
to shrine of Ivvūr-tergkil-vāsāl-mahāśattanār by Naga-
rattār of Ulagamādēvīpuram. 144 of 1919.

" Takkōlam (NA.) — Śālaik-kalam-ărutta Rājarājakēsari.
Twenty-five kalāṇju of gold deposited with Manaiyir-
kōṭṭattut-tiruvūrj-purattuc-ciṟūr-ūrōm who undertook
to supply paddy to the temple.
3 of 1897; SII. v. 1366.

" Tennēri (Ch.)—Gift of vessels to temple by Śembiyan
Mahādēviyār. Engraved on stone by sabhā by royal
order. 199 of 1901; SII. vii. 411.

" Tirukkōṭṭhiyīr (Rd.) — (Vatṭeluttu)-Rājarājakēsari. Land,
by purchase, for a lamp and for a Brahman for
explaining the Prābhākaram, by a native of Śatta-
mangalam in Tiraimūr-nādu.
333 of 1923.

† Possibly after a Ganga king - ARE, 1916 II 8.
‡ Purpose of grant not in the text, contra ARE 1910 II 18.

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Year 11.—Tirumālpuram (N.A.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Sheep for lamp by a native of the Cōļa country to the shrine of Anuma-dēva in the Viṣṇu temple. 335 of 1906.

" Tiruvaḷiśvaram (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeḷutta) - Kāndaḷūr - śālai. Land. Village called Rājarāja-catm. 119 of 1905. *

" Tiruveṟumūr (Tin.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. 34 sheep for lamp to Gaṇapati in the local temple. The donor was one of the āḷunganāttār of the village (iivār-yāḷunganāttār.) 98 of 1914.

" Tiruvirāmīśvaram (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the āḷunganāttār of the brahmadēya village, Madanamaṉjari-catm. 136 of 1911.

" Valappuranadu (Sm.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalam-āṟutta. The saḷṭapperumakkal of Tiruvāṟappaiḷḷi received gold for a lamp from a merchant, Malaiyamān Šēṭṭi. Mentions the weight malaikkal. 498 of 1930.

Year 11, day 164.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Śālaik-kalam-āṟutta. The great assembly met in the brahmasthāna of the village and made the rule that only Brahmans well-versed in the mantras were eligible for appointment as vāriyam-śeyvār and for taking part in the deliberations of the assembly. Tennēri called Uttama Śōḷa-catm. Nammūrīl mantra-brāhmaṇam vallārēy vāriyāṅjeṛeyvāṛāgavum sahhā-māṛṛṇāḻuḷuvaṟṟagavum ... mantrabrāhmaṇamāṇāyāṛey vāriyāṅjeṛeydārāiyum sahhā-māṛṛṇāṅjonnārāiyum tiruvāṇai-maṉuttār paṟṟum-danḍappaṟṟavāṟṇā. 241 of 1922.

Year 11, day 220: Tennēri (Ch.)—Śālaik-kalam-āṟutta. Vyavasthā of sahhā: Nammūrīl brahmavangonṭāṟum mēḷp-pañculukṟṟam-mudaiyāṟum nammūr-vāriyāṅjeṛeyavum sahhā-māṛṛṇāḻuḷuvaṟṟagavum peṟṟāṟāgavum. Ikkugṛaṇ-gaḷuḷaiyāṛ vāriyāṅjeṛeyāṟum sahhā-māṛṛṇāṅjonnāṟum kaṇṇakkar iruṟṟu-kāṭṭiṉāṟum tiruvāṇai-maṉuttār paṟṟum danḍa(m) paṟṟuvāṟṇā. 240 of 1922.

* Why is Rājarāja’s conquest of the Pāṇḍyas not mentioned earlier than his year 14? - ARE. 1905 II 13.
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Year 12—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Kāndaḷur-śālai. Rājarājakēsari. Loan from temple to sabhā who agree to remit paddy as interest. SII. i. 146.

" Kīlappalūvūr (Tri.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Lamp by Aiyārān Kānan, a Kāikkōḷan of Aḍigāḷ Paḻuvēṭtaraiyār, for merit of a person killed by him (paḻakkutta). 122 of 1895; SII. v. 683.

" Kōnērirājapuram (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam - arutta. Silver image (of God ?) and copper image of Caṇḍēśvara by Nakkān Nallattadigal, one of the Rājarājatteriṇja Kaikkōḷar, and the son of Aṇukkān Mahāmalli, a penḍātī in the vēḷām of Rajākēsari. 627 of 1909.

" Kuhūr (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Land by residents of Kuhūr to Piḷḷai Nambī Āṟūranār who sang the Tiruppadiyam hymns. 275 of 1917.

" Paṇḍāravaṭālai (Tj.)—A gold pot, 20 kaḷaṇju, by Śembiyan Mahādēvi for the merit of her son Uttaṇa Caḷa. 263 of 1923.

" * Pullamangai (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-arutta. Assembly of Pullamangalam met in the temple to the beat of the drum and made gifts of land, one vēḷi wet land and 440 pārtti of garden land to some Brahman versed in the Śāma and R̄gvedā. 553 of 1921.

" Tinnevelly (Tin.)—(Vattēḻuttu)-Kāndaḷur-śālai. Land for offerings to Brahmapuri-dēvar at Tirunelveli. 84 of 1927.

" Tirumālipuram (NA.)—Kāndaḷur-śālai. An agreement of the villagers of Paḻugūr regarding terms of an endowment in their charge. Mentions the fact that Madhurāntakan Caṇḍarādittar had fined the men in charge of the store-room in the 4th year of the king’s reign †; also the 14th year of a king whose name is lost. 282 of 1906.

* Decr. 28 A. D. 996. - ARE. 1922 App. E.
† cf. 283 of yr. 4.

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Year 12.—Tiruvadi (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Tax-free gift of eighteen plots of land (śeru) by the sābha of Avaiyanūr to the temple of Jalaśayana-mahādeva of that village. 418 of 1921.

" Tiruvadi (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. The assembly of Raṇadhāra-mangalam in Avaiyanūr-nāḍu, a division of Tirumunaippāḍi, agreed to furnish the dēvadāna lands of the temple of Jalaśayana-dēva, 18½ śeru of land, with water for irrigation from the irrigation tank of the village. 419 of 1921.

" Tiruvançarpōyil (Pondicherry).—The assembly of Tribhuvana-mahādevi-catm., met in the maṇḍapa built by Mummudīšōla-umbaḷa-nāṭṭu-vēḻān, remitted taxes on Mūṇḍiyan Vāḷḷaippākkam, purchased and given to the temple by Immaḍīšōla Mūvēndaṉavelan, and fixed the fines to be paid by those who imposed or realised any taxes on it in future. 362 of 1917.


Year 12, day 231.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Sābha orders daṇḍakkāṇam to be collected from Vikkiyāṉnān (alias Vikrama-cōḷa-brahmādāraṆyan. 202 of 1901; SII. vii 414.

Year 13—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Śālaik. Fifteen kaḻanju of gold, interest (2¼ kaḻanju) being payable to those who recited the Talavakāṟa Sāmavēda on the day of Mārgaḷi Tiruvādīrai, each reciter being fed and paid 1½ kaḻanju in gold. 76 of 1914.

" Kammarasandra (Mys.)—Ś. 920.† Kanarēse. Noḻamba Ayyapa-dēva’s son Gannarasa was governing part of Daḻigavāḍi. 169 of 1911; EC. ix. Ht. 111.

* December 1st, A.D. 996-L.D.S. in ARE. 1918 App. E
† Date Ś. 92(3) in ARE. where ‘Hēmalambi’, the corresponding cyclic year, is noted to be wrong. This is the earliest Cōḷa record in Mysore (Rice, Intr. p.14). But see MAR. 1917 p.42.
Year 13.—Tiruṅkāṟṇam (Pd.)—Kaṇḍalūr-sālai. Money for payment of taxes. 310 of 1904.

"Tirukkaṭaḷiyūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Purchase of some lands with money from the treasury of Tiruviraṭānamuṭatvaiya Paramasvāmin, at the instance of the sabhā of Paḻa-ēviya Kaṭavūr, for Udayasandiran Amudakān alias Kāḷakāla Māyilathī, a merchant residing in the village, who got it made rent-free by the assembly, with the stipulation that he should pay a fixed quantity of paddy to the temple every year for expenses of worship and of three lamps. 242 of 1925.

"Tirumakkuṭṭai (Tj.)—Kaṇḍalūr-sālai. The assembly of Paḻaiya Śembiyan-mādevi-catm, issued a new sale deed, in place of an old document lost, to a certain Parakēsari Vilupparaiyan, the headman of Puravar-eḻilūr, for certain lands which they had sold to him. Refers to about the fourth year of Madilēri-eḷundarulina Rājakēsari-varman. *"Igaikāval" explained. 266 of 1917.

"Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kaṇḍalūr-sālai. The supervisor of the temple of Tiruttikkālī-āḻvār, Mummuṭli-sōla Pōsān, finding that one of the directors (gaṇattār) of the village had received 25 pon, dharmakattαḷai-tulai-niyai, for a lamp founded by Singapiratṭiyūr, and that his marumagan had neglected to maintain it, now made a gift of 600 kuḻi of his land for continuing the charity. 208 of 1921.

"Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kaṇḍalūr-sālai. Some ornaments made and handed to the sabhā from 40 kaḻaṅju and 7 maṅjāṭi of gold accumulated from various sources in the treasury of the temple. Also a lamp and jewelled ornament by Mummuṭli-sōla Pōsār, the supervisor of the temple. (See 208 of 1921.) 210 of 1921.

"Tiruvallam (NA.)—Kaṇḍalūr-sālai. 10 kaḻaṅju of gold with the sabhā to Tikkālī-āḻvār by Irāyira

* Probably the king’s father Sundara Cōḷa-ARE. 1918 II 25.
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Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍī-śōja Pōsār of Araśūr for the Pavitrārūhaṇa festival. Rate of interest 3 maṇḍāṇi per kaḷaṇṭju per annum yielding 1½ kaḷaṇṭju. 216 of 1921.

Year 13.—Ukkal (NA.)—Śālai. Record by the Mahāsabhā of Vikramābharana-catm. of a private endowment of 500 kuḷi of land for 4 nāṭi of tiruvamudhu every day at noon for Tiruvāyirmolī-ḍēva of the place. The land was made tax-free after receipt of a lump payment by the sabhā. 20 of 1893 ; SII. iii. 2.


" Araśaṇimangalam (Ch.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Gift by a certain lady of a foot-rest, a seat (meṭṭaṇgi), 90 sheep for a lamp, and utensils to god Tiruvāvi-bhaṭṭārakah at Araśaṇimangalam in Venkuṇṭa-kōṭṭam. 343 of 1923.

" Kalakattūr (Ch.)—New introduction. Taṇḍeṇi etc. Mummuḍī-śōja Rājarājakēsari. Provision by Kāḍan Mayindan for two lamps in the temple of Īruṇi-ālvār at Kajakkāṭṭūr, a sālabhōga at the instance of the king who desired a gift of only one lamp for the prosperity of all kings and of the world at large. Liquid measure ninṭa-nāṭi. Land for one lamp and sheep for another. 121 of 1923.

" Kūhūr (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for lamp to Ādityēśvara at Kūhūr by a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mahādēvīpārāngāḍi outside Taṇījāvūr. Mentions Viḍāḷviḍūgātukkāccī-catm. 279 of 1917.

" Mēḷpāṭi (C.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The assembly of Tiruvallam get gold, tuḷai-nirai 15 kaḷaṇṭju, and assign 1000 kuḷi of land by Siṟṟambalattuk-kōl to a person residing in Śankarappāḍi in Arumoḷi-ḍēvāp-perunderu of this Rājāśrayapuram, who had to supply ½ measure of ghī every day for a lamp. The gold was given by a well-known officer of Rājarāja and his son, Śṭoṇṭṭṭut-
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tenkaraip-pāmbuṇīk-kūṟṟattu Araisūruḷaiyān Irāyiravan Pallavaraiyan alias Mummuḍi-sōḷa Pōśan.
87 of 1889; SII. iii. 19. *

Year 14.—Mēḷpāḷi (C.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Boundary of dēvadāna lands given tax-free to Cōḷēndra-simhēsvāra from the 10th year, including those mentioned in No. 102 of year 10 and day 107 of Parak. Rājēndra. Interesting details of restrictions and privileges relating to irrigation and crops, as in the Tamil part of the Tiruvālāngādu plates.

103 of 1921.

" Podavūr (Ch.)—New introduction †. 90 sheep for lamp.

67 of 1923.

" Sucīndram (Tv.) — (Vatṭeḻuttu). Kāndaḷuṟ-sālak-kalam-ṝṟuttu Gangapāḍiyum Nuḷumbapāḍiyum Taḷḷiy-gavaḷiyum Vēṅgu-nāḷum-kọṇḍa Kō. ‡ Fixes dues from the tenants (mun kīk-kāṟṟānmaiyaṉaiya kuṟṟi-gaḷ) of Ten-Vāḷanallūr who held from Nṛpaśēkhara Vāḷanallūr, a dēvadāna of Rājarāja Valanaiṭṭu-Nāṇjīnāṭṭu-brahmadeyam Sujindirattu-emberumān.


" Tirunāgēśvaram (Tj.)—Śalai, Gangapāḍi etc. The sabhā of Nallūr-cēri sell land tax-free to Tirunāgēśvaram-ujaiya-mahādēva for 40 kāḷaiṇju endowed by Ariṅjigaippirāṭṭi alias Bāṇap-perundēvi, the daughter of Piḷḷaiyār Ariṅkulaṅkēsariyār.

81 of 1897.
SII. vi. 31; 82 of 1897, SII. vi. 32 is similar.

" Tirunāgēśvaram (Tj.)—Rājarāja Rājakēsari. Sale of 1½ vēḷi of land to temple by the assembly of Mādān-mangalam, a brahmadeyā. Tirunāgēśvaram is called a dēvadāna. The cost of the land, 101 kāḷaiṇju, 6 mā

* Later on, under Rājēndra, Uttamaśēja Pallavaraiyan. SII. ii. p. 222 n. 4.
† cf. 376 of 1922.
‡ Same form in 22 of 1906-Tirukkaṇṭaiyur, year 14: 81 of 1897-Tirunāgēśvaram year 14; 23 of 1905-Tirukkaṇṭaiyur year 15 which adds Kudamalai-nāḷu, and others.
§ Here T.A.G. Rao accepts the naval victory of Kāndaḷuṟ (p. 123).
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and 1 kāṇī, was the fund formerly deposited for offerings by princess Ariṅjigaip-pirāṭṭiyār. Mentions the processes involved in making tuḷai-pon. *

218 of 1911.

Year 14.—Tiruppaḷanam (Tj.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. (No mention of Kalinga and Īḷam.) Kamban Maniyavan alias Vikkiramasinga-mūvenda-veḷān got a marakata-dēvar from the king, from the booty obtained in Malnāḍ, and consecrated it in the temple at Tiruppaḷanam.

135 of 1928.

,, Tiraunnaṉaiḷḷur (SA.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Provision for feeding a man who had to bale out water for the sacred bath and blow the conch at Tiruvaṟṟatūṟai-āḻvār temple.

420 of 1921.

Year 14, day 258.—Mēlpāḍi (C.) Kōṅēr-yinmai-konḍān. Land in several villages to Maṅḍēva of the Coḷendraśimēsvara temple constructed by the king in the city of Rājāśrāya-puram, after cancelling the old name Mērpāḍi alias Viranārāyanāpuram. †

101 of 1921.

Year 15.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Sale of land to Maṅḍēsēṭṭā temple by a Kramavittan, one of the managing members (yēḷungaṉam) of Nṛpatongac-cayantāṅgicatm. ‡

369 of 1922.

,, Kāyār (Ch.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Sale of land by the assembly of Kāyār to a person for a lamp to god Āḍerī-dēva.

440 of 1922.

,, Kilaiyār (Tj.)—Sale of 7 mā of land tax-free to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa temple by the big assembly of Tiruvaḷundūr for 15 kāśu got from Valikkēṭunai-guṇa-śīlān (cf. 91 of year 17) who is also said to have set up the image of goddess in the temple.

93 of 1925.

* cf. preceding entry; also 215 of 1911 (Rājak. 9.)
† cf. 103 of 1921 (antē).
‡ This may have owed its existence to Kayirūr Perumāṉēr of a Parāntaka inscription (EJ, v. p. 141) ARÉ, 23 II 28. The śītā is called Kayirūr Ayyāṉēr in 370 of 1922 of year 15 from same place.
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Year 15. — Maṇimangalam (Ch.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Land to Tiruvāyppāṭi Śri-Kṛṣṇa Perumāḷ. The Mahāsabhā of Ulōka-mahādevi-catm. (Maṇimangalam) met taṇṇir-pandalilē dharmi-seysu (?) 289 of 1897; SII. vi. 267.

Mēlappaluvur (Tri.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Land, one mā, reclaimed by Nakkam Kumarakkan, daughter of Dēvar-magaḷ Nakkam Periya Arangapirān, for offerings and worship on special days to the two gods in the temple of Avanikaṇḍarpa Iśvaram. Mentions Adigal Paḷuvēṭ-taraiyar Kaṇḍan Maravan. 363 of 1924.

Śrīmādevi (Tin.)—(Vattēḷuttu)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Only the introduction is preserved. 182 of 1895; EI. v. p. 46.

† Sucindram (Tv.)—(Vattēḷuttu)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. The Mahāsabhā of Tiruccivindiram met in the agrasālā, being summoned by kālam and kuri (kāḷmūdivivakk-kuri-sāṭṭi). The Mūlaparāja-sabhā managing the affairs of the temple under the Mahāsabhā said that they could no longer remit the iśai on the dēvadānas of the temple or manage its affairs, and in this they were joined by their tenants (paraṭak-kudiṭiyilār), and having thus resigned everything into the hands of the Mahāsabhā, they undertook to pay a fine of 15 kalaṅju if they revived their claims individually (tanicuttu-ḍarīl) at any time, and 50 kalaṅju of şehirāpa-pon if the tenants (kudiṭigal) did so, and not to set up any claims even after paying these fines. Thereupon, the Mahāsabhā ordered that two vāriyar of their choice and the Karaṇattān must together manage the affairs of the temple thereafter, and provided for the remuneration in paddy of each of them every day. 85 of 1896; EI. v. p. 45; T.A.S. ii. pp. 1-8.


* Thursday 27th April, A. D. 999 Kielhorn, EI. v. p. 198.
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Year 15. — *Vṛddhācalam (SA.)* — Gift of śrī-muṣṭi, weight 9 kalāṇju, 9 maṇiṣāli and 7 mā; inner silver cover 206½ kal., and 4 maṇiṣāli; 3 maṇikkam, 36 vaṇīram and 1998 pearls assorted, by Śembiyan Mahādēvi. *

48 of 1918.

Year 16. — *Brahmadēsam (NA.)* — *Tirumagal-pōla.* Land for recitation of the Tiruppadiyam in the temple.

199 of 1915.

"Hebbani (Mys.) — Kan. Navakhaṇḍa-maṇḍalamum † danḍattigonaḍa. The king’s general was Noḷambādhi-rāja who gave Perbaṇḍa (Hebbani) to the plunderer of Kaḍiyaṇḍa (Kāḍuveṭṭi ?); and a farmer of the place repaired the big tank which had breached its bank.

EC. x. Mb. 208; 100 of 1899.

"Kilīyanur (SA.)* — *Tirumagal-pōla.* Gift of a kālam by a native of Śōja-nāḍu for convoking the assembly of Kilīyanur, a brahmadeya. Mentions also that the herald was entitled to get two meals (śōgu) every day from the village.

156 of 1919.

"Kīḷūr (SA.)* — *Tirumagal-pōla.* Provides for the supply of temple servants, two persons as paṇḍāris by sahā of Tirukkovalur, and other servants by four other villages named.

231 of 1902; SII. vii. 858.

"Kuttālam (Tj.)* — *Tirumagal-pōla.* 360 kalāṇju of gold by Vira-nāraṇan-kūṭṭatāli, a vaḷaṅgaḷ-vēḷaiṅkēran, residing at Kāvirinallur, for midnight worship to Śonnavāraṇivār. The amount was invested with Kōyil-māḻamudāiyān Eduttapāḍam-Śeyya-pāḍam alias Tirutturutti-piccan, the rate of interest being one kālam per annum (on each kalāṇju).

106 of 1925.

"Māmandūr (Ch.)* — *Tirumagal-pōla.* 46 sheep for half a lamp by Namban Rāman to Rudravāḷīvaram Udāiya Mahādēva of Narasimha-mangala in Utta(ma ?) Cōḷēs-varapura within Tiruvēgam to the east of the Citramēgha-tāṭākā.

39 of 1888; SII. iv. 137.

* 47 of 1918 of Parak, 12 — same place.
† i.e., the world EC. x. Introduction p. xxiv.
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Year 16.—Śiruvakkam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pöla. Land for festival in the Mūlasthāna temple of Śirupākkam. Mentions the eight members of the Maṅgāli-vāriyam to which was assigned the work of inspecting the produce of temple lands and conducting the festivals with the mēlvāram received from the tenants. 66 of 1923.

Śrōtriyaṁ Taṇḍalam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pöla. Land as śrābali-patṭi for the festival of Veḷḷūri-āḻvār by the villagers (ūr) of Sander-Taṇḍalam. 71 of 1923.

Tirumalai (NA.)—Tirumagal-pöla. (Copy in year 40 of Vira Narāsinga Yādavarāya by Deśāntari Tiruppuḷḷāni-dāsa who rebuilt the temple). A pāṭṭam,—50 kaḷaṇḍu, 6 māṇikkaṁ, 4 vayiram and 28 muttu,—by Parānta-devi Ammanār, the daughter of Śrāmānār, and queen of (Ponmāḷigait-tuṇṭinān), viz., Devi Ammanār. * 61 of 1889 ; SII. iv. 293.

Tiruppugalār (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pöla. Tax-free grant of land by Nakkan Tillaiyaḷagityār alias Paṇcavan Maḥā-dāviyār, queen of Rājarāja, for festival and offerings on the day of Śadaiyam (king’s nativity and her own) every month. 47 of 1928.

Tiruppugambiyam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pöla. Land for two perpetual lamps (nandāvilakkku) for the Paḻlikkaṭṭil of the goddess by ivvār-vaḷaṇḍiṭayar. 71 of 1897 ; SII. vi. 20.

Tiruvāṭuturai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pöla. Some money which the saḥbhā of Śįrānaicūr owed to their Kaikūḷan Kāṟṟaḷi-patṭiḷagan had become rājasvam and the king demanded its payment; unable to find the money, and unwilling to collect it from the people owing to fear of migration, the saḥbhā raised a loan from the temple to pay it off and agreed to make some temple lands izaiyili. Kāśu equal to three-fourths kaḷaṇḍu and three maṅgāḍi. 105 of 1925.

* 159 of 1895 under Tiruvilaiyarudār.
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Year 16.—Tiruvakkarai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Gift of a dēvu-
dāna village to stone temple of Śivalōka-udāiya-
Paramasvāmin * built by Šembiyan Mahādevīyār.
Allotments for various requirements of the temple.
200 of 1904.

" Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pūla. The citizens of
Vāṇapuram, i.e., Tiruvallam, sold, tax-free, 700 kuśi of
land to Tiruvaṭiyan Śankara-dēva who granted it to
Tiruvaiya Īśvara, so called after his father. Tiruvaṭiyan
seems to have claimed descent from the W. Ganga
kings: Gōgunidhanma-Parama-Dhanna-mahārāja-
Nipuniḍapura paramēśvara Śrīnātha Śrīmat-Siva-
Mahārāja Tiruvaṭiyan-Śankaradeva.
11 of 1890 ; SII. iii. 51.

" Tiruvigaimarudur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Sale of land
by the sabhā of Brahmadēya Mahēndra-mangalam.
Mention of oppression and torture of people by paḍai-
yilār, and an unsuccessful appeal to the king by them ;
also of Pommāligait-tuṇjina-dēvar-dēviyār-Śeramānar-
Pirāntakan-dēviyammanār. †
159 of 1895 ; SII. v. 723.

" Trichinopoly (Trij.)—Land to the shrine of Tiruccigā-
palḷi at Śṛṭrambar in Uraiyūr-kūṟṟam. 412 of 1904.

" Vijayanāraṅgaṇam (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu). Tirumagal-
pūla. The sabhā of Vijayanāraṅgaṇa-catm., a brahma-
dēya in Nāṭṭāṟṟuppokku, having assembled in the
temple of Śaṭṭhakōpa - Viṇṇagara - perumānaḍi in the
village, exempted from taxes two pieces of land given
to the temple by a Brahman.
2 of 1927.

Year 17.—Karuttaṭṭāṅguṭṭi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pūla. Sale of land
by the Mahāsabhā of Rājakēsari-catm. to Kundavai,
the daughter of emperor Pirāntaka and elder sister of
the king ; she presented it for a lamp to Karundīṭṭa-
gudi-mahādeva. Mentions a general edict of the king
ordering the sale of all lands in Brahman villages held

* Candramauḷīvara. cf. 95 of 1892 year 10 ; 276 of 1903 year 2(4) ARE.
1904 paragraph 20.
† 61 of 1889 under Tirumalai.
by lower castes except the kāṇi lands of workmen (paniśeymakkal paniśeykāṇiyoṭiya); and an order based on this from Adigārika Vānavan Mūvēndavēḷān regulating the manner in which the lands in this place were to be sold for cash and deputing an officer (Uḍaiyār panimakan) Śattambiyār. Locattambiyār tanḍa Mahāsabhāiyōm vīga-nilavilaiyāvanam. Attested by several people of the locality (invūr).
46 of 1897; SII. v 1094.

Year 17.—Kilaiyār (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla (in part). 180 sheep for lamp and ghi in the month of Śītirai to the standing Krṣṇa in the Citramaṇṭapa of the Tirukkaḍa-vuḍaiya-emberumān temple at Tiruvaḷundūr by a royal servant named Valikkēṭunai-Guṇasīlān (cf. 93 of year 15) and his wife Aiyaḷi-puṭtakī. 91 of 1925.

Marikōṇam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Ārūrān Udayadivākaran Arumōḷi-mūvēndavēḷān of Araisūr, while he was stationed at Paṭṭanām in Paṭṭana-nāḍu, enquired into some complaints relating to expenses in the Bhūmīśvara temple and fixed a fresh scale. States that the tiru-nāḷ of Rājarāja was Śadaiyam. 28 of 1919.

Sōnūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold diadem, to Tirunōmbalūr Paramēśvara at Dēvanāpalḷī, made out of fines collected from defaulting temple servants, by the survey officer (ulaḷavitta) Tiruvāḷigal Śattan who enquired into the expenses of the temple. 199 of 1917.


* No regnal year given in the text.
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Year 17.—Tiruppañanam (Tj.)—Twenty kaļaṇju gold, converted into land, for lamp, by queen Tennavan Mahādevī.

123 of 1895 ; SII. v. 684.

" Tiruvadandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. (Iḷam but not Raṭṭapūḍi among conquests). Dedication of twelve families (paffinavan-kudī) for conducting a festival of seven days, called Rajarāja-dēvar-tirunāl (satabhisaj) in the month of Āvaṇi. The families had to pay ¼ kaļaṇju per head out of their earnings from weaving or venturing on the sea, and to render assistance in celebrating the festival. Other duties and privileges are also mentioned. This was engraved under orders of: (i) Rāman Kumaran alias Sōja-Mūvēnda-vēḷa-Mārāyan who was nāḍu-kaykāici; and (ii) Karran Ādittan alias Dāna-Mūvēndavelān Mārāyan who was nāḍu-vagai.

274 of 1910.

" Ukkal (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The Mahāsabhā including the (Dhanma)vāriyap-perumakkal for the year, the Sāttagamattār of the locality (emnūr) and some others met in the temple of Mahāsūtā to the north of the ambalam. Some gifts were made to the temple and these were left in the charge of the Sāttagamattār. A fine of one kaļaṇju was to be laid on those who sold betel-leaves outside the Piḷāri temple and the fine to be collected by the ēri-vāriyap-perumakkal. The madhyastha made the record.

SII. iii. 6.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sheep for lamp, some being bought from the treasury of Subrahmanya-dēvar of Uttaramērūr. Others were endowed by different people, one giving 11½ sheep for 1/8 lamp.

54 of 1898 ; SII. vi. 337.

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 96 sheep for lamp to the Paramasvāmi who was pleased to stand at the Kongaraiyar-śri-koyil of Uttaramērūr. The sheep were left with the sabhāiyār of Araśāṇi-mangalam.

173 of 1923.
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Year 18.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—(Vāṭṭeluttu) Rājārajaj. 25 sheep for a lamp to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiyadēvar. 98 of 1905.

"Ārpākkam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Gift by purchase of tank and land made tax-free (kāḷuṇgalum vilai koṇḍu tirutti izaiyilici) for offerings to Tiruvir-Vināgar-āḷyar, in the name of Nambirāṭṭiyār Śembiyan Mukkōk-kilān-aḷīgāl alias Kannara-Nāccī-Piḍāra-nangai, by a certain Arangan Kōdaṇḍarāman of Paṇivaga-mangalam in the Cōla country. Liquid measure: sōliyam. 139 of 1923.

"Brahmadēṣam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Gold for a lamp. The samvatsaravāriya of Rājamall-catm. looking after grāmakārya had to see to its proper maintenance on pain of being fined for default by the Śraddhā-manṭar. 192 of 1915.

"Kāṇcipuram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. 60 kaḷaṇju of gold by residents of Śīrū-nanṟaiyur for four lamps in the name of the king to Aṇjaṇjaṇḍi Durgaiyār of Kāṇći. 78 of 1921.

"Kilaiyūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. Provision made by assembly of Tiruvalundūr for supply of one kūṟūṇi of ghē for offerings to Tirukkadaṉḍaiy-a-emberumānneyamuduśeydān on the day of Punarpūśam every month with the interest on the sum of money received from Vaḷikkētuṇai-Guṇaśil. (91 of year 17). 95 of 1925.


"Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—Sale of land by pati-pāda-mūlat-tar, paṇciōcāryargāl, śrīkoyiḻulaiyār * and dēva-kāmmigāl for being endowed for offerings to the

* These are evidently in apposition. See the compound term below,

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temple. The *pati-pāda-mūla-pańcācārya-sāriköyilūḍai-
yār* and the *dēvakarmis* declare this land free from
the obligation to pay iṇai, eccoṇu, vetṭi, āţ̥yikkulai or
anything else. 46 of 1895; *SII.* v. 603.

Year 18.—*Tirunandikkarai* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭēḻuttu*) *Tirumagal-pōla.*
Gift of Muṭṭam in Vaḷḷuva-nāḍ to Tirunandikkarai
Mahādeva after changing its name to Mummuديث-sōja-
nallūr, for a festival and river bath to the god on Śadai-
yam day, the king’s birthday. *TAS.* i. 291-2.

" *Tiruppayāmbiyam* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* (Mentions
conquest of Iḷam.) Land for lamp. 333 of 1927.

" *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Land by resi-
dents of Nerkkuppadai for the recitation of Tiruppadiyam
in the local temple. 40 of 1918.

Year 19.—*Kōṭṭaikarungulam* (Tin.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* 25 sheep
for lamp to Rāṣinga Iṣvaraṭṭu Bhaṭṭāra with an army
officer *paṭṭaṭṭalai* (of the local garrison?) living
in the place. 272 of 1928.†

" *Madras Museum*—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Lamp. Mentions
Taṇṭiyalattūr in Śinattur-nāḍu, a sub-division of
Puliyur-kōṭṭam, from Puliyur near Kōṭṭambākam to
the west of the Māḷāpptūr tank. 290 of 1895; also 291.

" *Maṟkānaṁ* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Salt-pan for lamp
to Śri-Bhūmīṣvarattālvār at Rājarājasappēralam in
Maṟkāṇam, a *dēvadāna* in Paṭṭina-nāḍu, a sub-division of
Ḥyāma-nāḍu, by the officer and workers (*kuṭigal*)
in the salt-pans. 23 of 1919.

" *Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Land for
feeding in the *maṇḍapa* of Śīṟṭoṭṭa Nambi devotees
attending the festival of Śittirait-tiruvuldirai of
Śirāja-dēva. 57 of 1913.

* Had these any taxing or assigning powers?

† The *Vaṭṭēḻuttu* record of Śaḍaiya-Māḷān in this stone temple (270.)
makes it more likely that a Pāṇḍya Rājasimha was its builder than the Čēra
feudatory of Rājendra and possibly also of Rājaraṇa. *ARE,* 1928 II. 5.
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Year 19.—Tiruccengāṭtangudi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land for tiruviḷā to Śrīrūṅṭōṇḍa-nambī, a devotee of Śrīrūḷa-dēva of Tiruccengāṭtangudi, by two residents of Marugal. Mentions the revenue survey of the seventeenth year; also the phrase: mikudik-kuṟai-ujjānga * re: land measurement. 59 of 1913.

" Tiruvaṇḍandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Thirty kaḷaṇju of gold by a merchant of Tiruvoṟriyūr in Pulḷār-kōṭṭam to Varāḥasvāmini temple. The residents of Taiyūr agreed to pay interest in oil and paddy to the assembly of Tiruvaṇḍandai for a lamp and for feeding thirty-five Brahmans. 267 of 1910.

" Tiruvaṇḍandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. (Īlam but not Raṭṭapāḍi among conquests). 16½ kaḷaṇju of gold by a merchant of Kaḍarpār-paḷḷi in Malai-nāḍu for feeding twelve Brahmans in the Varāḥa-dēva temple during the thirty days of the month of Kumbha. An instance of vāḍākkāḷaṇ. 273 of 1910.

" Uttanūr (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. After 'Kalingamum' in the introduction, we have: "Kuṟamalai-nāḻum āḻkaṇṭa kaḷaṇdāṅgaru Ni ... niṟramungonda tīṇ-dīṟal vēn-ṟaṭṭārkoṇḍa tāṟnāḻil" etc. Mentions Arumōḻidēva-catm. in Pudal-nāḍu. 459 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 123.

Year 19, day 126.—Tiruvenkāṭu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. String of rubies (māṇika-nāṇ) by queen Kūṭtan Viraṁnarayāṇiyūr alias Cōḷa-Mahādēviyār. 112 of 1896; SII. v. 975.

Year 20.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions an executive assembly (kūṭṭam) of 80 persons. 62 of 1914.

" Śenūr (NA.)—A new introduction (beg. lost). Gift of land by ūr of Šeyanalli to the temples of Tiruvaṭaṭiśvara and Tirumēṟṟḷă-dēva, on account of the drummers who beat the drums during the śrībāli.

* This is common in the records of the period.
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ceremony; the gift was made at the instance of a local officer. 394 of 1911.

Year 19.—Śomūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A paṭṭam from three kaḷaṇṭi of gold collected as daṇḍam from the temple authorities. Mentions Rājaḍēvar Kaikkōḷap-paṭai, Pirāntakat - teriṇṭa - kaikkōḷar, Sundaraśōḷat - teriṇṭa-kaikkōḷar, and Pāṇḍikulāśani-teriṇṭa-kaikkōḷar, and Ināḍu - vagai - seyyiṭa Kūlattūr - uḍaiyār. The offence thus punished was the failure to bring out the image of the goddess on the day of a solar eclipse. 67 of 1890 ; SII. iv. 391.

" Taṭimalingi (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to temple for offerings for 100 kāṣu by tuṭai-niyai-kempōṇāgarasa-niyai-kal. Mentions Periya-Kundavai-āḷvār-bhāṇḍāra and Ponnila-dēvar-bhāṇḍāra. 491 of 1911 * ; EC. iii. Tn. 35.

Year 20.—Tirukkōṭhiyīr (Rd.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sheep for lamp by a cavalier of the king commanding the . . . . . . vattāṇṭa terinda-valangai-vēḷai-kārār. Tirukkōṭhiyīr is called a dēvadāna in Kēraḷāśinga-vaḷa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājarāja-vaḷa-nāḍu. 320 of 1923.

" Tiruvāṭutraī (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Agreement between Sadāśiva-bhāṭīr of the maṭha at Tiruvaiyār, as manager of the temple of Tiruvāṭutraī on the one part, and the assemblies of Śāttanīr (Tiraimūr-nāḍu) and Śīṟṟānaiccer (Tiruvalundūr-nāḍu) on the other, that the latter shall pay the taxes on the temple lands in their villages in lieu of the interest on loans due from them to the temple which they were unable to pay. 121 of 1925.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla.—Lamp by Nannamaraiyar or Nannaman, son of Tukkarai of the Vai-dumba family ruling over Ingallūr-nāḍu, a district of Mahārājapāḍī. † 14 of 1890 ; SII. iii. 52.

* MAR. 1912 p. 38.
† Mahārājapāḍī 7000 with Vallaṇa for its capital must have been in the Cuddapah district, SII. iii. p. 106.
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Year 20.—Tiruvēṅkāṭu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Golden bowl (ponnin kapālam) by Nambrāṭṭiyār Tiṭṭaipirānderumānār alias Śōla-mahādeviyār.

111 of 1896; SII. v. 974.

Year 21.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. An officer Parāntaka-Śōla Mūvendavelān sent an order to the assembly of Nṛpatunga-śayantāngi-catm. that the property of those who ran away without paying the fines imposed on them was to be sold for any price it could fetch and the money credited to the tālam (treasury) at Kaccipēḍu and a receipt obtained. This was in turn communicated to the sabhā of Tirunārāyaṇac-cēri, a hamlet of the village, whereupon a certain Kīḻakkil Avanipabhaṭṭa was deprived of his bhaṭṭasvam land which was sold to the temple of Mahāṣastā Kayirūr Ayyan in an ājñākrayam.

379 of 1922.*


8 of 1919.

Dāḍāpuram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions the construction of the three temples at Rājārājapuram (See No. 8 of 1919) by Pirāntaka Kundavaip-piṅṭṭiyār, and records that, on receipt of the royal writ, the officer Āṟūran Aravaṇaiyān alias Parākramaśōla Mūvendavelān of Panaiyūr ordered the temple treasury to be examined and the presents to be engraved on stone in the respective temples.

17 of 1919.

Emappēṅrū (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Rājārājavarmān alias Rājārāja-dēva. 96 sheep for lamp. 517 of 1921.

* This record is treated as an instance of rent recovery in ARE, 1923 II 29.

† This confirms the identity of this person with Sundara CōḷaI, The Jaina shrine exists no longer, though the others do. ARE, 1919 II 11.
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Year 21.—*Tirumalai* (near Pōḻūr NA.) — *Tirumagal-pōḷa.*
A verse recording construction of a sluice by Guṇavira-māmuni,* respected by kings and lord of the cool Vaigai-malai; the sluice caused paddy to grow on either side of the hill and was named after Veṅkiḷān Kaṇiccēkara-maru-porcūriyan. SII. i. 66.

" *Tiruppugalur* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōḷa.* Remission of taxes, after getting 15 kāsu, by the assembly of Kār-ōḷuc-cēri, a brahmadaṭya, on lands granted to the temple by the king and queen Paṅcavanan-mahādēviyār for special worship every month on the Śadaiyam day. 54 of 1928.

" *Tiruppugalur* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōḷa.* Money, 12 kāsu equal to 96 kalam of paddy, yielding interest of 32 kalam at one tāni per kalam, for offerings to Tirunāvukkaraiya-dēva, installed by Agnikumāra-kramavittan alias Poṅkōyil Candēsvarayōgi of Kuṇḍūr, a hamlet of Vira-śīkāmukac-cēri in Viraṇārāyaṇa-catt., an independent village (taniyār) on the north bank in the Rājendrasimha-vala-nāḍu. 68 of 1928.


" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōḷa.* Temple of Lōka-mahādēvīsvara built by the queen of Rājarāja, Dantiśakti-Viṭṭanki alias Lōka-mahādēvi. Sale of land by the authorities of the temple of Tiruvaiyāṟuḍaiyār to the Mahā-dēvakaniṁs of the temple mentioned above, at 100 kuḻaṇju per vēli. Mentions vilaiyāva-nam and poruṅnāṉuṇḍip-poruṇiṭalavōli. Formula of sale interesting. 219 of 1894; SII. v. 518.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟuṇḍi* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōḷa* (in middle of record). While staying at Tiruvallam the king, who bore the surname Sivapaḍa-śekhara-dēva, confirmed a

* Rangachari-i p. 80 notices three persons of this name.
grant of land made in the twelfth year of Parakėsari and made a new grant also.

624 of 1902; SII. viii. 222.

Year 21.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to Rājarājēsvaram within the temple of Tikkāli-mahādēva for feeding Brahmans. Mentions the royal officer Araiśuruḍaiyān Irāyiravan Pallavan. 238 of 1921.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla, (but no Raṭṭapāḍi). A lamp, by a resident of Nārāyanac-cēri, to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḷvār of Śrī Veḷi-Viṣṇu-grha to be maintained by the Pēriḷamaiyār. The Śraddhāmanitas and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas were themselves to punish defaults.

165 of 1923.

Year 22.—Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land to Paramasvāmigaḷ Kayirūr Ayyan by a managing member of the assembly. 381 of 1922.

"Agaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. (No mention of Raṭṭapāḍi). Resolution passed by the big assembly of Nṛpatunga-śēndāngi-catm. met in the courtyard of Accutapriya-dēvar, setting apart a portion of land belonging to the Mahāśāstä for one perpetual lamp in the temple. 387 of 1922.

"Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Tanks and ponds in the village and its vicinity for red lotuses in the month of Dhanus. By order of the sabhā. 69 of 1914.

"Kōlār (Mys.)—A dēvadāna to Piḷāriyār (Kōḷāramma): “paṭṭan kaiyil tārai-aṭṭik-kuṭṭuttarulīṇa dēvadānam: Kuvalāla-nāṭṭu Araiyurai sarvabādhāparihāra-maṅgak-kuṭṭuttarulīṇār.”

481 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 106 (b).

"Mēlēvērū (SA.)—A member of the Jananātha-teriṅja-valangai-vējaikkārar set up the image of the goddess Umā-bhaṭṭāraki. 216 of 1904.

* Perhaps conquered at end of year 21 and beginning of year 22. 217 of 1894 mentions it. ARE. 1923 ii 27.
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Year 22.—Puñjai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Ten vēli of land by the king for a feeding house Arumolīdēvan and for daily havirbali to Āḷavallār in the temple, with the condition that taxes on half the portion were to be paid by the temple and the rest by the assembly of Talaccengāḍu. Another tax-free gift of 5 vēli by the assembly for an annual festival in Śittirai and a remission of taxes on land given in the seventeenth year for havirbali-arcanā. 186 of 1925.

" Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. (Includes Raṭṭa-pāḍi). 96 Sheep for lamp Vīmayan Vambavai, the dēvi (queen) of Śalukki Vīmayan, and daughter of Vañjayan-Perrappai. 217 of 1894; SII. v. 516.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. An increase of paṅcavāra paddy that the assembly of Mandaram alias Jayamēru-śrikaraṇa-mangalam agreed to pay to the dēvakannis of the temple. Mentions Irāyiravan Pallavan alias Mummuḍisōla-pōṣan, lord of Araisūr, and an officer of the Perundanam of Rājarāja-dēva, who raised the contribution from the village. 219 of 1921.

" Tiruvilimitalai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla (full). The assembly (mahāsabhā) of Tirumalai, a dēvādāna village of the god in Veṇ-ṇāḍu, made provision for the singing of Tiruppadiyam hymns twice a day in the temple. The assembly met in the tirumuggam of the temple (nammāḻvār köyil) 423 of 1908.

" Tiruvilimitalai (Tj.)—26 kāṣu for lamp by Kaviṇiyan Ęran Śēndan of the locality. 449 of 1908. *

" Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gift of 96 sheep by a Brahman lady of Vāmanac-cēri for lamp to Veḷḷaimērti-āḻvār, the Pēriṇamaiyār being responsible to the sahbā for its maintenance, and the samvatsara-vāriyam and the Śri-Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish default. 163 of 1923.

* Ėn Tamil iii. pp. 350-60, where T. A. Gopinatha Rao reaches the conclusion that Śēndan is identical with Tirumāḻigai-dēvar of the Tiruvimāppa.
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Year 23.—Ättür (Tin.) Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly ofKirananur, to the following deities: Rājarāja Viṇṇagar Paḷḷi-kōṇḍarūḷina-dēva, Durgā-bhagavati, Saṃpatamārka, Kṣētrapāla and Gaṇapati set up in the temple of Sōmanāthā-dēva alias Ten-tirup-pūvanaṃ-nūlaiyār at Äṭṭūr-Sēndamangalam.

415 of 1930.

Dādāpurāṃ (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The dancing girls attached to the temples of Iravi-kulamāṇikka Īśvara and Kudavai Viṇṇagar should accompany the god in procession, and sing and dance during the hunting festival.

14 of 1919.

Erumūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Five kāḷaṅju of gold by Araiyan Viccādiran of Urumūr, a dēvadāna and brahmadēya, on receiving which the sabbā agreed themselves to pay the annual fee collected from the uvaccar and to have the śrībali conducted properly.

385 of 1913.


388 of 1913.

Maḻūṟpatṟa (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The assembly of Periya-maḻuḷur alias Rājendraśinga-catm. agree to give paddy to the temple every year, for offerings etc., from lands cultivated by themselves.

510 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 128.

Śêrmādēvi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭelaṭṭu). Tirumagal-pōla. 25 cows for lamp. Śêrvanmahādēvi-catm. was in Muḷḷiṇāḍu of Rājarāja-vala-nāḍu.

713 of 1916.

Tirumāḷpuram (NA.)—Gold by a native of the Pāṇḍya country.

342 of 1906.

Tirumeyyāṇam (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Meeting of Nāḷūr-nambimāṟṟuḷḷa perunguri-maṇḍāsabhāi at the big hall called Gaṇḍarādittan. Mentions the Viṇṇu temple Tirunārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar of Nāḷūr.

326 of 1910.
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Year 23.—Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Nine gold flowers to Kōnapperumāḷ by Selvan-āccan, one of the Śatrubhayankara-terinda Vēḷam of queen Paṅcavan-mahādēviyār.
62 of 1928.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. 96 sheep for lamp by Udayan Āditan of Taṅṭirรmuddam in Malainādu to Śrī-Veḻi-Viśṇugṛhattu Veḻlaimūrti-āḷvār; the Pēṟiḷāmāiyār of the place (iṅvūr) to conduct the charity, subject to punishment for default at the hands of the Śraddhāmāntas and the Śrī-Vaiśṇavas.
182 of 1923.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. 96 sheep for lamp by a merchant of Naḻuvilangādi, and 15 kaḷaṅju of gold for a lamp to Tiruvāykkulam-uḍaiyār (Kṛṣṇa), by a resident of Gōvinda-cēri. The vīraṅaṅattar of the place were trustees (puṇai) of the first gift. The gold was with the vaikāhānasas of the temple. The Śraddhāmāntas had the power to punish default. All these arrangements were made by the sabhā.
187 of 1923.

"Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. 48 sheep for lamp to Veḻlaimūrti-āḷvār by a resident of Teṅkilangādi with the Kāḷi-gaṅaṅattar of the place (iṅvūr) as trustees (puṇai). The Śraddhāmāntas and Śrī Vaiśṇavas to punish default. The donor gave also a paḷikkam.
189 of 1923.

Year 23, day 385—Tiruvāmāttūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple by Tāmūḷān Kogrinangi of Śrūḍhāmanallūr, the king’s agent, and trustee of the temple, who ordered the distribution of certain offerings among 21 temple servants; in year 27, Veḻān Āṟūran of Pudukkuḷi, who belonged to the king’s perundaram, took objection to this distribution as it was against the śāstras.
22 of 1922.

Year 24.—Jambai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōḷa. The sabhā of Neṟkunṟam alias Vairamēgha-catm. gave land in exchange

* 21 of 1922; year 26, day 206.
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for fields taken up by the bed of their new tank, made
by Bāṇa Maṇavān Narasimhavaran. 84 of 1906. *

Year 24.—Kālahasti (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold for lamp to
the shrine of Maṇikkengai-mādēvar. † 298 of 1904.

Karuttaṭṭānguḍi (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Arangan Kāri
alias Sōlaviccādira Muttaraiyan of the Siṛudanam of
Rājarāja and of the Śingalāntakat-teriṇJA-Kudirāc-
cēvagar caused the death of Kāri-kūḷir-vāgai of the
Iḷaiya-paḍai-iruṇḍū-sōḷavirar in a contest (Śrī-rāja-
rājadēvar - karnavillekkit - tōḷam eydu?), and com-
pounded with his relatives (ivanukkuṟava muṟai
kaḍavār * * * oḍum tirundu) and endowed a per-
petual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva.
48 of 1897; SII. v. 1411.

Mālpādi (C.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Sale of land, tax-
free, for pavitrārōhaṇa festival to Mahādēva of the
Candramaulīśvara temple, by residents of Mērpādi
alias Rājāśrayapuram in Tūy-nāḍu of Perumbāṇappādi,
for thirty kāḷaṇjū of gold received from Araiṉūruḍai-
yān Īrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan ‡ alias Mummuṇdi-sōḷa-
pōsan of Śō-nāḍu.
96 of 1921.

Mālpādi (C.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Land, tax-free, by
residents of Mērpādi alias Rājāśraya-puram to god-
Rājāśrayapura Viṭankar.
99 of 1921.

Olagapuram (SA.)—Land by the nagarattār of Ulagam-
ūḍēvipuram for feeding 25 Brahmans in a śālai
attached to the temple.
134 of 1916.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Tirumagal-pōla. Gift
of 75 cows for three lamps to Nigarili-sōḷa-viṇṇagar-
āḷvār in Śēravan - mahādēvi - catm. by Divākarān
Vāsudēvan.
702 of 1916.

* 86 of 1906 of year 26.

† In ARE. 1904 II 21 this temple, Maṇikāṇṭhaśvaram, is taken to be of the
time of Kuḷūțtunga III. This inscription shows that the shrine itself is older
than the present structure of the temple. ARE. 1905 II 11.

‡ Larger Leyden Grant; also 100 of Yr. 6 of Parak. Rājēndra; ARE.
1921 II 32.
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Year 24.—Śevilippēri (Tin.) — (Vāṭṭeluttu). Tirumagal-pōla. Lamp by a native of the Cōla country; endowment left in charge of those who, for the time being, were responsible for the daily worship being conducted properly.

419 of 1906.


Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gifts of gold ornaments made in the thirteenth and nineteenth years engraved now by order. 358 of 1902; SII. vii. 988.

Tiruppūnduruttī (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Assembly of of Tirutturuttī received 20 kāsu from Kuttan Madhu-rāntakan, a member of the Tālaikula-kāla-teriṇja-parīvāram, and agreed to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple. 78 of 1931.

Tiruppūraṭambiyam (Tj.)—Agreement by residents of Śankarappāḍi to burn a lamp in the temple on behalf of Rāman, a servant maid of Mēlai-vēḷam called Madhurāntakat-terinda Vēḷam of the king. 340 of 1927.

Tiruvāḍutuvai (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Agreement by the assembly of Ilaceikudi alias Vikramaśinga-catm., a brahmadeya in Maṇḍi-nāḍu in Rājendrasimha Vaḷa-nāḍu, to pay taxes levied in the land-survey made by order of the king on the lands at Śattanur, (a brahma-deya in Tiraimūr-nāḍu), belonging to the temple of Tiruvāḍu-ṭuraiyudaiya Paramasvāmigal, in payment of the interest on money which they had received from the temple but could not pay back. 100 kuli—one mā. In continuation is another record of year 25 by which the ūr of Iḷangāri-kuḍi in Pērāvūr-nāḍu give land for a lamp. 101 of 1925.

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Year 24.—Tiruvaiyāgu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold ornaments and vessels presented to the temple—a long and detailed list. The Uttarakailāsa * shrine (stone) in the temple was founded by Dantiṣakti Viṭan ki and was called Lōkamahādēviśvara. 222 of 1894; SII. v. 521.

"Tiruvaiyāgu (Tj.)—Ornaments and land to the same shrine founded by Dantiṣakti Viṭan ki.

155, 156 of 1918.

"Tiruvāmāttūr (SA.)—Gift by Tamulaṅkoṛangī of a silver vessel and plate for keeping sacred offerings.

24 of 1922.

"Tiruvēṅkāḍu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gold for Śengā-ṇūrīrītiru-vāṣigai and gold flowers to Tiruvēṅkāḍu-dēva by one of the Mūlaparivāra and one of the Mūlaparivāra-vītīṟūru (servants) of the king. 454 of 1918. †

"Tiruviśalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land for offerings. Refers to a revenue survey made at an earlier date.

44 of 1907.

"Vṛddāhcalam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Residents (ūröm) of Maṅalūr agree to supply annually four cloths in lieu of interest due from them to the temple—amudu paḷaippārkkku vāy-kaṭṭukku nālu puḷavai.

45 of 1918.

Year 24, day 124.—Parandūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions Citrakūṭam (king’s palace?) at Taṅjāvūr. General order relating to revenue; damaged, but same as the next.

73 of 1923.

Year 24, day 124.—Ukkal (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Oral order of the king seated in the college (kallūrī) to the south of the Citrakūṭa at the Taṅjāvūr Periya-śeṇṭu-vāyil (hippodrome gate). Procedure regarding the execution of such oral orders indicated by this inscription.

29 of 1893; SII. iii. 9; PK. pp. 114-5.

* This is the modern name of a small shrine in the Paṅcanadēvvara temple. SII. ii p. 278 n. 7.

† No regnal year appears in the text.
Year 25.—Dādāpuram (SA.)—Sheep for lamps to the temple of Kundavai Viņṇagar-ālvār by princess Parāntakān Kundavaip-piraṭṭiyār. Sēnāpati Mummuni Śōla Brahma-mahārāyar in charge of the management of the temple. 10 of 1918.

"Dādāpuram (SA.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Sheep left with thirty shepherds for ten lamps to the Iravikula-māṇikka temple, by Kundavai who built the temple. 18 of 1919.

Māmallapuram (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A vyavasthā relating to division of land and some privileges among the Nagarāram and the Pēriḻamaiyār while Pudukkuḷaiyān Ēkadhīran Aiymbadinman who was settling (vagai-seyginga) the Āmür-kōṭṭam was present in the nandavanam (flower - garden) to the south of the Jalasayana-dēva temple of Nagarāram Māmallapuram. SII. i. 40.

Pāṭukkanāmpati (Tj.)—Land to Mahādēva temple at Nelvāy. Mentions Paṅcavan Brahmādīrayān ruling Tagadur-nāḍu granted to him as jīvītam by the king. He was an officer of the Perundaram, and his father was a native of Ariyūr and called Erumaiya-nāḷgā-muṇḍan. 254 of 1909.


"Tiruvaḷaṅjuṭi (Tj.) — Land to Kēṭrapāḷa-dēva set up by Nambirāṭṭiyār-ulōga - māṭēviyār and to Gaṇapati. Mentions land-survey commencing in the sixteenth year. 624-A of 1902; SII. viii. 223.

"Tiruvaḷaṅjuṭi. (Tj.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Ornament by Rājarāja's queen Dantiśakti Viṇṭānki alias Lōkamahādēvi, his daughter Kundavai, the queen of Vimalāditya, and his middle daughter Māḍēvaḷigal, to the shrine of Kēṭrapāḷa-dēva which had been built by the king. 633 of 1902; SII. viii. 234.

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Year 25.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. A paṭṭam of eleven kalaiju by Dharmakkatālai-tulai-nīrai for Tikkāli-Anḍār by judges (niyāyattār) of the village.

221 of 1921.

"Tiruvāmātturi (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Tamulān Korra-
nangi enquired into the temple affairs and arranged that the drummers engaged in the temple should, in return for some paddy, take out the god Candrasekhara-
perumāl in procession thrice daily for śrībali. The drummers got the share of the paddy till then given to the Palāis for measuring the paddy due to the temple from the villagers, (kāl-alavu-kūli).

16 of 1922.

"Tiruvēṅkāṭu (Tj.)—Thirty kāsu for lamp by queen Vānavan-Mahādeviyār alias Tribhuvana-mādeviyār.

442 of 1918.

"Vyddhācalam (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Money for reading . . . in the temple.

50 of 1918.

Year 25, day 154.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Two thousand kuṭi of land by the Mahāśabhā for Tiruccenn-
naḍāi to the god in the Śrī-Puruṣottama.

177 of 1923.

Year 25, day 310.—Tanjore — Tirumagal-pōla. Gifts to Umā-
Paramēsvāri by the elder sister of Śrī-Rājarāja-dēva,
the Mahādevī of Vallavaraiyar Vandyā-dēvar.

SII. ii. 2.

Year 26.—Gangaikondān (Tin.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Land, by
purchase from the sabhā, for offerings to Śrī-Kailāyattu
Kṣetrapāla in Śrī Vallabha-mangalam, a brahmadēya
on the south bank of the Taṇ-poṇundam.

160 of 1895; SII. v. 724.

"Jambai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions a Bāṇa chief
named Maṇavan Narasimhavarman alias Rājarāja
Vāṇa - Kōvaraiyar : — Sakala-surāsura - samadhigata-
vijaya-śrī-maṇohāri - vallabha - mahārāja - maḥābali-
kula - tilakāyamāna - Paṇṇaīsaṅirudaya - nandana

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Nanda-giri-nātha Pārīvai-pura-paramēśvara Vetcicchinālakṣaṇa viṣabha-lārāhana.

86 of 1906 *; El. xi. p. 239 n. 4.

Year 26.—Kośamangalam (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land made into an agrahāra called after Tribhuvana-mahādevi to the temples of Jayantāngi-Viṣṇugar-paramasvāmi and Śrī-Kailāsām. 354 of 1917.

† Kōmēriyājapuram (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land by Udaiyā-pirāṭṭiyār to two persons at Pungudi for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple of Tirunallam-udaiyār. 624 of 1909.

Kuhūr (Tj.)—Money for lamp to Ādityāśvaram-Udaiyār temple at Kuhūr. 276 of 1917.

Śevilppēri (Tin.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Gift of land by the Mahāsabhā of Śrīvallabha-mangalam, a brahma-deva in Kṛlkaḷa-kūrram, a sub-division of the Rājarāja-maṇḍalam. 422 of 1906.

Takkōlōm (NA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 96 sheep for lamp. Takkōlōm is called Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi-puram, a tanīyār in Maṇayir-kōṭṭam in the Jayangoṇḍa-śoḷa-maṇḍalam. 259 of 1921.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 48 sheep for half a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār by a lady of Panmaic-cēri; the residents of Panmaic-cēri were themselves the trustees (puṇai) and the Średuḥākṣantas and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas had the power to punish defaults. 186 of 1923.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 96 sheep for a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār in charge (puṇai) of the residents of Panmaic-cēri, the Średuḥākṣantas and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish defaults. The donor is described as: Ivvūr-yāḻunganattarur Śrī-gōvindacēri Kottic-cenna-Kumāra Kramavittan Brāhmaṇa Nangai-mādic-cēni. 190 of 1923.

* cf. 84 of 1906 of Year 24.
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Year 26, day 20.—Tanjore.—Begins: "Etad-viśva-nippa-śrēṇi-mouli - mālīpālālittam Śasanaṁ Rājarājasya Rāja-kēsari varmanāk." Tirumagal-pōla. The king, seated for making dānas, in the Kijaittur- manjanaśālai of Irumaḍi-sōla within the Taņjāvūr Kōyil (palace), ordered that there be engraved on stone all the gifts from himself, his elder sister, and his wives (nam-pep-dugal) and other gifts to Śrī-Rājarājēśvaram-Uḍaiyār of the sacred stone temple built by him (nām eḻupicca-tirukkaḷai) in the Taņjāvūr - kūṟṟam of the Pāṇḍyakulāsani Vaļa-nādu. 105 numbered paragraphs follow.

SII. ii. 1.

Year 26, day 206. — Tiruvānṭṭilār (S.A.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Tamulāṉ Korinangi of Śīruḍhāma-nallūr, the king’s agent and trustee of the temple, called together the sabhā and the ċūr of the village, and enquired into the affairs of the temple, and finding the existence of a certain surplus of paddy due to measurement by the vidiviṭkan- marakkāl instead of by the rājakēsari, he ordered this surplus to be utilised for the daily supply of akkāra-aṭiśil by name Jayan-goṇḍa-sōlān to god. Mentions other gifts for lamps: also sāṭābhōga. 10 sheep for one kalāṇju.

21 of 1922.

Year 27.—Brahmadesam (N.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Ten kalāṇju of gold for which were got 90 sheep (for a lamp) left in charge of the gaṇapperrumakkāl who looked after the śrīkāryam for the year.

204 of 1915.

"Emappērūr (S.A.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Sale by residents (Urōm) of Nālavūr of lands made tax-free to the trustees of the temple of Tiruvālandurai - uḍaiya Paramasvāmin of Emappērūr for offerings thrice a day.

513 of 1921.

"Kāḷakaṭṭi (N.A.) — Verse Etad-viśva followed by Tirumagal-pōla. Seems to enforce payment by the upāsakas of arrears of interest on some endowments.

299 of 1904.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 27.—Ś. 933.—Sadhāraṇa.—Kallahallī (Mys.)—Death in a fight of Jebayya, son of Balalocra Nolambaseṭṭi who received Kolatūr Kal-nāḍ from Nannaiyabhūpa, “Samadhigatapańcamahāsabda Pallavaṇvaya Śrī Pṛthivivallabha Pallavakula-tīlakaivākyam Kāṇeśpuravarēvara Śrīman Nolambaḍhirāja Corayyam rājyāle.”

EC. x. Ct. 118.


236 of 1902; SII. viii. 863.

Mēlappaluvūr (Tri.)—Tirumagar-pōla. At the request of his queen Nakkan Pańcavan-mādevī, the daughter of Avani-kandarpa-purattu-dāvanār of Paḻuvūr, the king provided for offerings and worship in the temple by granting an additional income of 900 kalam of paddy due on some lands which were surveyed and assessed, the dēvadāna lands of Uranguḍī being excepted.

385 of 1924.

Śērmādevī (Tin.)—Tirumagar-pōla. Lamp to Cōḷendra-simheśvara.

192 of 1895; SII. v. 756.

Śērmādevī (Tri.)—The Aga-nāligaj Śivabrāhmaṇas of the Cōḷendraśinga-śīvāra agreed, on receiving twelve old kāsu, to burn a perpetual lamp to Kailāṣattāḻvār.

629 of 1916.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Money for lamp by Ījangōn Picci, the senior queen (mūttā-dēviyār) of Śōḷapperumān and the daughter of Vallavaraiyar.

14 of 1920.

Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Undertaking by the Śivabrāhmaṇas at Pugalūr to burn a lamp to Kōṇapperumāl for money received by them from a Brahman lady named Gaṇapati Ponnāḻvi alias Śōlaī.

69 of 1928.

Tiruvvaṇandai (Ch.)—Tirumagar-pōla. Land for offerings in the Varāha-dēva temple by the residents of Taivyūr alias Rājakēsari-nallūr.

272 of 1910.

* Text does not give the details given here.
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Year 27.—Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Provision for Šadaiyattirunāl in Aippigai and for festival during the six days preceding. 115 of 1896; SII. v. 979.

" Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Twenty-two pon for lamp to Nāngūr Tiruvenkāḍa-dēvar by Vēlān Sundara-sōlan, the son of Koḻumbājūr Vēlān Širiyā Vēlān who fell in Īlam in the 3rd year of Ūḍaiyār Pon-māligaiyir-tuṇijina-dēvar. * 116 of 1896; SII. v. 980.

" Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Setting up of a copper image of the goddess to Rābha-vāhana-dēva by persons of the Rājarāja-jananātha-terinjia-parivāra. 457 of 1918.

" Tiruvaṟumbūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla, ommittu munnir-paḻandīvum-panniririyumum. 100-A of 1892; SII. iv. 548.

" Tiruvaṟumbūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Land for two lamps. Mention seems to be made of a general tour of inspection by the king (dēvargal) in the course of which Kāli Ādittan audited the accounts of the temple. 109 of 1914.

" Ūḍaiyāruguṇi (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Assembly of Viranāriyana-catm. met in the hall Rājarājan, and under orders of the great assembly, decided that a ¼th share of all lands and tanks in the hamlet should belong to the Tiruvaṇantuṇvara temple. 615 of 1920.

" Uyyakkoṇḍan-Tiruvalai (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 90 sheep for lamp to Kārkudi-viḷumiyār in Rājārāya-catm., in Pāṇḍli-kulāsani-vaḷa-nāḍu. † The donor was queen Nakkan Arumōḷi alias Piridi-māddeviyār. 455 of 1908.

* See MV. Ch. 54 vv. 12 ff. Mahinda IV. A.D. 954-70. Yr. may be (9) not (3).

† Before and after this year, the village was in Keraḷāntaka Vaḷa-nāḍu, AKE. 1909 II. 42.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Year 28.—Ś. 934.—Balmuri (Mys.)—(Canarese.) King called also Kali Rājarāja. Conquests mentioned: Gangavādi, Malēṇaḍ, Nojamba, Āndhra, Kongu, Kalinga and Pāṇḍya, all becoming Cōla-nāḍ. Lamp by general Paṇcavan Māra, the Mahādaṇḍanīyaka of Bengi and Ganga Maṇḍalas. He is called Mummuḍi-Cōlana-gandhavāraṇam and is said to have seized the Tuḷuva and Konkaṇa, held Malēya, pushed aside the Cēra, Teluṅga and Raṭṭīga.

