Kōil Olugu

The Chronicle of the Srirangam Temple with Historical Notes

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PREFACE

I prepared an English translation of the Koil Olugu and appended it to my thesis entitled 'A History of Trichinopoly and Srirangam' for the Ph. D. degree of the University of Madras, which was awarded to me in 1948. Since the Koil Olugu is a work complete in itself and since it is a unique example of indigenous temple records and of Olugu type of literature I was anxious to publish the translation with critical notes, most of which had been included in the body of my thesis, wherever I had to advert to the Olugu. An English edition, I also thought, would place in the hands of researchers, particularly those dealing with our temples, an original work, which had so far been known only to a few Tamil knowing Vaisnavas through a limited number of old and rare copies of the Olugu, printed in 1909. They were not reprinted. They were also incomplete and defective in many respects. Even while doing research (1943-45) I compared these with the cadjan manuscript of the Koil Olugu in the Srirangam temple library and was able to rectify their defects in text and sequence. But the cadjan itself was not complete as the last few leaves were missing, though it went farther than the printed works. Fortunately a paper manuscript of the final portions of the Olugu was supplied to me by Sri S. Parthasarathy Aiyangar of Srirangam and thus I was able to get the entire chronicle.

The Koil Olugu is an important source book for a history of the Srirangam temple; and as I have already done a good deal of work on the subject for my Ph. D. thesis I hope to publish, in the near future, a work dealing with the history and architecture of the Srirangam temple.
The authorities of the Madras University granted me permission to publish my thesis and the Vice-Chancellor of Sri Venkateswara University was pleased to permit me to publish this book. My thanks are due to both. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Sri R. Krishnasamy of Rochouse, Madras, for having undertaken to print my manuscript in a spirit of generosity, irrespective of cost, and particularly for having adopted diacritical marks throughout, without which the work would have suffered in value.

I thank Dr. M. Rama Rao, Professor of History, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, for having responded to my request and given his instructive Foreword to this book.

1st August 1961
Tirupati

V. N. HARI RAO
FOREWORD

This little book will be of great interest to all students of history and particularly to those interested in the history of temples.

Most temples in South India contain numerous inscriptions recording the various benefactions made to the temples and the transactions of the temple authorities, the strength and categories of the temple servants and the method and manner of conducting the daily worship and occasional festivals. But inscriptions alone do not help us in tracing the fortunes of the temples. Other sources like literary works and traditional accounts have also to be utilised for this purpose.

Quite a large number of traditional accounts of individuals, royal families, places of religious importance etc., are available for a serious and painstaking student of history. These accounts, no doubt, contain a large proportion of myths and fables but it is easy to separate the chaff and the residuary facts are very helpful for the building up of correct history. Very often these facts are corroborated by other sources but at times constitute the exclusive source of information. The extracts included in the Further Sources of Vijayanagara history are an appropriate example.

Among traditional accounts of temples now available, three are important—the Mādalāpaṇji, the Koil-Oḻugu and the Tirumalai-Oḻugu. It is too much to expect the sobriety, objectivity and critical approach of the historian on the part of the compilers of these chronicles. Nor is it proper to dismiss these chronicles as totally untrustworthy. It is necessary to look at various historical events, situations and personalities through the eyes of the chroniclers and understand their viewpoint which was essentially religious and institu-
tional. This helps us to study the relevant and reliable facts against their proper background. These chronicles reflect the hopes and fears, appreciations and denunciations and the joys and sorrows of numerous compilers as inspired by the temporal, personal and circumstantial factors.

It is a matter for gratification that Dr. Hari Rao has devoted scholarly attention to this important chronicle of the famous temple of Srirangam. He has added very useful and critical notes wherever needed and appraised in a praiseworthy manner the authenticity and dependability of the statements contained in the chronicle. He had to cover almost the entire range of South Indian History for purposes of his notes and comments and has shown a commendable knowledge of the main events and personalities of the times. The notes are of great help in forming a correct estimate of the value and utility of this chronicle as a piece of historical source material.

I congratulate Dr. Hari Rao for bringing out this useful publication and commend it to all earnest students of Indian History.

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Sri Venkateswara University
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1st August, 1961.
INTRODUCTION

The Koil Oluugu is a chronicle of the famous Vaishnava temple at Srirangam. Its main purpose is to record the series of benefactions that Hindu princes and chieftains of different ages have made to the temple. The chronological sequence adopted is not perfect, but some kind of continuity is sought to be maintained by detailed references to the connections of the successive Vaishnava Acaryas with the Srirangam temple. The connections of these Acaryas, who occupied the Vaishnava pontifical seat at Srirangam, with the rulers of the land also find mention. Thus the Koil Oluugu, in tracing an account of the property received by the temple, refers also to its religious and other affairs.

'Oluugu' means a record or a register and 'Koïl' in Vaishnava parlance denotes the Srirangam temple. In the sense of a village register the word 'Oluugu' is used in an inscription of the first half of the 13th century coming from the Kshirapurisvara temple at Tiruvaippadi in the Tanjore district. Some pieces of land were admitted to the benefits of the tax-free land of the village (urkil-iraiyili) and the necessary alterations were ordered to be made in the Oluugu.1 Genealogical accounts have been called 'Oluugus', e.g. the Annan Tirumaligai Oluugu, being an account of the Kandadaiyars of Srirangam. There is also the Tirumalai Oluugu, dealing largely with the activities of Ramanuja in Tirupati, interspersed with puranic allusions. (But it is said to be of very recent origin.)*

The Annan Tirumaligai Oluugu² refers to a 'Palakalavan Oluugu' of the Srirangam temple, which may be interpreted as a record of miscellaneous items; and it is

1. SII. XII No. 233. 2. Cat. Rais. III P. 394.

quite likely that what has come to be known as the Koil Olugu is the same as this Palakalavan Olugu. It was a register maintained by the accountant of the store house of the Srírangam temple of the events and happenings, recorded then and there in his own handwriting, in the presence of four persons. This was kept sealed and was referred to whenever there was any dispute over the customary procedure of, say, the temple ritual or honours. Thus it was a kind of diary kept up by the successive generations of temple accountants. The Olugu itself states that is was written by the Pūrvācāryās, i.e. the Ācāryas of the past. Hence a categorical statement that the Koil Olugu was a late composition of about the 18th century cannot be taken as altogether justified. It is not improbable that an original and early cadjan existed in the Srírangam temple before the latter suffered during the Orissan and Muhammadan invasions of the medieval period. From the fact that Udayavar (Rāmānuja) receives the most exhaustive treatment it may be hazarded that the Olugu was commenced after his death. The comparatively scrappy treatment of the earlier period strengthens this view.

A perusal of the Koil Olugu shows that the sequence of events adopted is jumbled e.g., the period of the Ācāryas is dealt with after the first Muslim attack on Srírangam. Certain events or names are repeated in a different context; this was perhaps because an accountant recorded certain past events in the diary without enquiring whether the same was recorded or not by a predecessor of his. The jumbled sequence might have been due to the constant resuscitations of the original and the imperfections and shortcomings of the scribes. It is also possible that a scribe while making a copy made his own interpolations. The description of

1. E I. XXIV P. 91.
Ramānuja's reorganization of the temple services bears definite internal evidence to show that some passages were added later. The Oḷugu maintains a fairly correct sequence of events while dealing with the Vijayanagar period and after.

The compilers of the Kōil Oḷugu, it is clear, have depended mainly upon the numerous inscriptions on the walls and pillars of the Srīrangam temple for their material. Some inscriptions are quoted and some are said to have been irretrievably lost. For the religious and other affairs of the temple they have drawn their inspiration from local tradition and the Vaishnava hagiologies.

At first glance one is apt to suspect that the Kōil Oḷugu is only the Guruparamparai adapted to the Srīrangam temple. But actually it is not the case. In an attempt to record the historical events that happened in Srīrangam, the Oḷugu had jotted down notices of both the religious and secular events; and since Srīrangam was an important centre of the Vaishnava movement, especially during the days of the Ācāryas, there is much common ground between the Guruparamparai and the Kōil Oḷugu, say while traversing the period of Ramānuja. But the Oḷugu mentions details of a number of political events not known to the Guruparamparai (which, after all, stops with Nampiḷḷai); and in some instances like the question of the contemporaneity of Tirumangai Āḻvār with Madurakavi Āḻvār it breaks its connection with the hagiology, even while recording a professedly well known tradition and appears to be quite independent of it. It gives more details than the Paramparai of events that are closely connected with the Srīrangam temple, like the building activities of Tirumangai Āḻvār and the organization of the Vaishnava 'darsana' by Nathamuni. Finally, when we pass on to the later stages the Oḷugu is unique in its narration, though some errors in chronology and sequence have crept in. Thus from the
beginning to the end the Oḷugu strictly remains a temple record and on no account can it be compared with a conventional hagiology.

The language of the Oḷugu is supposed to be the familiar ‘mañipravāla’ style of the Vaiṣṇava hagiologies. But there is not that literary excellence of this style displayed in, say, a work like the Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai of Pinnalagiya Perumāḷ Jiyyar. There is a large admixture, besides, of the jargon of the Vaiṣṇava temple, a part of it being peculiar to Srirangam, which makes the Oḷugu, particularly that portion, which describes Rāmānuja’s organization of the temple services, i.e., the ‘Uḍayavar tīṭṭam,’ somewhat unintelligible. Many of the sentences are unmanageably long and deal with a variety of details. Sometimes these are badly constructed and the punctuation marks are few and far between; and sometimes they are left incomplete. All these go to render the meaning of the text obscure. Considerable plodding and disjunction of the words, phrases and clauses of the omnibus sentences was found necessary to understand the meaning of the Oḷugu and render it into English.

With its many imperfections in sequence, chronology and language the Koīl Oḷugu is still a valuable source-book for a history of the Srirangam temple. Mr. R. Sewell made a correct guess of the worth of this chronicle when he said “The priests of the (Srirangam) temple have in their possession a document which ought to be of real value, the mahātmyas of temples being almost invariably an absurd jumble of mythological fables. This is a chronicle called the ‘varagu’ which is said to give a list of all the priests of the temple, with details of temple management from the earliest times”.

1. Lists of Antiquities I P. 268.
INTRODUCTION

The Koil Oḷugu opens by briefly adverting to the Śrīranga Mahātmya; it says how the Śrīranga vimāna was given to Vibhiśana by Rāma, and how it established itself on the banks of the holy tank of Candrapuṣkaraṇī in Śrīrangam, while being removed by the former to Lanka from Ayoddhi. Dharmavarma, a mythical Chola king and contemporary of Dasaratha and Rāma, raised various walls and towers around the sanctum. These structures, however, were buried in sand as a result of a huge flood in the adjacent Kāvēri river. The entire region of the temple was covered over with forests. After a considerable lapse of time one Kiḻi or Kīḻi Chola dreamed of the buried shrine, destroyed the forest, removed the sand, and unearthed the shrine. Once again the various shrines, walls and towers were constructed, and these structures have survived to us. Thus according to the Koil Oḷugu the resuscitation of the Śrīrangam temple was effected by one of the early Chola kings of the Sangam age, who ruled from Uraiyūr, near Śrīrangam.

After dealing with the origin this way the Oḷugu next passes to the age of the Āḻvārs. Among them Tirumangai Āḻvār is the most important. He constructed the various buildings of the fourth prakāra, known after him as ‘Ālināḍan tiruvīdi’, and made arrangements for the recitation of the Tiruvāimoḷi. Madurakavi Āḻvār is stated to be his contemporary. The connections of Periyāḻvār and Āṇḍal with the Śrīrangam temple are dealt with in a different context. The next important sections deal with the magnificent benefactions of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya I to the Śrīrangam temple. This narration closely follows Sundara Pandya’s long Sanskrit inscription at Śrīrangam. The Oḷugu is quite aware of the Hoysala rule established at Kaṇḍanaūr, near Śrīrangam, in the first half of the 13th century. Among the list of benefactors figure the Hoysala.
kings Narasimha and Rāmanātha and Hoysala chieftains like Cingaṇa Daṇḍanāyakka, Kambaya Daṇḍanāyakka and Kariyamāṇikka Daṇḍanāyakka.

After dealing with a number of minor benefactors, among whom figure a few unidentifiable Chola names, the Oḷugu proceeds to deal with the Muhammadan invasions of 1311 and 1323 A.D. at some length. The second invasion is given a separate treatment in a different context. There is some confusion in the Oḷugu’s treatment of the two invasions and details of the one are mixed with those of the other. As a result of the invasion of 1311 A.D. the image was removed from the temple, and after considerable wandering was safely deposited in a forest glen at the foot of the Tirupati hills. In Srīrangam a fresh image was installed and worship carried on as usual. As a result of the second invasion this image was removed from the temple and finally housed in the shrine of Sri Venkatesa on the Tirupati hills. Both these images - the original as well as the substitute - were perhaps removed from Tirupati to Srīrangam by the early Vijayanagar chieftains.

Between the accounts of the first and the second Muhammadan invasions the Oḷugu interposes a recital of the connections of the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas with Srīrangam. Nāṭhamuni’s activities in the direction of a codification of the temple rules and ritual as also a sytematisation of the Prabanda recitations are dealt with in great detail. After briefly dealing with Uyyakoṇḍār, Maṇakkāl Nambi and Āḷāvandār the Oḷugu takes up Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja’s connections with Srīrangam are given an exhaustive treatment. The most instructive portion is that which treats with his reforms in the temple, the foremost of them being a thorough reorganization of the various groups of temple servants. The administration of the temple was improved and purified in many a respect. A five-fold division of the temple servants was
expanded into a tenfold division and the duties of each
group were specified. A lengthy account follows in which
these duties are described elaborately and to the minutest
detail in the peculiar temple jargon. To a person intimately
connected with the temple ritual and custom this is undoub-
tedly the most interesting part of the entire chronicle.

The following are the chief acts of reform and reorga-
nization of the Srirangam temple associated with Udayavar
(Rāmānuja): (1) the appointment of Akaḷaṅga Nattāḷvān
(perhaps a Chola feudatory), who became his disciple, to
inquire into the income from the temple lands, (2) the reno-
vation of the Dhanvantri shrine, which had gone out of use,
and the appointment of his disciple Garuḍavāhana Pandita
for its management, (3) removal of all the Vaikhānasa
priests from the temple and the establishment, on firm lines,
of the system of worship described in the Pāramēśvara sam-
hita of the Pāncarātra āgama, (4) inquiry into the state of
accounts and the exercise of authority under the seals of
Garuḍa, the Discus and the Conch, (5) a complete reorga-
nization of the temple servants and services by which a five-
fold group was expanded into a tenfold one and laying
down the duties of each to the minutest detail, (6) reform
in the procedure of the conduct of the annual adyayanōt-
sava and the installation of Nammāḷvar in the temple,
(7) installation of the images of the Āḷvars, Āṇḍāḷ and Nātham-
muni, and (8) the institution of a huge castleshed in Śoḷa-
ganallūr for the supply of milk to the temple and the instal-
lution of the image of Krishna therein as also a small gōśāla
in the immediate vicinity of the temple.

Accounts of Bhaṭṭar and Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar, the first
of the line of the Sriranganārāyaṇa Jiyars of Srirangam,
and their services to the Srirangam temple follow the account
of Rāmānuja. Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar is said to have installed
a number of minor deities in the different prākāras of the temple.

The second Muhammadan invasion and occupation of Kaṇṭanūr and Srīrangam and the restoration of the Srīrangam temple that was effected by the early Vijayanagar chieftains in the latter half of the 14th century are next dealt with. The benefactions of Gopāṇa Udāyār and others are detailed. From this stage the Olugu details the activities of the Uttamanambis, who, as wardens of the Srīrangam temple, rose to prominence and maintained a close connection with the Vijayanagar court. Vaṭīyaḍimai-nilaiyitṭa Uttamanambi and his brother Cakrarāya appear to be the most important of this family of wardens. The benefactions of many of the kings, princes and chieftains of the Vijayanagar dynasties to the Srīrangam temple are next dealt with. A section is devoted to Maṇavāla Mahāmuni or Periya Jiyar, and his stay and activities in Srīrangam. Many damages suffered by the temple as a result of the Muhammadan invasion and occupation (‘tulukka vāṇam’) were repaired by successive benefactors. The next important sections deal with the connections of the Nāyaks of Madura with the Srīrangam temple. The Nāyaks ruled largely from Trichinopoly and adopted the Vādhuladēsikas of Srīrangam as their religious preceptors. Under their guidance they made a series of donations to the temple.

After the Nāyaks the kingdom passed under the control of the Nawabs of Arcot. Their quarrels with the Mahrattas and the Nizam of the Deccan are briefly referred to in the Olugu. In the Carnatic wars the Srīrangam temple was converted into a fortress by the contending parties. In A.D. 1801, the Carnatic passed under the control of the English East India Company, and a collector by name John Wallace was sent to take charge of the Trichinopoly district in August of that year. The Kōil Olugu ends with the section dealing
with the decision of John Wallace that the temple was Ten-
kalai and not Vaḍakalai. The last sentences are significant, viz., "This is the account of affairs up to the month of Aippasi of S. 1725, Rutṭōtkāri. Vēlappa Mudaliar brought to the notice of Wallace all the Oḷugus in the town and at the desire of the latter had the Oḷugus rewritten along with the events upto the days of Wallace and placed a copy of the same bearing the seal of the five (stalattārs), in the 'terku kallarai' (southern store room) of the temple."

The Oḷugu was briefly noticed by Hultsch and Venkayya in Vol. VI of the Epigraphia Indica (P. 322); and a critical examination of the printed portion was attempted by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar in Vol. XL of the Indian Antiquary (Pp. 131-144). There are two extant editions of the Koil-Oḷugu (the Umapati Guruprakasam Press edition and the Ananda Press edition, both published in 1909). The two seem to have relied on different texts and so they differ in many respects. The latter describes the temple kainkaryas at length while the former omits them altogether; and there is much discrepancy in the sequence of events. Both end abruptly. Happily a cadjan manuscript of the Oḷugu, belonging to the Srīrangam temple, and a paper manuscript of its final portions were available in Srīrangam, and it was possible not only to compare the printed editions with the manuscript but also to get the whole of the Oḷugu tracing the events at Srīrangam right upto 1803. The Ananda Press edition largely follows the temple manuscript. Many errors in the former both of text and sequence, particularly in the description of the kainkaryas, were rectified with reference to the latter.
ABBREVIATIONS

ARE. Annual Report on Epigraphy (formerly of the Govt. of Madras).


EC. Epigraphia Carnataca.

EI. Epigraphia Indica.

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

SII. South Indian Inscriptions.
KÖIL – OLUGU

"The street full of storied houses, the street of the prosperous Trivikrama, 
The street of the Pandya Akaḷanga, skilled in dance, 
the street where Alinādan dwells, 
The street of Kulasekhara of Madura, the street of Rajamahendra of noble descent, and 
The street of the rare Dharmavarma—these are the seven prakaras that surround the God at Arangam of the South."

Thus have the ancients sung in joy of the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam and below are given the details of the sacred services they have rendered to the temple.

Brahma of yore obtained the vimāna of the Srirangam temple and worshipped it in Satyaloka for many years. Ikshvāku came into possession of it and after worshipping it in Ayodhyā, for a long time, passed it on to his descendents, until in the end, Rāmā, out of his munificence, gave it to Vibhīshana, who, bearing it on his head, deposited it on the

1. This anonymous stanza enumerates the names of the seven prākāras, beginning with the outermost and passing on to the interior, calling them each in turn after its builder, excepting the last prākāra,—the Chitra street, which is simply termed ‘the street full of storied houses.’ Akaḷangaṇ is an epithet attached to Vikrama Chola. He is wrongly called a Pandya, here. 2. The turret over the sanctum of a temple. Here, however, it refers to the sanctum with the image and turret above.
banks of the Chandrapuṣkaraṇī, between the two Kāvēri rivers. Later on Dharmavarma obtained it. ¹.