5 of 1895; EC. iii. Sr. 140.

Year 28.—Jambai (SA.)—Tirumagal-pōla. “A merchant of Jambai had a concubine whom a native of Nāvalūr (now Tirunāmanallūr) attempted to outrage at night. The latter was stabbed by the merchant. The merchant could not be prosecuted. He combined with a relative of the deceased and gave gold for a lamp to burn in the Tānṛṇṭi-āḷvār temple at Jambai.”

77 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II. 42.


711 of 1916.

“Sevillippēri (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭelūttu). Tirumagal-pōla. Mentions Neccuṇa-nāḍu in Rājarāja-maṇḍalas. The village Ten-tirumāliruṇṇiḷaḷ was situated on the north bank of the river Taṇḍorundam.

411 of 1906.

“Taṭimalingi (Mys.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Grant of land to temple in lieu of 100 kaḷaṇṭu of gold (by kom-pōṇagaṇaraṇa-niṇṭai-kal) taken out of the temple treasury by the gāmunḍas of Māyilangai of Iḍai-nāḍ.

491 of 1911; EC. iii. Tn. 35.

“Tirukkaṭīṭṭaiḷai (Tjit.)—90 sheep for lamp by Vēmban Śḻruḍaiyār alias Minavan Mahādēviyār, queen of Rājarāja-dēva.

301 of 1908.

“Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tirumagal-pōla. The king ordered that the central shrine of the temple should be rebuilt, and that certain original inscriptions in the
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temple were to be preserved by being copied in a book. * 92 of 1895; SII. v. 652.

Year 28.—Tiruttani (NA.)—Tirumagal-pola. Sale of land tax-free by the assembly of Jananatha-catm. to a private person for feeding pilgrims going to and returning from Sri Vangaḍam. 430 of 1905.

"Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pola. Lamp by the mother of queen Villavan Mahādeviyyar, named Nakk-an-Ulōga-cintāmaniyyar.

117 of 1896; SII. v. 381; also 447 of 1918 (same).

"Tiruvenkādu (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pola. Gold for offerings to Āda-vallār in the temple of Tiruvenkāduḍaiyyar by Kūttan Virāniyyar, a queen of the king. 449 of 1918.

Year 28, day 141.—Tirumukkādal (NA.) Tirumagal-pola. The great assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. including the young and the old met together in the Śembiyan-mahādevi-perumaṇḍapam built by the king † and agreed to pay the āvirai, and ulavirai on certain temple lands from the interest on 100 kālaṇju of gold which they had received from the temple treasury. One of the signatories was the accountant of the samvatsara-vāriyam. 178 of 1915. ‡

Year 29.—Ādanūr (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu).—25 sheep for 2 lamps. 433 of 1909.


"Māḻṟṟaṉa (Mys.)—The mercantile community provide for offerings in the temple by voluntary contributions. 508 of 1911.

* cf. 91 of year 14 of Rājendra.

† Evidently for the meetings of the assembly -ARE. 1916 II. 10.

‡ 171, same day, lays down the details of expenses to be met from this land.
Year 29. —Maḻūṟpatna (Mys.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Meeting of the assembly of Periya-maḻuvūr alias Rājēndra-singacatm. in the temple and gift of a dēvadāna on the day of consecration. 510 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 128.


Mēḻpāṭi (NA.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Construction of the Cōḷēśvara alias Ariṇįjigai-Iśvara temple by Rājārāja and gifts to it. 83 of 1899; SII. iii. 15.

Mēḻpāṭi (NA.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Gift of a dēvadāna to Ariṇįjigai Iśvara Mahādēva by the Nagarattār of Pulikkuṇṟam: "Nir-nilamum kollaiyum kuḷum utpaṇḍa-(vunumlam) sēvintī ippulikkunṟattu ni(λam) eppēṟṟpaṭṭudum itṭēvaṟkkku vēṇḍu nivandana-gaḷukku-lēvadāna iṟaiyili-yāga," etc. 84 of 1889; SII iii. 16.

Mēḻpāṭi (NA.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. Gift by a cultivator of 96 sheep for the supply of ¼ Rājakēsari measure of ghi every day for lamp to: "Āṅgur-tuṅţina-dēvaṟkkku paḷḷippadaiyāga Uḷaiyār Śri Rājārāja-dēvar eṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ.rabbitu “tiru Varuṇijaśivarattu Mahādēvaṟkkku.” * 86 of 1889; † SII. iii. 17.

Rajakkal (NA.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla. 600½ kuḻi of land by residents of Ellādaḻēl for offerings in three services to god Agastiāvara. Measuring rod kaṭiṉai kaḷattuk-kōl. 172 of 1921. ‡

Śenkuṇguṟam (NA.)—Tirumagaḷ-pōla.—Twenty pon by a Brahman to merchants of Jayangonda-sōḷapuram

* A temple on the burial place (paḷḷippadai) of Āṉrūr-Luṇțina-dēva (Ven-kayya) ARE. 1907 II 30.
† 'Written in beautiful florid characters' - Hultsch.
‡ No. 173 in continuation of this mentions Śiṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ😃

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(in Anđa-nādu, Perumbāṇappādi) for purchase of 180 sheep for a lamp at 9 sheep per kāśu. Liquid measure jayangoṇḍa-śōlaraiyan. 149 of 1921.

Year 29.—Śeivilippēri (Tin.)—Lamp by a merchant of Karavandapura in Kālakkuḍī-nādu. 418 of 1906.

Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pölā. List of villages that had to supply accountants, mānis and treasurers in accordance with the royal order and rates of remuneration for the servants of the temple. 57 of 1893; SII. ii. 69.

Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pölā. List of villages in the Cōla country which had to supply watchmen in accordance with the king's command. 58 of 1893; SII. ii. 70.

Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pölā. List of persons to whom cattle had been assigned for the supply of ghi at the rate of ¼ measure by Ādavallān every day for each lamp which meant 96 sheep or 48 cows or 16 buffaloes. 20 of 1897; SII. ii. 63.

Tanjore.—This is a continuation of the preceding inscription. It gives the information: 1 kāśu was equal to three sheep. (paras. 18 and 21) 21 of 1897; SII. ii. 64.

Tanjore.—List of metal pinnacles (stūpik-kuṭām) for the different shrines in the temple with names of donors and description including weight. A gift of year 3 of Rājēndra is mentioned. 24 of 1897; SII. ii. 90.

Tanjore.—Catalogue of jewels. 25 of 1897; SII. ii. 32 (ll. 1-54); v. 1388-1401.

Tanjore.—An image of Durgā by a native of Nallūr alias Paṅcavaṇ-mahādēvi-caṭm. and gifts of jewels to it described in detail. 26 of 1897; SII. ii. 79.

Tanjore.—An image of Śrīkaṇṭha and jewels for it by queen Prithivi-mahādēviyar, detailed description. 27 of 1897; SII. ii. 80.
Year 29.—Tanjore.—An image of Kālāpiṣṭhārī given by the son of a Perundanam of the king, described. 28 of 1897; SII. ii. 81.

" Tanjore.—Seven copper images of Gaṇapati set up by the king, described. 30 of 1897; SII. ii. 84.

" Tanjore.—Ornaments to Parivārālayattu Gaṇapati by king Rājarāja. 32 of 1897; SII. ii. 86.

" Tanjore.—Ornaments to Parivārālayattu Gaṇapati by a panimagan of the king. 33 of 1897; SII. ii. 87.

" Tanjore.—A vessel to same by Rājarāja-dēvar panimagan puravu-varitiṇaikkaṭṭu varippottaga nāyakan (master of rent-roll in the department, tiṇaikkaḷam, of taxes from endowments-Hultsch) Pāṇḍyakulāśani-Valanāṭṭhū Puṣkiliyūrṇāṭṭuk-kāmadamangalam-uḍaiyān Kāṇjan Koḍaiyan. 34 of 1897; SII. ii. 88.

" Tanjore.—Ornaments to Gaṇapati. 35 of 1897; SII. ii. 89.

" Tanjore.—Silver vessels by king Rājarāja from his own treasures, and the booty of silver vessels captured in the campaigns in Malai-nāḍu against the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya. 36 of 1897*; SII. ii. 91.

" Tanjore.—King’s grants to the temple including five villages in Ceylon† (continuation of SII. ii. 4) 37 of 1897; SII. ii. 92.

" Tanjore.—Tirumagal-pōla. Ornaments by the king out of the Cēra and Pāṇḍya treasures and his own. 38 of 1897; SII. ii. 93.

" Tiruvaṇḍandai (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Fifteen kaḷaṇju of gold by a merchant of Koṇungōḻur in Malai-nāḍu

* It looks as if the king had more gold and precious stones at his disposal, than silver. Hultsch.

† Rājarāja’s foreign conquests were not mere inroads. Note omission of details of measurement unlike in villages in the Cēḷa country, and removal of previous holders in some cases. Money revenue more common outside the Cēḷa country than in it. Hultsch.
for feeding 30 Brahmans in the Älyār temple at Tiruvadandai from interest (paddy) given by the residents (ūr) of Taiyūr in Kumil-nāḍu of the Amūrkōṭam to the sabhā of Tiruvadandai. The loan is called vāḏākkafan.

260 of 1910.

Year 29.—Tiruvaïyūru (Tj.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Silver vessels by Viṣṇu-Vardhana-Mahārāja alias Vimalāditya-dēva, the king’s son-in-law, to Lōkamahādēvi-Īśvaram-udaiya Mahādēva. 215 of 1894; SII. v. 514.

Tiruviśalūr (Tj.)—Village called Vēmbarrūr alias Sōlaymārtanda-catm. in Manṭi-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vala-nāḍu. Mentions the performance of tūlābhāra by the king, and of hiranyagarbha by his queen Dantīsakti-viṭānkiyār alias Lōkamahādēviyār in the temple of Tiruviśalūr. 42 of 1907.*

Ukkal (NA.) — Tirumagal-pōla. Endowment of a well called Rājarāja, and of a toṭṭi by a servant of the king. 22 of 1893; SII. iii. 4.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. 90 sheep by a lady of Trivikramac-cēri for a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti àlyār of Śri Veḷḷi Viṣṇugṛha. 178 of 1923.

Uyyakkonḏān - Tirumalai (Tri.) — Gold ornament (paṭṭam) called Jayangonḏa-sōjan. 468 of 1908.

Year 31.—Kanyākumāri (Tri.)—Begins . . . . perumbuagā Kōvi-rājakāsari. The dēvakannis of Rājarāja-Īśvaram-udaiyār of Kumariṅkālīkkződi sell some land to the Nārpatteṇṇayiravar for the establishment of a tānpuruṇpandal named Jayangonḏa-sōjan, † the erection of a Kāvaṇam and the plantation of useful trees in the area which may be enclosed (śurụmaṇḍaiṭtu) for the purpose. TAS. i. 168-9.

* Inscription below a sculpture representing the king and queen in a worshipping attitude - K.V.S. Aiyar; EJ. xlii. p. 121, n. 2.

† T.A.G. Rao took this to be a surname of Rājādhirāja, and assigned the record to Rājarāja II who was a Parākāsa. 232 of 1915 (Brahmadeśam NA), is another record with year 31 which may be of this king.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Ś. 9(2)3.—Kañcipuram. (Ch.) — (Sanskrit) Records genealogy of E. Cāḷukyas up to Daṇḍaraya; and several titles of Cōḷa Bhumī whom Rājarāja conquered.


Ś. 929 (Prabhava). †—Kalēyūr (Mys.)—Tēyakulatilaka Malepalklakāla Koṭṭamāṇḍala - nātha Apramēya was a pillar of victory. He defeated the Hoysala minister Nāgaṇṇa; slew in battle at Kalavūr the Hoysala leaders Maṅjaga, Kāliga (or Kāli-ganga), Nāgavarma and others, winning by his valour in the plain of Kalavūr a name to endure for ever.

353 of 1901; EC. iii. i. Tn. 44.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Bunniūr (Mys.)—(Kanarese) Tirumagal- pōla. Grant to temple at Muttatti. Kuḍamalai-nāḍu is here clearly Koḷaga-malē-nāḍum (Coorg hill country).

EC. iii. Tn. 122.

Brahmadēsam (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu.) Sale of land.

381 of 1916.


Kōvalūr (NA.)—Sale of land by the assembly of Kōvalūr.

438 of 1922.

Kuhūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal- pōla. Land by Vayirikuttēran alias Śōlaviccādira-Pallavaraiyan, headman of Kūrūr, for offerings to a shrine constructed by him.

304 of 1917.

Kuttālam (Tin.)—Tirumagal- pōla. States that when the temple had become dilapidated it was repaired and

— No. 238 records the presentation of ornaments to the temple, and the construction of a tank, Cōḷa samudram, and a temple. Mentions the Ganga family, a Pōla-rāja, Cōḷa Bhumī Vaidumba.

† Date irregular. Kielhorn considers this of no 'value for historical purposes.' EI. iv. 67. ARE. gives Ś. 9(28).
the old inscription which was in vattam characters was re-engraved in Tamil on the new stone wall. Saalaiyan is prefixed to the name of the king. Records a gift of land by residents of the village of Vinnandai alias Vikrama-Pandya-nallur in Kottu-nal, a sub-division of Ila-manjalam, for a lamp to Tirukuttalattu-bhatjarakar. 454 of 1917.

Kuttalam (Tin.) — Tirumagar-polā. Mentions the re-engraving in Tamil of old Vatteluttu records. 455 of 1917.

Mālambi (Cg.) — The king heard of Manija’s heroism in the battle of Papasoge and sent word to Pañcavan-Mārāya to bind on him a patṭa (inscribed with the title) Keṣatriya-sikhāmanţi Kongālya * and give him Mālavvi. Witnesses: Gōvinda Rāccamma’s family. 633 of 1912; EC. i. 46.

Māḻūṟpatra (Mys.) — Gift to temple by Nigarilli-solapurattu nagaratēr. 509 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 131.

Nāṟṟiyāṉavanam (C.) — Tirumagar-polā. Rājarāja-késarivarman - Vikkiyāṉan Pugalvippavarganjan † of the (Ca)jukki family and two other chiefs of the Vaṭṭiya-nal gave certain privileges to the Veḷḷāḷas of that district in (Kunrā)-vattanak-kōṭṭam. 375 of 1911.

Pallikōṅḍa (NA.) — Provision by the assembly for a festival to Bhāṭāriyār in the village by levying the water-tax due from certain specified residents of the village. Near by is another record of about the same time,—an undertaking by the assembly to maintain offerings to and worship of the Bhāṭāriyār from an endowment by Gōvinda Kāḷaṟa Sarvakratuyājiyār of Kalanur, a member of the gaṇa. 477 of 1915.

* This occurred in 1004 A.D. and was the origin of the Kongāḷa line—EC. i. pp. 16-7. See also year 28-No. 5 of 1896; and Rice - Mysores and Coorg, pp. 144 ff.

† A title of the Ilās, like whom, the Caḷukki were perhaps a local family subject to the Cōḷas. ARE. 1912 II. 21.
RAJAKESARI RAJARAJA I

Tālaccangādu (Tj.)—Gift, of 100 kāsu to be raised in the manner specified, by the assembly of the place for feeding, in the name of Rājarāja, ten Brahmans in the temple Tiruccitrakūṭattu-āḻvār and for havirbali to the deity. 198 of 1925.

Tanjore.—Mentions one of the paṅcadēhamūrtis of copper placed in the temple of Rājarājēśvaram Uṇḍiyār by the king till his 29th year. 275 of 1911.

Tennēri (Ch.)—Tirumagal-pōla. Regulation of dues on areca gardens. 200 of 1901; SII. vii. 412.

Tiruccattugai (Tj.)—In praise of a Cōḷa feudatory. Mentions victories in Pūna-nāḍu and Malai-nāḍu, defeat of Vālūdi, destruction of Vilinām and of Karkaṭaamānagar, as well as defeat of Telunga Bhima. 204 of 1931. *

Tirukkaḷittattai (Tj.)—Rājakēsari. Silver pot to the temple of Śrī-kuḷittittai-mahādeva at Vēmbarrūr by Śembiyān-mahādevip-pirāṭiyār who gave birth to Uttama Cōḷa-dēva. 297 of 1908.

Tirumaiyam (Pd.)—Mentions Perumbidugu Perundēvi, the mother of Viṣṇuviḍugu-Viḷuppēradi-Araisān alias Śāttan Māran. 403 of 1906.

Tiruvallam (NA.) — Tirumagal-pōla. 96 sheep by Sōḷa-mahādeviyār, daughter of Tīṭṭaippirān and queen of Rājarāja-dēva, for a lamp in the Brahmiśvara shrine in the temple of Tiruttīkkāli-āḻvār; also gold for a chauri and offerings. 223 of 1921.

Tiruvāṁūṭtur (SA.) — Tirumagal-pōla. A certain Guṇasēkharan of Vēśāllippādi made a jewelled gold vessel for the sacred bath of the deity and a pair of bracelets set with precious stones. 23 of 1922.

* Said to be in characters of the 12th century and victories ascribed to the time of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cōḷa at ARE, 1921 ii. 30.

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PARAKESARI RAJENDRA 1
(A.D. 1012)

Ś. 943 — Nandigunḍa (Mys.) — Tiru manni valara. Mallagaunḍa gave land to Mallēśvara.
2 of 1895 ; EC, iii. Nj. 134.

Ś. 945. — Jogi-Daḷaśigere (Mys.) — (Kanarese) Gold to temple. 57 gadyaṇa in gold, 359 golden grains of rice, and 42 poruṭ; for Brahmans and ascetics 37 poruṭ.
171 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Ht. 10.

Ś. 948† — Marasanahalli (Mys.) — (Kanarese) Pūrva-dēśamum Gangaiyum koṇḍa. Construction of a sluice.
179 of 1911 ; EC. x. Ct. 13.

495 of 1911 ; EC. iv. Yd. 37.

Ś. 963. — Siddhanahalli (Mys.) — (Kanarese). Death of a heroine in a cattle-lift after the recovery of the lost cattle.
173 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Ht. 11.

Year 2. — Honganūr (Mys.) — Grant of tax-free land, after purchase, for offerings by the assembly of Punganūr alias Trailokya-mahādevi-catm.
199 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Cp. 42-A.

Kuttālam (Tin.) — Rājendrasimha. Lamp by a certain Veḷḷān-dēvan-Paṭṭālagan, a native of Pāgūr.
479 of 1917.

Year 3. — Karuttaṭṭāṇguḍi (Tj.) — Sale of land tax-free to the temple by the sabhā of Pūrālattūr for 75 kāsu.
44 of 1897 ; SII. v. 1407.

† 949—EC.
Year 3.—Karuttaḷṭāṇḍuṇḍi (Tj.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple for 20 kāṣu by an individual; attested by witnesses.
45 of 1897; SII. v. 1408.

Kilūr (SA.)—100 sheep by Rāma Mamaṇḍiśōla for the merit of his mother Rājāṣēkharan Umāi-nangaiyār, who was the daughter of Munaiyadiyaraiy and the dēvi of Paṭṭālagan Rāma alias Arumoljīdeva-nilāḍuṇḍaiyār.
13 of 1905.

Maḷāṟpaṇṇa (Mys.)—Gift of a tax-free dēvadāna by the sābha of Trailōkyamahādēv-catomy. alias Punganūr with right of irrigation from a tank in the neighbourhood: “Maṇḍūr ēriyinōrum nir-pāccik-kōḷḷa candirāduval nir-pāya udakapūruṣhēydu koṟṟuttōm Maṇḍūr ērikkē samanda Kottayam Uttaman āna Śōlāviciṭādu gāmuṇḍanum Iṉava - gāmuṇḍanum uḷḷitēṟ uṟōm.” The fine for obstructing the irrigation was fifty kaḻaṉū. 506 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 127.

Maḷāṟpaṇṇa (Mys.)—Agreement between the dēva-kannīs of a temple and the sābha of Vaṇḍūr alias Śōḷa-mādēv-catomy, regarding a perpetual loan in paddy (nellumudal) of 320 kalam and the interest due on it every year (100 kalam) and the methods of enforcing its payment. 512 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 129.

Nārtaḷmalai (Pd.)—Tiru manni vaḻara. Fragment. 358 of 1904.

Nattam (Ch.)—Mentions Paramēśvara-mangalam alias Nigarili-śōḷa-catomy, the meeting of the samvaṭsara-vāriyam who had met in the Rājendrasōḷa-catiṣṭālsalai; and Kaṇjāraṇ Aiyan Sūryan who was the settlement officer (vaṉai seṉinḡa) of the district (kōḷṭam) 262 of 1912.

Pandaṉravaṉḍai (Tj.)—Sale for 70 kāṣu of 9 mā tax-free by the big assembly of Rājakesari-catomy, to Āḷvār Śrī Pirṇātakan Śrī Kundavaip-pirṇṭṭiyār, for the maintenance of a free dispensary founded by her.

* Year said to be lost in ARE. 1912.
THE COLAS

Savārṇan Araiyan Madhurāntakan being the name of the physician. * 248 of 1923.

Year 3.—Śērmādevī (Tin.)—(Vattelutu). The vaikhaṇasas of Nigarilī-sōla-vipñagar in the Nigarilī-sōla-catm., undertake to burn half a lamp for kāsu deposited with them. "Eriyādōīyil aṁu śrī-kōyil vāriyam śey-vārē nippīna neyyiraṭṭi aṭṭuvicu erivippāragavum .... Ippariśu oṭṭi ikkāsu koṇḍa vaikhaṇasarōmil munningōmē erippōmōm." 179 of 1895 ; EI. v. p. 47.

Śērmādevī (Tin.)—Assignment of a street with houses by Mahāsabhā of Nigarilī-sōla-catm., for residence of Tigai-yāyirat-taṁṇūrvar. 651 of 1916.

Śivankūḍal (Ch.)—The assembly (sabhā) of the village got money from a private person and declared some lands below the tank Brahmādhirīyap-puttēri rent-free in order to provide for offerings and lamp to the local temple of Mahādeva. 289 of 1912.

Tanjore.—Vessels in copper, zinc (tarā), and bell-metal (veṅkalam) to ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār in the temple by Udaiyār Śrī Rājarājēvaram Udaiyārkku Śrī-karyaṇjey-ginā Poygai-nāḍu Kīlavan Ādittan Sūrān alias Tennavan Mūvenda Vēḷān. 31 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 85.

Tirukkāravāsal (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara, † to Mān-vaikkākākkam. Land by purchase for lamp to Tirukkārāyil-udaiyār. 451 of 1908.

Tirumukkūḍal (NA.)—Three kālāṇju of gold by nigaikkal, yielding interest of 9 maṉjavājī per year for offerings at Mūsāi-makham. Price of paddy taken to be 40 kūjī per kālāṇju as an average ‡ (ērilluṉ-jurungilum). 176 of 1915.

* ARE. 1925 II. 14, cf. 249 of year 7.

† Usually no introduction in records earlier than year 5—ARE. 1909 II. 43.

‡ Con. 245 of about 20 years later. Interest and prices tripled, ARE. 1916 II. 12
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—Tirumukkuḍal (NA.)—Twenty-five vēli of land by Rājarāja-deva, seated on Rājaśraya, given at the instance of Dāmōdarabhaṭṭān of Kāḻalanguḷī, * who was made madhyastha (naḻuvirukkam) in the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumukkuḍal. 196 of 1917.

Tiruvāḍuturugai (TJ.)—Gift, by a native of Tiruviljamilai, a brahmaṇḍya, of paddy from interest on which the Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple agreed to get daily three pots of water for the sacred bath from the Kāvēri during the three services. 116 of 1925. †

Tiruvaiyāṟu (TJ.)—164 gold flowers to the Uttarkailāsa shrine (modern name) by Dantiśakti alias Lōka-mahādēvi, queen of Rājarāja. 220 of 1894 ; SII. v. 519.

Tiruvaiyāṟu (TJ.)—Seven bronze lamp-stands to Ulōka-Mahādēvi-Iśvaram-uṭaiya Mahādēva at Tiruvaiyāṟu by Dantiśakti Viṭṭuṇkīyār, queen of Rājarāja. 152 of 1918. ‡

Tiruvallaṇṭuḷi (TJ.)—Two gold flowers to Kṣetrapāladēva (of the stone temple built by Dantiśakti alias Lōka-māḍēvi) out of the gold used for her hiraya garbha in the temple of Tiruvāḷalūr in the 29th year of Rājarāja. 633-C. of 1902 ; SII. viii. 237.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—People of Vāṇapuram sold tax-free 1000 kuḷī of land to Vaidumban Śankara-dēva Sōmanātha to whose ename are prefixed the same epiteths as those of Tiruvaiyan Śankara-dēva (Rājarāja I Yr. 16—SII. iii. 51). Sōmanātha assigned the land to the Mahādēva temple of Tiruvaiya-Iśvara which the members of his family had caused to be built on the southern side of Tiruvallam-Uṭaiyar; he also gave 96 sheep for a lamp. 82 of 1889 ; SII. iii. 53.

* This person appears also in the Larger Leyden Grant, ARE. 1918 II. 26.
† 117 n.-d. is a list of images and lamp-stands (with details) in the temple of Tiruvāḍuturugai-uṭaiyar in Śattanūṟ alias Abhayākṛaya-catm. (cf. 104, n.-d.)
‡ cf. 154 of year 21.
THE COLAS

Year 3.—Tiruvēṇkkāḻu (Tj.)—Money, 46 kāṉu, to temple for offerings and festivals and feeding by a cavalier of the king’s troops (tadī-māṟum-kudīraicēvagār), a native of Aṭṭuppāḷḷiṇiṇiyamam. 459 of 1918.

" Tiruvēṇumbrū (Tri.)—Eight kāṉu to the Śrī Kōyiluḷaiyār for lamp to Tiruvēṇumbrū-uḷaiya-mahādēva by one of the āḻungāṇattar of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. 100 of 1914.

" Tiruviśaimarudūr (Tj.)—45 sheep for a lamp at night at the gate called Ėkanāyakan-tiruvuśal. 200 of 1907.

" Tiruvišalūr (Tj.)—Gold to provide śidārī for the incense. 15 of 1907.

" Tiruvišalūr (Tj.)—Ornaments by the queen of the Pāṇḍya Śrī-valḷuvar. 46 of 1907.

" Tiruvišalūr (Tj.)—Silver kalaśa by a queen. 340 of 1907.

" Tiruvišalūr (Tj.)—Mentions the building of the Tirucuṟṟālayam and the gōpuram to Tiruvišalūr Mahādēva temple at Vēmbarṛūr alīas Śrī Śoḷamāt-tāṇḍa-catm. 341 of 1907.*

" Tiruvišalūr (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Nakkan Ṣembiyan-māṉēṉiyār, queen of Rājēndra. 348 of 1907.

" Uḍaiyāṟguḍi (SA.)—Gift, by Kamban Madhurāntakan, a member of the elephant corps (perundarattu āṇaiyāḻ); lamp-stand and gold for lamp and offerings on specified days. 598 of 1920.

" Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Land by the assembly for three daily offerings to Rāghan-dēva in the temple of Veḷḷai-mūrti-āḻvār, and for flower-garden, with the stipulation that food offered at the two services should be given away to the Śrī Vaṁspavas reciting the Tiruppadiyam hymns. 181 of 1923.

* cf. 52 of 1907 of Vikramacūḷa, a surname of Rājēndra. A&E, 1908 II. 55.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—Uṭṭattār (Tri.)—Death (?) of a certain Śrutimān Nakkan Candiran alias Rājamalla-muttarnaiyan of the elephant-corps, when, in a fight with Satyāśraya *, he was ordered by the king to pierce the (enemy’s) elephant. A gift was made on his behalf to the temple of Mahādēva at Uṭṭattār. 515 of 1912.

" Uyyakkoṇḍa-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Survey of temple lands and change of tenants under orders of the king residing in his palace at Pālaiyāru. 463 of 1908.

" Uyyakkoṇḍa-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Records the survey mentioned in the last inscription. 473 of 1908.

Year 3, day (3)50.—Brahmadēnam (NA.)—Gold for offerings by Indaladēvi, wife of Vallavarasar Vandyādēvar. Sabhā of Parākramacōla-catm. take charge of the five kalanaṇju given. Measure: Śri Polandaibāyam-marakkāl. 191 of 1915.

Year 4.—Aḷagāḍriputtār (Ṭj.)—Land for offerings at the shrine of Sūrya-dēva constructed in the temple by a native of Kallūr in Mēl-vēmba-nādu in Pāṇḍi-nādu alias Rāja-rāja-manḍalam. Mentions Kurungūr Maṇḍam where the assembly of Parādāyakuḷi (a hamlet of Aḷagāḍriputtār) met to make a gift to the temple. The maṭha was to the north of the village tank. 239 of 1908; ARE. 1909 II. 43.

" Allūr (Tri.)—Provision for feeding five Brahmans on new-moon days. 365 of 1903.

" Dāḍāpuram (SA.)—Sheep for ten lamps to temple of Kundavai-viṇṇagar by Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār. 12 of 1919.


* Hotṭūr inscription of A.D. 1007-8 in Fleet DKD. p. 433. ARE. 1913 II 22.
**THE COLAS**

**Year 4.—Kānḍipuram (Ch.)—**Sale of land by merchants (mā-nagarum) of Kānḍipuram for offerings and worship to god Gaṅapatiyār Kānḍipura Aḷagar on the northern side of the temple called Aṇjāṇjaṇḍi-ambalam-Rājendra-sōḷan.

76 of 1921.

" **Kāvantaṇḍalam (Ch.)—**Land by sābhā as ɪɣaiɣɪli ɪiative to temple of Rājendra-cōḷēśvarā built by a revenue officer (nāḍu vagai-ségginɡa) Piccan.

210 of 1901; *SII* vii. 423.

" **Kīlūr (SA.)—**Gift by Pirāntakan-yādava-bhīman alias Uttama-cōḷa-miḷāḍuḷaiyar of the Bhārgava-gōtra at the request of Araiyan Malaiyārdittan alias Cēdinādu-vēḷān of Āviyūr. The sābhā of Tirukkōvalūr sold land for the purpose.

20 of 1905.

" **Kuttālam (Tj.)—**Sale of 8 mā of land tax-free to temple by the assembly of Villavanmāḍēvi-catm., on payment of 43 kāsu.

104 of 1926.

" **Maṅkāyan (SA.)—**Taxes on a salt-pan for two lamps to Tiruppumiccuram-uḍaiyar by the ārūr.

24 of 1919.*

" **Miṅjūr (Ch.)—**Land for festivals etc. in the temple of Sōḷakulasundara - vinnagar-āḷvē at Miṅjūr by the ārūr. Mentions Kallāḍāvaram-uḍaiyar.

133 of 1916.

" **Śermaḍēvi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu).** Deposit by a Brahman lady of six kāsu in the hands of the Vaṅkhānasas for half a lamp before Nigarilisōḷa-vinnagar-āḷvēr.

708 of 1916.

" **Tiruvadi (SA.)—**20 sheep for lamp by one of the Jannāṭhat-terīṅja-valangai - vēḷaikūrār of Pangalanaṇḍu.

393 of 1921.

" **Tiruvāḍutūṟai (Tj.)—**Sale of land and house sites for one hundred and twenty kāsu, current and capable of passing for full value, by the assembly of

* cf. 23 of 1919 (Rājarāja I, Yr. 19.)
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Palaiya-Vanavan-madhi-catm. (in Innambur-nadu of Rajaendra-simha-vala-nadu) to Alvar Sri Pirantaikan-Sri-Kundavaip-pirattiyar who conferred it on Savaran Araiyen Candrasekharan alias Uttama-Colta-acalan and his descendants as the physicians of the village. The transaction was engraved on the temple walls by order of the king. Another record (113) in continuation is the undertaking by the assembly to pay the taxes on this land and on the houses in return for 80 kasu got from the donor. 112, 113 of 1925.

Year 4.—Tiruvaiyaru (Tj.)—Sakcadhi Samudaiyan alias Sembiyan-madhi-perundaithan appointed to the Tatjarkan of the Uloka-mahadhi-Isvaram by order of Deviyar Dantisakti. 216 of 1894; SII. v. 515.

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Araiisurudaiyan Irayarvan Pallavaraiyan alias UttamaSotla-Pallavaraiyan, of the Perundaram of the king, had built a shrine Rajarajeshvara; he bought 2000 kulhi of land tax-free for 50 anagha-nakhasu from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam for two lamps to the shrine. 299 of 1897; SII. iii. 54.

Tiruvenkulu (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a servant (adigariici) of the queen. 463 of 1918.

Tiruvenkulu (Tj.)—Money, 333 kasu, yielding interest 41 1/4 kasu per annum, for incense etc., by queen Nakkan Karukkamandal alias Pauncavan-madhaviyar. 464 of 1918.

Tiruvishalar (Tj.)—Gift of land as selayakriyabhoja by Alvar Sri Pirantaikan Kundavaip-pirattiyar while she was in the palace (koyil) at Palaiyaru. 350 of 1907; also 351.

Udaiyargudi (SA.)—Umbrella with 19,908 pearls with a gold ornamental handle (?) of 25 1/4 kasaaju by the Kaikkolas of Viranaraya-ctm., a brahmadeya in Rajendrasimha-vala-nadu. 613 of 1920.

* cf. 248 of 1923 of Year 3.
THE COLAS

Year 4.—Ukkal (NA.)—Sale of land, 3000 kuṭi, by Mahāsabhā as bhūgam for two boats (ōḍam) given to the tank of the place by a servant of the king. Also sale of five picottahs (ēttam) besides one already bought for the ōḍam.

27 of 1893; SII. iii. 10.

"Uttaramerūr (Ch.)—Land, 720 kuṭi, by sabhā of Uttaramerūr alias Rājendrasūla-catm., set apart as tax-free Bhaviṣya-kidāippuram, to enable a person to reside permanently (nirantarām) in the village and teach, (ōduvippāraga).

29 of 1898; SII. vi. 312.

"Uttaramerūr (Ch.)—480 kuṭi of land set apart as Tayittiriyak-kidāippuram by the Mahāsabhā.

33 of 1898; SII. vi. 316.

"Vṛddhacalam (SA.)—Tiru mannī vaḷara to Maṇṇai-kāḍakkam. Land by residents of Neruppai for reciting the Tiruppadiyam.

44 of 1918.

Year 4, day 84.—Uttaramerūr (Ch.)—Hereditary appointment of a Śivabrāhmaṇa to the place of arccaka in the Subrahmanya temple. He was to perform the usual services (mũnbu-śeyyak-kaṭava-nibandum) with the temple lands.

53 of 1898; SII. vi. 336.

Year 4, day 114.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—While Naṉuvirukkum Puvatta Bhaṭṭa Sōmayājiyār of Koṭṭaiyūr was seated in the hall Arumolī-devan on the north side of the temple of Śoḷendraśimha-Ivaram-uḍaiyār at Mēḷpādi alias Rājāsrayapuram and audited the temple accounts, the scale of expenses of the Tikkālivallam-uḍaiya-mahā-dēva temple was fixed in conformity with the inscription engraved on stone by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāccan in the 7th year of Rājaraṇa * and with other relevant factors.

227 of 1921.

Year 4, day 352.—Tirumuḷkūṭal (NA.)—120 kāḍi of paddy for offerings on new moon days. Mentions Rājarāja-vāḍya-mahārājan an earlier donor and the officer Śembangudaiyār whose order the sabhā carries out in appropriating the paddy in a detailed manner for expenses.

175 of 1915.

* cf. 10 of 1890 of Year 7 Rājarāja I.
Year 5.—Ammangudi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (Frag). Land tax-free to Rājarājēśvaram - uḍaiya - mahādeva. Also provision for lamp. 236 of 1927.

"Embādi (N.A.)—Tiru manni valara up to ṛsemborūruttāgumūtīyam. Order issued by the king in year 5 from his palace at Paḷaḷaiyāru regarding the dues from the village Perumaḍi. The village had not paid up even by year 25, day 32. 585 of 1906.


"Karuttaṭṭāṅgudi (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara up to Maṇṇaiak-kaḍakkam. Gold diadem made out of gold accumulated till year 4 in various ways including piḍīḷigaivāri and gifts by different donors. The diadem was called Rājendrasāḷan-paṭṭam. 50 of 1897; SII. v. 1413.

"Kilappuḷuvūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara to Maṇṇaiak-kaḍakkam. Lamp by Ariṇjī-mādevaḷīgaḷ, * a pen-ḍāṭṭi of Nambrāṭṭiyār Pāṇdi-mādeviyār, on behalf of her daughter Arumolī-dēvan Bhōgi Bhaṭṭan Gaṇḍarāḍitti. 235 of 1926.

"Kōnērīrājapuram (Tj.)—Damaged. Mentions year 3 and Āḻvār † Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār and her palace at Paḷaḷaiyāru. 639 of 1909.

"Olagapuram (SA.)—Tiru manni valara to Maṇṇaiak-kaḍakkam. Records previous gifts of land to the temple not recorded before and now caused to be engraved by the taṇḍuvān for the year. Mentions Kalikonḍap-pērēri and Gaṇḍarāḍittap-pērēri. 140 of 1919.

* A striking instance of misleading names having no reference to the status of the persons bearing them.

† Probably died between years 3 and 5 of Rājendra. ARE. 1910 ii 20, Contra 249 of 1923 year 7 and ARE. 1924 ii 14 where this mistake is corrected.
THE COLAS

Year 5.—Śinnamanūr (Md.)—Tirumanni vaḷaṇa up to Maṇṇaik-kaṇṭhaḷam. Sale of land for a lamp to Durgāpara-
meśvarīyār by the sabhās of three villages, Arikēsari-
nalūr, Arpagaśekharanagalam and Mandragaurav-
mangalam met in the śrīvāśalōpapuram of Durgā-
paramēśvarīyār. 439 of 1907.

" Tiruppallāṭtukai (Tri.)—Tirumanni vaḷaṇa. Last con-
qust mentioned is Īḷa-mañḍalam. * Land.
257 of 1903; also 275; † SII. viii. 650, 674.

" Tiruppaygulū (Tj.)—Tirumanni vaḷaṇa to Īḷa-mañḍa-
lam. Lands of the temple exempted from taxes by the
assembly of Bhulōkamāṇḍikka-catm., and provision
made for worship to Śrī-kāmēśvaram-uṭṭaiyār and
recitation of the Vēdas. Endowment was 50 kāśu
yielding 75 kalam interest per annum. 52 of 1928.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumanni vaḷaṇa to Īḷa-mañḍa-
lam. Sale of land by Vāṇapurattu-ūr, tax-free, with
well, ēri-nirkkāl and ēṭta-nirkkāl and irrigation right.
Notable phrases: engaḷūr maṇṭikkaṇṇāy vīppa nilam, nīr
vilaiyum māṭu sīlīgai bōgu-māṭu veṭṭi a maṇṭi-
yum nagzumongum kāṭṭappēṛadomānōm.
4 of 1890; SII. iv. 327.

" Tiruveṛumbūr (Tri.)—Tirumanni vaḷaṇa to Maṇṇaik-
kaṇṭhaḷam. Land for offerings to Tirumalai-āḷvār of
Tiruveṛumbiyūr by ēr. Grant made in Rājarāja’s

" Tiruvirīsālūr (Tj.)—Provision for feeding Brahmins.
Mentions Uruṭṭiran Arumolij alias Pirutimahādēvīyār,
queen of Rājarāja-dēva. ‡ 349 of 1907.

" Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — Tirumanni vaḷaṇa up to
Īḷa-mañḍalam. " This temple of Naḷuvil-vīrana-
vīṇṇagar at Tribhuvamāṇādēvī-catm., a brahmādēva
in Jayangoḍa-sōḷa-mañḍalam, shall be under the

* Ceylon must have been conquered before 1015-6 A.D. ARE. 1908 II 55.
† 275 is dated Tuesday 26th March, A.D. 1017-EL. viii 262 (Kielborn.)
‡ cf. 27 of 1897.
protection of the regiments of Śrī-Vādanūr Tillaīyālipperumbāḍai and .... Pallāyyiran of our lord Rājarāja-dēvar. ” 174 of 1919.

Year 5.—Uttaramēṟu (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Maṇṇaiṅkaṭṭakkan. Land for various purposes to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the temple of Kongaraiyār called Rājendra-sōḷa-viṇṇagar by the sabhā of Uttaramēṟu alias Rājendra-sōḷa-catm. The endowment was in charge of the Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-gaṇap-perumakkal. 174 of 1923.

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Iḷa-maṇḍalam. Gold, 10 kaḷaiṆju, for lamp to Neṟkuppat-tirumudukunṟam - udaiyār by Śembiyan - dēvaḷiṅgāḷ, daughter of Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar and wife of Muṇnai Vallavaraiyar. 39 of 1918.

Year 5, day 230.—Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Iḷa-maṇḍalam. 90 sheep for lamp to Pondai-mahādeva in Karikkōṭṭup-piramadēyaṃ alias Parākrama *-sōḷa-catm., in Tiruvēṅgambapuram. Mentions Mandaragauravanuṛ Kundā-dēviyār (wife of) Vallavaraiyar Vandya-dēvar, † chief of the sāmantas. 243 of 1915.

Year 5, day 281.—Paṇḍāravāḷai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Iḷa-maṇḍalam. An undertaking by two shepherds to supply ghi, ½ measure daily, for lamp to the central shrine of Tiruccēḻur-dēva for 90 sheep received by them from Āḻvār Śrī Parāntakaṃ Śrī Kundavaippirāṭṭiyār †. 256 of 1923.

Year 6.—Kaṇḍīyūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Paḻpaḷandi-vum. A long record giving interesting details of the expenditure in the temple of Kaṇḍīyūr situated in Āyirattaḷi. 22 of 1895; SII. v. 578.

* Surname of Rājarāja I, ARE. 1916 II 8.

† In other Brahmadēsam records, the wife is called Indaḷa-dēviyār. The Tanjore records mention another wife - Parāntakaṃ Kundava. The chieftain was perhaps a native of Kongu (157 of 1915) - ARE. 1916 II 13.

‡ See n. to 639 of 1909 Year 5.
THE COLAS

Year 6.—Kālappaḻuvūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḻara up to Palpalanđivum. Undertaking by the priests of the temple of Tiruvālanduṟai-āḻvār to measure out a stipulated quantity of ghi daily for 15 kāśu received by them from the temple treasury. 227 of 1926.

Mēḻpāḻī (C.)—Tiru manni vaḻara up to Palpalanđivum 72 kaḻanju gold at the instance of Īrāyiravan Pallavan alias Uttamaśoḻa Pallavaraiyan, lord of Araisūr, for 720 sheep, distributed among shepherds who had to supply two measures of ghi daily by the Rājakesari measure. Adhikārin Udayamāttāṇḍa Mūvendavēḷān executed the order. 100 of 1921.

Nattam (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḻara. Land for offerings. Mentions assembly of Nigariḷiśoḻa-catr., which included 12 members of the samvatsara-vāriyam doing sri-kāryam. Details of prices, wages and yield of land. 263 of 1912.

Pāṇḍāraṉāḍai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḻara to Palpalanđivum. Two lamp-stands and 90 sheep for lamp to Tiruceelūr-mahādēva at Rājakesari-catr., * in Nallūr-nāḍu by Āḻvar Śrī-Parāntakan Śrī-Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār. 239 of 1923.

Śērmāḍēvi (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Tiru manni vaḻara up to Īṟa-maṇḍalamulūḍum. Gift of hereditary karūnmai over a dēvadāna tank to the merchant Mannerk-kāḍan alias Tirunilakāṇḍa-śeṭtī of Nagaram Rājendrapoḷapuram, by the assembly of Nigariḷi-śoḻa-catr., a brahmadeya in Mulli-nāḍu in Rājarāja-maṇḍalam, the merchant being required to pay two kāśu to Kailāsaṃudaiyār as uḻavu-kāśu on each vēli of land. 614 of 1916.

Suldenahāḷḷi (Mys.)—The nāṭṭar of Kaivāra-nāḍu in Gangapappuram (of Nulumbaṉāḍi alias Nigariḷi-śoḷa-pāḍi) make an arrangement for the sacrifice by the

* Perhaps after Āḍitya I, Rājagiri, a small place a mile from Kōyil Tēvaṟēyamplēṭṭai, has ruins of temples, now forming private premises - ARE. 1924 II 8.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Kurattiyar of the nādu of a goat (දු) on each Tuesday to Bhaṭṭāraki Munḍēśvari of Jayangonḍa-sōla-catm. 484 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 26.

Year 6.—Tirunāgēsvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Palpaḷandīvum. A jewel to temple made from the accumulated income (antarāyattil kūḍina mudal) from the fief (kāṇi) of Aḍigal-ācca, one of the Iḷaiyakuṇjira-mallar in the army of Rājēndra-Cōḷa-dēva commanded by Adikārigaḷ Śōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷār.

211 of 1911.

" Tiruppattūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttaguṇumuṇiyum. Gift by Uttamaśōḷa * Mīḷāḍuṇḍiyār. Mentions Tiruppiḍavūr-sabhā.

587 of 1908.

" Tiruvāṭutūṟai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaḷandīvum. Sale of naṉjavai and puṉjavai, 2 vēli, 8 mā each of common land, tax-free (cost 10 kāśu, irai-kāval 190), to the temple by the assembly of Abhayāraya-catm. alias Śāttanūr met at the Ulagāḷandān to the north of the temple. Mentions the māṭīgai-kōl by which 100 kuḷi was a mā. Also land given to the temple in year 5 by the ūr of Kāranūr in Pēṟūvūr-nādu for a lamp.

102 of 1925.

" Tiruvāṭutūṟai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Palpaḷandīvum. Sale of one vēli of land to the temple for forty kāśu by the assembly of Pēṟūvūr, a brahmaṇāya in Pēṟūvūr-nādu, with an undertaking to pay all its taxes for a further sum of 90 kāśu received by them.

109 of 1925.

" Tiruvāḷangāḷ (NA.)—Copper-plates.

SII. iii. 205.

" Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaḷandīvum. Sale of waste land by residents of Vāṇapuram.

220 of 1921.

" Tiruviḷakkuṭi (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Tolperungāvaḷ Palperundīvum. Detailed description of tax-free lands endowed for flower-gardens and śrībali to

* After a surname of Rājēndra - ARE. 1909 II. 43.
THE COLAS

Tiruverudupadi-mahadēva in Kaḍalanguḍi also known as Viḍēlvidugu-catm., in the (2)0, 24, and 27th years of Rājarāja by the residents of Kaḍalanguḍi, Iḍaiyaru and Pāṇḍūr. Also gift by his queen Arumōli-dēviyār made in year 2 of Rājendra of 50 cows of which only 26 survived in year 5. 120 of 1926.

Year 6.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaḷandīvum. The great men of the village of Tribhavana-mādēvi-catm., made an order that every 6 mā of land irrigated by the tank Madhurāntakap-pērēri must pay one kālam of paddy as ēri-āyam and that the tank-committee must collect this and maintain the tank in good repair. 192 of 1919. *

Uttaramēṟūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaḷandīvum. Apportionment by the village assembly of shares in arcanaḻvṛtti among the four Vaṅkānasas of Kongaraiya Śri-kōyil in lieu of those held by them at Araśāṇinangalam, an arcanaभोग. 171 of 1923.

Vēlaccēri (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by a Brahma lady, the wife of one of the āḻunagaṉallūr of the village. 302 of 1911.

Vēlaccēri (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Palpaḷandīvum. Sale of lands held by non-brahmans to the temple with the king’s permission. 311 of 1911. ↑

Year 6, day 185.—Tiruppanangili (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Palpaḷandīvum. Under the supervision of the mūḷaparudaiyār, the perumakkal of the Mēlaic-cēri-maṇiyanbalam administer an endowment of 150 kāsū for Śīṟu-kāḷaip-parupput-pōṇagam. The schedule of expenses gives the information that 2 nāṟi paruppu (dhill) = kuruṆi irunāḷ paddy; one pidį of ghi = 2 nāṟi paddy; sugar one palam = two nāṟi of paddy; and that one poṟikkaṟiyamudu = four nāṟi of paddy. 91 of 1892; SII. iv. 538.


↑ Though this number is not quoted, this record seems to be treated at ARE. 1912 II 23 as a sale by public auction for default in payment of taxes.
Year 7.—Elaburige (Mys.)—Irasentira-söla-dëvar. Below a female figure: “represents wife of Mukkaiyan” who performed sati. Mukkaiyan was the gāmuṇḍa of Kulaṭṭūr MAR. 1917, p. 42.

Könérirajapuram (Tj.)—Tirumanni valara to Ceylon conquest (variation at end). Some drummers of the temple undertook to beat drums, and blow horns and conches during the early morning service in consideration of the money they received from a private person. 642 of 1909.

Kuhūr (Tj.)—Tirumanni valara. Sale of land by the assembly of Tirupperundurai, a brahmadēya in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nādu. Mentions a revenue survey. 296 of 1917.

Paṇḍaravāḍai (Tj.)—Tirumanni valara up to tirutta-gumuṇḍiyum. Sale of house-site (1¼ grounds) to Āḷvār Śrī Kundavaip-pirāṭiyār by a resident of Kalākarac-cēri of the village, to make up the deficit in the vaidyabhōga provided by her for the hospital called Sundara-söla-viṇṇagar-āṭulā-sālai at Tañjāvūr. The vaidyabhōga given by her in year 3 (No. 248) and the present gift were to be enjoyed by Savarṇan Araiyan Madhurāntakan and his descendants who were natives of Marugal. Both these transactions were engraved by the big assembly by order of the princess communicated to them from the palace at Paḷaiyāru. * 249 of 1923.

Rāmanāthan Köyil (Tj.)—Tirumanni valara. Land for worship and offerings to god in the Paṇcavan-Mahādevīśvaram built as a paliḷipāḷai ↑ at Paḷaiyāru alias Muḍikonda-sōlapuram in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nādu, a sub-division of Kṣatriya - sikhāmaṇi - vaḷa - nādu. Mentions Tiruvādirai as natal star of Rājendra and R̐ēvati as that of his queen; also Lakullāvāra Paṇḍita who supervised the affairs of the temple. 271 of 1927.

* This palace was the home of Rājendra, cf. 463 of 1908 (year 3)
† This word is sought to be erased in the record - ARE. 1927 II 13.
THE COLAS

Year 7.—Śagendī (Tri.)—Tiru mannī valāra * up to tiruttagu-muṇṭiyum. Sale of land to Kailāsamūḍaiya-mahādeva by the assembly of Śagendī-mangalam for money given by a lady for a lamp. Another gift of land by the same assembly for offerings. 325 of 1928.

Senkunām (NA.)—Tiru mannī valāra to tiruttagu-muṇṭiyum. Land, tax-free, to Jayangonḍa-sōḷjēvara, by merchants assembled in the hall (built by) the supervisor of Vikkūr alias Jayangonḍa-sōḷapuram. Details of temple expenditure given. 152 of 1921.

Tanjore.—Tiru mannī valāra to Sandimat-tivu (Kēraḷa). Money to image of Śrī-Kaṇṭha deposited with the karanaṭṭār by the Perundanattuk-karmigaḷ of Rājēndra Cōla and lent out to villages on interest at the rate of 3 kuguni paddy per kāśu per annum. 29 of 1897 ; SII. ii. 82.

Tiruvadi (SA.)—Tiru mannī valāra up to Palpalāṇ-divum. 90 sheep for lamp by a captain (nayaṇak) of the Rājakunījaratitteriṇja-villigaḷ of Ekanallūrk-kaḷagam-āna-uḍaiyaṛ-paḍai. 394 of 1921.

Uyyakkōṇḍān-Tikumalai (Tri.)—Tiru mannī valāra to Palpalāṇdivum. 90 sheep for lamp by Śōlai-irājaṁgam, for merit of her mother Dēvan Pēṟramai, the peṇgāṭṭi of Rājēndra-sōḷa Irukkuvēḷai of Koḷumbaiyūr. 97 of 1892 ; SII. iv. 544.

Year 7, day 186. — Tiruvaḷḷam (NA.) — Tiru mannī valāra to (tiruttagu)muṇṭiyum. Deposit of gold in temple treasury for the daily supply of tumbai flower and an extra quantity of it on Sankrānti days to Tikkali-vallam-uḍaiyaṛ. Grain measure paṇcavārakkāḷ. 226 of 1921.†

Year 7, day 229.—Titumukkūḍal (NA.)—Tiru mannī valāra to tiruttagu-muṇṭiyum. Detailed regulation by the sabhā of Madhurāntaka-catm., a taniyār, of the cultivation of a Nandavana belonging to Mahā-viṣṇu of

* In later characters. † 228 of year 14, day 187, is similar.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Tirumukkuḍal by the Vaikhānasas of the temple, and provision for the expenses of cultivation. Wages, manure, irrigation, and lease and cultivation rights dealt with. 172 of 1915; ARE. 1916 II. 11.

Year 8.—Agaram (Ch.)—The king constructed the village of Vānannamangai and settled in it 4000 Brahmans.

232 of 1931.*

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagu-muḍiyum. Lamp to temple of Tiru-sālai-tuṟai-āḻvār of Ḭiṅgokkuḷi, a hamlet of Rājāraja-cārtm., by a native of the Cōḷa country. 74 of 1907.

Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagu-muḍiyum. Land made tax-free by assembly met in the Kailāsam-uḍaiyār temple after being summoned by double bugle (irāṭṭaik-kāḷam). 72 of 1914.

Kilappalūvūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to tiruttagu-muḍiyum. Sabhā of Širupaḷūvūr took fifty kāsu from Innāṭṭu-mannu-perumpaḷūvūr Aṭigai Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar-peṇḍāṭṭi Virāṇan-ōṛriyūr. 104 of 1895; SII. v, 665.

Kōḷār (Mys.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagu-muḍiyum. Five buffaloes for one lamp left with the Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple. EC. x. Kl. 106 (a)

Punjai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagu-muḍiyum. Decision of the assembly (mūlaparuḍai) of Talaiccan-gāḍu met at Mummudī-śōjan-maṇḍapa to pay taxes, in return for fifty kāsu, on two vēli of land at Pūdanūr which had been purchased by the Periyataḷi-mahādeva temple for expenses of the Vaigāśī festival and of feeding Brahmans on the occasion. It also agreed to pay taxes on two vēli of temple land at Kiḷppulam in lieu of interest on 100 kāsu which had been received by it on kaiyeḻuttōlai from the same temple. Engraved by order of the assembly on the walls of Tirunanni-paḷḷi-uḍaiyār. 187 of 1925.

* No. 231, 235 refer to the king’s construction of the Kailāsānātha temple in the village.
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Year 8.—Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagumudiyum. Remission by village assembly of taxes due on land granted for a flower-garden to the temple. Another remission of taxes on other lands given to certain images including one of Śembiyan-mahādēviyār. Mentions Vikramaśōla-vadi. 481 of 1925.

Śivapuram (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagumudiyum. Two lamps by the king to the Rājarājēśvara temple in Urōḍagam in Purisai-nāṭu of the Maṇayį-kōṭṭam. Sheep 180. 18 of 1896; SII. v. 881.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to tiruttagumudiyum. 32 cows by a private individual for milk to god for the merit of the king’s mother Tribhuvana-mādevīyār. 276 of 1921.

Tirunāgėsvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to tiruttagumudiyum. Gift of 48 sheep for half-lamp by a peṇḍāṭṭi of Uḍaiyar - ānaimeṛṇuṇāṭ - vēḷam alias Abhimāna-bhūsaṇat-terinda-tiruvandik - kāppu - vēḷam for merit of her daughter. 212 of 1911.

Uḍaivyār̥guḷi (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Iraṭapāḍi conquest. Fifty kāṣu for sale of land by sabhā to Tribhuvana-mahādeviyār Vāṇavan Mahādeviyār, queen of Rājendra-sōḷa-dvār, for offerings and worship to images of Candraśekhara Perumāḷ and his consort set up by her. Tiruvananṭēsvara of the temple is called nammūladeyvam by the sabhā. 624 of 1920.*

Year 8, day 50.—Tinnevelly—Tiru manni vaḷara † up to tiruttagumudiyum. Enquiry by Adigārīgaḷ Brahmaśrī-kīḷḷar into the Kōyil-karumam. Mentions the Tirunelvēḷī Valajñjyār who gave 5 ¼ nilam in Kaṇṭanūr as dēvadāṇa iyaiyīlī. 157 of 1894; SII. v. 449.

* In App. F of ARE. 1921 this record is treated doubtfully as of Rājēndra 1 or II.
† Later characters-copy ?
Year 9.—Agaram (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to tiruttagu-muḍiyum. Deliberations of the great assembly of Nṛpatunga-Śēntāngi-catm. alias Janaṇāṭha-catm. relating to the occupation of temple land (of Mahāśāstā) by artisans and others, and the assignment, in return, of several kinds of services to them such as conducting worship, supplying oil for lamps, keeping watch over the temple etc.; mentions Śāttaganattar.

386 of 1922.

Ś. 943*—Beḷatūru (Mys.)—Rebuilding of an old temple and its consecration after Rudra-hōma and large scale feeding. Gift of land to it.

139 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 16.

Gōvindavādi (Ch.) — Tiru manni vaḷara up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. 96 sheep for lamp in the temple of Tiruvirāl-āṇjār at Takkōlam alias Kṣatriyaśikhāmanipuram. Six kāsu for supply of flowers given on the 345th day of the same year.

37 of 1923.

Ś. 943.—Marūr (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Mentions the Nāṭṭaraya Hulimadda and his part in the administration of justice. In this case capital punishment was awarded for assault and manslaughter.

497 of 1911; EC. iv. Hs. 10-11†

Melpāḍi (C.) — Tiru manni vaḷara up to Iraṭṭapāḍi. Some shepherds give an undertaking, before Madamudaiya Ilakuḷivara Paṇḍitīr Kanmigal, to secure the supply of gī for a lamp by a shepherd Ėran Śāttan under all circumstances.

85 of 1889; SII. iii. 18.

Sōmūr (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. Fifteen cows for one lamp by Veḷḷālan Śinganśolai resident of Devanapallī. The temple authorities (iyyur-śrīkōyīḷuḷaiyōm) undertake to protect the charity. "Nāginjīna sūlam poṛiccu śāvāmūvāpperaṃbaśuvaṇagak-kāṭī" etc.

69 of 1890; SII. iv. 393.

† Obsolete language difficult to interpret-Rice (n. to Eng. Trans.)
THE COLAS

Year 9.*—Tirukkañjaṭṭai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to navanidikkulapperu-malaigaḷum. Remission of taxes on temple land in Vēmbūrūr alias Śōlarmāranda-catm., by the mahāsabha of that village. Mentions a survey. The taxes included; siddhāya-kāṣu; pāṇeavāra-nellu; payaḍu, tuvaṛai and other ūrijuvāri; ēri-ivu; ēlivarī. The remission was made after taking 65 kāṣu from the Śri-Kuḍittittai temple. The names of śēris in the place give surnames of Rājarāja.

292 of 1908.

"Tirukkañjaṭṭai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Similar to the above (292). Mentions a kāḍigai (ghaṭikā) in Vēmbūrūr which included this village and Tiruviśalūr; as also many śēris of the town.

293 of 1908.

"Tirunukkūḍal (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to navanidikkulapperu-malaigaḷum. 90 sheep for lamp by the headman (kīlan) of Kāmavūr-Kiliṇalūr to the north of Vānanaṇ-Mahādēvi-catm., a τανιyūr.

170 of 1915.

"Tiruvadi (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. One hundred kāṣu by Anūkki Śāttaṉ RāmaṆēvi, a peṇḍāṭṭi of the Periya-veḷam of Rājēndrasōla, to the Nagarattār of Adiyaraiya-mangalām, who had to give as interest fifty kalam of paddy to the temple for offerings on specified occasions. Mentions Arumoiṇi-dēvan marakkāl.

401 of 1921.

"Tiruvāḍaitūṟai (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara. Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Kāvanūr for 100 kāṣu.

128 of 1925.

"Tiruvāḍaivāyil (Tj.)—A Śivabrāhmaṇa took from Koṟriyammat 12 kalam of paddy at interest of 3 kūṟuni of paddy annually for offerings during the Śittirai festival. Another gift by same donor of 28 kalam (yielding annually 7 kalam at 3 kūṟuni per kalam) for feeding dancing girls during the festival.

28, 29 of 1918.

* Wednesday, 8th February 1021, Jacob. E. I. xi. p. 121.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 9.—Tiruvissalur (Tj.)—Twenty-five kāśu for a lamp to Umāsahitar by a native of Pāndi-nāḍu. 346 of 1907.

Year 9, day 38.—Tirumukkūṭal (NA.)—Tiru manni valara to tiruttagumudiyum. 90 sheep for lamp by Manḍai-
         nangai, the senior wife of Perundanam Rājarājan alias Vānavan Brahmadhirājan, in charge of kalani-
         and úr of Kūḍalur. 174 of 1915.

Year 10. —Kotassivaram (An.) — (Kan. and Tamil). This Manḍapa erected by Arāyaru Rājarājan alias Vikrama Cōḷa * Cōliya-varaiyan, chief of Šāṭtamangalam in Tirēmūr-nāḍu and commander of the forces (of the king), on the 40th day opposite the 160th (of this year). Below are titles: Nālamaḍi Bhīma, Cōḷana-cakra, and Sāmantābharanam in Kan.; Nānmadihīman and Sāmantābharaṇan in Tamil, perhaps titles of the chief who built the Manḍapa. Another record (24)—Ediratta-
varkālan and Ahitaroṭṭalivan in Kan.; and Vayiri-
nārāyaṇan and Virabhīman in Tamil, of about the same period (as in No. 23). No. 30—is Tamil verse
mentioning Nānmadihīma and Telungar. On same pillar in old Kannada: Jayaśingakulakāla and Sāmanda-
talaṇaprāhāri. No. 31—Tamil verse mentions battle
with Kalingas, Oḷḍas and Telungas; also titles in Nāgari: Ahitaroṭṭaliva etc.

23, 24, 30 and 31 of 1917.

Taḍi-malingi (Mys.) — Tiru manni valara. Muṇgandi
is here called Mayal. Apparently Gangapāḍi was called
Mudikonda - cōḷa-manḍala; and Māyilangai (Malingi
opposite Taḷakkūḍ on the other side of the river) was
called Jananāṭhapura: Gangapāḍiyāna Mudikonda-
sōḷa-manḍalattu tenkarai - nāṭtu - Māyilangai tan
(yāna ?) Jananāṭhapurattu.

490 of 1911; EC. iii. Tn. 34.

Tanjore—Tiru manni valara up to navanidikkulap-
peru-malaiyalum (i.e., Iraṭṭapāḍi). Loans from endow-
mments to Mahāmēru Viṭanka and his consort (set up

* Surname of Rājendra ? ARE. 1917 ii. 2. cf. 752 of 1917.
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by Rājarāja), by the śūrudanattup *-panimakkal, for interest at the rate of mukkuṟuṇi per kāṣu per annum (Continuation of SII. ii 82 of year 7).

SII. ii. 83.

Year 10.—Tirumāḷpuram (NA.) — Money for supply of four kaḻaṉju of Śidāri by a native of the Cōla country, 292 of 1906.

" Tiruppugalār (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara up to kulappuru-malaigalum. Remission of taxes on the temple land by the assembly of Bhūlōka-Māṇikka-catm., in consideration of 150 kāṣu from the temple.

44 of 1928.


" Tiruvīṭimirīlai (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara (dam.) to Muyangi and a little more. Mentions copper image of Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷa caused to be made by the mother of Rājendraśōla-Aṇukkap-pallavaraiy.

444 of 1908.

" Udaiyāṟguḍi (SA.)—Tiru manni valara up to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Sixty kāṣu by the headman (kāḷān) of Āṛkkāḍu for the daily supply of 1000 lotuses for worship. The assembly met in the hall constructed by Tennavan Viḷupparaṭiy, called nammaganār by the king. Assembly calls the Tiruvananṭēśvara nammuladeyvam.

625 of 1920.

" Udaiyāṟguḍi (SA.)—Tiru manni valara up to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Agreement by some villagers to supply the flowers stipulated in No. 625 as interest on 60 kāṣu received by them from the treasury of the temple.

626 of 1920.

* 'Servants of the minor treasure' (SII. ii. p. 405) servants or officers of the king when he was young (Viru-danam) · ibid n. 2,
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Year 10.—Uyyakkonḍan-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Paddy for abhiṅgēka to the god on the king’s birthday (āḍrā) to Tirukkaṅkudi-viljumiya-dēva. 464 of 1908.

... Velaccēri (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Assembly (mahāsabhā) of Veḷiочекi sold 1500 kuḷi of land to the temple, and receiving 13 kāṣu made the land tax-free. Also gift of 23 kāṣu for a lamp by a Brahman lady. 305 of 1911.

Year 10, day 107.—Mēlpāḍi (C.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. Paddy and money of the temple not properly appropriated for expenses since the third year. As a result of audit by a royal officer, a fresh allocation is made. 102 of 1921.