THE BENEFACIONS OF DHARMAVARMA

These include the construction of the gateway, the sanctum, the amudu mandapa, ² the tiruvunṇāḷi, ³ the wall of the sanctum, the procession path, many mandapas like the Aḻagiyamanavāḷan ⁴ tirumandapa, various walls and towers, the shrine of Sēnai Mudaliar ⁵ and its vimāṇa, the installation of Tirukkōpuruttu Nainār ⁶ over the northern gateway of the second wall to the north-west of that shrine, and the building of the ‘Audience Chamber’ on the banks of the Chandrapuṣkaraṇī.

¹. The summary manner in which the legendary origin of the Srīranga vimāṇa is dealt with by the Olugu is an example of its terse narration. The elaborate version of the Srīranga Mahātmya is found in the Garuḍa Purāṇa, and is known as the satādyāyi (108 chapters). The more condensed version, the dasādyāyi (10 chapters) is found in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. References to it are also to be found in the Pādma and the Matsya Puranas and also in the Vālmiki Rāmāyana. The gist of the Māhatmya is that the image of Śrī Ranganatha of Srīrangam is one of the eight svayamvyakta idols, that it was gifted by Rāma to Vībhishana, when the former performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice at Ayodhya, and that the sanctum with the image got itself fixed to the ground at Srīrangam, where Vībhishana halted for rest while on his way back to Lanka bearing it on his head. ². The place where ‘amudu’ or the rice-offering is deposited, also known as ‘amudu-pārai.’ ³. This is the narrow prakāra immediately surrounding the sanctum. ⁴. The name of the procession image of the Srīrangam temple. ⁵. Viṣvaksēna, the divine controller of Viṣṇu’s households. ⁶. The guardian deity of the tower over the gateway.
THE BENEFACIONS OF KIL'1 CHÔLA

After a considerable lapse of time, the Kāvēri buried the shrine, up to its pinnacle in sand, and the temple came to be hidden amidst dense forests. At this period it came to pass that, when a Chola, in the line of Dharmavarma, was resting beneath a tree in this wood, a parrot from that tree recited the following slokas:

‘Kāvēri Vraja sāyam Vaikuntam Rangamandiram
Sa Vāsudāvo Rangāsa pratyaksham Paramam padam
Vimānam pranavākāram Vēdasrunga mahādbudam
Srīrangasāyi bhaghavan pranavārtha prakāsakaha.’

(‘The river Kāvēri is the same as the river Vraja in Vaikunta, the Srīrangam temple is Vaikunta itself, the Lord of Arangam is none but Vāsudēva. God’s eternal abode is here, perceptibly.

The vimānā is in the form of the Praṇava (OM), its four towers are marvellously like the four Vēdas and Srī Rangasāyi is expounding the import of the Praṇava.’)

The Chola was surprised on hearing these repeated several times and he was struck with wonder at the parrot reciting lines from the puranas. His inquiries leading to no positive result, the king decided to construct anew the Srīranga vimānā and began laying foundations towards the west of that tree, in Tirumuḍikkuṇai. When the structure rose to a small height God appeared to him in his dream and pointed out His abode under a certain tree. The king was immensely pleased on finding the vimānā in the place revealed. Then, he cleared the forest, removed the sand, constructed all the essential parts of the temple, including the sanctuary, the vimānā, the various streets, the old prākāras and the banks of the southern and the northern rivers, laid out many flower gardens, instituted the temple
services and forms of worship and made the shrine renowned as Tiruvarangam Tiruppati.*

THE BENEFACIONS OF RĀJAMAḤĒNDRA CHŪLA

After this, Rajamahēndra, on finding that, annually, floods in the Kaveri gave rise to springs inside the sanctum stopped the percolation (by relaying the pavement). He laid the flooring of the abode of Tiruvanandaḻvān (Ādiśeṣa), which he raised above the level of the pavement of the shrines of Nārāyana, Nabinālīna, Nāgasayana, and Nārasimha, who surround the sanctum, fixed the pillars and built the walls of the second enclosure, the tower of the southern gateway and the gateway in the north. Excepting the shrines of Sēnai Mudailiar and Tirukkopura Nainār, which were the works of Dharmavarma, the rest of the gopurās and floorings were those of Rājamahēndra. The Rājamahēndran street is called after him.†

* By interposing a flood and a sandstorm the chronicler passes from the age of Rāma and the mythical Dharmavarma to the age of the Cholas. The name Kiḷḷi Chola is familiar to many odes in the Sangam works. Arangam is referred to in an ode of the Ṭhānanuru (No. 137) and in the Śilappadikaram (Canto XI, ll. 35-40).

† Rajamahēndra Chola was the son of Rājēndra II and grandson of Rājēndra I. His inscriptions and the Kaḷingattupparani show that he was carrying on the administration of the country when his father and uncle (Rajadhiraja I) were engaged in distant wars with the Chalukyas of Kalyani. He predeceased his father and hence could not rule as king. His inscriptions range over the period 1060-63 A.D. The Vikramasōlan Ula of Ottakkuttan says that Rājmahēndra made for the god at Śrīrangam a serpent couch set with several diamonds.
THE BENEFACTIONS OF NANDA CHŌLA

Nanda Chōla, who was a descendent of Dharmavarma, ruling from Niṟṟulāpuri (Uraiyūr) remained childless for a long time. He fervently worshipped Sri Ranganāyaka and prayed for a child. As an effect of his penance, one day, he found a female child on a lotus, in a lotus pond. The king, with great pleasure, took the baby home and gave her the name of Kamalavalli. In course of time the child grew to be a fair maiden. One day, when she was resting on a flower bed in her sporting garden along with her maids and playmates Śrī Rangarāja, who was riding to Palāśa Tīrtham¹ for hunting, passed by, and appeared in great beauty, in His Vibhava manifestation.² Kamalavalli, on seeing Him, was lost in intense love for Him and she was brought back to herself by her friends after great efforts of heartening and encouragement. In her street she behaved as if she were mad but her father knew it was love-sickness. On his inquiring who her lover was she revealed that he was none but Śrī Rangarāja and requested that she be married to Him. The king was much pleased and after consulting his ministers, celebrated the marriage of his daughter, Kamalavalli, with Śrī Rangarāja, with much grandeur. When the bride was sent to Srirangam, the king sent along with her, as dowry, 360 kalams of golden rice, with its concomitant dal, vegetable and other curry stuffs along with plates and containers, made of gold and also a hundred servant maids. On entering the sanctum of the temple, Kamalavalli disappeared (and became one with God). The king was extremely delighted at this and as he once again became childless, made over his entire property to the God

¹ One of the eight tirthas that surround the Candrapuṣkaraṇī. ² Manifestation of God in human form.
and built for the temple many presence-chambers of Viṣṇu, various walls and towers etc., and laid out many flower gardens. He also installed in his city of Uraiyyūr the images of his daughter and ‘Āḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ’, so called because he was able to attract through His beautiful form, built elaborately the Vimāna, towers, mandapas, prākāras etc., and celebrated for the divine couple all the festivities.¹

After a long time had passed in the Kaliyuga, the city of Uraiyyūr was drowned in a sandstorm, as an effect of the evil doings of a Chola. From that time the Chola monarchs lived in Gangaikondan. In course of time, a Chola gradually built a temple in Uraiyyūr and installed therein the images of the Perumal and the Nacciyar. The Āḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Rājamahēndran street is so called from the day of the marriage of Kamalavalli.

THE BENEFACtIONS OF KULASEKHARA PERUMĀL

After fifty years had passed in the Kali era, Kulasekhara Perumāḷ became the lord of the Čēra, Chōla and Pāndya kingdoms, built palaces in the cities of Uraiyyūr, Madura and Kolli and ruled from them.*

He married his daughter Chōlavalli (an incarnation of Nīlādēvi) to Āḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ and gave away all his wealth to the Perumāḷ as dowry. He built the Sēnai-venrān tirumandapa in the south-west of the third prakāra, which he reconstructed. That street was called Kulasekhara haran tiruvidi after him.

¹. This account of the origin of the Uraiyyūr temple is elaborately described in the ‘Laksmi Kāvyā’ by Tirumalaṅ Nātha Uttamanambi. This is a romantic poem in Sanskrit in 18 sargas. (The date of the author is 1434 A.D. EI. XVIII. P. 138 ff). Nanda Chola, no doubt, is a mythical king.

* This refers to Kulasekhara Āḻvār, who was originally a Chera ruler according to the Vaishnava tradition.
THE ĀRYABHATTĀḷ GATEWAY

After 3260 years had passed in the Kali era, the lord of Gauda-dēsa came with a considerable army and huge treasure, equal to his own weight.*

When he offered the latter to the Perumāḷ it was refused, and, consequently it lay outside, for a long time. The king, however, returned after appointing some of his men, who were the brahmins of Ārya-dēsa, to keep watch at the temple and guard the treasure. As these brahmins pleased the Perumāḷ by their behaviour the God looked at them in joy, opened His sacred mouth and spoke to them. For their sake He favoured their lord, also with His saving grace. ¹ Whenever He started out for procession and reached the third gateway, He broke His silent attitude (arca-vatāra maryādai) and addressed them thus: "Those who received the gracious commandment (aruḷappādu) from the mouth of Tiruvarangēsanār of the golden temple," and for their sake, the lord of Gauda-dēsa, of their class, with the words: "He who received the gracious commandment from the golden temple." From that time that gateway goes by the name of 'Āryabhattāḷ vāsāḷ.'†

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* This date equals A.D. 159. This of course is unreliable.

1. The same incident is narrated in greater detail in the temple cadjan wherein it is stated that the Ārya brahmins requested the Perumal for a service in the temple as a result of which they were entrusted with the temple watch.

† The earliest mention of Āryabhattāḷ occurs in an inscription dated in the 39th year of Kulottunga I, Chola (1109 A.D.) ARE. 14 of 1936-37. See also ARE 1928-29, Pt. II, Para 36). An inscription of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, dated 1225 A. D. specifically mentions Āriyar among the various temple servants. (ARE. 53 of 1892).
THE GLORY OF TIRUMANGAI Āḻvār

After 445 years had passed in the Kali era Tirumangai Āḻvār made the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam his daily abode, where he was writing his prabandhas like the Tirumoḻi and doing other sacred services to God.*

One day the Perumāl asked Tiruvilākkupichan, whom he had favoured by hearing him daily, for news. †

Pichan told Him that Tirumangaimannan, who wanted to praise God through a prabanda, was praising himself. The Perumāl, on hearing this, commanded Pichan not to think of Tirumangaimannan in that manner, and continued to show beneficent grace towards that Āḻvār. At this time Madurakavi Āḻvār installed the image of Saṭakopan (Nam-māḻvār) in Tirunagari, triumphed over Kāmban¹ on the

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* Tirumangai Āḻvār lived in the 8th century. He is usually regarded as the last of the Āḻvārs. The Kali dates given in the Olugu cannot be relied upon.

† Tiruvilākkupichan was the lamp-lighter. The Guru-paramparai says that he was also a jester to God Ranganatha. See Periyavāchān Pillai’s commentary on Tirumangai Āḻvār’s Periya Tirumoḻi (stanza 3-4-10).

1. This foot-note is given in the text: The president of the (Madura Tamil) Sangam dedicated the following verse in honour of Nammāḻvār:

“Can a fly play before the kite? what is a glow-worm before the sun?
Can a dog run before a growling tiger? can a fox be sauntering before a lion?
Can you compare an (ugly) demon with the beautiful Urvasi? Can any poet’s work
Compare itself with one sweet word of the thousand sacred verses in Tamil, of Nammāḻvār, who has attained the feet of God?”
"Sangam plank" through the writing of that Āḻvār, and was celebrating various festivities for Him.*

He was also going over to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam often, to investigate into the affairs of the temple. On a grand Kārtigai festival, when the Perumal and His two consorts were bathed and dressed fittingly for the occasion Tirumangai Āḻvār recited the six prabandas of the Tirunēṇundāṇḍagam in the presence of God and so infused it with divine melody and combined it with gesticulations that the Perumāḷ was entirely pleased with him. The God, with the intention of bestowing upon the Āḻvār all honours asked him "What can we do for you?" to which Tirumangaimannan replied, "My lord, after you have thought about me—a poor householder and your humble servant—in this manner, I lack nothing. Yet, I appeal to you to hear the Tiruvāimoli, the word of Saṭakopan recited (by me) along with the Vēdas, on the ēkādasi day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaḷi during the Adyayanōtsava ² and graciously assign to it a place of equality with

* Madurakavi Āḻvār was the celebrated devotee as well as disciple of Nammāḻvār.

According to the Guruparamparai, Madurakavi defeated in dispute the students of the Madura Tamil Sangam, who challenged the birudas of Nammāḻvār. Kamban, of course, came much later and hence could not have been the contemporary of Madurakavi Āḻvār.

1. Note in the text: This story can be had in detail in the pamphlet 'Kaliyan arulpādu.' 2. Festival in Viṣṇu temples during which are chanted the Divyaprabandhas and Vedic hymns for ten days (Pagalpattu) before and ten days after (Irāppattu) Vaikunta ēkādasi. This Adyayanōtsava is the most imposing of all religious ceremonies in the Srirangam temple. Some of the verses are not only chanted but also dramatised.
the Vēdas.’’ The Perumāl was much delighted and imme-
diately granted to the Tiruvāimoḷi of Saṭakōpan a place of
equality with the Vēdas. He then sent the divine communi-
cation (to Nammāḻvār) which read: ‘‘We will be pleased to
hear the Tiruvāimoḷi recited along with the Vēdas during the
Adyayanōtsava’, along with many prizes of honour, with the
talaiyiduvān (a temple servant). He also commanded the
parijanas (the temple retinue) thus: ‘‘As this warrior saint
(Kaliyan) has sung continuously, in divine melody, his throat
is aching. Smear the oil left after Our use, this day, on his
neck.’’ The servants did so. Thus blessed, Tirumangaimannan
left for his abode. On hearing that the talaiyiduvān was
bringing the divine communication and the divine favours,
Saṭakōpan (i.e., his image) started with Madurakavigaḻ, wel-
comed the servant and invested Himself with those honours.
Bearing the God’s billet on His head He hospitably received
the talaiyiduvān. He left Tirunagari the next day and reached
Kōil 1 on the Sukladāsamī of the month of Mārgasīrṣa. On
hearing of His arrival, Tirumangaimannan welcomed the
Āḻvār and rendered his obeisance to Him. Then he took
Him along with Madurakavigaḻ to the presence of Periya
Perumāḻ.2 The Perumāḻ favoured the Āḻvār with His benign
look, gave Him the name of Nammāḻvār (Our Āḻvār),
favoured Him with many insignia of honour, and ordained
that the Āḻvār be housed in the shrine of Tirukkuraḷappan
(which was serving the purposes of the sandyāmādam).3
Accordingly Tirumangaimannan and Madurakavigaḻ made-

1. Srirangam—the temple par excellence. Just as
‘‘Kōil’’ means Cidambaram to the Saivites, it means Sriran-
gam to the Vaiṣṇavites. 2. This is the name of the sanctum
image in the Srirangam temple (the mortar image of the
reclining Ranganatha). 3. Stone building wherein religious
rites are performed. Tirukkuraḷappan refers to Viṣṇu in
his Vāmana—Trivikrama manifestation.
the divine presence of Tirukkurāḷappan the abode of the Āḻvār and His retinue. With the next dawn began the Adyayanōtsava and the Vēdas beginning with the Praṇava were recited. That night when the Āḻvār presented Himself in the Alagiyamaṉavāḷan tirumandapa, the Perumāḷ announced that the former would recite the Tiruvāimoḻi and thus rendered to Him ‘arulappāḻu’¹ and other honours. Madurakavigaḻ, representing the Āḻvār began the recitation of the Tiruvāimoḻi, in divine melody, illustrating it with gestures. On the night of the tenth day, the recitation of the Tiruvāimoḻi was closed, after the Vēdic recitations were over. Following the previous example of the Āḻvār, Madurakavigaḻ prostrated himself at the feet of the Perumāḷ when he finished the recitation. The Perumāḷ honoured the Āḻvār by sharing His own seat with Him, favoured Him with garlands, prasādam, kastūrī and tirumaṇ and gave Him permission to return to Tirunagari with His gifts and presents. Namāḷvār started with Madurakavigaḻ and reached Tirunagari followed by Tirumangaimannār. Every year the celebrations were thus conducted. As he was specially favoured by the divine grace, Tirumangaimannār decided to perform the six-fold temple services.² In the north-west of the Rājamahāndran enclosure he built a hundred-pillared hall and arranged for the annual celebration of the Adyayanōtsava therein. He also constructed the wall surrounding the Kulasēkharan enclosure, the towers over the gateways to its south and west, the mandapa and the procession path in the south-western corner and the big kitchen in the south-eastern corner of that enclosure, the

1. The divine commandment or the word of God addressed to the most devoted of His servants through the mouth of the arcaka—a special honour shown by the Perumāḷ to His devotees. 2. The construction of mandapas: gopuras, prakāras, etc.
wall surrounding the fourth enclosure and the southern and the northern gopuras in that enclosure. As Eduttakai Aļagiyasinga Nainăr¹ had made the northern gopura His abode he built a coping structure and a pinnacled tower for His shrine. Tirumangaimannan spared the flower garden of Tondaraḍippoḍi Aļvär (to the east of the above mentioned gopura and on the banks of the Candrapuṣkarāṇi) from being run over by the temple wall by making a slight deviation. The Aļvär was considerably delighted over this, and out of gratitude, gave the sickle in his hand the name of "Aruļmāri" (a title of Tirumangaimannan), which act highly pleased the builder.² He also built the store-house in the south-west of the fourth enclosure, a granary to its north, and a huge procession path extending from the south to the north of that enclosure.

Once when the Perumāḷ was unable to enjoy the annual ceremonial bath He graciously commanded His retinue to have the abhiṣekam celebrated for Tirumangaimannan himself. The order was obeyed. From that time the hero of that festival is Tirumangaimannan himself. The latter built the procession path beginning from the banks of the Candrapuṣkarāṇi and extending into the beautiful open-space (vēliyaḷagiyan) and undertook its flooring also. The Aļinādan street is known after him.³ One early morning, while Tirumangaimannan was proceeding to bathe in the northern Kāveri (Coleroon) he saw a cremated child taking

1. God Narasimha with His hand uplifted. 2. After this the printed editions repeat the incident of the marriage of Uraiyyur-valli, the daughter of the Chola with Aļagiyaamañovalān. This repetition, however, does not occur in the temple manuscript. 3. The temple manuscript continues to relate what follows. The same in a briefer form is mentioned separately in the printed books under the caption 'the benefactions of Tirumangaimannan'. 
shape once again. The corpse had been cremated there by an old woman who could not cross over to the burning ghat on the other side of the river, owing to heavy floods. On seeing this the Āḻvār realised the sanctity of the place. After Kali 480 Tirumangai Āḻvār built the Dasāvatāra temple and consecrated it. He also made a sanctum and a processional image of himself and consecrated them. After depositing money in the temple treasury he obtained for himself a small portion of land to its north and named it ‘Paṭiyavaṭan-tukai’ (the ghat of the swordsman-singer). He also obtained the boon from the Perumāḷ that men cremated there should reach heaven and that it should be devoid of all pollution. This is known by the name of ‘Tirumangaimanṭan’s ghat.’

THE BENEFACTION OF CHOŁENDRASIMHAN

The tirumandapa to the east of the Candrapuṣkarāṇi, in that enclosure, is the work of Choḷendrasimhan.