Year 11.—Agaram (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara up to teripunar-kengaiyum. Land for offerings and lamp to Mahāśāstā Kayiṛūr Aiyānār by the members of the big assembly of Nṛpatunga-śeṇṭānigi-catm. alias Jananātha-catm., a brahmadēya. The assembly met in the Ayyānār temple. 368 of 1922.

... Kiṭaiyūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Land for the maintenance of two persons singing the tiruppadiyam during the three services of Tirukkadavudaiya-dēvar, each getting three kurunī of paddy per diem. 96 of 1925.

... Kōḷār (Mys.)—Pūrvadēsāmum Gangaiyum konḍa. A royal gift of dēvadāna from the camp at Kāncipuram. The record furnishes interesting details of procedure followed on such occasions. 476 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 112 (a).

... Kurubūru (Mys.)—Śrī Pūrvadēsāmum Gangaiyum Kaṭāramun-gonḍa. EC. x. Ct. 47.

* This, and 91 and 95 of years 17 and 18 of Rējarāja, are records on pillars, and part of the introduction is omitted perhaps for lack of space.
Year 11.—Tirumukkuṉal * (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to Gangaiyum. 113 sheep to temple of Veṇṇaik-kūṭtar at Tirumukkuṉal in or near Nirkunṟam, the northern hamlet of Madhurāntaka-catm., a taniyūr in Kaḷattūr-kōṭtam, by a native of Aḵkāramangalam. The sheep were in charge of Tirumukkuṉalum Kūṭalūrum Ūrōm. 167 of 1915.

Year 12.—Kāḷahasti (NA.)—Gold for the Kṛtтика-ḍipa and 90 sheep by Gangaikonaṉa-cōḷa-milāṉuḍaiyār, a chief of Milāḍu. 291 of 1904.

... Tirumalaii (Pōḷūr NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to teripunag-kangaiyum. Lamp to Paḷliccandam Vaigāvūr Tirumalai-dēva by Iḷaiyamaṉi-nangai also called Pallavaśar-dēviyār Śiṇṇavaiyār. Sixty kāsū, the amount of the endowment, was converted into land. SII. i. 68.

... Uyyakkondu-Tirumalai (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to teripunag-kengaiyum. Provision for feeding Śiva-yogins in the Tiravāgiśvaram-Rājendraśīḷan at the foot of the hill on which the temple of Tirukkaṟkudī Vilūmīya-dēva stands. 467 of 1908.

Year 13.—Maḷūr (Mys.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Sale of land by sabbā of Rājendraśīṅga-catm. EČ. ix. Op. 84.

... Tirumalaii (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara to teripunag-kangaiyum. Twenty kāsū for lamp and ten kāsū for tiruvamidu to Śri-Kundāvai-jinālaya-dēva of Tirumalai by Cāmunḍappai, the wife (maṇavāṭṭi) of Nandappayyan, a merchant of Perumbāṇappāḍik-karaivaij-Malliṉiṟ. 80 of 1887; SII. i. 67; EI. ix. pp. 229-33.

Year 13, day 207.—Emappērūr (SA.)—Kōṅērinmaikondu. An order of Uḷaiyār Rājendra-Cōḷa-dēva ‘who was pleased to take Pūrvadēsam and Gangai,’ confiscating the lands of persons who did not settle down in Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu and had migrated elsewhere, and granting the

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lands to others who undertook to cultivate them or rear areca-palms thereon. *

531 of 1921.

Year 14.—Puñjai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaṭara (full). Undertaking by the assembly (mūlāparaṭāt) of Talaccangāḍu to pay some taxes for the temple on some lands, to enable the temple to meet expenses of daily worship and offerings and of a special festival once a year to Rṣabhavāhana-dēva in the big temple for the victory of the king’s arms (bhujam vardinītattavāṭa).

182 of 1925.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaṭara up to teripunar-kangaiyum. Records the re-copying (from the books) on stone of the order of Rājāraja at the instance of Narākkan Rāman (who built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). The dēvakannis and the sābha of Gaṇḍarāditta-catm. executed the order.

91 of 1895; SII. v. 651.

Tirunāgēśvarām (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaṭara (full though damaged). List of jewels etc., owned by the temple, engraved by order of the king made at the instance of a servant Kaṇṭhan Kōval-nāthaṇ.

213 of 1911.

Year 14, day 341.—Erumur (SA.)—Tiru manni vaṭara (apparently full). Assembly of Vaḷavān-mādēvi-catm. met in the temple and in the presence of the ‘annual supervision committee’ † agreed to pay in paddy the šilvari on certain temple lands, the income to be utilised for lamps and offerings.

398 of 1913.

Year 15.—Mēlappalūvur (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaṭara (full). An undertaking by the managers of the temple of Paḷūvur to burn a perpetual lamp before Pagaiwijāy-Īśvarattu-mahādēva and another before Amanikandarpapā-Īśvarattu-mahādēva for lands and money received by them respectively from two persons as an atonement for homicide.

372 of 1924.

* 532 is similar.
† Called samvatsaram śeyginya ṣr-vāriyap-perumakkaṭ.
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Year 15.—Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vālara (full). An agreement of the Mahāśabha of Paḍa-śviya Tirukkaḍaiyūr in Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanaḍu to maintain an endowment for two meals to Māhēśvaras at midday.

20 of 1906.

Year 16.—Kāṇciypuram (Ch.)—Tiru manni vālara (full). Gold by Nigarili-Lōkāmādēvi, a servant of queen Mikkōkkīḷīn-ādīgal, and by a dancing girl of the temple called Peṛī-ponnambalam, for two lamps before Aṅjaṅjanīdurgaiyār.

73 of 1921.

Kōḷār (Mys.)—Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kaḷḷaiyum Kaḷḷaiyum-konḍa. Gift of a dēvadāna to Pīḷāriyār of Kuvalāḷa by the king seated in the palace at Vikrama-cōḷa-pura in the Kaviri-nāḍ. The grant was ordered on the 240th day and entered in the revenue register on the 281st day.

475 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 111.


171 of 1894; SII. v. 464.

Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tiru manni vālara (full). Pīḷḷaiyār Arumolji-nangaiyāna-pirān gave 180 sheep for two lamps, distributed among eight shepherds, one getting 45, three others getting 45 together, and the rest 22½ each; 45 sheep being counted as yielding one āḷākku of ghi daily, and 22½ sheep, 2½ śeviḍu.

77 of 1895; SII. v. 635.

Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tiru manni vālara (full.) Lamp by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kausalaiyār, wife of Narākkaṇ Śrī Kṛṣṇa Rāman alias Rājendrasōḷa Brahmatātāyar, (the builder of the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). 100 kāṣu for 90 sheep distributed among four persons equally, each getting 25 kāṣu, the equivalent of 22½ sheep, and having to supply 22½ nāḷis of ghi per annum.

78 of 1895; SII. v. 636.
Year 16.—Tiruppurambyam (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full.)
Fifty kāṣu for ten lamps to Adittisvara temple at Tiruppurambyam, deposited with viraiyakkali-perunderuvir-cangarappadiyom.

80 of 1897; SII. vi. 30.

"Tiruvāṭuturāi (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full.)
Undertaking by Śiva-brähmana to provide offerings to god for midday service and to feed an apūrvi daily with the same, out of the interest on 45 kāṣu received by them from a person, the rate of interest being two tūṇi of paddy per kāṣu per annum.

134 of 1925.

"Tiruvīḷakkuddi (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full.) Sale of land as śālāhōga to temple for feeding devotees by the assembly of Kaḍalanguḍī who received a lump sum towards payment of taxes due on the land. They agreed to maintain the feeding house on behalf of the temple and supply red lilies to the god.

140 of 1926.

"Triḥhuvaṇi (Pondicherry).—Tiru manni vaḷara. Assembly met at night, resolved that the village of Varakkūr (dēvadāna) divided into six divisions and assigned to 48 tenants with rights of sale and mortgage, was not liable to pay any taxes except those due to the Naḍuvil-śri-kōyil and the tank Kōkkilāṇaṭi-pērēri. The dues to the temple amounted to 5 kalam per mā (by marakkāl equal to nāḷāyiravan) from year 17.

189 of 1919.

Year 16, day 32.—Tirumukkūḷal (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara.
An agreement by certain Vaikhānasas of the temple with the officers Puravu-vari-tiṇaik-kālam and Vari-pottagam to use the surplus paddy due by them (as discovered by a scrutiny of the temple accounts) for the recitation of the tiruppadiyam in the temple for the first time. Mentions Śembiyan-māhādevi-perumāṇḍapam in the middle of Madhurāntaka-catm.

183 of 1915.
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Year 17.—Kilpakkam (N.A.)—The great assembly of Nityavinoda catm., assembled in the temple of Sri Kailasa in the village, borrowed twenty kalaiju of gold from the temple of Rajaditta-Iswaram-udaiyar and placed it in the hands of the ur-variyam, who had to supply oil, as interest. 38 of 1911.

Konerirajapuram (Tj.)—Tiru manni valara (full). Setting up of image of Ksetrapala-deva by queen Arindavan-mahadevi who also bought some land for it in year 16. 632 of 1909.

Tirumalavadi (Tri.)—Tiru manni valara (full). One hundred kasu for lamp by Teccapan Sembiyan Madavi, the wife (marusiyr) of Arumoli alias Uttamasoja-brahama-marayar to Tirumalavadi-mahadeva. The money was distributed among shepherds in the same manner and proportion as in 78 (year 16). 78-B mentions a dantak-kal-palikkatil given to the deity. 78-A and B of 1895; SII. v. 637-8.

Udaiyargudi (SA.)—Tiru manni valara (full.) Land, tax-free, for feeding ten devotees at midday worship and for feeding twenty-five Brahmans in a choulty erected for the merit and in the name of queen Vanavan-madavi. The land was sold to the queen for 160 kasu by the Perunguri-sabha. 627 of 1920.

Year 18.—Mysore—(Kanarese)—Gangeyum Purvadesamanum Kujaramum anja. Erection and endowment of the Siddhesvara temple on the demise (siddhi) of the danjanayaka of Sri-yuddhamalla-deva. Writer of the inscription was the son of Mahamatra Ajavarmaya. 502 of 1911; EC. ix. Nl. 1.

* Treated doubtfully as Rajendra I or II. in ARE. 1921 App. F.
Year 18.—Tirukkalar (Tj.)—Copper-plates. *Tiru manni vaḷara.* Registers extent of *devadāna* lands belonging to the temple. *SII.* iii 207; *ARE.* 1903 II 17.

Year 18, day 93.—Tiruvāmāṭṭur (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land for campaka flower-garden. Also, land for village doctor, by many corporate bodies acting together. 18 of 1922.

Year 19.—Maḷūr (Mys.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Sale of land by assembly to temple on receipt of money from the king. 195 of 1911; *EC.* ix. Cp. 84.

Year 19, day 238.—Tirumalavāḍi (Tri)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Two vessels of gold (198 kal.) and silver (294 kal.) by queen Vānāvan-mādēvi. 79 of 1875.

Year 19, day 343.—Uttaramērūr (Ch)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). 2240 *kuḷi* of land lying waste (maṇjikkam) without yielding any taxes was reclaimed by the assembly and presented tax-free for three daily offerings and special worship on the four *ayanam* and *viṣu* days and during eclipses to Ananta-nārāyaṇa on the third storey of the temple; some other lands for lamps and offerings to the three (auxiliary) images in the lower floor and 1470 *kuḷi* for recitation of *Tiruvāymoḻi* by three persons during morning and evening services. 176 of 1923.

Year 20.—Kalattūr (NA.) Gold to Kumbāsvaraṇa Udaiya-mahā-dēva at Vikraśinga-catm. Mentions a number of persons of the *ajungaṇattūr* of the sabhā of the village. 155 of 1916.

*Kāṇchipuram* (Ch.)—Purvaḍēsamum Gangaiyum Kidaṟramum koṇḍa. Sale by some merchants of Kāṇchipuram of one *tūyī* of land as a tax-free *devadāna* for 127 *kaḷaṇju* of gold to Tirueṅkā-aṇaik-kiḍandarulina Paramasvāmi at Kāṇchipuram. 23 of 1921.

*Kūhūr* (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land by purchase as *iḻaiyili* from ūr by Madhurāntakan-dēvi for feeding persons who attended the nine days festival in the Ädittha-Iśvaram-udaiyār temple. 303 of 1917.
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Year 20.—Marudāṉu (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. 90 sheep for a lamp with úrār of whom some are named. Also sale of land for digging a tank, by a servant of a daṇḍa-nāyaka. The village is also called Vikrama-śōja-nallūr. 407 of 1912.

Nangavaram (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). The king dismissed two of the temple drummers and appointed another man instead. 335 of 1903.

Śoḻapuram (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (damaged). Sale of land 14000 kuḻi (by 16 śāṇ-kōḷ) to temple by the residents (nagatattōm) of the city as iṟaiyilī devādāna. 344 of 1912.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Paddy for offerings to images of Pillaiyār Tiraṇana-samband-aṭigal, Tirunāvukkara找不到iya-deva and Nambi Āṟūranār set up by Tirumālarangan alias Tiruppaḻittāma-piccān and his lady. 37 of 1920.

Tiruvāṟūr (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. List of gifts by Rājendra-cōḷa-deva's Aṉukkiyār Paravainangaiyār for plating and building certain portions of the temple; also gift of pearls and coral wreaths by Arumolī-Kūṭan alias Lōkamāryan; other gifts. Rājarāyan-kāśu-niraiKal is mentioned as a standard of weight for gold. 680 of 1919.

Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land for monthly festivals (tiruvādirai) paṅcagavya, hōma etc., in temple, for the prosperity of the king. 54 of 1918.

Year 21.—Ratnagiri (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Sale of land tax-free to temple for 380 kāśu by the assembly of Ariṇjigai-catm., after paying taxes on part of it for fifteen years on behalf of the original holders who had left the place to live elsewhere without arranging to pay the accumulated dues on the land. 189 of 1914; ARE. 1915 II 22.

* Vast quantities of gold and copper and the building of the temple mentioned.
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Year 21.—Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Tiru manni valaṟa (full). Gold ornaments, jewelled, to Ulōkamahādevi-Iśvaram-udaiyār by Dantiśakti. 154 of 1918. *

Year 22.—Ś. 955 †—Belatūru (Mys.)—(Kanarese)—Pūrvaḍēsavum Gangaiyum Kaḷāramun-gonda. Fragment giving the titles assumed by the Vīra Baḷāṇji Dharmma merchants in grants made by them. 140 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 17.

Year 22.—Kāṇci puram (Ch.)—Pūrvaḍēsam etc. Tax-free gift of 1000 kuḷi of land as dēvaḍāna and of 3600 kuḷi by sale, or 47 kaḷāṇju by the mā-nagarattōm of Kāṇci puram for worship in the temple Tiruvaṣṭa-bhuya-grhattu-mahāviṣṇu. 6 of 1921.

Kōḷār (Mys.) — Tiru manni valaṟa (full). Gift of buffaloes for lamp in the Piḍāri (Kōḷāramma) temple built to the king’s order by Mārāyan Arumuḷi alias Sēnāpati Uttamaśōla-Brahmamārāyan, son of Narākkan Śri Kṛṣṇan Rāman alias Rājendra-śoḷa Brahmacarāyan of Vēṇaṇṭṭu Amaṅkuḍi alias Kēraḷāntaka-catam. 480 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 109 (a).

Kūḻambandal (NA.)—Tiru manni valaṟa. Land and gold to 24 dancing girls of Gangaikondar Śoḷa Iśvaram Udaiyār built by priest Iśāna Śiva Paṇḍita (cf. SII. ii. 9). 414 of 1902; SII. vii. 1047.

Year 23.—Kuttālam (Tj.)—Tiru manni valaṟa (full). Land for feeding Śivayōgins at midday service for the prosperity of the king’s arms. Further gift of 12 kāśu for taxes on the land. 99 of 1926.

Maḷār (Mys.)—Tiru manni valaṟa (full). Remission by assembly of taxes on certain temple lands after receiving gold in lieu of the taxes from a servant of the king and headman of a village. 196 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 82, 83.

Tiruppuṟambiyam (Tj.)—Money by Dēvan-Puṟambiyāḷ Āḍal-viṭanka-māṇikkam, a maid-servant of the bathing

* cf. 153 of Year 3.
establishment called Ilankēvara-kula-kāla-terinjaja-
tirumanjanattār vēlam for offerings, worship, etc., to
Umāparamēsvariyaḷ of the Tiruppaḷlikkaṭṭil, an image
set up by her.

Year 24.—Cidambaram (SA.)—Tiru manni vāḷara. After Tak-
kaṇṭalāḷum, the introduction is not in the usual
form, but different. Gift of viravu-nilān eḻupattẽṭṭe-
kāḷe-araiikkāṇi; deducting land taken up by ôɖai,
nāraikāḷaru, kollai and nattam, making up muttattu-
nāḷe-kāḷe-araiikkāṇi, the net arable land was forty vēlī.
The total yield (varisayiliṭṭapadi) was 4500 kalam of
paddy; of this the mēlvāram was 2250 kalam which,
at eight kalam one tūṇi and one padakku per kāsu,
yielded 264½ kāsu which with 40 kāsu from another
source formed the fund for the expenses in the
temple, to be administered by Kūṇamēnakaipurattu
ēvina-vyāpārigal, Veḻḷaiyar, Sankarappōḍiyar, Śāliyar,
Pattinavar and other kuṭigal and the kēḻ-kalanaigal
including carpenters (taccar), blacksmiths (kollar),
goldsmiths (taṭṭar) and the kōliyar. Another gift by
Nakkan Paravai, the anukki of the king, for feeding
Brahmans and maintaining the required establishment,
yielding mēlvāram of 1225 kalam, to be spent in the
manner detailed.

118 of 1888; SII. iv. 223.

Kanyākumāri (Tr.) — Pūrvadēsamum Gangaiyum
Kaḍāramum koṇḍarujina. Fifty sheep for lamp by
Sōlakulavalli, the cook of the king (Uḍaiyār Śri Rājēn-
dra-sōladevarkkut-tiruvumuḍu aṭṭum penḍaṭṭa).
TAS. i. p. 161.

Mannārkōvil (Tin.)—Pūrvadēsamum Gangaiyum Kaḍā-
ramum koṇḍa. Reports that the Gōpālsvāmin temple
was formerly called Rājēndra-cōḷa-vinṉagar and built
by the Cēra king Rājasimha. The king made a
grant of land to the temple from his palace at Kāṅči-
puram to take effect from year 15 of Jāṭatvarman
Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍyan, one of the king’s sons.

112 of 1905.

* 111 and 113 of 1905 give the name of Rājarēja-dēva, another Cēra king.
These were probably Cōḷa feudatories. ARE. 1905 II 14.

"Takkōḷam (N.A.)—Tiru manni vaḷaḷa (full). Beginning lost. Twelve kalaṇju of gold (tulai-nigai-pom) received from Šarabandopṇavai of Toṇḍamān-Pérāṟṟūr, the peṇḍūṭṭi of Rājēndra-śoḷa Brahmadirāyar, for a lamp to be maintained by the assembly of Urigaiyūr alias Rājamārtāndā-catm., a dēvaḷana of Tiruvūral-mahādēva. 256 of 1921.

Year 24, day 230.—Brahmadēṣam (S.A.)—Land for worship and offerings to Pāṭalīśvaram-uḍaiyar by Parāntakan Šuttamalīyar alias Mukkōkilanaṉigaḷ for the king’s success (bhujam vardhiṅka), the king being present in the temple of Rājārējēśvaram-uḍaiyar at the time. 188 of 1918.

Year 25.—Jambai (S.A.)—An agreement among citizens (nagarat-tār) of the city of Vāḷaiyūr alias Nittavinōdapuram on the N. bank of the Penṉār. An interesting commutation of old endowments. 82 of 1906.

"Tirunaladaṉi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷaḷa. Silver kava-cam to be used at the three sacred baths and 30 kāśu for one lamp by Uḍaiyar Śri Rājēndra-śoḷa-dēvar-aṇukki-sūṟriya-Paṅcavan-mādēvī. 70 of 1920.

Year 25, day 112.—Eṇṇaiyiram (S.A.)—Tiru manni vaḷaḷa (full). At the king’s order, the assembly of brahmādēyam taniyūr Rājāraṇja-catm. met in the Mummuḍiśoḷan with Nambi Uduttūr-uḍaiyaṅ who governed the village, and made a vyavasthai regarding incomes from the lands of a number of shrines: Rājāraṇja Viṅṇagard-āḷvār, Kundavai-and Sundarasōḷa-āḷvārs, Dēvēndra, Sarasvati, Śri Bhāṣṭārakīyaṅ, Mahāmōḻiyan, Sūryadēva, Saptamātra, Mahāśāstā, Durgaiyār, Subrahmaṇya, Jyēśthaiyār and the village gods. 335 of 1917.

Year 26—Ś. 959.—Ankanāṭhapuram (Mys.)—(Kan). Mentions the Cangāḷya of Kūḍalūr in Noḷēnāḍ coming on an expedition. Grant of Nāgıvangalām as a kal-nāḍ free
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of all impost. Some Gāvunḍas made chiefs of certain territories. 142 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 104.

Year 26.—Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Remission of certain taxes on lands granted for feeding in the Gangaikoṇḍan-śālai in the temple by the great assembly of Gaṇḍarāditta-catma., met at the hall Uttaṃaśōjan-
manḍapam. 33 of 1920.

" Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Fourteen kāṣu and vessels for early morning offerings by Tiru-
mālarangan alias Tiruppaḷḷittāma-piccan. 61 of 1920.

" Tiruvorziyār (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Adigārīgaḷ Rājarājendrāsinga Mūvendavēḷar enquired into the affairs of the temple in the Vakkānįkkum-
manḍapam, and fixed details of service to be maintained from kuṟgadaṇḍam and the excess paddy collected from the
servants of the temple and the tenants of the dēvadāṇa villages. Interesting schedule of expenses. 146 of 1912.

" Tiruvorziyār (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Sale of land by people of Igaṇaiyār (dēvadāṇa) to Śattan Rāma-
dēviyār, the anukkkiyār of the king, for maintaining twelve dēvaraṇiyār in the temple for the goddess
Gauri. 153 of 1912.

Year 26, day 180.—Uttaramērūr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Sale of 1,520 kuḷi, tax-free, by the assembly to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḷyār of Rājendra-sōla-vinṇagar for providing seven kuṟṇi of paddy daily to three persons reciting the Tiruvāyamoḷi in the temple; also two plots of land, one as Vājasanēyak-kiḍaippuram and the other for a flower-garden and festival in Māsi Punarvasu. Names of taxes remitted: one set giving śittāyam paṇcavāram śittiyai ecōṟrakkūṟravaruī dāṟukan-
amāṇji; another ĕṟikkādi păḍaganellu uḷavirai nirvīlai and other pīḍāgaiyirai. 194 of 1923.

Year 27.—Aḻūr (Mys.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land to Cāmunḍiśvarī by the ūr including Māṇikka-šeṭṭi of
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Vañapuram (in this nādu), and Rājendra-sōla-gāmanḍan of Viṇṇamangalam, who was doing the nāṭtu-gāmanḍu.  

EC. ix. NL. 7 (a).

Year 27.—Ārpākkam (Ch.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Land by residents (ūr) of Ārpākkam for the maintenance of seven musicians for service in the temple Tiruvil-viṇṇagarrāḻvār.  
145 of 1923.

Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Money for nūṭṟu by a native of Mivanam for which some temple land was made tax-free. Also gold for lamp. Mentions Kundavaip-pērēi and Sundaraśōlap-pērēi.  
264 of 1915.

Year 28.—Tiruvāṭuṭuṟai (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Land, half-vēlī, made tax-free for 200 kāśu received from the temple by assembly (sabhā) of Mārkīli-mangalam with the condition that the Māheśvaras of Sarva-dēvan Tirumāṭjam called after the king's guru should be fed daily. Mentions Tūtuvan Arumoṭi, a woman of the Periya Vēḷam, as owning some adjacent land in describing boundaries.  
103 of 1925.

Year 29*.—Kāmarasavalli (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. Land by the assembly of Kāmarasavalli-catm. to Śākkai-mārāyan Vikaramaśōḷan for performing the sākkai-kūṭtu thrice during either of the Tiruvāṭdirai festivals in Mārgāḷi and Vaiyāśi. Śēris numbered one to four in the village mentioned.  
65 of 1914.

Tirithamalai (Sm.)—Pūrvadēsam etc. Gift of three villages by Uttamaśōḷa-Pūramalai-nāḍāḷvān, who seems to have been the chief of Rājendra-sōḷa-viriyūr-nāḍu. The donor repaired the temple and constructed the Mukhamaṇḍapa. Tagudūr-nāḍu was a sub-division of Nigarili-sōḷa-maṇḍalam.  
670 of 1905.

Tiruvishaiḷur (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Land for lamp by a queen. Mentions a revenue survey of the country.  
347 of 1907.

* May 6, 1901 A.D. ARE. 1915. App. F. (L.D.S.)
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Year 29.—*Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)*—Money deposited, interest to be paid in paddy, with the inhabitants of Igañiyur, for offerings every year at the festival of pudiyidu (first crop?) by Nakkan Kōdai alias Kanãcipurã-nangai, a magal (maid-servant?) of Tiruvēkambaṁ-udaiy miałēdēva of Nagaram Kanãcipurãm. 139 of 1912.

" *Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)*—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Gift of tuḷai-nigai-pon and Madhurântaka-dēvan-māḍai for Mārgalit-tiruvādirai and for feeding three Brahmas learned in the Vēdas. Money loaned out on interest at 2 kalam of paddy per annum by the Rājakēsari-marakkāl on each pon and māḍai, with the nagarattār of Tiruvorriyur and the residents of Mañjīyana-Kārāṇai. 140 of 1912.

" *Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)*—Tiru manni vaḷara (full). Rājārājan kāśu* for feeding a Brahman by Kūttan Gaṅavadi, the military officer of Gaṅgai-kōṇḍān alias Uttama-śōjamārāyan, also called Sīrudanam Perudanam mārāyan. Money loaned out to merchants of the place, interest being payable in paddy. Mentions Āriyammāi and her money gift. 141 of 1912.

" Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — *Tiru manni vaḷara*. Assembly agree regarding land for feeding the Śrīvaiśṇavas of the eighteen districts in the Rājendrāja-śōjan-māḍam not to change its class or levy on it ērī-āyam and šeruvāri. 187 of 1919.

Year 30.—*Kōṇḍiyur (Tj.)*—Tiru manni vaḷara. Appointment of new dancing-master, the late master’s brother-in-law (maittunan), nan-gāndaruvu araiyān Rājarājan alias Muṇḍikōṇḍa-śōla-vēcciyā-mārāyan; the place was to be hereditary (vargattār). 23 of 1895; SII. v. 579.

* Must have been 1 a māḍai as interest was 1 kalam per annum. ARE. 1913 II 22.

† Treasuries small and big (Hultsch); minority and majority of the king? Perhaps purely honorary titles implying status in official life or society. ARE. 1913 II. 22.
Year 30.—Tirunágéśvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vañara. Mentions inñaçu vagai-seygina Koñandiññai Udaiy án. Adigárigal Rájéndrasóla-múvenda-vélán sent a niyógam (order) that a tirukkoolgai, tiruk-kódkku and tirukkóksam were to be made from gold accumulated in the form of flowers and broken jewels. Another niyógam from the múlaparúññaiyór of Tirukkúdamúkkil. The niyógam was addressed to Śríkóyil-váriyan-seygá Dëvikánnumis, Paññárigal and Káraññattán. Mentions also Kstátriya-malla-teriñña-valangai-vélaiñkárar.

83 of 1897; SII. vi. 33.

" Tiruvó Cóyíyúr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vañara (full). 90 sheep for lamp by Márayán Gangaikónda-sólán alias Uttamásóla-márayán, chief of Tiruvárúr, for the merit of one Gañavadá Iñumbána alias Tannai-munivár-péñidrängáñá Viñyaráraýan *, who stabbed himself and died (in order to relieve) the distress of the donor. Another gift of 90 sheep for lamp by Nimbálá-dévi, wife of Indálá-déva of Tálajéráma in Víráñdésa. †

138 of 1912.

" Tiruvó Cóyíyúr (Ch.)—Sale of land, for the maintenance of a flower-garden and the supply of four garlands every day, to Nágálabái Sáñi alias Áríyavámmai, wife of Prabhákara-bháñta of Márákalápuram in the Áryadésa. "The land purchased included house-sites for the tenants who cultivated it; and it was also specified in the deed that the tenants were not liable to pay any kind of írái (the kunjímain of other inscriptions) such as vetti, amaññi and kúrrunel."

155 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 22.

" Tiruvó Cóyíyúr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vañara. Sale of land by assembly of Manáli alias Simhávişnu-catm. to a person who presented it to the temple. Mentions that eight Madhurántaka-dévan-máñái was the price of 2000 kući of land.

156 of 1912.

* Same as Kíttan Gañavadá of 141 cf. 411 of 1912 of Yr. 8 of Rájarñá, ARE. 1913 II. 22.

† Country round Hangál, itself called Virñthánagarí or Virñtháñkóte in inscriptions. —íbíd.
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Year 30.—Uttaramëri (Ch.)—Tiru manni vâlara. Sale of some waste land (innîlangâl ânnâlvaraiyîl içâiyîrâdu kîçândamaiyîl), tax-free, by the sabhâ to the Râjendra-sûla-vînñagar for a flower-garden, including 120 kušî as Nanda-vanappurâm for three gardeners (ulâppâr), and to provide for a maṭha called after Kundavai-âlîyar for feeding Śrî-vaiṣṇavas. The tenants had not to pay ulâvîraî. 184 of 1923.

Year 31.—Ś. 9(54.) * Suttûru (Mys.)—Pûrvadësam etc. Land to temples for services in them including “Pânce-mahâsabdavam trîkâla bâjisuvadakke.” 1 of 1895 ; EC. iii. Nj. 164.

Year 31.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru manni vâlara. 90 sheep for lamp by Nittavinodat-teriïja-Valangai-vêjai . . . . . . given to Tiruvunñâlîgai-ûdaiyâr and Dêvakanmigâl. 17 of 1890 ; SII. iv. 340.

Tiruvorçiyûr (Ch.)—Tiru manni vâlara (full) — 150 kâsu by Caturâñana Paññita of Tiruvorçiyûr and Tirumayânam for ghi to bathe god on the Mûrga-li-tiruvâ-dirai day, the king’s birthday. 104 of 1912 ; 399 of 1896 ; SII. v. 1354.

Year 32.—Kâṣûguûjî (Mys)—Pûrvadësam etc. Construction of a tank at Paṭṭandûr by Râjarâja Vâlsân, son of the Nâttuukâmuñdan of Šênnâi-nâdu. 170 of 1911 ; EC. ix. Ht. 142.

Tirunâgësvaram (Tj.)—Tiru manni vâlara (full). Mentions years 24 and 31 of the king and Narâkkañ Kâññan Râman who gave some land to temple for both, flowers and offerings to god. Mentions vellânu vellî among taxes (varigal.) 217 of 1911.

Year 32, day 70.—Tiruvâmâttûr (SA.)—Tiru manni vâlara. Gold vessel called Râjendrasûlîân for sacred bath to god. 28 of 1922.

Year 33.—Tiruvâmûr (Ch.)— 79 of 1909.

PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Agaram (Ch.)—Construction of stone temple of Tirukkailayar at Vānavan-mahādēvi, (Vanamangai.)

231 of 1931.

Brahmadēsam (NA.)—Provision for daily offerings and feeding of hundreds of Vaiṣṇava pilgrims coming from the Tiruvēṅgaṇa-malai.

255 of 1915.

Eṅṉāyiram (SA.)—Tiru manni vaḷara. By the king’s order, 46 vēli of land was given to Rājarāja-viṇṭagav by the assembly of taniyūr Rājarāja-catam. for offerings, the recitation of Tiruvāyamoḷi and the maintenance of an educational institution in which Vēdas, vyākaraṇa and mīmāṁsā were taught.

333 of 1917.

Mahēndragiri (Gj.) (Sanskrit).—Below the inscription is engraved a tiger with double fish in front. Having defeated Vimalādītya, the king set up a pillar of victory on the Mahēndra mountain.

396 of 1896 *; SII. v. 1351.

Mangalam (Sm.)—Gift of the village Mangalam as a dēvadāna to the temple of Rājaśekhara-iśvaramudaiya-mahādēva built by Kongilāndar of Mudalināyappalli alias Jayangoṅda-sōḷapuram in Vallavaraiyarnāḍu. Proclaims that the property of those who steal away the cattle from this dēvadāna or otherwise cause any injury to the village shall become the property of the god. Mentions Munnūru var of some nāḍu.