THE BENEFACTION OF GANAGIDEVAR
SINGAṆAN DANDANĀYAKKAR

Ganagidevar Singaṇan Dandanāyakkar, as the agent of Pratāpa Cakravarti built the hospital (Āṟōgyaśāla) and the procession path.*

* An inscription of Hoysala Ramanatha, at Srirangam, dated in his third regnal year (1257 A.D.) records the foundation of a sālai (Āṟōgyaśāla) in the fourth prakara of the temple. The donor was Chingadeva Singaṇa Daṇḍanaṇyaka, a pradhanī of Vira Rāmanātha. The sālai was entrusted to Garuḍavāhana Pandita. (ARE 80 of 1936-37; EI. XXIV P. 90). Taking advantage of the decline of the Cholas the Hoysalas had established themselves in power at Kaṇṭanūr (Vikramapuri). Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I captured Kaṇṭanūr from the Hoysalas. An inscription from Srirangam of this Pandya refers to the defeat of the-
THE BENEFACIONS OF VIKRAMA CHOLA
ALIAS AKAŁANGAN

The wall of the fifth enclosure, surrounding the above, and the four towers therein, the gateway, a cowshed in the north-east, a shrine for Krishna there, and His installation therein, a shrine with vimāna in the south-west and the installation of Rama therein, the Nācciyār temple in the north-west, (the installation) of Garudālvār in the Periya-
tirumandapa of the Ālinādan enclosure, the laying of the flooring and the verandah in that mandapa—these were the benefactions of Vikrama Chola alias Akaḷangan.*

CHOLA'S INSTALLATIONS

The Chola installed the image of the Perumāḻ, who has, as His vehicle, Garuda (the divine bird), the Perumāḻ, who guards the various mandapas, Aṉāgiyasingar, in the west, Ādikēsava Perumāḻ and Panriyāḻvān.†

Hoysala general Singhana and says that he was given over to a rutting elephant on the field of battle. (ARE 60 of 1892; SII, IV 507).

* Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1120-1133) was a devotee of Nataraja of Cidambaram. Several of his inscriptions describe his additions to the Cidambaram temple and his rich gifts to it. The Srirangam temple contains an inscription of Vikrama Chola, dated in his 16th year (1136 A.D.), a high regnal year not met with in other inscription, of his. (ARE 33 of 1936-37; pt. II, Para 71). This inscription may be taken to provide epigraphical confirmation of the connection of Vikrama Chola with Srirangam mentioned by the Oḻugu. It may also be noted that Vikrama Chola Caturvēdimangalam, a part of the Colony called Kaliyugarāman Caturvēdimangalam, near Srirangam, is mentioned in a few inscriptions of the later Pandyas in the Srirangam temple. (ARE 42, 43, 44 and 47 of 1936-37).

† Cholendrasimhan and the Chola mentioned here cannot be identified. The former was probably a Chola chieftain.
THE BENEFACIONS OF SUNDARA PĀNDYADEVA

Sundara Pāndya defeated the Cāra, the Chōla, Vallān-
dēvan (Ballāladēva) and others, adopted the biruda 'the
Perumāl, who conquered all countries', and with the spoils
of victory built the four outer enclosures beginning with the
Rājamaheṇdran street and twenty four tulāpuruşa manda-
Pas. He performed the 'elephant tulāpuruşa ceremony'
thus. In a ghat formed by the backwaters of the river
Kāvēri he floated two boats of equal weight, in one of
which, he, with all his armour sat upon his state-elephant,
which was seven 'carpenter's cubits' high ¹ and in the other
poured gold, pearls, gems, etc., till it sank to the same level
as the other. Over and above this he sent for a large treasure
and made various gifts and charities according to the
'kalpa.' ² He also wanted to utilise that treasure for tem-
ple services, but the God (with His retinues) had not the
desire of accepting it and the treasure was detained for two
years. Afterwards when the Perumāl was pleased at his
eagerness to serve Him and his righteous following, the pro-
erty was lodged in the treasury and with its help were done
the following 'sacred services' or kainkaryas : He raised the
wall of the gateway of the sanctum throughout. Previ-
ously there was depression between the gateway of the sanc-
tum and the Aḻagiyananavālan tirumandapa (a benefaction
of Dharmavarma). There were steps running down
from the gateway of the sanctum but the link with the
tirumandapa had disappeared and hence there was a gap.
Now this gap was closed by filling up the depression to
the level of the tirumandapa. The floor was newly paved
with slabs. Steps were constructed both in the east

¹ One 'carpenter's cubit' measures 33" according to
the Tamil Lexicon. ² A vedanga expounding the rules
relating to gifts and benefactions.
and the west of the mandapa. Stone vaults were built towards the east and the south of the shrine of Garudāḷvār (to the south of that tirumandapa). In the Sēnaī Mudaliār enclosure (i.e. the Rājamahēndran street) were constructed the circular procession paths, tulāpuruṣamandapas, the mandapa of flowers, the sacrificial hall, the procession paths and the tulāpuruṣa mandapas beginning from the east of the northern gateway, and a mandapa with an ornamental ceiling over a verandah in the eastern part of this street and due east of the Aḻagiyamāṇavāḷan tirumandapa. These were the kainkaryas done by Pallavan Viḻupparaiyan¹ Kariyamāṇnikkam, in the Pāndya country, as the agent of Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva.

THE BENEFICATIONS OF SUNDARA PĀNDYADEVA. WHO CONQUERED ALL COUNTRIES AND COVERED THE TEMPLE WITH GOLD

He built a tulāpuruṣa mandapa to the west of the Sēnaīvenrān tirumandapa and the Āryabhathāḷ fortification which is the southern gateway of the third enclosure known as the Kulasākharaṇ tiruvidi, another tulāpuruṣa mandapa to the east of that gateway and still another to the east of the northern gateway. He completed the structure of the circular shed and the Perumāḷdēvan tirumandapa (left incomplete) which were the benefications of Perumāḷdēvan, who built the thousand-pillared mandapa under the authority of Kambar, who held the office of Daṇḍanāyakka. He also made sufficient endowments for the celebration of the annual festival every year. In this enclosure, he laid the pavement and built

¹ Viḻupparaiyan was the temple accountant and Pallavan, his title. An official of the Pāndya is called Pallavadhisvāra in 19 of 1899 (ARE). See also K. A. N. Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, P. 172.
the tirumandapa and procession path. In the procession path of the fourth enclosure (or the veḷiyaḷagian) he constructed tulāpuruṣa mandapas. Since the parijanas of the Perumāḷ refused him permission to cast (and install) an image of himself, he cast an idol of the God called 'the Perumāḷ who covered (the temple) with gold' (Ponmēinda Perumāḷ) after his own name. He also had the images of Garudāḻvār and Cherakulavalli (the incarnation of Niḷadēvi) cast in the Aḻagiyaṃavāḷan tirumandapa, in gold. In a stone vault next to the shrine of Garudāḻvār, to its east, within the Chandana mandapa¹ the image of Ponmēinda Perumāḷ was installed. The image of Cherakulavalliyār was installed in a room towards the south of the mandapa of flowers. Some of his other benefactions were: abhiṣēkas in diamonds and dress made of diamonds for Periya Perumāḷ and Aḻagiyaṃavāḷa Perumāḷ, a diamond shirt to Tiruvanandāḻvān, abhiṣēkas in rubies and diamonds, a diamond shirt, a diamond turban, a diamond garland, a (circular) necklace of the shape of a lotus, a garland of gold champakas, a garland of diamond water-lilies, many varieties of ornaments and a golden upper garment for Periya Perumāḷ, golden sanctum and vimana, a lustrous diamond throne of gold inlaid with pearls, a portico of pearls, the gateway, the temple kitchen, walls of the sanctum, etc., made of gold, the gateway of the sanctum covered with gold plates and a festoon of diamonds. He covered the Aḻagiyaṃavāḷan tirumandapa, the vimanas of the shrines of Garudāḻvār and Tirukkōpurattu Nainār, and the Rājamahēndran enclosure with its walls, cornices and pillars with gold plates. The Kulaśēkharan tiruvidi was likewise rendered golden. A gold flag-staff was set up in the Aniyarangan courtyard. Huge cauldrons of gold, gold eating

¹. Mandapa wherein stones are fixed for grinding sandal.

K. O.—2
plates, porringers, stools, standing temple-lamps, bathing vessels and pots were offered. To celebrate the festival of the Chittirai tirunāl, which went by his name, he dug a huge spring (tank) in the Kāvēri and filled it with river water. Nearby he erected a pandal ornamented with pearls and red-corals. In that tank he floated a boat made of gold and made arrangements for the celebration of the floating festival for the Perumāḷ and His Nāccimār. On this occasion he fed a number of devotees. He offered to the God on a single day, 360 kalam of rice and the appropriate vegetable and other curry stuffs. The celebration of the car festival in the north māda street became his sacred service. He covered the beautiful figures in the front of the car up to the lion-throne with gold plates. He had the divine vehicles of Garudaḻvār, the horse and the elephant made in gold and built a golden car in the Sēnaivenrān enclosure. Thus the benefactions of Sundara Pāndyadēva, who conquered all countries and covered the temple with gold, came up to eighteen lakhs of gold pieces towards miscellaneous items and another eighteen lakhs towards the covering of the temple with gold.∗

1. Specified as ten kinds of greens growing from five kinds of plants and five kinds of creepers. 2. This is the original Pillai Lōkācāryar street in the Veḻittirumuttam, which was outside the temple, to its east. This street, running in a east to west direction, originally extended itself into the temple. Now, this street is blocked, the gap in the prakara wall having been closed in later days.

∗ An inscription of 30 verses in the Srīrangam temple is the most important as well as the longest of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya I (ARE 45 of 1891; EI III. pp. 7 & ff.). This describes the Pandya’s building activities at and gifts to the temple. He built shrines for Narasimha and Viṣvaksena and covered them with gold. He covered the Vimana of the Ranganatha
THE BENEFACTION OF KULOTTUNGA CHOLA

A four-pillared mandapa, to the east of the Perumāḷdevan mandapa with the images of Rāma, Lakshmana, Sugriva, and Hanumān carved on its four pillars is the benefaction of Kulottunga Chōla.*

shrine with gold and in commemoration of this achievement assumed the title ‘Hemācchādana Rāja’ (i.e., ‘the king who covered the temple with gold’). He installed in the shrine a golden image of Viṣṇu, which he called ‘Hemācchādana-Rāja-Hari’ after his own surname. He built an amudumandapa and equipped it with gold vessels. For the ‘festival of the god’s sport with Lakṣmi,’ he built a golden ship. He gifted to Sri Ranganatha a garland of emeralds (verse 13 mentions another surname, viz., Marakata-Prithvibhrit,’ i.e., the ‘emerald king’), a crown of jewels, a golden image of Śeṣa, another of Garuda, a canopy of pearls, a golden car, a golden trough, many ornaments including a golden throne, etc. He performed several tulabhāras. Verse 27 declares: "Repeatedly performing the ascending of the scales on every day at the shrine of the Lord of Ranga, the Sun among kings would have doubtless broken up Meru for the sake of gold, had it not borne the emblem of fish." Another inscription of the Pandya, mentioned above, (i.e., 60 of 1892; SII. IV. 507) also mentions a few of his gifts to the temple.

* This most probably refers to Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.), whose patronage of the Srirangam temple is proved by two inscriptions of his in the temple (ARE 61 of 1892; SII. IV. 508 and 62 of 1892; SII. III. 70). There is no epigraphical evidence to show that Kulottunga II (1133-1150 A.D.) patronised the Srirangam temple. According to the Kulottunga-Soḷan-Ula of Oṭṭakootar he removed the image of Viṣṇu from the courtyard of the Cidambaram temple.
THE BENEFICTIONS OF KAMBAYAR DAṆḌANĀYAKKAR

The shrine of Paravāsudēvar in the north-western corner of the Ālināḍan enclosure, the temple of Sudarśana Perumāḻ in the west of the Akaḷangan enclosure, the mandapa of the Nācciyar shrine, the thousand-pillared mandapa in the same enclosure, a roofed verandah in the north-east, built on the site of the cow-shed, the temple of Lakṣminārāyaṇa Perumāḻ, an elevated mandapa to the south of His shrine, the roofed verandah of Dēvarāja, the verandah in the stables of the state-elephant and the horses, the descending steps and upper cornices (details within the thousand-pillared mandapa)—these are the beneficitions of Kambaya DaṆḍanayakkar, the chief minister of Pratāpa Chakravarti Rāmanāthadēva.

The four-pillared mandapa near the gateway of the Tiruvaḷiyāḷvān temple is also the beneficition of Kambaya DaṆḍanāyakkar.

THE BENEFICTIONS OF KARIYAMĀṆIKKA DAṆḌANĀYAKKAR

The (completion of the) above mandapa and a structure to its east with an ornamental roof, a stage-like mandapa, ornamental paintings on the walls of the verandah, the seat of the God, and steps and cornices above, are the beneficitions of Kariyamāṇikka DaṆḍanāyakkar.*

* Kambaya DaṆḍanayakka and Kariyamāṇikka DaṆḍanayakka were most probably officials of Hoysala Ramanatha, who is mentioned in a few inscriptions in the Srirangam temple (ARE 67 of 1892; SII. IV. 514., 80 of 1936-37; EI. XXIV. P. 90., 62 and 74 of 1936-37., and 57 of 1892; SII. IV. 504).
THE BENEFACIONS OF MALAIIPPERUMAL

The details of (the construction of) the temple of Euttakai Alagiya Nainar are: As Euttakai Alagiya Nainar had made as His holy presence the northern gopura of the Alinadan enclosure, wherein Tirumangai Alvar had installed His image, the Malayala king Cherakumaran Malaipperumal built the coping and the vimana of that shrine. Later on he raised the structure over the frontal foundations.

THE BENEFACIONS OF VIRA NARASINGADÆVAR

The tirumandapa, the upper coping and the walls of the above shrine were the benefactions of Vira Narasingadævar the Kannada king.*

THE BENEFACIONS OF AGULUR VARANADARAYAR

The tirumandapa in the frontal verandah, the descending steps and the kitchen of this temple were the benefactions of Agulur Varanadarayar.

THE BENEFACIONS OF DEVAPPERRUMAL

As the supporting pillar of the Akalangan gateway to its north, and the northern wall were wearing out, Devapperrumal, the son of Agulur Varanadarayar fixed the pillar of the doorway and reconstructed the wall.

THE BENEFACIONS OF VALANADARAYAR

Valananadarayar built the Paraman mandapa surrounding the temple of Garudalvar in the big tirumandapa in an exquisite manner with four rafters with four nails driven

* This refers to Hoysala Narasimha II, who has two inscriptions in the Srirangam temple; (ARE 69 of 1936-37, 54 of 1892; EJ VII. P. 163).
through them and eight pillars with pots on their heads on all the four sides, with the help of Paraman, the carpenter, during the reign of Āguḻūr Varanādarāyar. He also built the Periya tiruvadi mandapa and gave to the former mandapa the name of ‘Paraman mandapam.’

THE BENEFACIONS OF TRIVIKRAMA CHŌLA

The wall surrounding the Akaḻangan enclosure and in its turn surrounded by the street of continual processions (the Chitra street) and the four gopuras were the benefactions of Trivikrama Chōla. The Trivikraman enclosure is called after him.

THE BENEFACIONS OF PAḻIKONDA CHŌLA

The temple singers stationing themselves alongside the housefronts in the east māda street within the Trivikraman enclosure, would recite the prabandas, when the Perumāḻ is seated beneath the umbrella over the thousand-pillared mandapa. The Pallavarāyan mutt in the west of the north māda street, the Čēran mutt in the east of the car (street), the Paṇḍyān mandapa and mutt to its east including the feeding of the Vaiṣṇava devotees there, the wall of the ‘Māda-māḻigai-sūl-tiruvidi’ (the Chitra street) that surrounds this enclosure with its four gateways, were the benefactions of Paḻikonda Chōla.

THE BENEFACIONS OF KALĪYUGARĀMAN

He built the Tirumangai Āḻvār mutt towards the north of the western half of that street (i.e., the Chitra street) and also, various other mutts.†

* Varanāda Rayar and Vālanāda Rayar were probably chieftains of the Vijayanagar Rayas.
† It is not possible to identify Trivikrama Chōla, Paḻikonda Chōla and Kaliyugarāman. Probably these were Chōla administrative officers functioning in the region of Srirangam and Uuraiyur.
In this way, from the time when the prakaras arose, up to this, the temple affairs have been looked after by those who carried out repairs and reconstructions. The prakara that surrounds the above street is a benefaction of Kaliyugarāman.

THE SHRINE OF TIRUKKURALAPPAN

Among the shrines surrounding the temple that of Tirukkuralappan (Vāmana-Trivikrama) on the northern bank of the southern Kāvēri had for long been a ‘sandyā madam.’ When after Kali 445 Madurakavi Āḻvār brought Nammāḻvār from Tirunagari, on the command of the Perumāḷ, the latter assigned the ‘sandyā madam’ to Nammāḻvār, as His abode. Since that time Nammāḻvār has made the shrine of Tirukkuralappan His holy presence. This is as established in the Tirukkuralappan purana.

THE BENEFACIONS OF VALLABHADĒVAN

After Kali 105 Āḻagiyamanavāḷan, as Rangamannār, in Srivilliputtūr, married Südikkodutta Gōda (Gōda who offered garlands to God after herself wearing them). When He returned to Srīrangam along with the Nācciyar, Valla-bhadēvan, the disciple of Periyāḻvār offered a lot of treasure to Gōda, as dowry. He seated the Nācciyar in a palanquin and brought her to the northern bank of the southern Kāvēri where he got her down and celebrated for her such elegant ceremonies as bathing in the river, etc. The Nācciyar, welcomed by all, entered the temple, seated in the palanquin and disappeared. To commemorate this, Vallabhadēvan built a temple for Südikkodutta Nācciyar in a garden and
installed her image therein. This is known as ‘Veḷi Āndāl sannidi’ (i.e., the outer shrine of Andal).  

Kēttalāgiyasingar. His installation in the east is as evidenced in the puranas.

THE MONARCH OF DELHI CARRIES AWAY ALAGIYAMĀṆAVĀLĀN

Thus, when, in the great city of Tiruvarangam, the Perumāḷ was living along with His parivārās, the king of Delhi, a ‘tulukkan’ (Muhammadan) defeated Pratāparudra in battle and extended his sway all over Tondaimandalam, Cholamandalam and other areas. He carried away the gods of all the sacred shrines. He came to Tiruvarangam also and entered the temple through the northern gateway. When the invaders approached the Āryabhattāḷ gateway in the north, Panjukondān did battle with them and stopped them but was easily overpowered by a number of assailants,

1. This anecdote is missing in the temple manuscript.
2. Kēttalāgiyasingar, it is said, was installed in Gaja-ranyakshētra, to the east of Sīrangam to stop the confusion that was being created there by wild elephants.

In the above pages the chronicler in the Oḷugu has attempted in a summary manner to deal with the growth of the temple. Starting from the sanctum which was built by the mythical Dharmavarma he has come up to the outermost enclosure, which was the work of a Kaliyugarāman. Finally he has mentioned, in addition, a few shrines outside the temple. The description appears to be complete but in many places its authenticity has first to be taken for granted in the absence of confirmation. The chronicler next deals with the first Muslim attack on Sīrangam (1310-11 A.D.). The period of the Ālvārs is now over and a long period of decline in Vaishnava organization begins. This is stopped by the appearance of the Ācāryas beginning with Nāṭhamuni (10th century) and culminating in Ramanuja (12th century). The error in chronology and sequence is obvious.
who plunged in and plundered the treasury, etc., carrying away the images of Aḻāgiyamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ, Cherakulavalli and all the treasures of the temple. At this time there was, in Karambanūr, a woman who observed the vow of taking food daily, only after worshipping Aḻāgiyamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ. When the Perumāḷ left the place, she left her family and, foodless, entered the war-camp of the king of Delhi. She started along with the Muhammedan, taking comestibles only, and reached Delhi. She saw him taking away the image of Rāmapriyar of Tirunārāyanapuram. She entered the Muhammedan’s house disguised, and mixed herself with the women (of the palace). The Muhammedan placed the idols in the store-room of the palace. The daughter of the king of Delhi, seeing the idols of Aḻāgiyamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ, took it to play with and placed it in her bedroom. The woman (of Karambanūr) decided that such a position was not quite conducive to the sacred body of Aḻāgiyamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ and wanted to make this known in the temple. She returned to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam and revealed the news in the Holy Presence. Periya Perumāḷ, along with His parivārās, gladly received her, gave her the name of ‘Pincenravalli’ (‘she who followed’) and offered her many presents.

THE TEMPLE SERVANTS FETCH BACK AḻĀGIYAMĀṆAVĀṆAN

On hearing this narrative, the temple authorities, after deep reflection, placed the image of Srīranga Nācciyār beneath the bilva tree, in great security, barred the gateway of the sanctum of the temple with a stone slab and suspended all worship and festivals. Thus deserting the temple, all the temple servants—sixty in number—followed the lead of Pincenravalli to Delhi. As before, Pincenravalli entered the palace disguised, and, winning the confidence of the
women there, saw how Alagiyamanavālan was capriciously playing with the Sultāni (or Suratāni), in the form of an idol, during the day time and in His Vibhava manifestation, in the night, in all splendour. She informed the parivāras of what she saw. They, with the temple singer before them, attracted the pleasure of the monarch of Delhi, by means of the ‘Jaggini’ dance. The king of Delhi was much pleased and offered them enormous treasure, but the singer refusing it requested the king to give him the image of Alagiyamaṇaṇavālan. The king ordered his servants to allow the temple parivāras to take the idol they wanted from the store house. But on searching the store house the parivāras missed the Perumāḻ and felt sorely vexed. On hearing from Pincenravalli, they said to the king ‘Our Perumāḻ is in the possession of your daughter,’ to which the king replied ‘You can yourselves call back your God.’ Consequently, when the temple singer invoked Alagiyamaṇaṇavāla Perumāḻ in intense and divine melody, the God brought sleep to the girl and started. When the singer informed the Sultan about this, he, with wonder allowed the parivāras to take back their God. Immediately they took the Perumāḻ and, on that very night, rapidly covered a distance of eight miles.

NOT FINDING THE PERUMĀḻ THE SULTĀNI DIES

The next day, the daughter of the king of Delhi woke up at dawn and was smote with sorrow when she missed the Perumāḻ by her side. He was not to be found in the palace and the store house. The separation of her lover made her unhappy and she began to think of ending her life. Her father, the king of Delhi, came to know of this and made enquiries about the temple retinue, in his city. He was informed that they had left the previous night. Realising that his daughter would not survive till the image was brought back to the city by his men, he sent her on journey.
along with his armies in search of the image and also sent an advance search party. The Sultāni started with the army three days after the advance party had left, her life sustained only by the desire of seeing the Perumāḷ. When they reached Chandragiri near Tiruvēngadam, the temple retinue heard of their approach and adopted the plan of fleeing dispersed lest they be found and caught and the Perumāḷ carried away. Three ‘koḍavar,’ 1 who were related to each other as uncle, brother-in-law and nephew ascended the Tirumalai (the Tiruppati hill) with the Perumāḷ. The other fifty-seven took diverse routes. The ‘tulukkans,’ not finding the temple retinue on their way, went to Srīrangam, where they heard that the Perumāḷ had not yet arrived and saw the temple gateway barred by a piece of rock. Losing all hope, the Sultāni, like Chintayanti, breathed her last, unable to bear the separation.

THE KOḌAVAR PROTECT ALAGIYAMĀṆAVAṆĀṆAN

After this, the Muhammadan armies reached Tiruppati and heard that the Perumāḷ had gone up the hills. From the foot of the hills they deputed many men to make a search for the Perumāḷ throughout the hills. Not finding a secret place, in that region, for the Perumāḷ to hide, the koḍavar thought of a plan. Placing his brother-in-law and nephew on the top of the hill, the uncle tied himself to the Perumāḷ with the help of roots and herbs and asked the two on the top to let him down into a declivity by means of a creeper fastened to a promontory of the mountain, jutting out like the hood of a serpent. In course of time his body perished. The Perumāḷ continued to remain beneath the promontory. The brother-in-law and the nephew got down the slope with the help of plants and creepers, worshipped the Perumāḷ, cremated the body of the dead uncle, and remained unknown.

1. A class of temple servants.
on the slopes to the north of Alarmālmangaipuram. The brother-in-law too died, in course of time. The nephew, however, remained unseen, with the Perumāḷ, for a long time, living on roots and fruits.

THE MONARCH OF DELHI IS SURPRISED

The Muhammadan armies, not finding the Perumāḷ returned to Delhi and conveyed to its king the news of the death of his daughter. The king felt great sorrow and surprise at the same time. In the meanwhile the temple retinue, one by one, reached Srīrangam.

THE INSTALLATION OF TIRUVARANGA MĀLIGAIYĀR AND ANOTHER NĀCCIYĀR IN THE TEMPLE

With the permission of the Chola, the king of that region, the doors of the temple were thrown open and an extensive search for Aḻagiyamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ in many regions and in various ways was conducted. The Perumāḷ and the Koḍavar were not to be found, nor were there any indications of their return. The image of Tiruvaranga Mālīgaiyār, as representing the effulgence of the Perumāḷ, was installed in His place. Then the parijanas searched the base of the bilva tree, where they had previously hidden the image of Srīrangā Nācciyār. But the Nācciyār could not be found. Hence another image of Nāchiyār was cast and installed. (Thus settling affairs) they conducted all festivals for the Perumāḷ, as of old.

AḻAGIYAMAṉAṆAĻAN AND THE KOḌAVAR ARE SEEN BY TWO IRUĻAS

Thus, at a time, when, fifty-nine years and six months had passed since AḻagiyamaṉaṆaḷa Perumāḷ left the temple,

1. Members of a primitive hunting tribe.
which period he was spending in the jungle after a two years’ stay in the palace of the monarch of Delhi, two Iruḷas espied an eighty year old brahmin in a hut of leaves\(^1\) at the foot of the hills. That old man was having a divine and sacred image with him, to which he was rendering oblations. His head was overgrown with hair. He had wound a creeper round his loin, and a bark of the areca palm served as his loin-cloth. A blade of teak served as his mantle and the creeper of the 'kottiān'\(^2\) as the sacred thread. Both the Iruḷas approached the brahmin and inquired him about the whys and wherefores of his condition. The old man told them all that had happened since the Perumāḷ left the temple and requested them to carry the news to the town and make arrangements for taking the Perumāḷ to Srīrangam, pleading at the same time, that he had become too old for the task.

THE LORD OF CHANDRAGIRI GETS OUT
THE PERUMĀĻ AND THE KOḌAVAR

The Iruḷas went to the city of Chandragiri, told its chieftain what they saw, and, taking him through a difficult route, showed him the Perumāḷ and the old man. With great surprise the chieftain brought the Perumāḷ and the old man out into his town.

THE TEMPLE RETINUE PREVENT THE KOḌAVAR FROM ENTERING THE TEMPLE WITH THE PERUMĀĻ

The old man after performing the cremation ceremony (mantric) and other obsequies in honour of his maternal uncle came to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam, with the Perumāḷ and the treasures given to him by the chieftain of

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1. “In a mountain spring,” according to another version. 2. A parasitic leafless plant.
Chandragiri As a long time had passed and as all the aged men had died, the then existing temple retinue, who had not seen the Perumāḷ, refused the God entry into the temple.

THE BENEFACIONS OF RĀJENDRA CHOLA, WHO KNEW THROUGH A WASHERMAN, THAT THE IDOL WAS ĀLAGIYAMĀṆAVĀLAN

The old man had seated the God in the Tirumangaimannan tirumandapa within the Sēnaivenrān tirumandapa, in the third enclosure. The temple parivāras were, all the while entertaining needless suspicion toward the old man, and the Perumāḷ. When the Perumāḷ was taken away to Delhi the image of the Nācciyār was placed beneath the bilva tree (and it had disappeared later). At day-break on the day following the return of the Perumāḷ; the crest of the crown of Srīranga Nācciyār was visible beneath the bilva tree by the side of the Nācciyār shrine. The parijanas examined this and exposed the image of the Nācciyār. The Chola king was informed of this miracle. The parijanas gave up their suspicion towards the old man and began to doubt whether he was not having the Perumāḷ! The Chola came to the temple, worshipped the Perumāḷ and heard all the details (about the arrival of the Koḍavar with the Perumāḷ). He searched, in the town, for aged men, and came across an old temple-washerman, who was ninety-three years old, with considerable firmness of frame and a sound

1. Another edition (Ed. by Arangasami Mudaliar and printed at the Umāpati Guruprakāśa Press, Royapettah, 1909) retains the Perumāḷ at Chandragiri, till He is taken to Chenci (or Gingee), by Gopana Udayār, who establishes the God at Srīrangam, in Saka 1293, in great triumph, after destroying the Muhammadan forces. The Ananda Press edition as well as the temple manuscript refer to it later.
common sense, but blind due to age. When he was asked about the past incidents his narrative was found to conform to that related by the old Koḍavar. To the question "how is this divine and sacred idol to be identified?", the washerman replied that though he could not see and decide, because he was blind, yet, as he was accustomed to take in the 'tirtham' from the wet clothes of Aḻagiyaṉamāṇavaḷan while serving Him, he could now say that the 'tirumanjana tirtham' of the present Perumāḷ did not have the same taste. He asked the parijanas to bathe both the images and give him the 'wet-cloth-tirtham.' Accordingly both the Perumāḷs were bathed and he was offered the tirthams. When he took the 'wet-cloth-tirtham' of Aḻagiyaṉamāṇavaḷa Perumāḷ, he shouted in joy "He is our God! Aḻagiyaṉamāṇavaḷa Perumāḷ," and so lost himself in love for his dear God that he shed tears and regained his normal self only after many a trance. The Chola and others were struck by his devotion. The same night Aḻagiyaṉamāṇavaḷa Perumāḷ revealed to the Chola, in a dream, all the details (of His perigrinations). As a result the king installed in the temple the images of Srīranga Nācciyār and Aḻagiyaṉamāṇavaḷa Perumāḷ. Under the commands of the Perumāḷ a room was erected within the procession path, in the north western corner of the Rājamahāndran enclosure, wherein the picture of the Sultāni, the daughter of the king of Delhi, was painted and installed. Every dawn, as happened in Delhi, the divine food of wheat bread, sweet dal, and kīcchidi (a dainty made of rice and pulse) were to be offered to the Perumāḷ and then to Bhūmi (Bibi) Nācciyār or Sāndu Nācciyār, for which offering two villages in Koṇanādu were granted by Rājamahāndra Chola.

1. Water used in bathing the deity (here dripping from his vestments). 2. Iravāḍaitirtham.

Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāl ascended the ‘Cherapāndyan’ throne and (hence) calling the old Koḍavar gave him the name of ‘Tiruttālavarai dāsar’ (‘the servant who protected the God at the foot of the hill’) and bestowed upon him many prizes of honour. He then called the old washerman ‘Īrankolli’, (‘he who kills moisture out of clothes’) and gave him many presents. From that time the Koḍavar enjoys the honorific of ‘Tiruttālavarai dāsar’ and the temple washerman that of ‘Īrankolli’. Since Panjukondān fought with the Muhammadans in disregard of his life, at the northern gateway of the Kulasākhāran enclosure, the Perumāl decided to honour him with Aruḷappādu and many presents whenever he passed along that gateway. All these details had been inscribed on the outer wall of the Śāndunāchīyar shrine. But they were destroyed when the Chitra mandapa was reconstructed. Since Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāl, attracted by the melody of the temple musicians, came away leaving the Sultānī, aruḷappaḍu is issued to them in the name of ‘Isaiyarium Perumāl kūṭṭatār’ (‘the group of the Perumal well-versed in music.’)*

* From inscriptions it is known that the procession image of Sri Ranganatha was brought from Tiruppati and restored in Srirangam by the Vijayanagar chieftains in 1371 A.D. The Oḷugu mentions fifty nine and a half years as the period of absence of the God from Srirangam. This brings us to the raid of Malik Kafur (1310—11 A.D.). Hence the accounts of the mysterious recovery of the idol from the Sultan’s palace by Pincenravalli, the love of the Sultani for the Perumal and the restoration effected by Rajendra Chola have no foundation in fact. The last reigning Chola, viz., Rajendra III died in 1279 A.D. The mention of an inscrip—
THE CODE DRAWN UP BY SRIMAD NĀTHAMUNIGAL

Afterwards, the daily, the monthly, and the annual festivals were celebrated for the Perumāl in all lustre, as of old. For a long time, after the Perumāl had granted to the Tiruvaimo-li, a place of equality with the Vedas on the Tiruadyayanotsava day of the month of Mārgaḷi, for the sake of Tirumangaimannan, He continued to hear the prabandas. But as an effect of the bad days (that followed) the prabandas receded into obscurity and the learning and teaching of the sacred hymns died away. Hence there was no occasion for the Ālvār (Nammālvār) to go over to the temple. *

*According to the Vaiṣṇava tradition there was a long interval of about two centuries between the age of the Ālvārs and that of the Ācāryas (c. 800—1000), during which the works of the Ālvārs are said to have disappeared. These were recovered by Nathamuni, the first of the Ācāryas, by means of yogic power, collected together and edited, and arrangements were made for their recitation in the temples and homes of the Vaiṣṇavas. There is no real explanation of the “bad days,” mentioned in the Olugu, with reference to the interval of two centuries. The Muslim attacks came later. There was also no social or political upheaval in the country. It was the period of the rise of K. O.—3
Srimad Nathamunigaḷ was born after Kali 3924.* When he came to Kumbakonam from Mannnār Koil (Vitanārāyaṇapuram) during his religious tour he heard only the ‘ten’ beginning with ‘ārāvamudu’ of the work of Nammāḷvār¹ recited. He came to Tirunagari and heard the ‘Kaṇṇinunenciruttāmbu’² of Madurakavi Āḻvār in praise of Nammāḷvār, recited by Parāṅkusa Nambi, a follower of Madura Kavi Āḻvār’s headship. He did penance, met the Āḻvār and through him learnt the works of all the ten Āḻvārs, and those of Āṇḍāḷ. Thus blessed he came to the sacred shrine of Tiruvanamam and took over the office of the Srikāryam.³ He was immensely pleased when he heard of the astonishing favour that the Perumāḷ had rendered to the Tiruvāimōḷi, for the sake of Tirumangaimannan, and of the divine grace shown towards Nammāḷvār. Through his own and other students he made many Śrīvaiṣṇavās learn the sacred works of the Āḻvārs, the ‘divya prabandhas’, in regular classes. Since the Perumāḷ had equated the Tiruvāimōḷi to the Vēdas, he fixed the times of ‘upakrama’ and ‘utsarjana’ (i.e., commencement and temporary suspension of the recital of the sacred hymns) for the Tiruvāimōḷi, as for the Vēdas. Accordingly ‘utsarjana’ was to be during the Cholas. The “bad days” is evidently a fiction created by the chronicler, who was eager to tell a continuous tale and anxious to give some sort of explanation for a period in which no saint flourished.

* i.e., 823 A.D. This date brings the Ācārya too near the Āḻvārs and hence contradicts a well known Vaiṣṇava tradition.

1. The Tiruvāimōḷi, which consists of 10 centums of 10 tens each. 2. These are the first words of the first stanza of the 11 stanzas of Madurakavi in praise of Satakopan or Nammāḷvār. They also form the name of the work. 3. This is the supreme office in the temple, referred to in the subsequent pages of this work as the ‘Sañāpati durantara’.
the great Kārtikai festival and ‘upakrama’ on the day of ‘sukla dasami’ during the Adyayanōtsava, in the month of Mārgaḷī. Between the ‘utsarjana’ and the ‘upakrama’ (i.e., between the Kartikai festival and the Adyayanōtsava) the Srīvaiṣṇavas were to think of but not recite (the prabandhas). As of old the Āḻvār was to be done the honours of Tirumugappattaiyam, etc. Nammāḻvār, the head of the Āḻvārs was to be given the divine oil (with which the deity is smeared) and the remnant (after the divine use) was to be distributed among the Srīvaiṣṇavas for smearing it on their throats, even as the Perumāḻ caused the oil remaining after His own use, to be smeared on the throat of Tirumangaimannan, to drive away the pain caused by having recited before Him the Tiruneṇundanāḍagam during the Kārtikai festival. As the Rig and other Vedas had the sīkṣa, etc., and the itīhasa purāṇa as their auxiliaries, the four prabandhas of Nammāḻvār were to occupy the places of the four Vedas and the prabandhas of the other Āḻvārs and Āṇḍāḻ were to be their auxiliaries (‘angas and upa-angas’). The Tiruvāimōḻi explained the meaning of the ‘dvayam’.* The prabandhas, viz., the ‘Tiruppallāṇḍu,’ the ‘Tirumōḻi’ of Periyāḻvār, the ‘Tiruppāvai,’ the ‘Nacciyār Tirumōḻi,’ the ‘Perumāḻ Tirumōḻi,’

1. Divine epistle, i.e., sending out a letter to the devotee as if from God. Refer to the incident of Tirumangaimannan.
2. Phonology, a Vedāṅga, the others being vyākaraṇa (grammar), sandas (prosody), nirutta (etymological explanation of the difficult words), jyotiṣa (astrology), and kalpa (explanations of the laws of gifts and donations).
3. The ‘Tiruvāimōḻi,’ supposed to be the essence of the Samaveda, the ‘Tiruviruttam’ (Rigveda), the ‘Tiruvāsiriyam’ (Yajurveda) and the ‘Periya tiruvandādi’ (Atharvaveda).
the ‘Tiruccandaviruttam,’ the ‘Tirumālai,’ and the ‘Tiruppallie浊chi’ were classified under the ‘First Thousand,’ as illustrating the meaning of the praṇavā (OM). The ‘Kaṇṇinunciィtittāmbu’ explained the meaning of the sound ‘NAMO.’ The prabandhas, viz., the ‘Tirumoḥi,’ the ‘Tirukkurundāṉḍagam,’ the ‘Tiruneṉḍundāṉḍagam,’ the three prabandhas of the Mudal Āḷvārs, the ‘Nānmugantiruvandādi,’ the ‘Tiruviruttam,’ the ‘Tiruvāsiriam,’ the ‘Periya tirumaṉḍal,’ the ‘Siriya tirumaṉḍal,’ and the ‘Periya tiruvandādi’ formed the exposition of the remainder of the mantra (NĀṉṉAYAṉAYA). The prabandhas beginning with the first ‘Tiruvandādi’ and ending with the ‘Tirumaṉḍal’ were classified as ‘Iyaṟpa’ as they were chiefly concerned with ‘sabda.’

Thus the twenty-three prabandhas formed the exposition of the meaning of the sacred mantra (ŌM NAMO NĀṉṉAYAṉAYA.) The prabandhas beginning with the ‘Tiruppallāṉḍu’ and ending with the ‘Tiruneṉḍundāṉḍagam’ were to be recited before the Perumāḷ during the ten days preceding the Adyayanotsava. The ‘Iyaṟpa thousand,’ beginning with the First Tiruvandādi and ending with the ‘Tirumaṉḍal’ was to be recited during the (ten) days succeeding the Adyayanotsava. The stanzas composed by the ten Āḷvārs, Maduṟukavi and Āndāl were counted to be four thousand. As the Vedas, the Vedanta, the purāṇas and the itiḥāsas should increase for the (Vedic) brahmins, for the Srivaiśṇavas, who are eager for salvation it was essential that these prabandhas should increase. Of these the ‘Tiruppāvai’ and the ‘Tiruppallie浊chi’ were to be chanted every day at dawn.