157 of 1915.

Nambiḥalḷi (Mys.)—(Kan).—Ereya Gāvunḍa, son of Arasigaya Gāvunḍa, who took Beḷagattūr in Cōrayar-dēva’s war when cows were carried off and women’s clothes were unloosed (toṛa gāḻalu peṇḍiran uḷe uṭchutu), fought and went to svarga.


* 397 (SII. v. 1352) is a Tamil version of same. Also 838 of 1917, a much damaged record, begins with names Madhurāntaka and Rājēndra.
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Pailabanda (An.)—Tiru manni vaṭara. * Cows for lamp to the Mahādēva temple. 7 of 1917.

Polonnāruva (Ceylon.)—Tiru manni vaṭara. Mentions shrine of Paḷljikōṇḍār within the temple of Vānāvan-māḍēvi-Iśvaram Uḍaiyār.

595 of 1912; SII. iv. 1389, 1390.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaṭara to tiruttagumūḍiyum. Decision of the assembly, met in the Śembiyan-mahādēvīyal-periya-maṇḍapam, to utilise the vellān-veṭṭi from the dēvādāna lands of Ādityēsvaram Uḍaiya-mahādēva at Mōganūr, a western hamlet of the village, for a lamp in that temple.

483 of 1925.

Śivapuri (SA.)—Pūrva-dēsamum Gangaiyum Kaḍāramum koṇḍa. Gold by Nāṭṭāmai ...... a maid-servant of the bathing establishment in the palace at Gangai-koṇḍa-śōlapuram.

510 of 1926.

Talaicangāṭu (Tj.)—Tiru manni vaṭara (full); damaged. Remission of taxes on some temple lands by assembly in lieu of the annual interest of 150 kaḷaṇṇu due on 800 kāsu equal to 400 kaḷaṇṇu of gold (by standard Rājēndra-sōḷan-māḏai) received from a merchant of the Vīra-śōla-maṇḍigai at Gangai-koṇḍa-śōlapuram on account of the temple of Tiruvāyppāṭi-āḻvār.

203 of 1925.

Tirumalavāṭi (Tri.)—Tiru manni vaṭara (full). List of lands lying waste till year 21, and brought under cultivation, for feeding Śivayōgins and tapasvins on the occasion of the midday offering, by a servant of the king.

75 of 1920.


* Evidence of annexation of Nulambapǎṭi-ARE. 1917 II 2.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Tirunagaivir (Tj.) — Mentions a dēvadāna village belonging to the temple of Arumoḷi-dēva Ḡśvara at Paḷaiyāṇu. 157 of 1908.


Tiruvāṇuṭurai (Tj.) — List of presents to temple by several persons including Rājendrā's mother, the guru of Uḍaiyār Rājadhirāja-dēva and servants of the Periyavēḷam. Mentions Rājarājamāḷai as test of fineness of gold. 104 of 1925.

Tiruvaiyāṇu (Tj.) — Verse:

‘rājad-rajanya-makula-erēṇi-ratnēṇu śāsanam /
estad-rājendra-colasya parakēsari-varmanāḥ’ //
214 of 1894; SII. v. 513.

Tiruvēṇkāṭu (Tj.) — Tiru manni valara to tolperungāval (palpaḷandīvum). Gold by Uḍaiyār-pirāṭṭiyār Tribhuvanamādevivār, mother of the king. 460 of 1908.

Tiruvorziyir (Ch.) — Erection of the Śrī-vimānam to Dēvēśa in Ādhipuri in fine black stone (atibahulatarai-raśmabhīḥ kṛṣṇa-varṇailh) by Ravi, called Vara Viracōḷatakaṇ, under orders of Rājendrā, the son of Rājarāja. The vimāna was of three tiers (tritālam) and built at the instance of Caturānana (Paṇḍita). 105 of 1892; SII. iv. 553; also 126 of 1912.

For daughter see—Rājadhirāja I-Yr. 29, day 102-Tirumalavāḍi, 71 of 1920.
RĀJAKĒSARI RĀJĀDHIRAJA I.

[ acc.—* 15 Mar.—3rd Decr. A.D. 1018. ]

Year 2.—Śendalai (Tj.)—Śrī-bali in the temple of Perundurai-uḍaiyār had to be stopped owing to absence of drummers and the land appertaining to this service was thereupon transferred to some others. 201 of 1926.

Year 3 †.—Koṭṭaiyār (Tj.)—Rājak. alias Tribhuvana-cakravartin Rājādhirāja-dēva. 270 kāṣu by Arumoji-nangai, wife of Araiyan Porcioman of Ėr alias Kulōttunga-śōla-Savan-namangalam for offerings to an image of Śrī-lāyingsam-purāṇa-dēvar (Linga-purāṇa-dēva) set up by her. 241 of 1927.

Year 5.—Kāḷahasti (C.) Sale of land for areca-nut garden in the name of Tirukkanṭappa-dēvar, for 250 kāṣu from the temple treasury. 125 of 1922.

Year 5, day 87.—Kāḷahasti (C.) — Cakravartin R. An order (uḷvari) of gift of tax-free land in Paḷaiyārū in Ambar-nāḍu of Uyyakkonḍār-vala-nāḍu. 124 of 1922.

Year 10.—Śembiyamahādēvi (Tj.)—Tingāḷēr-taru. Remission by royal order of taxes on some lands belonging to the temple of Tiruvēḷirukkai-mahādēva for a lump payment of 100 kāṣu (Rājarājan kāṣu 75, paḷangāṣu 25) made to the assembly of Śaṭṭiyakkudi 484 of 1925. †

Year 24.—Peṇṇādam (SA.)—Vijayarājendra-dēva who was pleased to take the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Śeriḷan-śālai, Ilangai and Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, and to perform the anointment of victors at Kalyāṇapura. Money for offerings. 245 of 1929.


† Saturday, April 30th 1920 A.D. ARE. 1927, App. E.

† The regnal year is really 36 in the impression, though it is given as 10 in ARE. 1926. This is followed by a long introduction of Vijayarājendra stopping with the regnal year.
RAJAKESARI RAJADHIRAJA I

Year 26.—Pernādam (SA.)—Who took the head of Vira Pāṇḍya and destroyed the ships at Kāndalūr-śālai. Records rates of taxes due to temple in merchandise.

244 of 1929.

"Tirukkalukkunram (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. The nagaraṭṭār (names of viyāpārīgaṇa given) of Tirukkalukkunram alias Ulagajanda-śōjapuram make a nilavilai-aṇaṇa-kaiyēḻuttu, for tiruccennadai and arcanābhoṇa to the god on the hill top. Reason for this disposal of the land: innilam kākōḷaiy-kiḻanda-maiyin.

172 of 1894; SII. v. 465.

* Tirumalavēḷi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-peṇa. The Perunguri-mahāsabhā of Gaṇḍarādita-catm. dispose of some taxes and institute a festival on: nammai uḍaiya cakramaṇtī Śrī-Rājendra-śōla-dēvar tirunakṣattiram.

75 of 1895; SII. v. 633.

" Tiruvōṟiyār (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. An enquiry into temple affairs by the adhikārīgaṇ Valajan Mūvēnda-vēḷar and Vikkira-singa-mūvēnda-vēḷar held in the manṭapā of the temple called Maṇṇai-koṇḍa-śōlan. They sold uncultivated waste lands of the temple to a military officer of the Cōla country, who brought them under cultivation and provided paddy for offerings on festive occasions. The temple share (igai) was 28 kalam of paddy on each vēli for one class of land, and 19 kalam for another. The donor was the chief of Śattimangalam, of the rank of perundanam-daṇḍanāyakam and was named Śōjan Kumaran Madhurāntaka Mārāyan.

103 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 24.

Year 26, day 120.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. The assembly which met under a tamarind tree sold land for a water-pandal for quenching the thirst of the king Śrī-uḍaiyār Rājendra-cōḷa-dēva and queen Vira-mahā-dēviyār, who is said to have entered the supreme feet of Brahmā in the very same tomb in which the body

† cf. 102 of 1912 of Year 28, day 134.
of king Rājendra Cōla was interred; the gift was by sēnāpati Madhurāntakan alias Parakēsari Vēḷār, who was the brother of the queen. 260 of 1915.

Year 27.—Kāncipuram (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru up to Kollippāk-kaiyulleri-maṟuppi, and then Villavar Minavar etc. Kōneri ēr took five kaḻañju for offerings to Tirumayānattu Brahmiśvaram Udaiya-mahādeva of Kāncipuram. Details of expenditure given for the annual interest of 8 kalam and one tuṇi of paddy, at one kalam and two tuṇi per pon-kaḻañju. Ippon-mudarpon-kolavēnu-ṉōlappēṟōdōmāgavum. 54 of 1893; SII. iv. 867.

Tiruppugalūṛ (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru to Kollippāk-kaiyulleri-maṟuppi. Money by a Brahman lady for festival and offerings, including the service of eight men who helped in the Aṣṭa-mangalam during the abhiṣēka on the Šadaiyam day of every month. 49 of 1928; ARE. 1928 II 7.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Details of quantities of paddy due from temple lands bought over by Rājendra-śōḷa-dēva-aṉukkiyār Paravainangaiyār for expenses connected with offerings and worship to Tiruvanarēṇiyuḍaiyār. 679 of 1919.

Tiruvōṟjiyūr (Ch.)—Money for Māsi-makham by members of the assembly of Maṉali alias Śingaviṉu-catm. deposited with the revenue-accountant (puravu-varit-tiṇaik-kaḷattuk-kaṇakkan) of Širuvāyppēdu alias Mummūdi-śōḷa-nallūr, who had to pay the interest in paddy. 142 of 1912.

Year 27, day 241. *—Tirupparangili (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru (omissions and abridgments). Sale of land as abhiṣēka-daṟkīṅḍā by the māḷaparudai of taniyūr Tiruvelḷarai to Rājādhirāja-dēvā perundanam Uttama-ćiḷanallur-uḍaiyān Venkādaṇ Śankaraṇ alias Daṇḍanāyaka Rājādhirāja Pallavaraiyān, for feeding Brahmans. 90 of 1892; SII. iv. 537.

RAJAKESARI RAJADHIRAJA I

Year 27 + 1.—Tirumaṇaṇjēri (Tj.)—Land for feeding annually 1000 devotees including Śivayōgins and tapasvinś in the temple of Tirukkaraṇal-mahādéva in the locality on Panguni-uttiram day. 2 of 1914.

Year 28.—Kāḷahasti (C.)—Mentions the king’s conquest of Vira Pāṇḍya, the Cēra king and Ceylon. Two lamps. 283 of 1904.

Kilīyanūr (SA.)—Tingāḷ-ṭaru (part). Sale of land for 22 kāśu by assembly of Kāraṇakata-catm. to temple of Tiruvāigśvara for the maintenance of a feeding-house called Māravāḍigal. The land was made iraiyilī after payment of 78 more kāśu. 151 of 1919. *

Tiruvōrōrīyūr (Ch.)—Tingāḷ-ṭaru. Thirty kāśu for special offerings paid to the assembly (sabhā) of Kāvaṇūr alias Kamala-nārāyaṇa-catm. who agreed to pay as interest 75 kalam of paddy every year for offerings. Mentions images of the Bhaktas (63 nāyanār) ↑ (pattarkaḷ-tirumēni). Catalogue of temple servants. 137 of 1912.

Uṭṭatūr (Tri.)—Parakēsari ↑ alias Rājādhirāja-dēva who destroyed the ships at Śālai and took the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya. Sale of land to temple. 513 of 1912.

Veppangūlam (Ch.) — Tingāḷ - ṭaru (variant form). Fixing expenses in temple by royal order. 417 of 1902; SII. viii. 3.

Year 28, day 134.—Tiruvōrōrīyūr (Ch.)—Sale of land by some members of the assembly of Maṇali alias Śingaviṇumcatm. a dēvadāna of the temple of Tiruvōrōrīyūr-uḍaiyūr, to Daṇḍanāyakam Sōlan Kumaran Parāntaka Mārāyan alias Rājādhirāja Nilagangaraiyar. 102 of 1912.

* cf 152, Year 29.

↑ Their stories were compiled in an abbreviated form by Nambi Ḍūndr Nambi in the time of Rājāraja I, under the name Tiruttupōṭṭuṭṭogai (sic). ARE, 1913, II. 24.

‡ Apparently a mistake for Rājak.
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Year 29.—Gangavāra (Mys.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). A grant by persons named. 176 of 1911; EC. ix. Dv. 75.

.. Kiliyanūr (SA.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple by assembly for feeding-house. Sale price 30 kāsu; īraudrayam 50 kāsu. 152 of 1919.*

.. † Manimangalam (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. The Mahāsabhā of Rājaçuliśmanī-catm. met in the Brahmatsthānam and sold 2000 kuḷi of land to the temple of Tuvarāpati alias Kāmakkōḍi-viṇṭagar-ālvār for 100 kāsu. 6 of 1892; SII. iii. 28.

.. Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. Land for lamp by Araiyan Jayangoḍa-sōljīyar, also Paṅcavan-mādēviyār, wife of Śōja-vallabha-dēva, called Pillaiyār. 85 of 1920.

.. Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). Land, by the king, seated on the flight of steps to the north of the Gangai-koḍa-sōjan-māligai inside the palace in Gangai-koḍa-sōlapuram, for offerings to Ardhanāri-dēva in the temple of Tiruvenkāḍaiyār given as dēvadāna (dēvadānamāga variyiliṭṭu.) 114 of 1896; SII. v. 978.

Year 29, day 102.—Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—Tingalēr - taru. A pearl umbrella by Madhurāntaka-dēva Arumoḷi-nangaiyār alias Pirānār, daughter of Rājendra-cōḷa-dēva. 71 of 1920.

Year 30.—Enṅāyiram (SA.) — Tīṅgale - taru. † Assembly (Perunguri) of taniyār Rājarāja-catm. met in the manḍapa Mummudī-sōjan with Arangan Vīṭṭirundān alias Nīrūpēndra-sōḷa-Mūvēndā-vēḷar § who was governing the village, and ordered the lands of the temple of Tiruvāyppāḍi-dēvar to be taxed on the lowest

* cf. 151 of Year 23.
† 3rd December 1046 A.D. Kielhorn EJ. iv. p. 217.
‡ As in 221 of 1894 Yr. 32.
§ 240 of 1929 (Penthātam, Year 32, day 345) also mentions him.
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scale (kaññittaram), as were those of Rājarāja-viññagar-dēvar and Kundavai-viññagar-dēvar. The royal order dated 137th day in the 27th year reached the assembly only on 240th day in the 30th year. 330 of 1917.

Year 30.—Kanyākumāri (Tri.)—Vira Pāṇḍīyan-talaiyum Śēraḷan śālayum Ilangoiyum-taṇḍāravāṇḍa. Order to the officers of the salt department (uppaḷangal kūrụṣey-vārum kaṅkāni sēyvārum) in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḷu to remit to the Śri Vallavaperunjālai alias Rājarājappuṇṇālai of Kalīkkudi, salt at the rate " uppu muda-lilum sēlalilum kāḷalātuvāy nālīgai-yuṟṟai" (one nāḷi of salt per kalam of salt added to stock or spent from it,—Gopinatha Rao). Mentions that Nāṭhinaṭṭu Manar-kudi alias Mahipālalukalakalap-pēraḷam had stopped remitting the kaiyuṟṟai salt for sometime before this order. TAS. i. pp. 162-4. Same as 93 of 1896.


Year 30.—Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru (with variant readings). The sāḥā of Mandaram undertake to supply three tumbai garlands (tiruppaḷittānam) daily as interest on 10 kalam 6 nāḷi and 1 uḻakku of paddy (?). 6 of 1890; SII. iv. 329.

"Tiruvenkāḍu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Amalan Śeyyavāyār set up an image of Picca-dēvar, gave lands for its requirements, presented gold and silver ornaments to it, opened a charity house (sālai) and provided for its maintenance/ Daily wage of a woman servant of the sālai was one kūṟṟi of paddy. The same person obtained lands for the temple from the king's father who was pleased to take the Pūrvadesam, Gangai and Kiḷāram. 450 of 1918.
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Year 30.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tingalēr-taru (full). Land for offerings in the name of Rājendra-śōja by Sēnāpati Rājendra-śōja Māvalivānaraśar, under the auspices of the great assembly of the village, a taniyūr, which met in the Manḍapa built by Šebmīyan Umbāḷa-nāṭṭu-Mūvēnda-vēḷān for the merit of Rājendra. 72 vēli yielding 12,000 kalam of paddy per annum, of which 2475 kalam went for festivals (specified), feeding Vaiśṇavas and reciting the Tiruvāymoṭṭi, the balance going to the maintenance of an elaborately organised college of higher learning. Conditions laid down regarding the grading and taxation of this land. Exemptions for teachers and students. 176 of 1919.

Year 31.—Ālambākkam (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. The servants of the temple residing at Madhurāntaka-catm. received five kāsu from a merchant of that village and agreed to supply paddy towards the interest for maintaining a lamp in the temple of Kailāsamudalaiya-mahādīva. 721 of 1909.


Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. In compliance with the king’s order, Vēṅkāṭan Tirunilakaṇṭhan alias Adhikāri Irumudisōla-mūvēnda-vēḷān utilised certain gold and silver vessels in the temple treasury for the erection of a golden pavilion for Uḍaiyār Vidi-viṭṭanka-dēva of Tiruvārūr. Other gifts recorded in continuation (verses.) 670 of 1919.

Tiruvilimilalai (Tj.)—A detailed description of the boundaries of Jayangonda-śōla-nallūr, a dēvadāna village of the temple of Tiruvilimilalai. Mentions a survey of the temple lands. 393 of 1908.

* No. 723 recording the erection of a maṇḍapa in the temple says that the temple was founded by Danti.
RAJAKESARI RAJADHIRAJA I

Year 31.—Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru (full). The mahā-
sabhā of Sundaraśōla-catm. and Vānavaṇ mahādēvi-
catm. sold land as maṭappuram to Āriyavammai alias
Nāgalavaiccāni, the wife of Prabhākara-bhaṭṭan of
Megaḷāpuram in the Āriyadeśa, who had done tirup-
pani to the local god and founded the Rājendra-śōlan-
maṭha. 107 of 1892 *; SII. iv. 555 ;
132 of 1912.

" Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Tingalēr-taru. 95 sheep for a
lamp by Caturāl-caturi, the aجامुत्तुरादैय of Nāgan
Perungādan and a dēvarāṭiyā of the temple.
147 of 1912.

Year 32.—Basinikongā (O.) — Tingalēr-perga. 1,500 merchants
of all samayas, of the four quarters, including nāḍu,
nagara and nānādēśi met at Śīrāvalī in Mugaṇāḍu †
in Purāṇi-mārayapādi of Jayangoṇḍa-śōla-manḍalam,
and resolved to convert the village into a nānādēśiya
Daśamadi-Ēqviraṇaṭaṇa and grant certain privileges to
the residents of that village.
342 of 1912.

" Nandi (Mys.)—Tingalēr-perga (with alterations). Adi-
gārigaḥ Māṭṭurudaiyār ... alias ... Vira Viccādira
Muvēndavelār gave jewels to Mahāṇandisvāra on the
Nandi hill.
EC. x. Ch. 21.

" Tiruccengāṭṭungudi (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Land tax-
free to temple in the village by the assembly of
Tirukkaṇṇapuram met in the temple of Brahmiśvaram-
uḍaiya-mahādēva of their village.
55 of 1913.

" Tirumalavādi (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. The Perunguri-
mahāsabhāi of Gaṇḍarādittac-catm. met in the Śri
Gaṇḍarādittac-cēri of the place (nammār) and gave
land for ten lamps to the temple.
81 of 1895 ; SII. v. 641. ‡

* cf 127 of 1912 n.-d.
† cf. 256 of 1912, ARE. 1913 II 25.
‡ Astronomical details given fit only year 22. (Kielhorn EJ. iv. p. 218).
But the praśasti records late transactions of the reign and must be of year 32.
THE COLAS

Year 32. *—Tiruvaiyāru (Tj.)—Tingalēr - taru. Three hundred Rājarāja-māḍas by Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva†; also gifts in year 27 of Periya-dēvar who conquered Pūrvadeśam etc., and year 31 of Rājādhirāja. 300 Rājarāja-māḍas equalled 337½ kaḷaṇju by kuḍiṇaiikkal.

221 of 1894; SII. v. 520.

"Tiruvigāmarudūr (Tj.)—Tingalēr - pēra - vaḷar. An endowment in favour of Araiyan Tiruvigāmarudūr-udaiyān alias Mummuḍi-sōla-nittappāraiyan and his troupe. The grant proper begins with the word 'Kōṇerinmaikoṇḍān.'

264 of 1907.

"Vṛddhācalam (SA.)—Tingalēr-vaḷar. 32 cows for lamp. King called Jayangoṇḍa-sōla.

55 of 1918.

Year 32, day 28.—Tennēri (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum etc.—On a representation made to Adhikāri Viraṇārayaṇa-Mūvāndavēḷar who had convened an assembly in the hall called Rājarājan in Uttama-sōla-catm., the lands in the village were properly classified and assessed. The new award was engraved in the temple of Uttama-sōlāsvaram-udaiyār.

239 of 1922.

Year 33.—Ś. 971—Cīk-kāti (Mys.)-(Kan.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talē-yum Cērālam sāleyum Lankaiyum daṇḍālukoṇḍa. Erection of temple and grant of land and cows.

EC. iv. Gu. 93. †

Year 33.—Gangavāra (Mys.)—Tingalēr-taru. Śeṇnai-nāḍu was the jīvīta § conferred by the king on Śeṇāpati Rājēndra-sōla-brahma-mārāyar.

177 of 1911; EC. ix. Dv. 76.

—* Introduction same also in 444 of 1906—year 31, Tiruttanī.

† Perhaps the future Kulōttunga I—ARE. 1895, paragraph 11.

† Hs. 32 n.d. mentions a war between Rājādhirāja and a Pallava; Ch. 50, the burning of the Cālukya palace at Kāmpili (on the Tungabhadrā, in the Bellary District). EC. iv. Introduction p. 14.

§ Rice takes this to be the authorisation of some collections during the officers' life-time. Eng. Tr. p. 85.
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Year 33.—Kūḻambandal (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. Provision for a lamp and for antik-kāppu by Uḍaiyār Rājadhirājar Gurudēvar Adhikārigal Pārāśaryan Vāsudēva-nārāyaṇan alias Ulagaḷanda-sōja Brahnamārajan.

413 of 1902; SII. vii. 1046.


505 of 1911; EC. ix. Nl. 25.

Tirukkolambiyyūr (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Agreement by the mahāsabhā of Abhayāśraya-catm. to pay all taxes on certain specified lands of the temple in lieu of interest on 250 kāṣu received by them from the temple. Mentions grain measure: āyiravan-marakkāl and the Kuṇjaramallan-vāykkāl.

52 of 1925.

Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tingalēr-taru. Vira-rājendrāvarman. Land, for daily worship of some images, by the Perungūri - mahāsabhā of Gaṇḍarāditya - catm. assembled in the temple Gaṇḍarāditya-viṇṇagar.

78 of 1920.

Tiruvilakkūḍi (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru, (form including Pūṇḍūr). Remission of taxes on some temple lands for a lump sum by the assembly of Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-sōla-catm.

119 of 1926.

Yeldūr (Mys.)—Vira-Pūṇḍiyay tam Šēraṇ-sālaïyum Ilangaiyum Irāṭapūḍiyum koṇḍa. Gifts to temple for tiruvamidu.

471 of 1911; EC. x. Mb. 106 (a).

Year 34. — Brahmadēṣam (NA.) — Tingalēr-taru. Gold, 12 kaḷaṇju, for offerings to Pāśupatamūrti when taken out on procession for śrī-bali; the gift was by a woman of Niyaṃam in Puḷḷar-kōṭṭam of Jayangoṇḍa-sōḷa-maṇḍalam.

262 of 1915.
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Year 34.—Pemñájam (S.A.)—Rājak. Vijayarājendrā-dēva who was pleased to take the head of Vira Pāṇḍya, the śālai of Śērālan, Ilanagi, Iraṭṭapādi 7½ lakhs, and who performed the anointment of victors at Kalyānapuram. Money for offerings to god and goddess. 245 of 1929.

"Tiruvēṇkāṇu (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru as in 92 of 1892 n.-d. Sheep for two lamps by Araiyan Nambanangai, mother of queen Trailōkyam-uḍaiyar. 446 of 1918.


Year 35—Ś. 975. — Koḷagāla (Mys.)—(Kan.). Consecration of Gangōśvara and grant of land to the temple. 143 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 114.

Year 35.—Kōḷār (Mys.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum Śe...n śālaiyum Ilanaiyum Iraṭṭapādi...śāraiyilakkamum koṇḍu Kaliyāṇa-purattu jaya...n nāṭṭi virāśingāsanaattu vīgirundu Vijayarājendiran-ṃṇabisekan †....... jina etc. (Fragment.) The king is called Parakēsari. 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 112 (b).

"Kōṇērirājapuram (Tj.)—Same introduction as the preceding, with Śērālan-talaiyum for śālaiyum. Lamp to Vaiśṇava temple. 656 of 1909 ‡.


"Pāṇḍāraṇvāḷai (Tj.)—Tingalēr-taru. Agreement by assembly of Rājakēsari-catm. to pay all taxes on some temple lands in lieu of interest on amounts borrowed

† King taken to be different from and brother of Rājak. Rājādhīrāja by Rice—EC. x p. xxvii.
‡ Text has year 34.

§ As in 172 of 1894.
from the temple treasury in the 28th year of Periyadévar who took Pûrvadéšam etc., for the purchase of house-sites, and in the 31st year of Râjâdhîraja amounting with interest to 710 kāsu. One kaññaju was equal to two kāsu.

Year 35.—Tiruvâḍandai (Ch.)—Vijayarâjendra. Gift of this village to Mahâ-visnu. Income from sekkiçai and other dues was to be spent on monthly festivals on the day of Pûrva Phâlguni, the king’s asterism. The village was in Pâduvâr-nâju, a sub-divison of Kâlliyanaparam-koṇḍa *-sōjak-kōṭṭam (formerly Âmûrkōṭṭam) in Jayangonḍa-sōla-mañḍalam. The record is signed by 70 officers. 228 of 1923.

Year 35, day 90.—Tirukkolambiyâr (Tj.)—Kônirinmaikoṇḍâ. Royal gift of land as provision for wages, 75 kalam per annum, for two gardeners for a flower-garden after his name. 258 of 1910.

Year 35, day 93.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry)—Tingâlêr-taru. Land, after alteration of its class by sabhâ in accordance with royal order, to the temple. Mentions Adhikâri-Âhavamalla-Kulântaka Mûvênda-vêlân. 45 of 1925.

Year 35, day 281.—Kâncîpuram (Ch.)—Royal grant of a tax-free village, Sarvatîrthannâlur, for worship and offerings to Sarvatîrtham-udâiura-mahâdèva at the request of a number of royal officials, while the king was seated on the throne Pallavarâyan in the Vejî-mûlai mañḍapam in his palace at Gangaiâkoṇḍa-sōlapuram. 188 of 1919.

Year 36.—Karçânâpalli (C.)—Gift of tax on oil-mills for a lamp in the temple of Angakkâra-Iśvaram-udâiyâr at Mattukura, an Erîvirapattâna, † by Sōjakula-karâna-Mûvênda-vêlân, who was the revenue officer in charge of the district, for the prosperity of the emperor. 420 of 1925.

* This conquest was in or a little before the 35th year of the reign — ARE. 1911 II 23.
† cf. 342 of 1912 of year 32.
THE COLAS

Year 36.—Kōnērirājapuran (Tj.) — Tingalēr-taru. Land to temple at Tirunallam by the assembly of Pāvaikkūdi met under a tamarind tree * called Rājēndraśōjan on the bank of the channel called suttamalli-vāykkal.

640 of 1909.

Śembiyannmahādēvi (Tj.) See under year 10.

Takkolam (NA.)—Tingalēr-taru. † Vijayarājēndra-dēva. Undertaking by some persons in charge of the central shrine in the temple of Tiruvūral-mahādēva in Takkolam alias Iraṭapāḍi-konḍa-sōlapuram, to supply 7 nāli and one urī of ghi by Arumōli-dēvan measure as interest on 12 kaḷaṇju of gold received by them.

262 of 1921. ‡

Tirukkaḍaiyur (Tj.)—Tirukkoṇiyodu. Vijayarājēndra-dēva. This introduction stresses the conquest of Āhavamalla and says that the Vijayarājēndra title was assumed at the virābhīṣaka that followed it. Gift of some land as sālābhōga, after reclamation, by Piccan Āḍittan alias Vijayarājēndra-Mūvēnda-vēḷan of Kōmakkuḍi, for feeding 17 persons in Rājādhīrājan-śalai and meeting the expenses of worship to Kālakāla-dēva.

244 of 1925.

† Tiruvadi (SA.) — Tingalēr-taru. Rājakēsari alias Udaiyur Tribhuvana-cakravartin Rājādhīrāja-dēva. 96 sheep by two persons for a lamp.

392 of 1921.

Year 38.—Tiruvorvīyur (Ch.)—Sale of land by sābbhā of Kuraṭṭūr for the daily services in the temple of Tiruvorvīyur-udaiyur-kāraṇai-viṭanka-dēvar.

129 of 1912.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :

Dārāṣuram (Tj.) — Records that the image of dvārapālaka under which the inscription is engraved was

* cf. the village peepal with a big platform round it in the centre of almost every Mysore village—ARE, 1910 II 21.

† As in 172 of 1894.

‡ Text gives year (26).

§ The year is given as 18 in ARE, 1922, App. B.
brought by the king from Kalyāṇapuram after his capture of the place. 24 of 1908.

_Eragaram_ (Tj.)—Part of the introduction of Rājādhirāja. Seems to relate to the assignment of seven _vēli_ of land belonging to the temple on _kudingā-dēvadānam_ tenure to Sundara Cōlan Rājādhirāja-viccādīra Pallavaraiyan as the taxes on this land were not properly paid up till then. 283 of 1927.

_Puṇjai_ (Tj.)—_Tingalēr-taru_. Remission of taxes by the king of some temple lands with orders to the assembly on Talaiccangāḍu to take over the management of the lands hitherto in the possession of the temple. Mentions improvement of certain lands made on behalf of the temple by a lady of the periya-vēlam by name Sōman Śōjakulasundari. 185 of 1925.

_Tirukkolambiyr_ (Tj.)—_Vira Pāṇḍiyam-talaiyum_ etc. Order of the king to the _sthānattār_ and the _dēvakānmis_ to bring under cultivation 6 _mā_ of (waste) land for the maintenance of two gardeners to look after the Rājādhirājan-tirunandavanam. 48 of 1925.

_Tiruppangili_ (Tj.)—_Tingalēr-taru_ (variant form) 96 sheep for lamp. 92 of 1892; _SII_. iv. 539.

_Tiruvorriyūr_ (Ch.)—Sale of land tax-free by the inhabitants (ūr) of _Veṣaṣāru-pañiyūr_ to the Brahman lady Āriyavammī * for feeding the _māhēśvaras_ in the Rājendrasōḷan, the _māṭha_ founded by her. Mentions irrigation rights and other matters. 127 of 1912.

_Tribhuvani_ (Pondicherry.)—_Tingalēr-taru_. In accordance with royal order, the sābhā gave two _vēli_ of land as goldsmith’s _service-inam_ (kāṉi) to Arangan Komāran _alias_ Rājādhirājap-perundatṭān who was required to do goldsmith’s work for himself and others within the village and its hamlets. 210 of 1919.

* cf. Year 31—107 of 1892.
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_Vellore_ (NA).—Fragment of _praśasti._

41 of 1888; _SII._ iv. 139.

See under Rājendra II

Year 6.—_Puñjai._—193 of 1925 for king's death on back of an elephant; also 5 of 1899 (_SII._ vi. 440.) of year 6 of Rājarāja II.
PARAKESARI RÅJENDRA II

Year 2.—Tirunāgēsvaram (Tj.) — Irattapādi etc. Receipt by the Mūlaparudaiyar of Tirukkuṭamūkkil and other temple authorities of 100 kāsu from an individual for repairing damages caused by floods to the irrigation channel. Interest at one kalam of paddy on each kāsu was to be devoted to offerings in the temple (25 kalam) and to expounding the Śivadharma (75 kalam) in the assembly hall Tiruccigrabalamudaiyān built in the temple by the same person. Lands belonging to the temple and adjoining the channel were also damaged; the chieftain Vikkiramasingap-pallavaraiyan lent to the trustees of the temple the amount required for restoring these to their original condition.