The ‘Kaṇṇinunciィtittāmbu,’ whose subject-matter is the Āḷvār, was to be recited before and after the Tiruvaimoṭi. Thus was the religious code drawn up. Every year Nathamuni,
like Tirumangaimannan, recited the ‘Tiruneṇundāṇḍagam’ during the Kārtikai festival, the Mudalāyiram (First Thousand), the ‘Tirukkurundāṇḍagam,’ the ‘Tiruneṇundāṇḍagam’ and the ‘Tirumoli’ during the Tirumoḷi festival, created by him, and the ‘Tiruvaimoḷi’ during the Adyayanotsava, in divine melody, illustrating them with gestures, like Madurakavi. The day after the Adyayanotsava he chanted the Iyaṟpa, primarily concerned with ‘sabda,’ along with others in a chorus. Thus every year, he worshipped the Perumāl. He taught his sister’s sons, Kīḻaiyagattāḻvan, Mēlaiyagattāḻvan to sing to tune the divyaprabandhas of the Āḻvārs, and appointing them to sing and worship like himself, during the Tirumoḷi and Tiruvaimoḷi festivals, he reached the abode of Viṣṇu.*

ALAGIYAMAṆAVĀṆAN, WELL VERSED IN MUSIC, HONOURS THE TEMPLE SINGERS WITH THE TITLE OF ARAYAR, TURBAN AND SILK UPPER GARMENT

Kīḻaiyagattāḻvan and Mēlaiyagattāḻvan recited the prabandhas, in the Tirumoḷi and Tiruvaimoḷi festivals, according to the code of Nāthamuni and pleased the Perumāl to such an extent that He gave the name of ‘the Arayar of the exalted Maṉavāḷa Perumāḷ’ to the one and of ‘Naṭavinōda Arayar’ to the other. Like the Āḻvār these were also presented with a turban, cotton and silk upper garments.

*The gradual disappearance of the prabandhas and their sudden reappearance through the efforts of Nathamuni need not be taken too literally. According to the Vaiṣṇava tradition Nathamuni first collected the prabandhas together and made arrangements for their recitation in goshti in the Srīrangam temple. The orthodox account of his yogic feat is nothing but an exaggeration of his real and substantial work in connection with the ‘Nalayiraprabandam.’
and garlands, that had been removed after use by the Perumāḷ. Also, as the Perumāḷ gave to Nammāḷvār certain presents appropriate to His travel, when He sent him back to Tirunagari, He presented the Arayar with umbrellas, drums and pennons or birudas as the prizes of honour and commanded His Sēnāpati to take the Arayar home. Accordingly the 'Senapati durantra' took them home, followed by all the parijanas, and returned after leaving them there. From that time the temple singers enjoy these two titles, and they are generally known by the name of Arayar. Inspired by the melody of the music, the Perumāḷ, as evidence of His being 'Gāyakasārvabhauman' (Emperor of Musicians), gave to those singers—and not to any other parijanas—the title of Arayar, a turban and an upper garment as marks of their proud position.

THE GLORY OF UYYAKONṆĀR, MĀṆAKKĀL NAMBI AND ĀṆĀVANDĀR

After this, when UyyakonṆār and Maṇakkāl Nambī were controlling the religious code and the temple affairs, the Lord of Orissa expanded beyond his limits. Hearing this, Āḻagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ emigrated to Tirumālirunjolai-malai, where He stayed for a year. When He returned back some of the temple retinue had turned traitors to God Ranganatha. As even the arcaka had joined them and proved false the worship was carried on by the priests well-versed in the Vaikhānasa Āgama.*

*An inscription in the Srirangam temple of Māravarman Sundara Pandya (ARE 53 of 1892; S11. IV. 500), dated in his 9th year (1225 A.D.) says that the generals of the Pandya freed the Srirangam temple from the Oḍḍas (Odras or Orissans), who were adversely interfering with the administration of the temple for a period of two years (1123—1225 A.D.) The Orissan king at the time was Anangabhima III
Men of other religious communities, — members of all the six creeds, built houses and lived independently in Tiruvarangam. At this time Maṇakkāl Nambi corrected Āḷavandār,¹ also known as Yamunaittugaivar, and made him worship Periya Perumāl. Due to the beneficence of the Perumāl Āḷavandar freed himself from every material attachment, renounced all his property, assumed the robes of an ascetic and, entering the 'sāmrājya' of Periya Perumāl took upon himself the office of the 'Srikāryam'. Controlling the temple affairs according to the Āgamas, he removed all the members of other creeds from places of influence and dismissed them from the temple.

(1211—38 A.D.), the Eastern Ganga king of Kalinga. In Conjivaram there is an inscription of the king, which records his gift of 128 cows and four bulls to the God Pēraruḷaḷa Perumal (ARE 445 of 1919).

The Śrīrangam epigraph mentioned above says that the heads of the ten groups of temple servants joined with the Oḍḍas and collected a levy called the Oḍḍukāsu to pay to the Oḍḍas. The Olugu gives a wrong date for the Odra invasion. It places the invasion during the pontificate of Uyyakonḍar and Maṇakkāl Nambi, i.e., roughly during the 10th century. It gives a new piece of information, viz., that the God of Śrīrangam was removed for purposes of safety to Tirumalirumsolai (i.e., Aḷagarkoil, near Madura) for a year. The Olugu is not aware of the Pandya restoration but simply states that Aḷavandār expelled the non-Vaiṣṇavas from Śrīrangam. Aḷavandar again came much earlier.

1. According to the Guruparamparai Aḷavandār, who won a disputation with the court pandit, lost himself in the luxury of royal favour but was recalled to his religious vocation by the energies of Maṇakkal Nambi. Aḷavandar was the grandson of Nāṭhamuni.
THE GLORY OF ĀLVAR TIRUVARANGAPPERRUMĀḷ ARAYAR

Ālvar Tiruvarangapperrumāḷ Arayar grew up to manhood, became well-versed in the musical arts and was highly devoted to God. During the Tirumoḷi and the Tiruvāimoḷi festivals he enlightened the God by enacting the noble deeds of Ālagiyamanavāḷa Perumāḷ in His Vibhava manifestation, impersonating the God, himself adorned with folded ornamental cloth and illustrating them with gestures. The Perumāḷ was highly pleased with him and gave him the name of ‘Kōil-udaya-Perumāḷ-Arayar’, and bestowed upon him all honours. Once, during the Tiruvūral festival¹, when the Perumāḷ started back to the temple on the ‘tōlukkiniyān’² from the Kāverī, He called the Arayar and said to him, “Sing in rhythm to Our beautiful gait”. The Arayar began to sing devotional songs and continued till the God reached the temple. Once, in the Panguni Uttiram festival, when the Perumāḷ was sporting in water with the Nācciyār, in the cool Nācciyār garden, He saw the Arayar and issued aruḻappāḷu to Vāsantan, the God of Spring. Kōil-udaya-Perumāḷ Arayar divined what was in the mind of the God and sang (invoking Vāsantan) at which the Perumāḷ was mightily pleased. From the time of this Arayar are in vogue the following: the title ‘Kōil-udaya-Perumāḷ-Arayar’, the enactment and illustration of the great deeds of the God in His Vibhava and dasavatars by one adorned with the ornamental folded cloth and appearing in the respective forms, the singing in tune with the movement of the idol, while returning from the Kāverī during

1. festival held in summer on an islet of a river.
2. A wooden frame for carrying the idol.
the Tiruvăṟṟal festival, and the recital of songs, after aruḻappāṇu to Vasantan, when the Perumāḷ and the Nācciyār are seated together, during the Panguni Uttirama festival.

THE GLORY OF UDAYAVAR

After superintending the temple affairs for a long time, Āḷavandār began to think of his successor, who could manage the temple benefactions and services. He heard of Iḻaiyāḻvār (Rāmānuja) born in Srīperumbudūr and who was learning the sacred lore under the Guru Yādavaprakāsa in Perumāḷ-kōil (Little Conjīvaram). Āḷavandār went to Perumāḷ Kōil, met Iḻaiyāḻvār and did him a great favour by requesting him to look after the temple services and benefactions. Then, after worshipping Perarūḻāḷan (Viṣṇu enshrined in Little Conjīvaram), he returned to Srīrangam, where he heard that Iḻaiyāḻvār had left Yādavaprakāsa and was rendering the service of fetching tirumanjānam (holy water) for the puja of Dēvapperumāḷ, from a 'road side well,' which was particularly congenial to the God. He composed a hymn in praise of Dēvapperumāḷ and sent (it with) Periya Nambi to Perumāḷ Kōil. Periya Nambi came to Perumāḷ Kōil and recited Āḷavandār’s hymn in the holy presence of Īḻaiyāḻvār, on hearing it, was intensely moved by it and, wishing to see Āḷavandār started with Peria Nambi and reached Tirukkarambanūr (Uttamarkōil). While staying there, he noted a tumult on the other side of the river, and on making inquiries, was told that Āḷavandār was no more and his body was being laid on the funeral pyre. With great sorrow, he, along with Periya Nambi, crossed over and saw the sacred frame. He understood Āḷavandar’s mind and promised to execute his
wishes. Since his coming had proved so ineffectual he returned to Perumāḷ Kōil without even worshipping the Perumāḷ (at Srīrangam), and continued, as of old, the sacred service of offering tirumanjanam for the puja of Dēvappuṟumāḷ. As commanded by Pēraruḻāla Perumāḷ in ‘six words’ through the mouth of Tirukkachi Nambi, he started to ‘seek spiritual guidance at the feet of Periya Nambi.’ At the same time Alagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ had appointed Periya Nambi (to go to Ilaiyāḻvār). Accordingly he started and met Ilaiyāḻvār in Srīmadurāntakam (and made him his disciple). Thus attaining the object of his mission he, along with Ilaiyāḻvār, went to Perumāḷ Kōil, stayed there for a short time, and returned to Srīrangam. Subsequently the

1. The Guruparamparai says that on approaching the dead body of Ālavandār, Rāmānuja noticed that three out of the five fingers of the right hand of the departed guru were folded. On ascertaining that it was not due to any physical defect he interpreted it to be the result of the un fulfilment of some of the wishes of the guru and accordingly he was told that Ālavandār had three objects in view which he himself could not fulfill, viz., (1) an easy and simple commentary on the Brahmasūtra and (2 & 3) the giving of the names of Parāsara and Saṭakōpa to persons that would immortalise those names. It is said that on Ramanuja promising to fulfill these three objects the fingers straightened. 2. Rāmānuja, being displeased with his wife because of her obnoxious orthodoxy, wanted to know what Pēraruḻāla Perumāḷ had thought of his future and hence requested Tirukkachi Nambi to ascertain it from the God. On his application the Perumāḷ revealed the following six short sentences with reference to Rāmānuja: (1) We are the Highest truth. (2) The religious tenet is Difference. (3) The means is surrender. (4) Prayers in the last moments are unnecessary. (5) Such people attain moksha after death. (6) He (Ramanuja) should seek spiritual guidance at the feet of Periya Nambi.
Perumāḷ and the citizens of the sacred city of Tiruvarangam
heard of Ilaiyāḷvar’s entry into the (sannyāsa) Āśram.
On the command of Alagiyamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ, the temple
authorities appointed Tiruvarangapperpumāḷ Arayar to go to
Perumāḷ Koīl and bring Rāmānuja. The Arayar started
and reached Perumāḷ Koīl and so allured Devapperumāḷ
with his melodious music that he obtained Rāmānuja as
reward and started with him to Srīrangam on suddā
paurnami of the month of Vaikāsi of the year Vikrama
(Saka 962). Under the command of Alagiyamaṉavāḷa
Perumāḷ who heard of this, Sēnaimudaliār, (varāha) along
with the temple parivārās came up to the shrine of
Panriyāḷvān and, welcoming Rāmānuja, took him into the
temple. Alagiyamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ came in procession, borne
by the arcakas, to the door way of the sanctum and welcom-
ed him. Rāmānuja, led by Periya Nambi, entered the sanct-
tum and offered worship. Periya Perumāḷ looked at him
pleasingly, honoured him with ‘parivaṭṭam’¹ and other pre-
sents and also offered him the sceptre (of temple manage-
ment). Then he issued the following aruḻappādu: “We
have given you all Our wealth and power, to be employed
as you wish and desire; and as the ‘possessor’² and bestow-
er of eternal bliss (moksha) you look after Our affairs.” He
also commanded His parijanas to take Uḍayavar to the
‘Chēran mutt’, the first house in the eastern half of the
North Mada Street, within the Trivikraman enclosure*.

Accordingly Uḍayavar, along with Ālvān and Āṇḍān³
housed himself in that mutt begging the pardon of Periya.

1. A special honour done to a devotee by tying round
his head a piece of cloth torn from the vestment of the deity.
2. Hence ‘Uḍayavar’ in Tamil, the name by which Rāmā-
uja is generally known. 3. Two of Uḍayavar’s foremost
disciples.

* i.e., the north Uttara Street.
Nambi and the parijanas. From the next day onwards he assumed and exercised the office of the Srikāryam, in the manner given below:

He appointed Āḻvān as his trusted assistant in controlling the religious code. Mudaliyāndān was appointed to exercise control over the inner organisation of the temple. With his station on the verandah of the ‘umikkaṭṭu’ (probably the place where husk was stored) to the south of the doorway of the store house, Udayavar superintended and controlled the temple affairs and the ceremonies in the western and the eastern gardens, attended to the customary disbursements to certain individuals from the store house, into all of which he made detailed inquiries and ascertained and fixed the daily allowances for the temple. Every day after the ‘noon-meal’ of the Perumāl he laid the daily allowances and other accounts before Him, in private. While he was thus supervising the temple affairs, he found that the treasury and other departments were all at sixes and sevens and he wished to bring these to order. Meanwhile the temple retinue were not prepared to put up with this detailed inquest and, also as an effect of the bad times, they threw many obstacles in the path of Udayavar and even tried to poison him.1 Consequently he left Srirangam and for two

1. The Praṇāṁsūrtam says that an arcaka of the temple who had stolen a jewel of the God, tried to administer poison to Udayavar through alms, fearing detection. The Guruparamparai says that one of the Stānattār being overpowered tried to poison Udayavar. A temple servant coerced his wife to serve poisoned food to Udayavar while on his usual rounds for begging alms. The honest wife obeyed her husband but cleverly indicated to the begging ascetic the nature of the alms by circumambulating him after having parted with the alms, which was not her usual practice. Udayavar suspected something and threw away the poisoned food.
years lived in Tiruvellai, where he installed Alagiyamaṇṇavaḷa Perumāḷ, constructed a tank and supervised the temple affairs of Pangayachelvi and the religious code. Under the Perumāḷ, the repentent parijanas sent Tiruvarangapperumāḷ Arayar to bring back Udayavar. The Arayar, accordingly, brought back the guru, who, once more, took charge of the business of the temple. At that time Akaḷanga Nattālvān* became the disciple of Udayavar, who, finding the former intelligent and capable assigned to him the management of the temple lands. Āndān built a mandapa, decorated with woodwork, on the verandah of the Periya tirumanṭapa in the Ālināṉan enlosure—the benefaction of Trivikrama Chola of old—where he fed the Perumāḷ one day with curd and rice and 'ṇāval' fruits. Later, when Udayavar came to the presence of Alagiyamaṇṇavaḷa Perumāḷ, he found the God looking ill. On making inquiries about the food offered to him, he found that the cause of illness was the offering of 'ṇāval' fruits along with curd and rice. He severely reprimanded Āndān and cured the Perumāḷ with the help of his disciple Garudavāhana Pandita. He renovated the ancient shrine of Daṇvantri—famous in the puraṇas—and left it under the management of Garudavāhana Pandita. He laid down that every night, before the temple-doors were closed, medicinal decoction and milk should be taken in procession to the Perumāḷ by Garudavāhana Pandita.

Feeling that the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam should be governed only by the Panchārātra Āgama as established in the sastras and not by the Vaikhānas, he forsook the Vaikhānas priests. Five 'akāyanas' received initiation at his hands and were given titles as 'mandala namam.' They

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* Most probably a chola chieftain.

1. A species of plum, jambu fruits.
were, on the authority of the sāstras, called ‘Bhagavata Nambimār.’ The daily worship was performed by him according to the procedure laid down in the ‘Pāramēsvara samhita’ of the Pāncharatra. ‘The cleanly dressed and pure brahmins,’ (‘tōdavattittūimaṇgaiyōr’), ‘Koṭuvāleduppār’ were entrusted with the lock and key of the storehouse, etc. The Taḻaiyūvār were entrusted with the Garuda seal – as they belonged to the retinue of the Pakshirāja and as Garuda was the chief of their services. The Āryabhaṭṭāḷ kept watch and Pallavan Viḻupparaiyan the accounts. This arrangement continued. But as ‘the signet of the Discus’ was badly managed Uḍayavar kept it to himself and left the ‘signet of the conch’ to the Nambis.

As the accountant had been removed, he having proved himself unfaithful to Ranganatha, Udayavar was thinking of appointing a Vaiṣṇava brahmin as a fresh accountant, but the temple parivārās appealed to the ancient rights and customs. Accordingly Uḍayavar made the Viḻaḷa Viḻupparaiyan the ‘Koīl-kaṇakkan’ and gave to Kīranūr Kiḻavan, whom he made his disciple, the names of ‘Saṭakōpa dāsan’ and ‘Stala samprati’ (temple accountant). The task of offering cocoanut to the God was being done by Kaikkōḷa Mudali. The Mudalis appealed that a brahmin should be appointed in his place. The Mudali was called and asked, “Which tree contains the tender cocoanut agreeable to Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāl?” to which he replied “Aḻagiya maṇavāḷa Perumāl knows it.” Since he was pure his services were continued. Uḍayavar wanted to expand the

1. Those in charge of the sword of God. 2. Providers of leaves and flowers. Their duties, however, varied. 3. Vaiṣṇava- preceptor of the Kaikkōḷa caste. 4. The U.G. Press edition says that Uḍayavar wanted to appoint a brahmin in his place.
five-fold division of the temple parijanas, viz., ‘Kovānvar,’ ‘Koḍavar,’ ‘Koḍuvāḷeduppār,’ ‘Pāduvār,’ and ‘Taḷaiyīduvār,’ existing before the time of Tirumangaimannan, into a ten-fold division. At this time the eloquent high priest of our temple, Periya Nambi, of royal dignity, was making mischief in disregard of Uḍayavar. Uḍayavar had the idea of removing him from Tiruvarangam. But the Perumāl once, when he was awaiting the procession, appeared to Uḍayavar in his dream as an aged Srivaiṣṭa and said to him, “For a long time past Periya Kōil Nambi has entrusted himself to Our care. You can do as you please.” Uḍayavar woke up and calling Āḻvān said to him, “The existence of my enemy—Periya Kōil Nambi—here, seems to be agreeable to Perumāl. Let us go to Perumāl Kōil.” Āḻvān supplicatingly replied, “The Perumāl who told you so, would also make him favourable to you, and seek spiritual guidance at your feet.” “If so, you bring him round,” said Uḍayavar. Āḻvān brought round the learned Periya Kōil Nambi and made him seek Uḍayavar as his guru. Uḍayavar looked at him with kindness and, because of his skill in speech, gave him the name of ‘Amudan’* and felt pleased. In the month of Aippasi next the mother of Amudan died. Unwilling, as of old, after performing the obsequies for ten days, to invite materialistic people caring only for their bodies for the ‘ēkāham’ Periya Kōil Nambi appealed to Uḍayavar’s beneficence. Uḍayavar asked the ‘Mudalis’ (Vaiṣṭa preceptors) to go

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*Tiruvarangattamudanār, the author of Rāmanuja Nūṟṟandādī.

1. This five-fold division is even to-day preserved in an aruḻappādu corrupted as ‘Kovānvar, koḍavar, koduppār, eduppār, pāduvār, taḷaiyīduvār’. 2. The 11th day meal, referring to the feeding of brahmins on the 11th day of the ceremonial obsequies after the death of a person.
but they would not do so. Then he called Ālvān and said to him, “You go and officiate as the ākāham guest.” Ālvān accordingly took the meal. At the time of uttara āpōsanam, he received the hereditary office of the high priest and the right to read the puranas in the temple as gifts from Periya Koil Nambi and also the document registering those gifts. These he handed over to (Udayavar in) the mutt.

UḌAYAVAR LAYS DOWN THE DUTIES OF THE TEMPLE PARIJANAS

Pleased (with the above) Udayavar expanded the groups of temple parijanas into ten.

1. The Tiruppatiyar. This consisted of pilgrims of different sacred shrines, without any special attachment to the Srirangam temple from days of old, but who had attached themselves to Udayavar as their guru. They had many duties divided among themselves. The services of the men beginning from Tiruppārkadal Dāsar and Tirukkurugaippirān and others down to the local landowners like Chelva Nambi and others were fixed.

2. The Tiruppani-saivār. This consisted of the five descendents of the Koḍavar, Tiruttāḷvarai Dāsar. They were given respectively the names of Tirukkurugūr Dāsar, Nālukavipperumāl Dāsar, Saṭakopa Dāsar, Tirukkalikanri Dāsar and Rāmānuja Dāsar, after their gurus. Thus specially blessed by Udayavar, they were assigned their duties in the temple.

3. The Bhāgavata Nambis. This group was created anew and the duties of its members were laid down.

1. The ‘āpōsanam’ subsequent to the midday meal (water offered by the host to the guest, after meal and before the latter gets up to wash his hands.)
4. The Ullurar or the Todavattitumaraiyör. This group consisted of the (aracakas attending on) Periya Perumāl and Tiruvaranga Māligaiyār (the supplemental procession image), belonging to the class of Todavattitumaraiyör, who were also Koṭuvāḷeṇuppār. These were taken as his siṣyas and their duties assigned. They were called the Ullurar.

5. The Viṇṇappam-saivār. The temple singer Nathamuni Arayar and others were made his disciples and their duties assigned. They were called the Viṇṇappam-saivār.

6. The Tirukkaragak-kaiyār (or the holy water-pot carriers). Tiruvarangavallalār and Tūyamunivālam, among the siṣyas of his, he classed together and assigned to them certain duties like bathing the deity, etc.

7. The Stānattār. Sēnainādabrāhma Rāyar, Virasundarabrāhma Rāyar, Jagannāthabrāhma Rāyar and others, who belonged to the class of Taḷaiyiduvār were assigned certain duties, so that the names bestowed on them by the lords of old may live for ever. They were designated ‘Stānattār.’

8. The Bhattal-kottu. This consisted of Periya Nambi, the Tiruppani-saivār, Āḻvān, Govinda Perumāl, Acchān, Tiruvarangattamudanār, Piḷḷān, Ciriyālvān, and Naṭadūr Ammāl, who were to recite daily in the sanctum, during the puja hours the following respectively: the Rig Veda, the Yajur Veda, the Sāma Veda, the Atharvāṇa Veda, the purāṇas, the Itihāsas, the Srīranga Mahātmya, the Nalāyiraprabandam, the Purvottara Mīmāmsa sutra, the Āśvalāyana sūtra, and the Śrī Bhāshya.

9. The Āryabhättāl. The Aṭṭyabhättāl were grouped together and assigned various duties.

K. O.—4
10. The Dāsanambis. This consisted of the Pundari-kadāsas,¹ who were assigned their duties.

Thus the temple servants were classified into ten groups and the rules for their conduct laid down. As the Sānāpati Durantara, of the class of the Kovaṇavar, Uḍayavar was the chief of the Srivaiṣṇavas of the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam. He caused to amalgamate the permanent services of Garudavīhana Pandita, like offering the medicinal decoction with those of the group of the Tiruppattiyār. This group enjoyed the first place. Hereditarily, the Koḍavar enjoyed the second place. The third place was given to the Bhāgavata Nambis appointed by him to help the 'Tōdavattitūmaraiyōr,' by handing out to them the articles of worship. In this manner the duties of all the ten groups were fixed.

Having thus divided the temple services among the ten groups Uḍayavar also assigned certain duties to four eṅkāngis² who were outsiders. Eight Vaiṣṇava ascetics were appointed to carry the insignia of four gold rods, two silver rods and two rods of cane (bent at the top). Certain permanent duties were assigned to the 'Sāttādamudalis,'³ who were also outsiders. The non-brahmin servants of the temple were also divided into ten groups and their duties fixed. Thus was Udayavar controlling the temple affairs enabling the glory of Tiruvarangam to swell unbounded in all lustre.

For a certain Tiruadyaynōtsava it was found impossible to fetch the image of Nammāḷvār from Tirunagari to Srīrangam. Embārūmānār (i.e., Uḍayavar) installed in the temple the image of Nammāḷvār and those of Nāthamuni and all

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1. The original providers of flowers to the temple to which class belonged Tōḍarādippōdi Āḷvār. 2. Bachelor servants. 3. Non-brahmin servants (i.e., those who did not wear the sacred thread).
the other Āḻvārs excepting Tirumangaimannan. When these Āḻvārs were taken in procession on the days of the Tirumoli and Tiruvāmoli festivals the Perumāḷ graced them with all paraphernalia of honour like arulappāṇu, etc. The Arayar, who represented them was also similarly honoured. The ‘First Āḻvārs’, whose hymns are included in the ‘Iyarpā’, were honoured with seats in the Alagiamanavāḷan tirumāṇḍapam opposite to the sanctum. During the days of the festival of Ankurārpaṇam of the Perumāḷ, the Sivaisnava devotees, who were outsiders recited in the streets, in a row, one ‘andādi’ (a centum) of the Iyarpā. Since that row of reciters belonged to the Āḻvārs’ assembly of hymnists, Udayavar willingly assigned certain duties to the Tiruppaṇi-saivār in the shrines of the Āḻvārs. As a proclamation of the victory of his religious creed he required the Tiruppaṇi-saivār to carry the umbrella in front of the row of hymnists. The Āḻvārs, excepting Ṇṇḍāḷ, were bathed and taken in procession, before daybreak to the holy presence of the Perumāḷ, on their respective tirunakshattaras (natal stars). After worship and after the Perumāḷ and Sēnai Mudaliar had been offered ‘amudu’, one taḻigai (a plate) of prasādam was offered to the Āḻvār and, later, taken to the Sribhāṇḍāra (i.e., the treasury, for sale). Then the Āḻvār was favoured with the ‘pitāmbara’, the garland and the remnants of the scented paste, which had decked the image of the Perumāḷ, and also other honours like the umbrella, the drum, various birudas, etc. Then, taking leave of the Perumāḷ, the Āḻvār proceeded to the shrine of the NaCCiyār, where he was blessed likewise. Finally the procession came out into the streets. The Vaisnava teachers, following the procession recited the

1. Āḻvārs Poigai, Pei and Bhutam. 2. A preliminary ceremony in which seeds are placed in a vessel for sprouting. 3. Six measures of rice (raw) cooked constitutes one taḻigai.
divyaprabhands. The Tiruppanaisaiwart followed the row of hymnists, as the representatives of the temple, receiving betel, etc., offered to the row of reciters, clearing the way for them and carrying the umbrella of victory. After the A1wär was taken back into his shrine, the Tiruppani-saiwart distributed presents to the Arayar, the Sätādamudalis, who bore the image on their shoulders, and the Vaiśṇava teachers. Tirtham, sandal paste and betel were distributed among the hymnists who formed the row. The ten groups of temple servants also received presents along with the Vaiśṇava teachers. After the close of the recital, all the devotees were fed. On the day of Āṇḍāl’s tirunakshattara the Perumāl himself sent a plate of ‘amudu’ to Her, with the Tōdavattitūmaramaiyōr, at the time of his own meal. Āṇḍāl received it with grace. Uḍayavar arranged for other paraphernalia for Āṇḍāl as in the shrines of other Ālvārs. According to the code of Emberumānār, the Arayar representing the Ālvār recited, in the presence of the Perumāl, the sacred prabandhas of the Ālvārs. In the shrines like that of the Nacciyar the Arayar recited a single verse while the Srīvaiśṇavas continued the rest in chorus. The Arayar again joined to close in tune. From the days of Nathamuni down to those of Uḍayavar the Iyarpā was recited only by the Arayar. As on a certain occasion Periya Kōil Nambi resigned his office of the high priest, his right to read out the puranas, and his vehicle in favour of Ālvān, he remained secluded from all the affairs of the temple. From that time Ālvān joined the Bhattāl-kottu and assumed the office of the high priest. In the morning of the festival day of Uttanadvādasi, the Perumāl used to appoint Periya Kōil Nambi to read out to him the Kaisika Purana, the events of which happened in Tirukkurungudi (in the Tinnevelly district) in bygone days. The Perumāl used to present His vehicle (Brahmarāta), in which He would
go out in procession along the streets at the close of the festival according to the rules of the Pāncharātra, to the pauranika—Periya Koil Nambi. Now the entry of the Perumāḷ into the temple, the reading of the Kaisika purana and the Brahmarastra honour came to be done for and in the name of Ālvān. Seeing this Uḍayavar said to himself "The learned Tiruvarangattamudanār should not remain idle like this." Then, he proceeded to the house of Piḷḷai Tiruvarangattamudanār Arayar and made a request for a copy of the sacred Iyarpa. Obtaining it, he said to him, "You need not recite the Iyarpa in the Holy Presence, from this day." Calling upon Amudanār, he read out to him a verse from the Iyarpa and placing that sacred book in front of the Perumāḷ, he obtained the divine command that Amudanār should recite the Iyarpa Thousand and that all the honours due that day to the Arayar were to be done to him. Amudan recited the Iyarpa, as the representative of the Ālvār, received the presents like the Arayar and went home. In other shrines like that of the Nācciyār, too, Amudanār began the recitations of the Iyarpa and was followed by the Srivaiṣṇavas. The Isai (the verses rendered to tune) was recited by the Arayar and the Iyal (the verses rendered without tune) by the Srivaiṣṇavas. In the presence of Periya Perumāḷ the Iyarpa was recited by Amudanār. At other shrines Amudanār began and the Srivaiṣṇavas continued. Since the recitation of the prabandhas was to be by the Ālvār's assembly of hymnists, during the procession in the streets, the Srivaiṣṇavas represented them there. The Arayar represented the Ālvār for the recitation of the Three Thousand. The Srivaiṣṇavas were co-reciters with the Arayar. Amudanār represented the Ālvārs for the recitation of the Iyarpa within the temple. At the Nācciyār shrine the Srivaiṣṇavas were co-reciters with Amudanār as with the Arayar elsewhere. As the Srivaiṣṇavas representing the
Ālivars appointed the Tirupañi-saivār to represent the shrine while the row of hymnists was proceeding, the self-same servants were also entrusted with the duty of distributing prasādams, cakes, etc. On this account there was no such distribution in front of the shrines of the Ālivārs. Only the Vaiṣṇava devotees were fed there.

A few days after Udayavar had made these arrangements Tiruvaramangattamudanār gave out a Nūrrandādi (a centum) in the ‘Kālitturai’ (Kali metre) on Emberumānār equalling in number the gayatri japa. In the festival comprising procession through all the seven enclosures (i.e., the last day of the Brahmotsava) the Perumāḷ asked Udayavar not to go along with Him, and stopping all music in the streets heard the Nūrrandādi recited by the Srīvaiṣṇavas and felt much pleased. When the procession approached the gateway of the mutt, Emberumānār came out and worshipped the Perumāḷ. From that occasion it is customary to stop the procession near the mutt (of Emberumānār) and conduct puja. Thenceforward under the command of the Perumāḷ the recitation of the Iyarpa in the sanctum was followed by that of the Nūrrandādi. In the same manner Amudanār began the Iyarpa as the chief singer and the Srīvaiṣṇavas continued and finished in the shrines of the Nācchiyar, Āndāḷ and Ālivār. According to the wish of Udayavar Amudanār came to be honoured with presents, etc., just like the Arayar, at the commencement of the recital. Like the Kaṇṭhinunciruttāmbu in the Mudalāyiram, the Udayavar-Nūrrandādi, combined with the Iyarpa, was to be daily recited by the Srīvaiṣṇavas as the ‘prapanna’ (sole) gayatri. For Amudanār and the servants a mutt was established and the presents to be given to the Vaiṣṇava teachers living in private houses were also fixed by Udayavar.

Thus did Udayavar fix the various offices of temple servants and their respective duties, installed the images of
the Āḻvārs, made arrangements for the conduct of festivals on the days of their respective natal stars and other celebrations according to the Pāncharātra, conducted in detail the puja, the daily, the fortnightly, the monthly and the annual festivals and mahotsavas, and attended to the repairs and renewals of the temple buildings. For the use of the daily puja and other ceremonies he built a cow-shed in the north eastern corner of the ‘Māda-māḻgai-sūl-tiruvidi,’ and stationed a few cows therein. The rest of the cattle were in the region of Sōlānganallūr, on the northern bank, where five villages were cleared and converted into a fit habitation for the cows like the Brindāvan and wherein ‘Āniraikattā Perumāḷ’ (The Perumāḷ, who guarded the herd of cows—Krishna) was installed. Since he could not leave his classes and discourses and go over there often to look after the cows an image of Periya Perumāḷ was installed there, as in Tiruvarangam and a few Vāikhānasa nambis from the temple were asked to conduct worship at a time when Aṅkānga Nāttāḻvāṉ was inquiring into the taxes of the temple lands.

While thus faultlessly controlling the temple affairs of Tiruvarangēsanar, Uḍayavar learned the import of all the sastras under the guidance of five ācāryas like Tirukkōttiyur Nambi and others and obtained many sishyas. He wanted to start on a tour of victory choosing Āḻvān as his companion and appointing Āṇdān as the superintendent of the temple affairs. With that resolution he prayed to God to present the mace of authority to Āṇdān. With great delight the Perumāḷ said: “Let your servant Dāsarati (Mudaliyāndān) control Our household. You bring together all Our shrines under one code, destroy the weeds in Our doctrine and proclaim in all the four directions that the darsana of Emberumāṇār is the most supreme.” Thus bidding farewell the Perumāḷ gave Uḍayavar many presents of honour and invested Mudaliyāṇḍān with the mace of autho-
rity. As instructed by Uḍayavar Mudaliyāndān controlled the temple endowments and affairs of the treasury from the verandah. From the gateway of the storehouse within the temple, he looked after the details regarding the bathing, the decking, etc., of the idol, and with his station in the Holy Presence he superintended the food-offerings to God, and conducted all festivities.

THE CHIEF AND HIS DEPUTIES

The following are the details of the administrative duties of the ‘Sēnāpati Durantaṇa,’² the chief of all the groups of servants appointed by Uḍayavar, and who is a ‘Kovaṇavar,’ belonging to the group of the Tiruppattiyan:

Every dawn he would proceed to the temple and station himself on the verandah of the Periya Tirumāṇḍapa where the head of the storehouse would meet him and render him obeisance. He would then be told his day’s work. Then the servants connected with the various inner duties would come and render obeisance to him. Then he would bathe himself and proceed to the foot of the flag-staff in the Aṇiyarangan courtyard and make his obeisance to it. While coming round along the Kulasēkharan enclosure he would inspect the kitchen and look into the containers, the usual provisions and the cakes and curries and other eatables appropriate to the occasion and assign the head cook and the ēkāṅgis to their respective duties. Then he would inspect

1. The briefer edition (Umāpati Guruprakasam Press) brings back Uḍayavar to Srīrangam after his victorious tour. But the Ananda Press edition continues thus. The tense (present participle) adopted throughout the following description of the temple services indicates that Uḍayavar’s system is described by a late writer. 2. The responsible chief of the temple servants.
the condiments store and inquire into the state of ghee and such other liquid stuffs and assign the ēkāngis there to their appropriate duties. At the gateway of the ‘Nāligaivattil’, he would receive the obeisance of ‘Kōil-kāṭta Perumāl’ Near the strong room adjoining the storehouse, in the Rājamaḥāndran enclosure, he would join the ‘Tōdavattitūi-maraiyōr’ at the time of the prabandā recitations. From the box of perfumery he would direct his servant, an ēkāngi, to take sandal-paste, sandal, camphor, musk from Kashmir, collyrium, ‘kastūri and tirumaṇ,’ medicated camphor, etc., and hand them over to those brahmīns (for puja purposes). He would also direct the ēkāngis to carry to the Nācciyār shrine at the proper times sealed parcels of robes, vestments and perfumery. Then entering the flower garden he would inspect the purple water lily, the champak, the jasmine, the white lotus and other varieties of flowers agreeable to the divine frame and assign them to their respective uses. Appointing the ‘Tirukkaragakkaiyār’ to their respective duties he would proceed to offer worship at the feet of Sēnaimudaliyār. With His permission he would enter the Ālagiamanavaḷan tirumaṇḍapa and worship Jaya and Vijaya. After this he would meet the Srivaiṣṇava parivārās of the ten groups, the ēkāngis, Sattādamudalis and the ‘Vēttirapāṇis’ and the ten groups of the Sudra pariṣṭhas and ask them to do their respective duties with vigilance. Then entering the sanctum he would arrange for commencing the puja.

1. From where the time was ascertained; probably the clepsydra (clock worked by the flow of water) was kept there. 2. The temple watchman - a deity -, his services were impersonated by a servant. 3. With which the Vaiṣṇava tridental mark is drawn. 4. Vaiṣṇava attendants, who with sticks or maces in their hands, make way for the procession and keep order.
After the celebration of the festivities commencing from ‘Dāraiṣṇam’1 and ending with the noon-meal of the Perumāḷ, he would worship the God with many offerings and then retire to his house and take food.

Again, from the verandah he would well direct the remaining festivities of the day up to the offering of milk and rice, 'kāṣāya' and milk to the Perumāḷ in the night. Then he would receive the honour due to him, by the side of the shrine of Sēnaimudaliar. Leaving it he would reach the verandah and calling for all the judicial officers (dharmā- dhikāris) from both the river banks he would inquire into the daily transactions. Thus, after well looking into the temple administration he would return home with his wife, begging, at the Āryabhattāl gateway, to be excused for sins of commission and omission.

During the festivities beginning with the starting of the Perumāḷ for procession from the gateway of the sanctum and ending with His ascending the Cērapāndyan throne, on special festival days, his duties were to see that all the various services were efficiently done under the supervision of the respective heads of groups, to offer discipleships to (i.e., take into service) all the parijanas excepting the nambis and the Āryabhattāl, and to punish or reward the parijanas as may be necessary. He was also to seal with the signet of the discus (the locks of) the box of the jewels of God, the storehouse, etc. The storekeeper, the superintendent of the inner organisation of the temple, the head in charge of the store of miscellaneous articles, the supervisor of repairs and reconstructions, the ākāngis, the accountant in charge of the temple lands and the justices attached to the temple (dharmā- dhikāris) who were all Kovaṇavars, represented the Sēnāpati Durantara—the administrative chief—in various capacities.

1. Shower bath with warm water.
The following are the details of the honours that are done to the Sēnāpati Durantara by the Perumāḷ: After the Perumāḷ was offered amudu on the decorated seat the Tiruppatiyar would offer him, in the divine presence, prasādams out of which he would take only the myrobalan (āmalaka). Betel would then be offered to him. Daily and on special occasions, after Sēnai-mudaliar and the Perumāḷ had been offered their noon-meals the Nambi, who performed the puja received tirtham from the Sundarapāndyan (bowl). After washing his hands he offered the paricārakas—the Tōdavattitiūmarayōr—who belonged to the group of Ullūrār—tirtham from the ‘uttaraṇī’ (spoon) once. They, on their part, would drink it and wash their hands. When the mangalārattī (burning of camphor before the deity) was over the Nambi would gather the tirtham in a cup, smell it and taking a spoonful out of it would call for the Srikārya Durantarar in the name of the Perumāḷ. The Sēnāpati would then come saying ‘My Lord,’ ‘My Lord.’ The Tōdavattitiūmaraiyōr would offer him tirtham thrice and then the parivaṭṭam would be tied round his head. Then saṇdāl paste, garlands and betel would be offered to him, the Satakopan placed on his head and finally, the parivaṭṭam untied. After the noon-meal of the Perumāḷ and Sēnaimudaliar, the pari-janas of the Nācciyār shrine would take the remnants of the prasādam and other eatables to the house of the Sēnāpati Durantara (to serve as his food.)