214 of 1911; ARE. 1912 II 24.

"Tiruppugalur (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Remission of taxes on a flower-garden, called Ponmēnda-sōjan, by the ur of Kāraikkāl which met in the Durgā temple in the Sēnāmukham* of the village. Also remission of taxes on lands for gardens by the assembly of Bhūloka-māṇikka-catm. in year 3 of Rājak. Virarājendradeva.

81 of 1928.

Year 3.—Jambai (SA.) — Tiru-maruviya sengolvendan. A village officer demanded taxes from a woman, who declared that she was not liable. The former seems to have put her through an ordeal. The woman took poison and died. A meeting of the people from ‘the four quarters, eighteen districts and various countries’ was held, and it was decided that the man was liable. In order to expiate his sin he paid 32 kāsu for a lamp at the temple of Tiruttāntōṇrī Mahādēva. The

* cf. Sēnāmukhattār in a Siam inscription. JRAS. 1913 p. 337, (ARE. 1928 II 8).
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vanik-kirāmattār and the Śankarappādiyār undertook the task of supplying 2/3 and 1/3 of the oil required.
80 of 1906.

Year 3.—Kōlār (Mys.)—Iraṭṭapāṭi ĕlaraiyilakkamum koṛu Kollāpurattu jaṅ斯塔mbha-nāḷṭī pērāyyangaraik-kopa- pattu Āhavallanai - yaṅjuvittu avan - ānaiyun- gudiraigum penēir-paṅḍārampun-gaṅkoṇṭu vijayā- bhīṣakam-paṅṇi vira-sīṅgasānatu vīrīrundaruḻina. Cows for two lamps. Mentions Vēṭṭan Paṅcanedi Vāḷṇu alias Madhurāntaka Tamijap-pēraṇaiyān who was Daṇḍanāyakam-kaṅkāni.
478 of 1911; EC. x. Kl. 107.

"Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruviiya. Undertaking by the Śivabrahmanas and two uvaccar of the temple to perform certain specified ceremonies including hōma on every new-moon day to god Nānādesiya-Vīṭankar, from the interest on money and produce of land given to them by an officer of the sīgyudanattupperundaram named Māraikkādan Dēvan alias Rājarāja Tadigaippādi-nāḍālvān of Śattanūr. 51 of 1925.

"Tiruvaivyāru (Tj.)—Fragments of the introduction. Gold ornaments to the Ten-kailāsa shrine in the temple by Nambirāṭṭiyār Trailōkyam-uḍaiyār Adigāricci.
213 of 1894; SII. v. 512.

"Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tiru - maruviiya. 25 kalāṅju of gold given to temple authorities for feeding a learned Brahman and for other purposes. The total interest was padakkuned every day. 75 of 1889; SII. iii. 55.

"Tiruvāṟur (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāṭi etc. Details of the quantity of gold used for plating and gilding the different parts of golden pavilion-(ponnin tirumangalapam).
669 of 1919.

396 of 1913.
Year 4.—* Mañimangalam (Ch.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Sale of land in Amaṇpākkam, tax-free, to Kāmakkavvaiyāl, mother of Śeṇapati Jayangaṇḍa-śoḷa Brahmādhirāja, who gave it to the temple. Mentions meeting at the Brahmasthāna maṇḍapa of the Mahāsabhā of Rājamūla-ṃaṇi-caruppō-di-mangalam.

3 of 1892; SII. iii. 29.

" Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagaḷ-maruviyā. Remission of taxes on temple lands by the assembly of Bhūlōka-ṃañikkaka-catm.

79 of 1928.

" Tiruvāḍuturai (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāḍi etc. (in middle of the record). Royal (Kōnerinmaikoṇṭān) confirmation of grant made by the Māheśvaras of certain privileges in the temple to Parasūrāman Śankaraṇ of Iḷaṅgārikūḍī for his acts of piety, such as, providing for offerings at Tiruvāḍuturai on festival days in Purattāśi, constructing in his own village a temple called Madhurāntakakāśīvara and endowing lamps and offerings therein. His father provided also a perpetual lamp in the temple at Tiruvāḍuturai.

108 of 1925.

Year 4, day 184.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—Iraṭṭapāḍi etc. The king, seated on Kāduvetṭi in Kēraḷam-māḷigai in Gangaikoṇḍa-śoḷapuram, orders certain taxes from dēvadāṇa villages to be devoted to a festival on the birthday of Nampenḍuṇgal Kīḷanaṇḍgal. Kanyākumāri is called Gangai-kọṇḍa-śoḷapuram. Details of taxation and administrative procedure given.

TAS. i. pp. 164-8.

Year 5.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tirumagal - maruviyā. Sale of land to temple of Bhavarudrasomisvara-dēva on the south bank of the river Veṅkā (Veṅgavati) by the assembly of Parākrama-śoḷa-catm. in Dāmar-nāḍu of Jayangonḍa-śoḷa-manḍalam. Rights of irrigation and residence for labourers secured.

244 of 1915.

THE COLAS

Year 5.—Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Tirumagal-maruniya. Rajak. *
Uḍaiyār Rājendra. Sale of land tax-free to temple of Uruttiraśolai-mahādēva on the south bank of the Veḷkā at Parākrama-śoḷa-catm. by the Mahāsabhā of Ven-
kulattūr alias Paramēsvara-catm. Rights of irrigation
secured. 256 of 1915.

Kiḷūr (SA.)—Tirumagal-maruniya. Sale of land to
temple of Tirukkōvalūr tax-free by úr of Puduppūrūr
as provision for recitation of Tiruvembāvai on Margalī
Tiruvādirai days and for offerings and prasādam to
persons specified. 12 of 1905.

Kuttālam (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāḍi etc. Money to the temple
of śonnavarārīvār at Vingu-nīrt-turutti by a native of
Jayangonḍa-śoḷa - puram for feeding itinerant Śaiva
devotees to secure success to the arms of the king. †
486 of 1907.

Kūvam (Ch.)—Tirumādār - puviyenum. Sale of land
for 160 kāsu by the assembly of Kōṭṭūr alias Čola-
vidyādhara-catm., in Kanṛur-nāḍu of Maṇavirkoṭṭam
in Jayangonḍa-śoḷa-maṇḍalam through which a feeder
channel to the Tribhuvana-mādevī-pērēri at Kūvam
alias Madhurāntakanallūr was to pass. 328 of 1909.

Tirukkalukkungam (Ch.)—Tirumagal-nilaviya. ‡ 90
sheep for lamp. 173 of 1894; SII. v. 466.

Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruniya. Agreement
by the assembly of Pugalūr to pay ten kāsu as interest
on forty kāsu lent to them from the sum given by
Pārkaran Arumolo alias Akāraṇa-dāni Pallavaraiyar of
Veḷūr for the expenses of the nūlēram ceremony in
the temple. 57 of 1928.

* Mistake for Parak. Confusion due to overlapping reigns and independent
exercise of powers at the close of a reign. ARE. 1916. II 14.

† The details given here are not in the text, which is an incomplete record
giving only the name of temple followed by the names of some Śivabrahmaṇas.

‡ This short form has much in common with Iraṭṭapāḍi etc.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 5.—Tiruvērumbūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Money for lampstand by a penḏāti of the Uyyakkoṇḍan-teriṇda-tirumaṇjanaṭṭār-vēlam at Gangai-koṇḍa-śōja-puram.

121 of 1914.

Year 5, day 35.—Kuttālam (Tj.)—Begins Köṅerinmaikoṇḍān. Tiru-maruviya in middle of record. Land, tax-free, given in year 3 day 143 for festivals to Śonnavaṟariyum-mahādēva at Vingu-nīrt-turuttī (in Tiruvaḷundūrnāḷu) on the king's birthdays. Also gift of taxes due from some villages, amounting to eighty kāṣu per annum, for Mārgalī-tiruvādirai, to the temple. Regulation of expenses (nivandam), made on the day mentioned in year 5.

101 of 1926.

Year 5, day 135.—Mēlappalûvūr (Tri.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Land as naṭṭuvak-kāṇi to a dancing master.

361 of 1924.

Year 6.—Ś. 979 *—Beḷatūru (Mys.) (Kan.). A long pathetic poem on the sati of Dékkabā, the daughter of a chief of Nugunāḍ, her husband having been sentenced to death and the sentence executed at Talakkāḍ for his having killed a member of the royal family in a wrestling contest. 141 of 1898; EC. iv. Hg. 18; EI. vi. pp. 213-9 (Fleet).

Year 6.—Puṇjai (Tj.) †—Irattapāṭī etc. Agreement of the assembly to pay taxes on some lands in lieu of interest at 50 per cent. from the 3rd year on 80 kāṣu received by them in parts from Irumadī-sōla-mūvēnda-vēḷār in year 36 of Ānaimeṟṟuṇjiyaruḷina Vijayarājēndra-dēva and in year 3 of Rājēndra-dēva. Produce from the land to be used for midday service to Tiruvalamburam-udaiya-nāyanār, his consort and the Pillaiyār set up by him in the temple. Also gift of 30 kaiṭaṇju to temple for beating the kaccōram (?) on the marriage day of Āḷappiṟandār; this gift was made in year (3) 2 of Parak. Rājēndra who took Pūrvadēsām, Gangai, and Kaḷăram.

193 of 1925.


† The text gives date year 3 immediately after the introduction and then mentions year 6; also expression "Irattapāṭī Eeydu kuṟuttu-nilam."
THE COLAS

Year 6.—Tanjore (Tj)—Tiru-maruviya. Royal order to provide a tāṇi of paddy daily for playing the Rājarājēśvaranāṭaka in the Rājarājēśvara temple to Śāntik-kūtta Tiruvālan Tirumudukunrān alias Vijayarājendra-ācāryan and his vargattār as kāṇi. The performance was to take place in the Udaiyār-vaigāśip-periyatiruvilā, the total annual allowance being 120 kalam to be given out of the temple treasury.

55 of 1893; SII. ii. 67.


Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Money, by Dēvan-paṭṭagāl-Paṇḍāram and her daughter belonging to the Śivapāḍāsēkhara-teriṇṭa-tirumāṇjanattār Vēḷam, for offerings to Ulaguyyakkōṇḍa-śōla-sūrya-dēva, set up by them in the temple. 64 of 1928.*

Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Gift of 1,500 kuḷi to be cleared of forest and cultivated as arcanā-hūṇa, for worshipping Durgā standing in the north-western corner of the temple, to a Śivabrāhmaṇa by the dēvakānmiś and residents (ūr) of . . . . . . nūr.

217 of 1921.

Tribhuwanī (Pondicherry)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Order of Tirumandira-ōlai Pallavan Pallavaraiyar at the request of Sāṇāpati Vāṇādhirājar that none except the Veḷḷājas of Vākkūr should levy or pay any kind of dues within the village, and that others who do so should be considered to have transgressed the law. This was agreed when Perumpuliyūr-nambi was inspecting the temple business. † 180 of 1919.

* cf. 63 of year 11.
† Business was transacted by assembly at night. ARE. 1919, II 15.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 6.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. An order of the assembly in accordance with a royal mandate altering the classification of land at Puttur already granted for the merit of Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār Pirāntakan Ulōga-māḍēviyār. Refers to kaḍāiyidu of Villavaraiyar Mūvēnda-vēḻār, the adhikārīn who is called ammān and Śenāpati Rājendra Vayirāgarac-cōḷam. 181 of 1919.

Year 6, day 300.—Vēppangulam (Ch.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Sale of land as igaiyil dēvadāna for 97 kaḷaṇju of gold. 416 of 1902; SII. viii. 1.

Year 7.—Kōṇērirājapuram (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāḍī etc. Land. The Perungru-sahhai of Pāvaikkulī met in the temple of Madhurāṅtaki Iśvaram-uḍaiyār. 634 of 1909.

Puṇjai (Tj.)—Tirumādar-puviyenum. An igaiyilval of 200 kāśu received by the assembly of Taḻaccangādu from the temple for taxes on 2½ vēli of land given in return for 1⅔ vēli which, having been assigned to the temple for havirbali-dāna, and found unproductive owing to the high level of the land and the difficulty of irrigating it, had therefore to be resumed as village common land. 194 of 1925.

Śingavaram (SA.)—Tirumagal-maruviya. Lamp by a chief in atonement of his having stabbed a military official. 227 of 1904.

Tirumalai (NA.)—* Köparatrakēsari alias Śrī Rājendra-cōḷa-dēva. Adhikārī Koṟramangalam-uḍaiyān made an enquiry of Śirudanam Panīmagan Kuḍippangudaiyān and Tiruvēnagāda-dēva Karmis, discovered irregularities in the maintenance of lamps endowed before, only two out of twenty-one were being burnt, and regulated matters for the future, the Śrī-vaḻpavas accepting his finding. 64 of 1889; SII. iv. 293.

* A later copy. May be of Rājendra I.
THE COLAS

Year 7.—Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) — Tirumagaḷ - maruviya. Land, for offerings etc., to Vira-sōḷa-viṇṭagar-āḻvār; made igaḷiḍi by the great assembly which met at night in the temple. Royal order suggesting the action. 183 of 1919.

Year 8.—Tirumalavāṭi (Tri.)—Tirumāḍar-puviyenum. Land left in charge of devakannis for offerings to an image set up by Śirudanap-perundaram Sēnāpati Araiyan Kadakkangonda-sōḷan Rājarāja Anīmuṟi - nāḍālvān the son of an Anuukki of Rājēndra-cōḷa-dēva I. Other gifts. 84 of 1895; SII. v. 644.


Tiruvāṟūr (Tj.)—Tirumāḍu-puviyenum. Land for offerings, for feeding twelve śivayōgins every day in the temple, and for two ear-ornaments to the god. 677 of 1919.

Tiruvāṟūr (Tj.)—Tirumāḍu-puviyenum. Deposit of gold with certain merchants of Tiruvāṟūr for offerings and oil for bath to the god; further gifts of gold for clothes to images and fees to temple songsters and servants. 678 of 1919.

Year 9.—Brahmadeśam (NA.)—The assembly of Karaikkōṭṭu-brahmadeśam alias Parākrama-sōḷa-catm. met in the temple of Pondai-uḍaiyār, and ordered the public sale of land to the temple of Rudraśōḷai-mahādēva on the southern bank of the Veṅkā. 270 of 1915.

Karuvūr (Coi.)—Tirumagaḷ - maruviya. Grant of a village to the Tiruvānīlai temple. Signed by five officers who also appear in an inscription of Vira-rājēndra (SII. iii. 20), one of them being Araiyan Rājarājan alias Virarājēndra Jayamuri-nāḍālvān, perhaps the same as Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍālvār of the Ceylon inscription (Sangili-Kanadarava) of Rājēndra. 59 of 1890; SII. iii. 21.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

Year 9.—Karuvūr (Coi.)—Tirumāqi-maruvīya. Grant of Nelvāyppālīji to the Tiruvānīlai temple. Signed by the same officers as the preceding (SII. iii 21), some prefixing Kulöttunga to their names.

65 of 1890; SII. iii. 22.

"Kuttālam (Tj.)—Tirumādu-puvīyenām (later form). Undertaking by a number of Brahmans of Tiruvalun-
dūr, a brahmadeśa, to feed Śivabrāhmanas during the mid-day service of Śonnāvāraṇīvār with the interest (30 kalam) on 25 kāśu received by them from Venkā-
dan-Āṇavallān, a merchant in the big bazaar (angādi) within the fort of Gangaikoṇḍa-Sōlapuram, who had made this endowment for the prosperity of the king's arms.

102 of 1926.

"Mahābalipuram (Ch.)—Irattapāḍī etc. The nagaratār of Nagaramāllapuram alias Jananāthapuram define limits of tax-free lands held by Śrī Paramesvara-
mahāvarāha-viṣṇugṛhṭaṭaḷvār, make some additions to them and regulate expenses.

54 of 1890; SII. iv. 377.

"Pulallūr (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, as Bhārata-vṛtti for the exposition of the Bhāratam, Rāmāyaṇam and similar Purāṇas in the temple of Tiruvayōddhi, by the assembly of the village.

48 of 1923.

"Tirumalavāḍī (Tri.)—Tirumādar-puvīyenām. Orna-
ments including a [mantrapuspm with nilam and other items, Rājadhīrāja is called the elder brother of the king and a gift of year 3 of Vīrarājendra-dēva (successor) is mentioned.

87 of 1895; SII. v. 647.

Year 10.—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Irattapāḍī etc. Paddy for offer-
ings. Interest 6 nāḷi per kalam per month.

171 of 1902; SII. vii. 798.

* ARE. 1895 paragraph 9, contra the published text (SII. v. 647 II. 52-3).
THE COŁAS

Year 10.—Tereyūr (Mys.)—An introduction with many gaps. Capture of 75 elephants of the Bhadra species including Śatrubbhayankara and Karapattira as well as camels and queens of Āhavamalla.

EC. xii. Mi. 76.

Tiruvallam (N.A.)—Tiru-maruviya. Land and certain rights to a Śivabrāhmaṇa for the worship of Tribhuvanasundara (Śoḷa-kāraḷa-viṭankar), his consort and Pillaiyār set up by the assembly and some regiments of the army named.

214 of 1921.

Tiruvallam (N.A.)—850 kuṭi of land as arcanaḥbhoga to Śoḷa-kāraḷa-viṭankar set up by the assembly. Land sold as devadāna igaiyili to the temple by the sabhā.

215 of 1921.

Year 11.—Kaḷattūr (N.A.)—Tirumādu-puviyenum. Sale of tax-free land to one of the āḻunganattar by sabhā including the samvatsara-vāriyam of Vikramaśingacatm., for the perumbali offerings on Sundays to the Pāṣupatamūrtigaḻ in the temple of Tiruk-kumbisvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēva. Special grant, in lieu of taxes, of 37 kāśu, equal to 10 kaḷaṅjju and 9 maṅjājii of gold of the fineness of Madhurāntakan-māḻai.

157 of 1916.

Tiruppugalūr (Tj.)—Iraṭṭapāḍi etc. Ornaments presented to Śinga-dēva and his two consorts set up in the temple at Pugalūr by Devanpaṭṭagaḻ-Paṇḍāram and her daughter belonging to the Śivapadaśekhara-teriṅja-tirumāṇjanattār-vēḷam.

63 of 1928.†


* 15 kaḷaṅjju 9 maṅjājii and 2 mā, as now read. Codrington, Ceylon Coins p. 85.

† cf. 64 of year 6.
PARAKESARI RAJENDRA II

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:


Kunadara Korale (Ceylon)—Mentions Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāyān. 612 of 1912 †; SII. iv. 1408.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—Tirūṇadu-puviyenum. An order (of the king) of Vēḻakūttan alias Śembiyan Mūvēnda-vēlān to cover with gold plates certain portions of the garbhagṛha and the ardhamanḍapa of the temple. 675 of 1919. ‡

* This name occurs also in 247 of 1909 (n.d.) as an alias Kaḷamūr with part of the introduction of Parak. Rājendra.

† cf. 600 of 1912; MIV. Chh. 56, 58-60

‡ cf. 669 of year 3; 670 of Rājēdhirāja 31.
RÄJAKÉSARI RÄJAMAHÉNDRA-DÉVA

Year 2.—Cidambaram (SA.)—Frag. Mentions Parāntakan 612 of 1930.
Lōka-mahādēviyār.

"Hōsaḥauḍhi (Mys.)—Manunidi-muṟai -vaḷara. Gift of land to Tiruvialūr Paraṋjōṭi alias Agōraśiva of the Tiruvūṟal-maṭha, who was a native of Avikkūr alias JayangoṆḍa-sōḷapuram in Perumbāṇappāḍī. 172 of 1911 ; EÇ. ix. Ht. 33.

"Pulallūr (Ch.)—Tirumangai-vaḷara. Land given as Bhārata-vṛtti by a lady, wife of one of the āḻuṅgaṉam of Madhurāntaka-catm. 50 of 1932.

"Tiruvaṇḍandai (Ch.) 275 of 1910.

"Tiruvallam (NA.)—Tirumagaḻ -viḻanga. Śankaran Gaṇḍarādittan alias Śenāpatigal Rājarājac-cōliya-varaiyar purchased from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam 800 kuḻi of land for 64 good current kāśu equal to 22 kaṇāṆju and 8 maṇījāḍī in gold at 7 maṇījāḍī per kāśu, and presented it to the temple. 5 of 1890 ; SII. iii. 56.

Year 3.—Grāmam (SA.) 741 of 1905.


"Olagapuram (SA.)—Manunidi-muṟai-vaḷara. Sale of land by the nagarattār of Ulōga-mādevipuram for being presented to the temple of Arikulakēsari-Īśvaram to meet the expenses of the shrine of Rājēndra-sōḷaviṭankar in it. 130 of 1919.

"Olagapuram (SA.)—Manunidi-muṟai-vaḷara. Sale of land by the nagarattār of Ulōga-mādevipuram to a certain Śattan for being presented to the temple of Ariṅjingai-Viṅṅagar Vīṟirundāḻvār of iṉvur-tirumēṟ-kōyil for expenses. The sale-deed was drawn up by
RAJAKESARI RAJAMAHENDRA-DEVA

Samantabahu Ācārya, a worshipper of the Sundara-śōjap-perumbaḷḷī of this town. 141 of 1919.

Year 3.—Tiruppāpuliyūr (SA.) — Short introduction says that the king fought with Āhavamalla. *

119 of 1902; SII. vii. 743.

* This confirms his place between Rājendra and Vīrājendra cf. SII. iii. pp. 113 ff. ARE. 1902 paragraph 9.
RĀJAKĒSARI VĪRARĀJĒNDRA *

Year 2 †.—Ālambakkam (Tri.)—Tiruvalar-tiralpyua. Assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. met in the temple of Tiruvilśalūr-Pallijkopāljvār of this village and made a gift of land to Tiruvāliśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva.

718 of 1909.

" Tiruvanṇāmalai (NA.)—Repair of a tank by Tōṇḍai-
mānācchi, daughter of Gangaiyar, to whom the lands irrigated by it were surrendered by former tenants who, being unable to repair the tank, had allowed the lands to lie waste for a long time,

552 of 1902 ; SII. viii. 143.

Tiruvēṅkādu (Tj.)—Tiruvalar - tiralpyua. Taxes in several villages in three nāḍus in the Rājādhirāja-
vala-nāḍu granted for festivals and offerings on Ayilli-
yam days (the king’s asterism) to Tiruvēṅkāduṭāiyār.

113 of 1896 ; SII. v. 976. ‡

" Tiruvarṇgriyār (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇaiyāgavum. Apportionment of 120 kāsū paid as rent by the Śāliya merchants in the Jayasīnga-kula-kālap-perunderu § of Tiruvarṅgriyār for special services in the temple on the day of Āślēṣa, the star of the king’s nativity, as settled by the officer Jayasīnga-kula-kāla-vīḷupparai-
yan, after an enquiry held in the vakkāṇikku-
maṇḍapa in front of the temple.

136 of 1912.

Year 3.—Pūṇjai (Tj.)—80 kāsū by six persons for obtaining the tirukkāvaṇākkuṭal (title-deed ?) which had been lost after the death of their relation, a certain Tiruvēṅkā-
ḍuṭāiyān of Koṇṇadūr.

190 of 1925.

* Rājamahēndra was the immediate predecessor of Vīrarājēndra. ARE. 1910 II 12.

† Read as 22 in ARE. 1910 II 22.

‡ 452 of 1918 (Yr. 2 + 1) is similar.

§ Probably after a surname of the king, the opponent of W. Cēļukya Jayasimba III. Other quarters in the place were: Tiruhrumalarunđarap-perunđeru of the Māṇḍis, and Nēḻpatṭinjaiyirap-perunđeru of sculptors and artisans. ARE. 1913 II 32.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Year 3.—Tiruvāmāttur (SA.) — Viramē-tuṇaiyāgavum. Gold and cows for two lamps by Viccādiran-madhurāntakan alias Sēnapati Virarājēndra Kārāṇa Viḷupparaiyan of Kūlīkudi. 3 of 1922.

Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirunalai (Tri.)—Taxes for a festival by the king while seated on the throne called Abhimānarāman at Tiruvānaikkāval. Among the taxes mentioned is dasabanda. 462 of 1908.

Year 3 + 1. — Karuvūr (Coi.) — Tiruvaḷar-tirāḷ. Grant of a dēvadāna by the king from his palace at Gangai-kōṇḍa-sōlapuram. 58 of 1890; SII. iii. 20.

Year 4.—Maḷūr (Mys.)—Tiruvaḷar-tirāḷpuya up to Gangai-mānagar; only the introduction is preserved. 194 of 1911; EC. ix. Cp. 85.

Punganūr (NA.) 541 of 1906.

Tennēri (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇai (part). 93 sheep for lamp distributed among three persons, 48 with one and 22½ with each of the other two. 198 of 1901; SII. vii. 410.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Viramē-tuṇai up to kaikkkoṇḍu, and then - Svasti Śrī Sakala - bhuvan - āśraya-Śrī - Medini - Vallabha - Mahārājādhirāja - Cōlakulasundara * Pāṇḍya-Kulāntaka Āhamalakkula-kāla Āhamallanaikummaṇḍa † vēṇkkanda (Rājaśēkhara) Rājāśraya (Rājarājēndra) Śrī Vira Cōla ‡ Karikāla-cōla Śrī Virarājēndra-dēva Rājakēsarinvanma-perumān-agigal Kōnērinmaikkoṇḍān. Object of the record is not clear §. Mentions the nagarattār of Tirunāvalūr alias Rājadittapuram. 371 of 1902; SII. iii. 81.

Tiruvōḷiyūr (Ch.) — Tiruvaḷar-tirāḷpuya. Sale of land by residents of Elinulai for presentation as

* Śēkhara in others.
† Aṃmaṇḍi in later records. ‡ cf. Viraśūṭiyom.
§ Land to Tiruttoṇḍīsāvarā. ARE. 1902 App. B.
maḍappuṟam to the Rājendra-śōļan-маļam. The price was paid by Tiruvaramā-gēva-alias Mummudhi-śōļa Brahmārāyaṇ of Vīrānrāyaṇa-catm., a tanīyūr in Rājendrasinga-vaḷa-nāḍu of the śōļa-maṇḍalam. Land was made iginal, the taxes remitted being named.

Year 5.—Accarappākkam (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇai (part). Gift of paddy and taxes (named) to god. 253 of 1901 ; SII. vii. 467.


Ganjaikonda-cōḻapuram (Tri.)—Tiruvalar-tiru followed by Viramē-tuṇai several times. Long but ill-preserved. 82 of 1892 * ; SII. iv. 529.

Kīḻur (SA.)—Viramē-tuṇai up to munnavar viradamuṟittu. 48 sheep for lamp by a Maṇḍūli. 273 of 1902 ; SII. iii. 82.

† Manimangalam (Ch.)—Tiruvalar-tirālpuya. 4450 kuḻi of land to temple as arcanābhōga by Sēnāpati Jayangonda-śōļa Brahmādhīrāja whose father Maṇḍippayanār alias Jayasimha-kulāntaka-piramarāya had purchased the land from the village. 2 of 1892 ; SII. iii. 30.

Tiruvozgiyūr (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇaiyāṉavum. Sale of land to temple by assemblies of Sundara-śōļa-catm. and Vānavaṇa-mādevi-catm., the temple share of produce being 30 kalam per vēli. Another sale of waste land in year 6 by assembly of Śingāvīṣṇu-catm. for Viraraṇḍran-tirumandavanam, founded by Tiruvaraman alias Rājendra-muvēnda-vēḻan of Maṇakkuṇi. 223 of 1912.

* 82-b mentions year 23 of Ayyan who took Purvadēśam, Gangai, and Kaḍāram. SII. iii. p. 195 and n. 11.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Year 5.—Tiruvoor iyur (Ch.)—Viramé-tuṇaiyāgavum. Shrine of Paḻambakka-deva * was built of stone by adhikāri Rājendra Mūvēnda-vālān. 232 of 1912.

Year 5, day 348.—Tirumukkūdal (NA.)—Tiruvāḷar-tirāḻpuya. Royal order assigning the taxes of Vayalaikkāvūr, making it a tax-free dēvadāna, for the requirements of a Viṣṇu temple at Tirumukkūdal in Madhurāntakacatm. Mentions eight officers, the seat Rājendra-sōla-māvali-vāṇarājan in the Sōla-Kēraṉ-tirumāḷigai at Gangaikoṇḍa-sōḷapuram. Details of the equipment of a hospital (ātula-sālai), and a school in the temple are also given. 182 of 1915.

Year 6.—Jambaś (SA.)—Viramē-tuṇaiyāgavum. Gift of land to an accountant (nagarakkāṇakkan) by the temple authorities among whom figures the Mahāvratin Lakulīśvara Paṇḍита. † The beneficiary was to write up the accounts of the temple. 100 of 1906.

Potṭapalli (Mys.)—Titles as in 371 of 1902 (Yr. 4) with variations, most important among them being aṁmaṇdi-venkaṇḍa for mūmaṇḍi. Gift of wet land (nir nilam) 50 kuṭi and dry land (kāṭṭārambam) 1000 kuṭi by an orphan for the merit of his deceased father and his mother who committed sati (tiyilpāṇīṭ). 188 of 1911; EC. X. Ct. 161.

Tiṇḍivanam (SA.)—Viramē-tuṇai (full). Twelve cows for offerings of ghi and curd for hōma and amudu to the Tiruvuṇṇaligai sabhaiyār of the temple. 207 of 1902; SII. iii. 83.

Year 7.—Badur (NA.)—Gold for lamp by two goldsmiths of Vādavūr. 411 of 1922.

Perumbēr (Ch.)—Viramē-tuṇai (alternative form). The Mahāsabha of taniyur Madhurāntaka-catm. give tāṇiyili land, from land described as parappum tāḻvum-ingī-māṇjikkamāgak-kiṭanda nilattil, to Tiruttān-

* ARE. 1913 II 32.
† Same as in 85 of 1889. (Mēḻpāṭi) Yr. 9 of Rājendra I. ARE. 1907 II 39.
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tonpi-mahā-śri-karaṇa Ṭīvaram-uḍaīyar at Nammūr-piḍāgai-peru-Perūr alias Tribhuvana-nallūr.
266 of 1901; SII. iii. 84.

Year 7.—Tirukkalukkunṭam (Ch.)—Viramē-tvṇai as in 266 of 1901. 90 sheep for one lamp; again 270 for three.
175 of 1894; SII. v. 468.

Veṭṭanūr (Pd.)—(Verse). Erection of argha-mañḍapa in the Agastiśvara temple by the Cōḷa subordinate Muḷikonda-nāḍālvān of Śīruvāyi-nilāḍu. 206 of 1914.


The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Elavanāśūr (SA.)—A curious declaration by a sati:
"If she lived after her husband, she should become the slave of her co-wives. Whoever said she ought not to die should incur the sin of prostituting his wife. If she did not die, those who did not bind and throw her into the fire and kill her should incur the sin of prostituting their wives."
156 of 1906; ARE. 1907 II 41.

Kaḍambarṅyiil (Ch)—Tiruvaḷar-tirāṭ (part). Sale of land by ūr. 226 of 1901; SII. viii. 439.

Takkōḷam (NA.)—Tiruvaḷar-tirāḷpuya (with variations) and signatures. 19 of 1897; SII. v. 1382.

Tirupputṭūr (Md.)—Sanskrit part mentions Kollāpura. A part of the Tamil introduction and mention of ayyar (father ?) who took Gangai, Pūrvadhēm and Kaḍāram.
110 of 1908.

* This gives acc. Ś. 986 (1063+ A.D.) contra, Kielhorn A.D. 1062-3. Perhaps cyclic year in this Y.M. record is wrong. Ruled up to 1070-1. ARE. 1904, paragraph 21.

† See under yr. 4 (371 of 1903). The variants noted there are from this record.
RAJAKESARI VIRARAJENDRA

Tiruvorriyur (Ch.)—Reclamation of 60 vēli of waste land in Śingaviśnucatm, by order of the king. It was to be called Virarājendravijāgam, its produce being utilised for services in the temple 'for the health of Cakravartin Virarājendrā-dēva, for the increase of his race; for the prosperity of the tirumangalyam of the queen, and for the health of their children.' Paddy, gold and kāsu were appropriated to various items of expenditure including (a) the pay of two priests and a musician for paḷliyeḻucci; (b) tiruvādirai-tirunāl including recitation of the tiruvembavai and (c) the maintenance of 22 taliyilār who danced and sang, one dancing master, 16 dēvarudiyār who recited the tiruppadiyam in the agamārgha and (d) of four cooks. 128 of 1912; ARE. 1913 II 32.