At the close of every utsava, he would worship the Perumāḷ from the shrine of Sēnaimudaliar with all honours due to him. While starting out for procession, the Perumāḷ with the blowings of the ‘ekkaḷam,’ would proceed to the

1. A metallic head cover named after Nammāḷvar and symbolising the feet of Viṣṇu. 2. A kind of temple musical instrument.
gateway of the shrine of Sēnaimudaliar, where He would stop facing Sēnēsar. Then the Sēnāpati Durantara would stand to His right at the end of the pole of the palanquin and offer worship facing west. Those who form the row of hymnists, would then wash the feet of the Perumāḷ and collect the tīrtham in the Sundarapāndyan and offer it to the Sēnāpati Durantara, when the parivattam would be tied round his head. The Tōdavattitūimaraiyōr would then collect the flowers that had decked the idol and offer them to him. The Nambis on receiving the various types of garlands from the Sāttādamudalis and sanctifying them by sprinkling water over them would lay them at the feet of the Perumāḷ for a moment and then offer them to Sēnaimudaliar. The garlands that had previously adorned Sēnaimudaliar would then be brought before the Sēnāpati and offered to him. The betel from the God’s spitoon, after His meal, would then be offered to him. The Tōdavattitūimaraiyōr would receive pure water from the holy water pot of the Tirukkaragakkaiyār in a cup and offer it to the Sēnāpati Durantara for washing his hands. The Nambis would then take the mace from the God and offer it to him. The Tōdavattitūimaraiyōr would place the Satakōpan on his head and shoulders. The Nambis would then take back the mace and replace it, as of old, after which the Taḷaiyiduvār would untie the parivattam. The Perumāḷ would then turn to the south, the ‘ekkālam’ would stop, and the Tōdavattitūimaraiyōr would, in the name of the Perumāḷ, offer aruḷappāḍu to the devotees thus “O ye, the followers of Rāmānuja!” Then tīrtham and Satakōpan would be offered to all the Jiyars, the Srivaiṣṇavas, the ēkāṅgis, the Sāttādamudalis and others. Before the days of Uḍayavar these were addressed merely as “Srivaiṣṇavas.” Since the Rāmānujam-ūdayār,¹ the Bhāṭṭas and the Sāttādamudalis lived beyond

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¹. The servants bearing the Rāmānujan sword.
the gateway of the Rājamahēndran enclosure, the honours at
the doorway of the shrine of Śeṇaimudaliar during the Tiru-
vāimoḷi-tirunāḷ were done only to the Śeṇāpati Durantara.
When the recitation of the Vedas was completed in the Kula-
sēkhāran enclosure, sandal paste and Satakōpan would be
offered to him in the name of his services. After aruḷappādu
and other honours had been bestowed upon the Śeṇāpati Dur-
antara in consideration of his services, the Rāmānujam-uḍayār
would be given tirtham. The temple priests work in two
groups, general servants and Rāmānujam-uḍayār. When the
umbrella is held for the God, when He is taken out in process-
sion during the Tirumōḷi festival, the car festival and other
special festivities this sort of procedure would be adopted.
The old procedure of offering aruḷappādu and distributing
prasādams to the Śeṇāpati Durantara after having given
them to the Nambis, who feed the God with amudu and dis-
tribute the prasādams, and the paricārakas—the Tiruppati
Srivaiśṉavas—who gather the tirtham, was now superseded
as a custom of pre-Nāthamuni days. According to the
wishes of Uḍayavar aruḷappādu and prasādams were offered
(first) to the Arayar. Now they are offered to the mace-
bearer, i.e., the Śeṇāpati Durantara. Since the honours of
the Satakōpan and the mace are absent when God Tiruvva-
rangacelvanār attends the daily festivals, the row of hymnists
and the usual distribution of prasādams are also absent.

The following are the duties of the superintendent of the
inner organisation of the temple (Perum uṭturai adigāri)—a
Kovāṇavar:

From within the Āryabhettāḷ gateway he would inquire into the attentions paid to the body and mouth
of the deity. At dawn he would have nice dishes of rice,
dāl, vegetables, etc., prepared by the servants of the Nācci-
yār shrine for the God. He would get choice milk from the
milkmen and prepare thick paste of boiled milk and curd agreeable to the taste of the God. He would, further, have condiments, 'paccadi', thick curds and soft curries prepared efficiently by the respective servants. Under his supervision the cook in charge of cakes and comestibles, was to prepare soft cakes, flavorful and delicious to the divine mouth. An ēkāngi was to serve the liquid stuffs like ghee, etc., for each kind of cake whenever they were required. The spices like cardamom, frankincense, camphor and musk were always to be at the command of the God. From the gateway of the shrine of Nāli-gai-vaṭṭil, the time should be ascertained frequently, and at the proper moments rolls of betel leaves, etc., were to be offered to the God. On the occasions of special festivals, with the help of his men he would inquire into the attentions due to the God in the tirumāṇḍapas and thus his services would be spread over the temple.

The following are the duties of the head of the storehouse:

Every day at dawn he should send to the kitchen, after a three-fold inspection, certain measures of cleaned rice, with the paddy grains and the broken and ill-cleaned pieces carefully removed, and also varieties of dal, wheat, gram and other cereals, after a similar inspection. Every day with the help of the Tiruvēḷaikkārar¹ he should have the ten kinds of vegetables, cocanuts, fruits, etc., brought to the storehouse and thence taken to the kitchen. Different kinds of paddy, tamarind and other juicy substances, and vegetables that are daily received from the temple lands would be sent

¹. Probably 'Tiruvēḷaikkārar,' or servants employed occasionally for specific duties.
to the ‘Iṟaiyāyiramkondān’ or to the oil room, where they would be ground or pressed, as the case may be. He should also send to the kitchen the requisites for preparing the cakes and other eatables for the God. When the Perumāl starts out for procession, he would employ a thousand coolies to carry the umbrellas and the Tiruveḷakkārār to carry the pennons. In the night he would organise, with their help, a display of fireworks for which all the thousand would be paid in kind. He should have the paddy pound into rice. He should feed and protect the elephant, the horses, the cows, the pigeons (in the holes provided for them), the deer, the wild cows, the peacocks, and the parrots belonging to the temple. It is also his duty to supervise the milking of the cows in the presence of the head of the cow-shed and hand over the milk to the Taḷaiyiduvān.

The following are the duties of the supervisor of repairs and reconstructions to the temple:

The daily removal of parasitic plants from the walls and the gopuras, the conduct of repairs and reconstructions, the display of tapestries and hangings during the daily and the special festivals, and the erection and decoration of pandals and watersheds in front of the tirumaṇḍapas.

The following are the duties of the keeper of the miscellaneous stores:

He should look after the flower gardens in the east and the west of the sacred shrine of Tiruvaramgam and protect and tend the fragrant flowers that are suited to the divine frame like the red-water-lily, ‘kasturi’, the oleander (‘arali’), the jasmine, the ‘mullai’, the champak, the white lotus, etc.,

1. Large granary, as in the Srīrangam temple, in which paddy spread over the floor to the thickness of an inch would amount to 1,000 kalamas.
in their proper seasons and make them available when required. He should also collect the greens and vegetables, sugar-canies and such other juicy stuffs, and send them on (to the kitchen). Another duty of his was to prevent injustices and evil-doings in the storehouse and to reward or punish as the case may be.

The following are the duties of the superintendent of the temple lands:

Sowing seeds in the temple lands in the proper seasons; sending to the storehouse varieties of grains, juicy stuffs, the revenue from leases (incomes from ‘mävadai’ and ‘maravadai’) and the requisites for condiments like fruits, cocoanuts, ginger, turmeric, etc., sending rice, dal, etc., for offering prasādam to the God on the ‘pāvādai’ in the maṇḍapas on festive occasions; and providing for the temple on occasions of special festivals, fruits, servants, etc., from the villages and the juicy stuffs like the plantains, tender cocoanuts, sugar canes, etc.

The following are the duties of the supervisor of the cow-shed at Sōlanganallūr:

Daily he should feed the cows properly, milk them every day at dawn and hand over the milk to the milk-man in the milk-room through the cow-herd.

Two ākāṅgis represented the store-keeper. A third ākāngi, stationed at the gateway of the sanctum, was the assistant to the superintendent of the inner organisation of the temple. A fourth, who was a Vedic student, was the assistant to the superintendent of the temple lands. As these four ākāṅgis were ascetics and detached persons, they were

1. Cloth on which boiled rice (amudu) is offered to the deity.
allowed considerable freedom. In the same way Mudaliyāṇḍān of the first group, the Sānāpati Durantara and chief of chiefs, represented Sānaimudaliar.

This state of affairs was in vogue for a long time. Since the Perumāḻ, with great delight, bestowed upon Rāmānuja the mace and the name of the ‘Possessor and bestower of eternal bliss,’ Uḍayavar with perfect independence exercised his office in all prosperity, increased the number of groups of services from five to ten, and appointed Mudaliyāṇḍān as the director of these ten groups of parijanas. He made the Chola of much wealth his disciple and from him obtained many gifts along with their deeds.

From the time of Mudaliyāṇḍan, for two hundred years this arrangement continued uninterrupted. Since the Muhammadan occupation the office of the administrative chief is being exercised by diverse persons known as Srīranga Nārāyana Jiyyar (in the line of the Kovaṇavar), Bhattar, Uttamanambi, Cakrarāyar, Kandāḍai Ramānuja Aiyangār, Koṟattu Maṇiyam (Superintendent with his station on the verandah), Elam Keḻvi (assistant superintendent), etc. All offices excepting that of the mace-bearer receive certain honours in the Holy presence.

**THE TIRUPPATIYĀR**

The following are the duties of the group of the Tiruppatiyār:

When the cane door of the gateway of the sanctum over the Kulasākharan step is opened before dawn, they would enter the temple after bath and sweep and clean the gateway, the brass doorway, the enclosure of Dharmavarma, which is also the procession path, where the Tōdavattitaimaraiyōr dwell (and do their work), and the Amudu maṇḍapa. In all the four directions and in the various shrines they would K. O.—5
examine the lamps and change the wicks in the ‘mangalāratti’ plates, ‘kuttuvilakku’ (standing oil lamp) in the sanctum and the lamps in the Aṉagiyamanavāḷan tiruṇāḍapa. For these and other lamps they would fetch ghee from the storehouse through the ēkāṅgi ‘Sonbhaṇḍāri’ (the bhaṇḍāri of the golden treasury?). They would place the wick on ‘kumbālatti’ (pot shaped lamp), light it and give it to the arcakas during puja). For the ‘mangalāratti’ accompanying the procession of pongal, milk-rice, noon and night meals for the God, they would fetch flour from the storehouse and making suitable wick-holders out of the dough, place wicks in them, light them and hand them out to the arcakas. On the arrival of the taḷigai, they would screen the sanctum and heap the boiled rice over the pāvādgai and hold torches during the divine meal. They would also bear torches whenever the arcaka proceeds to perform ‘homa’ or sacrifice. Their chief would hold the mace and inquire into the temple affairs. The announcing of the arrival of the amudu, reciting hymns when the idol is being bathed, and singing the ‘kokkavi and the tattikkavi’ are also their duties. They would offer worship with incense whenever the Perumāḻ is seated in the maṇḍapa outside the sanctum. They would prepare wicks for the early morning puja on the Tiruppavittirā-tirunāḻ. For the Tirukkārtikai festival they would prepare a thousand large wicks. For the daily and periodical pujas they would change the wicks in the Rāmānujan lamp, light it and offer it for worship. On the evening of the day of the Tirukkārtikai festival, they would fetch lighted lamps from the kitchen for worship. They would prepare amudu and take it in plates to the sanctum. After ‘nivedānam’ or rice-offering, they would inspect the Amudumaṇḍapa and

1. Festival conducted at the close of a year to expiate the sins of the year.
clean it with a piece of cloth. In the evening they would fetch ghee and with it light the lamps in all the doorways in the three enclosures within the Āryabhattāḷ gateway and in the sanctum. They would light the lamps in the tirumaṇḍapas when the Perumāḷ starts out for procession, and when He returns they would hold two torches in front of Him, crossed like a pair of scissors, within the gateway of the sanctum. During the Tirukkārtikai and the Sṛijayanti festivals they would distribute parched grains among the devotees. For the daily and special pujas they would bring the sacrificial fuel and the darba grass and make ‘pavittiras’ out of the latter. They would do the small services connected with the ‘bali’ offerings on festive occasions. (Every night) they would take in procession medicinal decoction and milk to Garudavāhana Pandita, from the ‘Ārōgyasāḷai’ (for being offered to the Perumāḷ). When the Perumāḷ is taken in procession to the Aḷagiamanavāḷan tirumaṇḍapa for receiving the ‘bali’ offerings during the daily festivals, they would carry the hand lamps along with the procession and place standing lamps in the tirumaṇḍapas. These are the duties of the Tiruppati Sṛivaiṣṇavas.

In the year Akshaya, after the Muhammadan occupation, the duties of preparing amudu and distributing the prasādam and pāvādai among the devotees were absorbed by the Sribahanaḍāra. ¹ In their place they obtained the following duties connected with the God’s nivēdanam and connected with the other duties of the group of Tiruppatiyār, viz., closing the doors of the sanctum, offering the prasādam to the Sānāpati Durantara—a Kovaṇavar—, distributing prasādam (parched grains) in the great festivals of Tirukkārti-

¹. This expression which occurs very often means that the rights of service to God were detached from the servants (and their control vested in the treasury).
kai and Srijayanti, receiving amudu on the pāvādai and announcing the distribution of the pāvādai.

Later on they came to possess the following duties also: reciting hymns when the deity was bathed; performing the Tiruvandikkappu; reciting ‘taṭṭikkavi’; announcing the arrival of the taṭṭigai; offering incense while performing puja on the steps of the tirumaṇḍapas and pouring out the water used for cleaning the eating plates. Of the seven lamps which they used to bring from the kitchen one was given to Uttamanambi as gift and the rest were disposed off independently. Since they were either sold away or made over as gifts no right is being exercised by the Tiruppattiyār in the name of these lamps.

A few of these servants like Uttamanambi and others, after the time of Gopaṇa Uḍayār created for themselves certain privileges and honours the details of which are given below. They would prepare the wick-holders of dough for purposes of worship, and offer sandal paste when the special slokas are recited during the divine bath. They would gather up the amudu on the pāvādai. For these and for bringing lighted lamps for the Kārtikai festival, serving amudu, etc., the temple authorities framed certain rules in the name of the God in the place of the regulations of Uḍayavar. According to these rules seven kinds of eatables were to be offered to the God instead of mere rice-offering.

In course of time, a few of the temple authorities, because of their prominence, created for themselves more privileges than existed prior to the days of the Sānāpati Durantara including the right of offering amudu to the God. Acquiring increased wealth in kind and cash, they reserved for themselves the exclusive privileges of offering amudu and

1. Evening rites performed towards the close of the day’s festivities to ward off the evil eye.
betel to the God. Excepting the hereditary right to estates they separately sold away the various services of the groups and thereby obtained enormous wealth in kind and cash and privileges connected with the divine food and eatables.

The honour of offering tirtham and sandal paste to those who bring lighted lamps for the 'Kārtikai' festival is a novelty. The announcement of the Tiruvarangam song during the Tiruvāimoiţi festival is done after aruḻappāgu is issued to the Tiruppatiyār.

THE TIRUPPANI-SAIVĀR

The following are the duties of the group of the Tiruppani-saivār:

Sweeping the Rājamhendran enclosure, the Candana manḍapa, etc., and sprinkling water over them; inspecting the streets whenever the Perumāḻ starts out for procession; reciting the Tiruppani-mālai1 at the close of each festival; the sprinkling of water whenever the umbrella is held for the Perumāḻ in the afternoon of some special festival days and when He is taken out for procession; and splashing water, scented with camphor etc., and placed in two large vessels in front of the Perumāḻ, high into the air, after the Koḻavar had been honoured with aruḻappāgu and till betel is offered to Him, so that the wind carries the scent to the divine frame. While fixing the temple services, Emberumānār had appointed the Srivaiṅņavas to recite the Iyaṟṟpa while they formed the Tiruvōlakkam in the name of Āṟayar, and the Tiruppaṇi-saivār, who went by the names of the Āḻvārs and his five gurus, to accompany the row, representing the

1. Generally known as 'paṭippu,' which is an account of the various festivities of the God and the various services rendered by the Vaiṅṅava preceptors of the 'Tenkalai' sect to the temple.
shrine. In this connection their duties were: carrying the ‘samayachatra’ in front of the row of hymnists; making way for the procession, receiving on behalf of the shrine betel, fruits, cocoanuts or money, that may be offered by devotees, giving the coins thus received to the Srīvaisṇavas when they disperse; collecting the fruits and cocoanuts together when offered in abundance, and offering tirtham, prasādam, betel, fruits and cocoanuts to the hymnists when they go to the various shrines for reciting the prabandas; collecting people together under the ‘samayachatra’ in order to arrive at a decision in cases of disputes regarding the religious code or any temple affair; and the distribution of prasādams first to the Srīvaisṇavas and then to the Jiyars in the mutt or in private houses (on ceremonial occasions). After the images of the Āḻvārs, Āndāḷ and other deities were set up in the Akaḷāngan and Ālināḷan enclosures and those of Nammāḻvār, Tirumangaimannan and Madurakavi, in the Sundarapāṇdyan Tulāpuruṣa mandapa the Tiruppani-saivār would offer the ‘Āḻvār-tiruvādinilai,’ known as Madurakavi, and tirtham to those Srīvaisṇavas, who had finished the recital of the prabandas during the festivals of the Perumāḻ, in the shrine of Nammāḻvār, the head of the Āḻvār. Though the name of the ‘Āḻvār-tiruvādinilai’ is generally ‘Rāmānujan,’ in this shrine it is known by the name of ‘Madurakavi,’ as named by Emberumāṇār, when he installed the Tiruvaṭhinilai and the image of the Āḻvār, since it was he (Madurakavi) who brought the image of Nammāḻvār from Tirunagari to Srīrangam. That name has been in vogue ever since. Since the success of the Tiruppani-saivār on the boundary line during the Brahmotsava of the year Naḻa, after Saka 1297, they are done the honours of

1. Umbrella celebrating the victory of the creed; prize of religious disputation.
aruḷappāḍu in the name of ‘Valēndinaperumāḷ Dāsar,’ followed by many presents and the elephant ride (of the Perumāḷ) celebrated on their behalf, in the same place. In course of time the Śrīvaisṇava reciters began to suspect the Tiruppani-saivār needlessly and began to receive directly the money offered by the devotees, while they sang in chorus in the procession. As a consequence, the Tiruppani-saivār ceased receiving the cocoanuts and fruits offered in large quantities and distributing them among those Śrīvaisṇavas too. After this there was a new kind of distribution of prasādam and eatables among the hymnists without reference to the Tiruppani-saivār.