Yōgi Mallavaram (C.)—Virarājendra-dēva. Taxes from Muṇṇāippūndi, a dēvadāna, made over to the temple of Tiruppalādiśvara of Tiruccukanūr by Nāraṇa-dēva, a local chieftain with Cālukya titles. 266 of 1904.
PARAKŚARI ADHIRĀJENDRA-DĒVA.

Year 2.—Gigangil (SA.)—Said to be copy. Gift of land, by purchase from úr by a certain Śatā Nālāyiravan alias Karikāla-sōla Śengēṇi-nāḍālvān.

227 of 1902; SII. vii. 854.

Tiruvakkarai (SA.)—The vimāna of Varadarāja-perumāḻ (in the Candramaṇaiśvara temple) which had been previously built of bricks by Kocōla, was now reconstructed of stone.

205 of 1904. *

Tiruvilakkudi (Tj.)—Tingālēr-malarndu. Remission of taxes on four mā of land by assembly (name lost) in favour of Tirukkāṟṟaḷi-mahādēva for seven kāśu received from the temple treasury.

123 of 1926.

Year 3.—Kalavai (NA.)—Tingālēr-malarndu. Sale of land by the mahāsahā to the Tirukkāṟṟivara temple at Ulagai-landa-Cōḷa-catm.

228 of 1901; SII. vii. 442.

Kūḍur (SA.)—Tiru-maṇḍandaiyum. Lamp.

256 of 1902; SII. vii. 884.

Kūhur (Tj.)—Tingālēr-malarndu. Land for recitation by a person of Tiruppadiyam twice a day before Māmbaḷam-udaiya-mahādēva for (the recovery of the health of ?) the king.

280 of 1917.

Mūgavūḍi (NA.)

573 of 1906.

Panaiyavaram (SA.)

438 of 1903.

Panaiyavaram (SA.)—Gift of land by purchase to Para-

vai † Íśvaram-udaiya-mahādēva by a native of Mīḷalai-
kūrça in Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nāḍu.

322 of 1917.

Polonnaruva (Cey.)—Tingālēr-malarndu. ‡ Gift of five kāśu for lamp to Vānavan-mādevi-Íśvaram at Jana-
nāthamangalā (old name of Polonnaruva), left in the

* Rightful successor of Vīrājendrā I; in possession of Kāḷci as capital in Yr. 3.—1072-4 (SII. iii. p. 117) Rājendra II, Kulottunga, usurper. ARE. 1904, paragraph 21.

† Paravaipuram, old name of Panaiyavaram. ARE. 1918 II. 32.

‡ Śiva temple Fergusson i. 248. cf. SII. iii. p. 114-8.

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PARAKESARI ADHIRAJENDRA-DEVA

charge of the priests and their descendants, servants, dancing girls and the nāṭṭavar.

594 of 1912; SII. iv. 1388.

Year 3.—Puduppādi (NA.)—Sale of land on the banks of the Pāḷār by the villagers (Puduppādi úr) to the temple as the land had become unfit for cultivation in a flood. 428 of 1905.

Pullagaṇṭivāripalle (Cud.)—Mentions Iraṭṭapādi-konḍa-sōja-manḍalam.

537 of 1906.

Tirukkānūr (Tj.)—Gift of land and house by the assembly (sabha) of Alaiyūr to the Viṣṇu-temple of Maṇavaḷa-āḷvār. Mentions Virarājendra - dēvar-vāykkāl.

165 of 1911.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Fragment.

355 of 1902; SII. vii. 985.

Tiruppāccūr (Ch.)—Tiru-maṇḍandaiyum. Order issued by king from his palace at Gangaikonḍa-sōja-puram remitting some taxes in the village of Śulai in Kākkalur-nāḍu as dēvadāna to the temple at Tiruppāsūr. Officers of Uḍankūṭṭam mentioned. 113 of 1930.

Tiruvōxziyūr (Ch.)—Tingalēr-malarndu. Sale of land to temple by the assembly of Sundara-sōja-catm.

219 of 1912.

Vippangulam (Ch.)—Tingalēr-malarndu. Three officers record dues from dēvadāna villages as obtaining from year 7 plus 1 of emperor Virarājendra.

418 of 1902; SII. viii. 4.

Year 3, day 200.—Tiruvallam (NA.) — Tingalēr - malarndu. Enquiry into and a fresh settlement of temple affairs by two royal officers. Reference is made to an earlier settlement of the eighth year of emperor Virarājendra-dēva.

15 of 1890; SII. iii. 57.

The regnal is missing or uncertain in the following:—

Polonnaruva (Cey.)—Tingalēr-malarndu.

596 of 1912; SII. iv. 1392.
CÖLA-PÄNDYA : JATÄVARMAN SUNDARA.

Year 4.—Mannärköyil.—(Tin.)—Land to Räjendra-solja Viññagar, by sabhā of Räjarāja-catm. for settling temple servants. 107 of 1905.

Year 6.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Incomplete. Mentions Räjarāja-catm. a brahmādeya in Muḷli-nādu of Muḍikopda-sōla-vaḷa-nādu in Räjarāja-Pañdi-nādu. 70 of 1907.


Pārthivasēkkharapuram (Tv.)—(Vatteluttu). Provision for a perpetual lamp and the sumptuous feeding (agraṇ uṇṇavum) of one Brahman every day in the temple of the village. TAS. vi. i. App.

Year 8.—Viraśikhamāṇi (Tin.) — (Vatteluttu) † No Jaṭ. title. Lamp. 40 of 1908.

Year 9.—Sucindram (Tv.)—Lamp. 76 of 1896.

Sucindram (Tv.)—The local commandant (iivēr-pañai-talaiṇav) undertakes to maintain 1½ perpetual lamps with 3/8 measure of ghi daily from 38 cows given by Śankarappūḍiyan Kaḷaiṇi-veṇṭi alias Madhurantakap-pēraiany of Kōṭṭär alias Mummuḍi-sōlanallūr, in the temple of Tiruvëṅgaṭṭāyvar in Sucindram alias Sundaraśōla-catm., a brahmādeya in Nāṇji-nādu. TAS. iv. pp. 134-5.

* Palæogr. later.

† The only other Vatteluttu record of this king is 162 of 1895 (Gangai-kōṇḍa). ARE. 1908 ll 41.
Year 10.—Śērmādēvi (Tin.) — Incomplete. Mentions Śōljendra-singa-Īsvaram-udaiyār. 615 of 1916.

"Vijayanārāyaṇam (Tin.)—The village is called Jayangonḍa-śōla-catm. * in Uttamaśōla-vala-nāḍu. 5 of 1927.

Year 11.—Ādanūr (Tin.)—(Vatṭeluttu). Lamp. 439 of 1909.


"Cōlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—80 Sheep for a lamp in same temple by Uḍaiyār-perundanattu-dēvan-Viccādiran alias Šōla-mārāyan. The sheep were left with one person, for whom another was guarantor. TAS. vi. p. 9.

"Cōlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Sabhā of Śivāḻuvamangalam alias Kērula (?)-kūlāsani-catm., a brahmādēya in Nāṭṭţarupōkkku of Uttamaśōla-vala-nāḍu, sold some of the common land (engalūr viṟṟukkuḷuttu podunilamāvadu) to the dēvakammis of the same temple in Kōṭṭur. Some conditions made regarding payment of taxes. TAS. vii. p. 11-2.

Year 12.—Cōlapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—Incomplete. 45 of 1896.

"Śērmādēvi (Tin.)—The Śivabrahmaṇas of Aganāḷigai received 36 kāsu from Śrikanṭha Dāmodarabhatṭa for a lamp to Kailāsam-udaiyār. Mentions the temple Cōḷendraśinga-Īsvaram. 193 of 1895; SIT. v. 757; 621 of 1916.

Year 13.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Gift for merit of the Nāṇindēśittisai—1,500 of Rājendra-ĉōl-a-maṇḍalam. The temple is called Tiruccālaṅ-tuṟai-āyār. 82 of 1907.

* Not found in Rājarāja’s records from the place. ARE. 1927 II 35.
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Year 13.—Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of land, 14½ nilam (vēli) and 2 mā, including dry and wet lands, to Rājendra-sōla-
viṇṭagar of Rājarāja-cattm., by the Mahāsabhā of the place. The names of sēris in this village, twelve in number, furnish an example of the Cōla practice of renaming places: Rājarāja, Murnuḍi-sōla, Arumoli-
dēva, Nīttavinōda, Cōḷendrasimha, Sundara-sōla, Vāna-
van-mādēvi, Uttama-sōla, Śembīyan-mādēvi, Kundavai,
Pañcavan-mādēvi, Lōka-mādēvi.


Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of land. Long account of land converted to vellān-vagai, a tenure. 110 of 1905.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Sale of land by Mahāsabhā of Nigarili-
sōla-cattm., to the temple of Śri-Kailāsam-uḷaiyār of the village. 612 of 1916.

Tiruvāḷikavaram (Tin.)—Lamps. Temple of Tiruvāllıc-
curam-uḷaiyār was in Rājarāja-cattm, a brahma-
dēya in Muli-nādu. 115 of 1905.

Year 14—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Incomplete. 75 of 1907.

Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sundara C. P.-dēva. Half a lamp and 16 cows by Śērajan-mādēvyār Adīce, queen of the Cēra king Rāsīnga-dēvar to Rājendra-sōla-viṇṭagar-
āyār † at Muḍi-konḍa...in Rājarāja-paṇḍi-nādu. 392 of 1916.

Mannärköyil (Tin.)—Sale of a whole village to same temple, by two bhaṭṭas who were brothers. 106 of 1905.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Half a lamp by a lady. 618 of 1916.

Year 14, day 320.—Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Provision by sabhā for offerings to Uyyakkonḍān (Tiruccenna)dai in the Nigarili-sōla-viṇṭagar temple. 712 of 1916.

* Yr. 15 of this prince = Yr. 24 of his father (ARE. 1905 II 25). Hence acc.
1020-1 A.D. See PK. p. 116.

† Temple built by Rāsīnga himself (112 of 1905).
COLA-PANDYA JATAVARMAN SUNDARA

Year 15.—Śrômâyévi (Tin.)—Land for tirumoykkâppu in the Nigarili-sôla-viññagar-âljâr temple. 700 of 1916.

Year 16.—Ambâsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp to Tiruccâlâit-turai-yudâiya-mahâdêva in Râjârâja-catm. 77 of 1907.

" Mannârkyîl (Tin.) — Land. Mentions the Cêra king Râjârâja-dêva and kusînîngâk-kâranmai. 111 of 1905.

Year 17.—Śrômâyévi (Tin.)—Fifty sheep for a perpetual lamp and a sandîvîlakku to Kailâsâm-ûdaiyâr. 622 of 1916.

" Tiruvûlîsâvaram (Tin.)—ûdaiyâr Śrî Sundara Cöla-Pândya-dêva, * seated in the mançâpa outside his palace at Râjêndra-sôlalapuram, gave, in accordance with the order of his ammân (the Cöla emperor ?), five vâli of land, after purchase, to the temple in Râjârâja-catm. in Mûlî-nâçu in Mudîkoṇḍâ-sôla-vala-nâçu, for festivals, the feeding of Brahmins, and the reading of Śivadharma. The gift included paddy given by the cultivator (velłan) as the landlord’s share, uruvûköl-kâsû and kâksi-erudu-kâsû. 327 of 1916.

Year 17, day 7.—Śrômâyévi (Tin.)—ûdaiyâr Śrî Sundara C. P.-deva. † Remission of taxes with effect from year 16 on lands at Kallûr in Mâl-âmêba-nâçu in Mudîkoṇḍâ-sôla-vala-nâçu in favour of Kailâsâm-ûdaiyâr, by the king seated in the western hall of his palace at Râjêndra-sôlalapuram at the instance of his ammân. Mentions items of money-income: aîrgerudu-kâtei-kâsû, kâtei-erudu-kâsû, and ârkka-laînîju ; and also a number of royal officers. The lands got the new name Śivapâdaâekhara-nallûr. 619 of 1916.

Year 17, day 65.—Tiruvûlîsâvaram (Tin.)—ûdaiyâr Śrî Sundara C. P.-dêva ‡. Begins with the phrase: variyîlîju.

* This prince without any distinguishing epithet was another and a later prince than Jât. Sundara C. P. and was perhaps the successor of Mûr. Vikrama C.P. and a nephew of Râjêdhirâja I. ARE. 1917 II. 3.

† See note above. ‡ See n. ante.
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The king being at dinner in the siddar-kūḍam in his pleasure-garden called Puttan on the north side of Māḍakkulak-klīl-Madurai was seated (?) on the Rājendra-śōla-Atimirkkaccengirai. The order of ammān was received and sanction given for variyiliṭu. (See No. 327 ante.) 332 of 1916.

Year 18.—Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—60 sheep for lamp. The Tiruppōttuḍaiyar and Tiruccālait-turai Śrī-mūlasthāna temples are said to have been in the southern hamlet of Kājarāja-catm. 102 of 1905.

Year 19.—Cēramangalam (Tv.)—A zinc (tarā) lamp-stand to Ten-tiruvanārām-udaiyar of the village by Tiruvorraqe-cēvagan Māyiḷṭī, the younger brother of Śankarapāḍiyān Kaḷāni-veṇṇī * of Mukkarai alias Mummudi-śōlapuram in Purangarambai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Arumoljidēva-vaḻa-nāḍu in the Śōla-maṇḍalam. T.A.S. v. pp. 29-30.

" Cōḷapuram (Nagercoil)—(Tv.) Lamp. 34 of 1896.

" Cōḷapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)—12 ½ cows (paśu) for half a lamp by the woman (peṇ) Tavaśi Nāṟpatteṇṇeyira Maṟali-dēvi of the place (iṩvūr) to Rājendraśōla-lēvram-udaiyār in the interior (uṭṭālai) of Tirukkoṭṭār alias Mummudi-śōla-nallūr. T.A.S. vi. p. 13.

" Śermaṭēvi (Tin.)—Order of puravu-vari-tīṇaik-kaḷat-tār and varip-pottagam-udaiyār that the ten persons who had the kāṇi of the 2 vēli of temple lands at Kallūr, under the name Śivapāḍasēkharā-nallūr, had relinquished them in favour of the temple servants who would thenceforth cultivate them. *Mānavira Parāntaka* appearing in this record was perhaps a surname of the king. 630 of 1916. †

* See under year 9.-Sucindram.

† This record taken along with 619 (Yr. 17, day 7) shows that the viceroy in both must be the same.
Year 20.—Tiruviddāṅkōḍu (Tv.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Gold for lamp. 20 kaḷaṇju, kāśu niṟai kallāl onbadu māṭtu.
TAS. iv. pp. 139-41.

Year 21.—Ānaimalai (Md.)—25 sheep for lamp. Mentions Kīl-Irāṇiyamuttam and Tiruvānaimalai. Sheep left with Nakkan Śeṇbagam of the veṭṭikkudī of Śrī Narasimha-deva.
64 of 1905.

65 of 1905.

Gangaikōṇḍān (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu) Land.
162 of 1895; SII. v. 726.

Tiruvāḷisvaram (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a certain woman (peṇḍāṭṭi), Pattargal-paṇḍāram, of the Ulaguḍaiya-Pirāṭṭiyār-vēḷam. The lamp was in the charge of a commandant (paṇḍait-talaivan).
330 of 1916.

Year 23.—Ādānu (Tin.)—(Vaṭṭeluttu). Damaged.
438 of 1909.

617 of 1916.

Year 30.—Āṭṭuṛ (Tin.)—Lamp by one of the Sundara-śōḷa-Pāṇḍyat-terinda-vāḷa.
395 of 1930.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following:

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp. Mentions aganāṭigai-yōm.
76 of 1907.

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Mentions Mutturrukūram.
80 of 1907.

* Clearly implying that this viceroy was the son of Rājendra I. ARE.
1917 II 3.

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*Ambāsamudram (Tin.)*—Lamp. Mentions Kṣatriyaśikhā-
manipuram and the shrine of Karumāṇikka-dēvar in the
 temple of Tiruc-cūlait-tuṟai. 85 of 1907.

*Cōḻapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)*—Two lamps. 38 of 1896.

*Cōḻapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)*—Sale of land by ūr of
Karumbaḷu alias Aṭṭiya-śōja-nallūr of Nāṉja-nāḷ.
*TAS.* vi. p. 13.

*Cōḻapuram (Nagercoil) (Tv.)*—Sale of land by ūr to
engaḷūr Madilagattu Rājendrasōja-śivaram.
*TAS.* vi. i. App.

*Mannārkōyil (Tin.)*—Mentions the Cōra king Rājasimha.
114 of 1905.

*Śevillipēri (Tin.)*—50 sheep for lamp. 410 of 1906.
CÖLÅ-PÅNDYA : JÅTÅVARMAN UDÅIYAR ŚRĪ CÖLÅ
PÅNDYA-DÉVA.

Year 3.—Śevilippéri (Tin.).—25 sheep to temple of Tentirumāli-
ruñjōlai by a native of Dēvar-veṭṭi-kuḍi near Tirunel-
vēli in Kīl-veṃba-nāḍu, of the Muḍi-kōṇḍā-śölā-vala-
nāḍu in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 408 of 1906.

Sucindram (Tv.)—Fifty sheep for a lamp to Sucindram-
udāiya Paramasvāmagal by Daṇḍanāyagam Śölāmaṇ-
ḍalattu Vahlagarai-Rāṉendra-śinga-valaṇaṭṭu Tiruvāli-
nāṭṭu Marudattūr-udāiyān Vēḷān Śölā-Kēraḷan alias

Year 3, day 380.—Śermādevi (Tin.).—The king from his throne
in the tirumaṇṭana-sālai of the palace at Rāṉendra-
śölājapuram declared tax-free certain dēvadāna lands
at Kallūr, four vēlis (including two vēlis called Śiva-
pādaśēkhara-nallūr), and had them entered in the
register under the orders of his father (nammayar)
the Cōḷa emperor (Virarāṉendra) whose enology com-
mences viramē-tuṇaṭiyāgavum. Temple Kailāsam-
udāiyaṛ said to be on the Muḷīkōṇḍa-śölāppēṟṟu,
Tāmaraparṇi. Many revenue officials sign the
record. 642 of 1916. †

Year 24.—Sucindram (Tv.)—Lamp. 69 of 1896. ‡

Sucindram (Tv.)—Sabhā of Sundara-cōḷa-catm. (Sucin-
dram) sold land for lamp to temple: vilaiṭ-poruḷum

Year 25.—Sucindram (Tv.)—Land. 70 of 1896. §

* Viceroy must be Gangaikōṇḍa appointed by Vīrarāṉendra. TAS. ibid.
† Viceroy was Gangaikōṇḍa-Śölān of Vīrarāṉendra's records. (E.L. xi. 293)
—ARE. 1917 II 3.
§ See last note.
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Record from which the name and regnal year of viceroy have disappeared:—

Śērmādēvi (Tin.)—Fifty cows for two lamps by Ulaguḍaiyāḷ, queen of (Rājēndra I) who took Gangai, Kidāram and Pūrvadēśam. * 623 of 1916.

* Perhaps Vikrama C.P.-dēva. ARE, 1917 II 3.
Cōla-Pāṇḍya: Māravarman uḍaiyār
Śrī Vikrama

Year 20.—Ādanur (Tin.)—(Vatteluttu). Before this is a line in Vatteluttu mentioning year 3 of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya-dēva. 434 of 1909.

Year 21.—Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailāyam-udaiya Mahādēva of Nigarili-sōla-catm. by a Brahman lady of the Kuṇḍīna-gōtra. 194 of 1895; SII. v. 758.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a Brahman lady. 628 of 1916.

Year 22.—Śermādēvi (Tin.)—25 Sheep for a half-lamp to Kailāsam-udaiyār by Kuḷitāngi-Sengōḍi of the Śeramānār-vēḷam. 620 of 1916.

Year 24.—Kanyākumāri (Tv.)—Money. 100 of 1896.

Year 25.—Śermādēvi (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailāsam-udaiyār. 616 of 1916.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—25 cows for lamp by Daṇḍanāyakam Parākrama-nārāyaṇa Brahmadhirājan. 627 of 1916.

Śermādēvi (Tin.)—The Aganālīgai-sivabrāhmaṇar of Śoḻendra-singa-lāvara and Kailāsa temples at Nigarili-sōla-catm., received twelve kāśu from a Brahman lady and agreed to serve in the Rājādhērājac-eurālai of the temple and burn a lamp to Daksiṇāmūrti in the same temple. 640 of 1916.

Tiruvāḷisvaram (Tin.)—13 cows for half a lamp. 328 of 1916.

* Indirect evidence of sway of the C.-P. s over Kērala. ARE, 1917 II 4.
† King identified with Mummuḍi-sōḷaṇ, younger brother of Rājendra-dēva (II) ARE, 1917 II 3.
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Year 29.—Kanyākumārī (Tv.)—The sabhā of Kaḻikkudi met in the mukha-mañḍapa of the Rājarājīśvara temple and resolved to devote 20 kāśu, collected by public subscription (payikṣampukku) at their instance (nām dēśanguḍuttu) by Accan Māṟṟili, a merchant of Kumārī alias Gangaikonda-śölapuram, and intended to be the corpus for meeting expenses for tiruvamidu in the temple, for repairing breaches in the Kōṇāḍar-kūlam, the perumakkaḷ of Rājarājīśvaram undertaking to supply daily two nāḻi of rice for offerings.

TAS. i. pp. 249-50 (R).

* T.A.G. Rao is surprised at the Pāṇḍya titles in this record and seems also to mistake its import.
Cōla-Pāṇḍya: Māravarman Uḍaiyār
Śrī Parākrama

Year 3.—Tiruvāḷisvaram (Tin.).—Twenty-five sheep for half a lamp to Tiruvāllicuram-udaiyār by Rāman Kēni alias Naṉuvirukkai Tanam-śeṭṭi.

329 of 1916.

Year 4.—Śeṃdēvi (Tin.).—Money, 12 kāśu, with Aganāligaiyār by Yōga-dēva and (his wife) Sōma-dēvi of Kaśmiradēśa for a lamp in the temple of Kailāsam-udaiyār at Nigarili-śoḷa-catm., a brahmādēya in Muḷi-ṇāḍu, a sub-division of Uttama-śoḷa-vaḷa-ṇāḍu in 'Rājarāja-pañḍi-ṇāḍu.'

613 of 1916.

Cōla-Pāṇḍya: Jatāvarman Uḍaiyār Vīra *

Year 21.—Pericciṅiyil (Rd.).—Land for offerings during one service every day and for a lamp to Kaṭtrapāla-dēva in the temple of Muṭṭisvaram-udaiyār in Mēn-Marudūr alias Jayangoṇḍa-śoḷanallūr. Mentions Kulāsani Ambalattāṭi also called Rājadhirāja-pūngunra-nāḍāḷvān and his brother Kulāsani Māḷuva-māṇikkaṃ alias Adhirājadhirāja-pūngunra-nāḍāḷvān.

99 of 1924.

* Perhaps Mummuḍi-śoḷan on whom his elder brother Rēṇḍra conferred the Cōla-Pāṇḍya title (SII. iii. p. 62), or Gangaikōṇḍa-śoḷan who received from his father Vīrājaḍra-dēva the Pāṇḍya country and the title. ARE. 1924 II 25.
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Page 30.—n. *—Regarding the omission of Cōla in the Periplus, Krom says: "Is this an omission or had the Cōla temporarily disappeared before the spreading power of the Pāṇḍyas chronicled in Tamil poems? Another Tamil legend connects the Pallavas with the Cōlas, making the first of them the son of a Cōla king and a nāgi. Could the Pallavas for whom, however, a Parthian origin has sometimes been postulated, have taken the place of the Cōjas, as in the centuries after the fall of the Pallavas, the Cōlas again rise into importance in the same territory?" Hindoe-Javaanske Geschiedenis p. 70. See, however, Studies, p. 11.

Page 64.—ll. 1-3.—The camp of Poroaiyan (Poraiyan pāsarai) is mentioned by Poygaiyār in another poem as well, Nārrīṇai 18.

Page 100.—n. *—But see pp. 263-64 infra.

Page 103.—n. *—A.K. Kumaraswami, JAOS. li. p. 181. Also the occurrence of Kanarese words in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, second century A.D. (JRAS. 1904, pp. 399 ff.) may be noted. MAR. 1926, pp. 11 ff. discusses these words and expressions in detail.

Page 104.—n. *—For a discussion of this passage in the Periplus with reference to Indian boat-designs, see Hornell, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vii. pp. 215 ff. He suggests that the Colandia of the first century had close kinship with the two-masted Javanese outrigger ships of the Boro-Budur sculptures. But surely the two-masted ships without outriggers on the Andhra and Kurumbar Coins seem to be nearer the vessels mentioned by the Periplus than Javanese sculptures of the 8th or 9th century A.D.

Page 127.—n. †—It must be noted, however, that Iḍangalī is said to have been the ancestor of Āditya who covered the
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Cidambaram temple with gold from Kongu. Even if this is a reference to Āditya I who conquered Kongu and annexed Toṇḍai-nāḍi to the Cōla kingdom, Idañgaḷi might have been connected with the Cōlas only by giving his daughter in marriage to a Cōla prince. At any rate, we have no evidence that the Cōlas were descended from the Vēḷs in the male line.

Page 137.—n. §—On Mārambāvai and the title Pallavatilaka see also *EI.* xviii. p. 118. The two inscriptions mentioned at the end of the note now published as 301-A and 303 of 1901 (Nos. 523 and 525 of *SIL.* vii.) may not belong to Nṛpatunga’s reign; their beginnings are lost.

Page 153 and n *—It is doubtful if Cāḻukya Bhīma’s territory could have extended up to Śītpuli-nāḍu between Venkaṭagiri and Gūḍūr (Rapur Tq.). It may have been an attempt of Parāntaka to subdue the Telugu Cōḷas. *NT.* R. 47 (p. 1267) l. 34 mentions Cēḻupuli-nāḍu.

Page 186—ll. 9-10.—'The third year of Sundara Cōḷa, about 959 A.D.’ is based on the text of 116 of 1896 in *SIL.* v. But the figure ‘3’ is doubtful in that inscription, and as the general is mentioned in an inscription of Sundara Cōḷa in the seventh year (291 of 1908), Śiriya-vēḷār must have fought and died in Ceylon after that date. K.V.S. Aiyar suggests the ninth year, ç. A.D. 965 (*EI.* xii. p. 124), and this is quite possible.

Page 217.—n. §—Published *EI.* xxi. pp. 29 ff. An incomplete inscription from Tiruccatturai (Tj.), 204 of 1931, mentions victories in Puna-nāḍu and Malai-nāḍu, the defeat of Vāḻudi (Pāṇḍya), the destruction of Viḻiṇam with its strong ramparts, the sowing of cowries in Kaṅkaḍai-mā-nagar, and the defeat of Telungu-Bhīma, and Jananāthan-emberumān Śembiyar Kōṅ. Evidently it is in praise of a chief who took part in these events, but whose name is lost. The inscription seems to be of the time of Rājarāja I; I have examined the impression and am unable to accept the twelfth century date suggested in *ARE.* 1931, II 30.
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Page 220.—n. 1 — “The Sultan takes the official title of king of the thirteen provinces and of the 12,000 islands. According to Owen this is scarcely a third or a fourth of the actual number, although, apart from mere reefs, a few hundred only appear on the most carefully prepared charts. Ptolemy reckoned as many as 1,378, but not more than 175 are inhabited.” *The Universal Geography* by Elisee Reclus, ed. A.H. Keane, Vol. viii. *India and Indo-China*, p. 384.

Page 221.—ll. 14-5.—Another inscription of the thirty-first year of Rājarāja comes from Brahmadēsam (NA.), 252 of 1915.

Page 224.—l. 8.—Attention is drawn to the flight of Buddhist monks from Magadha to the South mentioned by Tārānātha (Schieffner p. 255), and the foundation of the monastery at Negapatam by a king of Sumatra may be explained, it is said, ‘as the continuation of the relations between Magadha and the Archipelago.’ *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde* Deel 90 (1933) pp. 19-20. But there are insuperable chronological difficulties in the way of accepting this; the Muhammadan invasion which dispersed the monks of Magadha did not occur before the twelfth century.

Page 260.—n *—It is perhaps worth noting that Ferrand (*Relations* ii. p. 646 n. 11; *JA.* 11 : 14 pp. 173, 176 n. 1) has made a serious mistake in supposing that Hultsch locates Malayur in the North Arcot District (*EI.* ix. p. 231). Hultsch’s remark about Mulliyur relates to the donative part of the Tirumalai record, not the *praśasti* narrating the campaign.

Pages 259-265.—Rouffaer proposes a different scheme of identifications for the places mentioned in the Tanjore inscription in an important contribution in *Bijdragen*, Deel 77 (1921). I translate below the passage summing up his conclusions:

We find the 13 states in Rājendra’s Tanjore manifesto summed up in this soundly rhetorical and partly geographical order:
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[1 = 14 see end] 1. Kedah (Kaḍāram) the pre-eminent-ly strong, particularly on land (by its elephants);

[2-4 on Sumatra] 2. Palembang (Śri Vijayam), the rich emporium ; 3. Pane ; Panai (Panṇai) the rivertown ; 4. Djambi (Malaiyūr), the ancient ;

[5-8 on the Malay Peninsula :] 5. Hasin, Ma Hasin (Māyiruḍingam), the sea-town ; 6 Wurawārī = Gangā- yu = Langkāśuka (I-Langāśokam), the unconquerable ; 7. Pahang, or rather Penang (Mā-pappālam), the water state (defended by an abundance of deep waters) ; 8. either Dinding or Braus, in Perak (Mūvilimban-gam), encircled by a wall (defended by beautiful walls), or probably also the equally ancient Kelang in Selangor ;

[9 on Campa's south coast] 9. Phanrang, Pāṇḍuranga? (Valaippandūru wherein, according to a kind commu-nication of Prof. Van Ronkel, Tamil valai means 'fortress') in parts still wild (possessing at once cultivated lands (?) and waste-land);

[10-11 ; back on the north of the Malay Peninsular] 10. Ptolemy's Takōla=Takkōla of the Milindapaṇha (i.e., Menander dialogues c. 400 A.D.)=Takuā Pā of to-day (Gerini-1909), Mal. Takōpa, on the W. coast, 8º 25' N.L. (Talaitakkkōlam, in which Tamil talai means chief, original, Coedes) ; 11. Tāmbra-linga. (Linga of Copper)=either Chaiyya or Bandon or—and in my opinion the most likely—Ligor, (Lakon, Nagor, Nakor, all meaning Nagara; against which Ligor can just be a corruption of an older ' Linga '; the Lo-yue of Kia-Tan's sea-itinerary of c. 800 A.D.), thus all three on the E. coast resp. 9º 20' 9º 5' and 8º 22' N.L. (Mā-Damālingam, Coedes pp. 15-18 and 32-3 ; where he first publishes a Buddhist inscription from Jaiya = Chaiya, dated 4332 Kali = 1230 A.D., given by Śri Dharmarāja, prince of Tāmbralinga).

* Coedes (p. 5. n. 1) remarks that some of the ornate epithets which in Hultzsch's translation of the inscription in 1891 all become related to Kaḍāram may probably relate to Śri Vijayam.
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The first, Ptolemy's emporium Takōla thus from c. 150 A.D., is described in this Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D., as 'praised by great men versed in the sciences'; which, via the Milindapañha of the 5th century A.D. and the Bactrian prince Menander alias Milinda (c. 155 B.C.) praised therein, was known not simply in India itself but in the land of the Yavanas = Greeks.

The second, I think, is no other than Ligor = Lo Yue (c. 800 A.D.) = Linga, say: 'Śiva's town'; later become Buddhist, and 'the city' (Nagara) or capital of Buddha, Dharma-nagarī (Nāgarakretāgama of 1365 A.D., 15 : 1) alias Nagara Śrī Dharma-rāja (924 A.D.; Gerini p. 107), thus in the manner of the older Śrī Vijāya = Palembang, and the much later (15th century?) 'Siak Śrī Indrapura' = Siyak in 1365 A.D.; all sign-boards of political power like Great Berlin, or Great Netherlands or Great(er) Britain; — here in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. described as 'intrepid in great and terrible combats'.

[12-13, to the S.W. and W.S.W. of Takkola-Ligor]
12. Great Atjeh, Lamoeri (I-Lāmuridesam), 'of which the terrible force (Atjeh wars 1872-1905 !) was conquered by a violent attack'; and 13. the Nicobars (Mā-Nakka-vāram), these islands of naked idyllic wilds described as: 'of which the gardens of flowers resemble the zone of the nymph of the southern region'

and—1, Rājendra Cōla king by the grace of gods (since 1012 A.D.), repeat:

[14 = 1; Alpha and Omega] Keđha (Kajāram) the mighty (on land), protected by the sea.
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