The details of the honours due to these are: Uḍayavar had laid down the procedure of the distribution of tirtham, parivaṭṭam, garlands, sandal paste and Saṭakōpan by the Tiruppani-saivār during the Tiruvāimoḷi festival, when their duties were required and of issuing aruḷappāḍu for the recitation of the Tiruppanimāḷai composed by himself. After some time the Tiruppani-saivār were honoured, on the boundary line with aruḷappāḍu, tirtham, sandal paste, parivaṭṭam, garlands and the elephant-ride of the Perumāḷ in their name. In the year Akṣaya, after the Muhammadan occu-pation the Rāya had come down to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam. While worshipping the Perumāḷ in a street during a certain festival, he spat out chewed betel. The Tiruppani-saivār removed it and threw it away. The Rāya on seeing this asked them whether they could (condescend to) do so, to which they replied it was their duty. The Rāya talked to them pleasingly and giving them some wealth, obtained the service of inspecting the streets for himself, and transferred it to his men. From that time they forsook the

1. A reference to the dispute with the Saiva shrine at Jambukēsvaram, appearing in the following pages.
inspection of streets which was nearly one-half of their entire duties. (However) they continued to have the elephant-ride and other honours done to themselves in consideration of their duty of inspecting the streets in the boundary line, on the eighth day of the Brahmoṭsava. In order to make known that that duty was theirs they did the work of sprinkling water in the Rājamahēndran and the Kulasekharan enclosures. Unable to tackle their (overgrown) duties after the Muhammadan occupation they left them to the brahmin Srivaiṣṭṇavas, who represented the Āḻvār, partly for a price, partly as gift and partly as dues to ‘ācāryas’ or gurus, to be managed with the help of the additional paricharakas of the shrines of the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas. They are now enjoying their main service of offering ‘tirumān’ (sacred white earth) for the use of the deity and the other half of their duties (i.e., other than inspecting the streets.)

As one of the most important of their duties is the recitation of the Tiruppaṇi-mālai they are known as the Tiruppāṇi-saivār. (The Nambis of the Uḍayavar shrine confined themselves to the daily puja. In course of time even that was abandoned and now they have restricted themselves to puja during the month of Mārgaḷi.)

The following are the duties of the group of Bhāgavata Nambis:

Offering incense to the deity during puja in the sanctum; changing and arranging the jewels of God; offering a mirror to God, at dawn, when His teeth are washed and when He is adorned with the ‘kastūri and tirumaṇ’; receiving sweet drinks (pānākam) and offering them to God; receiving and offering areca-nut, betel, fruits, cocoanuts, jaggery and such other juicy stuffs for the daily and occasional ceremonial and mantric baths of the idol; taking the pot-lamp from the stand (‘senaikkāl’) and offering worship with it;
and tying the betel-pouch whenever the Perumāḷ starts out for procession and carrying it along with Him—these duties were transferred by Uḍayavar from the 'Todavattīimaraiyōr' to the Nambis. The following were their original duties:

Seating the idol for a procession; installing the flag on the flag-staff; offering the mace to the Sṛkāryam at the foot of the flag-staff; offering amudu to the Āḻvārs in the presence of the Perumāḷ on special occasions; ascending the 'dipastamba' or the great lamp-stand during the Kārtikai festival and offering 'dīpārādana' or lamp-worship to God; reading the 'epistle to Nāmāḻvār'; making known the will of God regarding offering of arulappādu to the Uḻūrār and Stānattār; and receiving their share of the prasādam when their duties were over—these are as established in the Pāncharātra. Under the orders of Uḍayavar they had also the charge of the signet of the Conch1 and other duties like reciting slokas in praise of the God's vehicle in the divine presence before the beating of the drum; adorning Sēnaimudaliyar with the fresh garlands offered to Him by the Perumāḷ when the latter starts out for procession, and giving away His used garlands to the administrative chief; conducting the puja, nivēdanam, etc., of the various minor deities within the third enclosure; reciting a passage from the Vedas when they were called upon by the Perumāḷ to do so; initiation of pupils into the secrets of the Pāramēsvara samhita by the aged and the wise of them, etc. During puja they would offer betel and nut to the deity and, during the ceremonial bath of the idol, the articles required for such a bath, viz., loin-cloth, etc. Then they would offer tirtham and prasādam.

When the Perumāḷ starts out for procession the arulappādu would be issued in the gateway of the sanctum. Even this,

1. The conch represented the archakas and the discus the Jiyar.
in course of time, was done only during the Tiruvāimolī festival. . . . Offering Saṭakōpan once to those who announced the beating of the drum and honouring them with pari-
vaṭṭam, etc., is a new procedure. During the initiation of the dipastamba festival in the month of Kārtikai they would offer to devotees pieces of God’s vestment, parivattam, gar-
lands, tirtham and Saṭakōpan. The practice of offering (to devotees) a single garland, sandal paste, tirtham once, and Saṭakōpan once, during the Mahōtsava when the fresh earth is ordered to be fetched is immemorial. The honours of being served tirtham thrice, varieties of garlands, sandal paste and Saṭakōpan, on head and shoulders, were to be enjoyed by the Kanḍādaiyar, who is the Sēnapati Durantara and none else. But in course of time several individuals appropriated these honours to themselves. For a time the duties of the Nambis were restricted only to those connected with prasādam, tirtham, and the articles of worship, but when ‘Ilangai’ (a village?) was endowed and recorded in an inscription in the form of a divine epistle, they came to enjoy increased quantities of paddy and seven kinds of grain for eatables. In course of time when seventy ‘vaṭṭams’ came under the Ilangai endowment their incomes were deposed in the treasury. . . . . . . They exercised their right of offering prasādam every day and gradually obtained all their ancient privileges. Over and above these they obtained, in course of time, certain of the rights of the Taḷaiyiṭuvār with the sale proceeds of thirty ‘vaṭṭams’ and also certain of those of the Uḷḷūrār like the elephant-ride (in their honour), as gifts, which they continue to enjoy. Of these the duty of protecting the idol from within the sealed golden doorway with the Uḷḷūrār, after the departure of the guard of the sanctum, taking charge of and returning boxes of jewels to the treasurer, and sharing the duty of receiving, within the temple premises, the offerings of the devotees, like
fruits and cocoanuts, with the Uḷḷūrār, are still in vogue. They also obtained the duty of holding the umbrella (to God) from the back of the elephant as a gift from the Taḷaiyiduvar. After a few days they began holding the umbrella from behind the Bhattāchāryas of the day.

The following are the duties of the Tōdavattitūimariyō or Uḷḷūrār:

Fanning the deity with the fly-whisk during the ornamental bath at dawn; opening the two doorways of the sanctum and examining the vessels like the pancapātras (or the cups forming the paraphernalia of worship); preserving and offering washed clothes for decking the idol; giving out the aruḷappāḍu when the God and the Goddess are seated together; offering amudu, mirror, ornaments and 'kastūri and tirumanā' when they are required; holding the fly-whisk and the umbrella of pearls; fanning with the fly-whisk the ornamental amudu, etc.; standing by the platters and fanning the God with chowry during the divine meal; mixing scent and delicacies with sandal paste and distributing it after the divine meal, among the devotees; restoring the jewels, and cotton and silk clothes securely into the storehouse after use by the Perumāḷ; offering a club, a cushion, silk garments and 'kastūri and tirumanā' to the Perumāḷ when He ascends His vehicle while starting out for procession during the daily festivals; acting as guards and honouring the administrative chief with parivattam and sandal paste, prasādam and cakes and eatables during festivals, when the God and the Goddess are seated together; opening the door of the sanctum and holding on either side a pair of fly-whisks, chowries, huge circular fans, betel holder, the curved sword and umbrellas of pearls whenever the God and the Goddess leave the sanctum for procession; washing the feet of the Perumāḷ; offering 'pitāmbara' (or silk garments) and exchanging pots of water during the rite of the 'Tiruvandikkappu' when the
God is seated in the maṇḍapas outside the temple; walking behind the procession bearing the Saṭakopan on their chests and offering it to those who deserve it; fanning the Perumāl with the huge circular fan, standing to His right; acting as His body-guards and offering tirtham, prasādam, etc., to worshippers when the Perumāl is seated in the tirumaṇḍapa and the screen drawn off; bringing ‘pancakavyam’, etc., from the kitchen and offering them for puja; holding the umbrellas and fanning the deity with fly-whisks when the puja is over; offering betel before the sacred Vaiṣṇava mark is put on the forehead of the idol; changing the lamp-plates of worship when the divine meal is over; offering, next, to the administrative chief, all the paraphernalia of honour excepting the mace and conducting puja on his behalf; offering, tirtham to the hymnists; and giving out the divine commands to the Srivaiṣṇavas, according to the ‘varnāśrama dharma.’ According to their aruḷappādu they are of two kinds—Periya Nambi and Rāmānujam-udayar groups.

The following are the duties of the Uḷḷurār within the sanctum, performed in camera: bringing the juice of the tender cocoanut offered to the deity in a fresh vessel and placing it before the hymnists; bringing the prasādam and placing them before the administrative chief; offering washed clothes, etc., to the Perumāl when He is bathed in camera on His return to the temple from the tirumaṇḍapas; adding scent to the bathing water for ordinary and special baths; and offering perfumed sandal-paste, betel, washed clothes, garland of basil, the breast-plate and the ‘sanka nidhi’, ‘padma nidhi’ and the ‘sahasradarai’ plate when required.

1. The paraphernalia with which the deity is given a shower bath. Water is poured into a ‘thousand holed plate’ through two of its arms bearing the figures of the conch and the lotus and let to fall in a shower.
Unable to carry out these duties after the Muhammadan occupation, they transferred to the Sribhandara the following two duties: Mixing scent, etc., with sandal paste, and carrying to the tirumāṇḍapas along with the Perumāḷ the huge vessels used in puja, the box of jewels, etc. Just to signify that those duties were theirs they helped the new servants to carry sandal paste, etc., and place them (in the tirumāṇḍapas). In course of time they delegated to the Nambis the duties of bearing the Satakāpan and offering it to devotees and the (opening of the) golden gateway and (the charge of) the sealed lock of that doorway in the sanctum. From that time some of the Nambis who worked by turns began the practice of taking over from the Uḻūrār the duties of guarding the sanctum within the golden gateway, offering of jewels, etc., to God on special occasions, and acting as the body-guard of the Perumāḷ in the tirumāṇḍapas—these duties being handed back to the Uḻūrār, on the return of the Perumāḷ to the sanctum.

Sometime later the Uḻūrār delegated to others half of their duties and kept for themselves the following, over and above their main duties: (the duties connected with) the storehouse and the jewels; the charge of the sealed lock of the gateway of the sanctum guarded by Jaya and Vijaya; cleaning and handing over to the Nambis the stools bearing the pancapātras; mixing scent with sandal paste; filtering civet and offering it to the deity; offering clothes and garments for decking the idol, and receiving them back; examining and arranging betel and nut for offering to the Perumāḷ along with amudu while seated in the tirumāṇḍapas; receiving them back after the offering and placing them before the administrative chief for distribution among the hymnists; taking back the plates when such distribution is over; filtering collyrium and giving it over to the Nambis in the sanctum through the Śanāpati Durantara; handing out the ligh-
ted mangaḷäratti plates to the Nambis at the proper moments during puja and receiving them back; lying at the doorstep of the storehouse as guards at night when the temple doors are closed; offering to the Perumāḷ the club and the cushion, in camera, when He starts out for procession; holding the club, from the left, while the procession is on; carrying the standing lamp, huge vessels, the boxes containing the paraphernalia of worship and those containing the jewels to the tirumanṭāpas with the help of the men belonging to the Sribahaṇḍāra; and offering to the proper persons the implements required for puja and receiving them back when the Perumāḷ is brought and seated within the tirumanḍapa. For these services they were honoured with tīrtham and Satakōpan, in camera, in the sanctum. They strictly performed these duties which were half of their original services.

Some of the rest they did by turns and a few they sold away. Still unable to manage, in course of time, they gave away some of their rights as gifts. Since these services were separated and given away (to the Sribahaṇḍāra) the new servants are known as Bhaṇḍāris. These are the duties of the Uḷḷūrar or the Tōdavattittūmaraiyör. After the Muhammadan occupation these are being performed in divers ways.

The following are the duties of the group of the Viṇṇappam-saivār:

Playing on the vina, at dawn, after bath, in the Āḷagiya-
maṇavāḷan tirumanḍapa; reciting the sacred names of God when honoured with arulṭappāṇu, at the commencement of puja; reciting a verse from the ‘Mūvāyiram,’ in the holy presence, before they leave at the close of the puja; reciting likewise during the noon and night pujas; singing in the Aṉiyarangan courtyard and reciting the appropriate verses
for the Pādiyēṟṟam in the Rājamahēndran enclosure during the daily festivals of the (Tiruvaranaga) Chelvanar; playing on the vina in the south-western corner of the Rājamahēndran enclosure; singing melodiously when the idol is being bathed, when taken in procession and during festivals; reciting the Mūvāyiram and enacting the noble deeds (of God) and illustrating them with gestures during the Tirumōḷi and Tiruvāimoḷi festivals, after being honoured with the aruḷappāṟu addressed to them by their titles and the presents of silk and cotton parivattams with hangings etc., that are usually offered to the Āḻvār; reciting the ‘Tirupaḷḷi-ĉฤucci’ and the ‘Tiruppāvai’ to tune, every day at dawn, at the commencement of puja, throughout the thirty days of the month of Mārgaḷi; closing the recitations of the ‘Tiruppāvai’ and recommencing the usual (daily) verses at the close of the Mārgaḷi puja after being honoured with aruḷappāṟu through their titles and presents of silk and cotton parivattams; singing the swing-song during the swing-festival and the festivals of Srīrāmanavami and Srījayanti after being honoured with aruḷappāṟu and other presents; acting as the representatives of the Āḻvār, and reconciling the God and the Goddess by means of a dialogue when aruḷappāṟu for reconciliation is issued at the time of the ceremony of the ‘Lovers Quarrel’ (Praṇaya kalaham); singing the (stanzas beginning with) ‘Pandānam’ and ‘Kiḷaroḻi ḷamai,’ and offering (religious) instructions; and singing to tune while the temple dancing girls danced the Malappu—these are their duties.

1. This is a special feature in the Srīrangam temple. There are two flights of steps to the sanctum from the second prakara—in the east and west. Along the latter the god is carried gently up to the accompaniment of appropriate music.
Under altered circumstances after the Muhammadan occupation they created for themselves the right of entering the sanctum and worshipping the Perumāḷ (along with others) during nivādanam. The special honours of silk and cotton parivaṭṭams with hangings due to the Āḻvārs, the presents distributed to them in the divine presence claimed as customary from the days of Nāṭhamuni, and the arulappādu being addressed to them by their titles were done to Amudanār on behalf of the Viṅṇappam-saivār. The bestowal of such honours upon others is an innovation. The honours due to the Arayar like royal patronage were done to the two nephews of Srimad Nāṭhamunigal, viz., Kīlaiyagattālvān and Mēlaiyagattālvān and and none else.

The following are the duties of the Tirukkaragakkaiyār:

Taking the water-pots from the strong room adjoining the storehouse at dawn and bringing those pots filled with water (from the Kāverī), in state, on the back of an elephant, enough for the day and the next, and making a stock of it in their room; filling up the pancapātras with the sacred water for all pujas beginning with that at dawn; offering a pot of water during the ceremony of washing the teeth of the idol; offering water for washing the mouth of the idol whenever pānakam and betel are offered to God; preparing such pānakams for the daily festivities in the temple and the special festivities in the tirumaṇḍapas; offering water, without fail, from the water-pot for washing the mouth and feet of the idol in the course of the procession; preparing and offering the Vagaceal garland to the Perumāḷ while He is starting out for procession and ordinary garlands at other times; making a chain of basil beads and offering it to God for His bath; making and offering to the deity ornamental garlands of red-water lilies, etc; offering garland to the Sānpātiyār.
when the procession starts, and Veḻḷai and Vagaccal¹ to the deity in the sanctum—these are the duties executed by them, as laid down by Emberumānār.

When Mudaliyāndān became the Sānāpati Durantara and took charge of the temple affairs he made it his sacred duty to prepare, along with the Srivaiśṇavas, for the deity, the ornamental arch of red-water lilies. This he did after washing his hands with water offered by the Tirukkaragakkaiyār, on the occasion of the Tirukkārtikai festival to keep the heat off the divine frame, and the starting of the Perumāl for the Tiruvūgal on the evening of the Cītrāparvam, in propitiation of the parva. It became customary for Mudaliyāndān to do this service along with the Srivaiśṇavas, whose helpmates were the Tirukkaragakkaiyār. Hence the flower arch is not prepared in the Tiruppūmanḏapam, which is out of the jurisdiction of the Tirukkaragakkaiyār, but only in the Cittirai maṇḍapa. Their other duties are: offering Āṇḍāl and Arulmāri² for adorning the procession idol seated on vehicles; and offering the two Veḻḷai and Vagaccal garlands to the Perumāl when He is starting out for procession before they are offered to Sēnaimudaliār. After the Muhammadan occupation the rights connected with the Tiruppūmanḏapam, etc., were gradually made the objects of sale and transfer. After some time the servants in charge of the daily garlands and garlands of the vehicles and the Veḻḷai and Vagaccal, handed over their duties to the Dāsanambis. Other duties connected with other garlands, perfumery, etc., were left in the hands of non-brahmin servants. . . . Offering the string of beads of the sacred basil and Veḷḷai garlands

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1. Veḷḷai is a garland of white flowers. Vagaceal is a thin variety of garland called 'saram'. 2. Āṇḍāl refers to the pins that are used to hold the dress of the idol and Arulmāri to the knife that is used to cut the garlands.

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for the divine bath; offering basin (for puja) and other things which were previously offered by the Tirukkaragakkiyār, in the presence of the God, on the occasions of the recitation of the Vedas, and the Tiruvandikkāppu; the ceremonies of closing the recitations of the Tiruvāimoḷi, the Iyarpā and the Tiruppāvai; and the adornment of the God’s vehicles are now being done by the non-brahmin servants who obtained these rights independently. As the preparation of the flower-arch for Āndāl is not their (the Tirukkaragakkaiyārs’) duty the Srivaiṣṇavas are doing it as usual under the commands of Āndāl.

The following are the duties of the Stānattār or Taḷaliyīṭuvār:

The duties connected with the Tōḻukkiniyān, Tiruccir and Samarabhūpālan¹; bearing the God riding in His palanquin or His mounts excepting the elephant; holding the umbrella for the holy water, amudu, etc., while in procession; holding the huge circular umbrella for (Tiruvvaranga) Chelvar and the umbrella for all vehicles except the Tōḻukkiniyān.² [Holding the umbrella for the God, from behind the back of the elephant; offering to the deity milk, milk-paste, curd, etc., and distributing them after nivedanam, and depositing the rest in the Sribhaṇḍāra; offering ghee for the taḻigais of amudu and cattles of God; stationing themselves at the head of the poles of the palanquin or capra in order to secure evenness of motion; tying parivaṭṭam round the head of the Sēnāpati Durantara and offering him garlands; issu-

1. These are the names of the long and horizontal rods (or poles of the palanquin) that bear the capra, of gold, silver and wood respectively.  
2. The temple manuscript continues to enumerate the following duties. The gap - the bracketed portion - is quite patent in the printed edition.)
ing arulappădu to the Arayar and the Ālvārs and announcing the Tiruvandikkappu, the puja and the Vedic recitations in the tirumanḍapās; taking betel and offering it to the Arayar; distributing prasādams and sandal paste in the tirumanḍapās; taking the ‘Tirumugappatṭaiyam’ to the Ālvār; affixing the Garuda seal to the (box of) jewles, etc.—these are their duties.

In course of time, after the Muhammadan occupation, they kept to themselves the direction of the procession and the distribution of prasādams etc., and divided the service of bearing the God’s vehicles into four distinct rights and left them in the charge of the Nambis and others. Some time later the duties of offering milk, and the direction of the procession were sold away. The affixing of the seal, which now continues, is done differently. The right of holding the umbrella from behind the arcakas on the back of the elephant-vehicle was given away to Kesavayyangar alias Choliya Nambimār Aḷattivālvitta Perumāḷ by means of an agreement. He in his turn gave away this right to the Nambis, who were his followers. Thenceforward on the sixth day of the Citra festival, the Nambis of the day hold the umbrella on the back of the elephant from behind the Bhaṭṭāchāryas who officiated at the dvajārōhaṇa ceremony: Siranga Nāyaki, the daughter of the Aḷattivālvittavan had no issues and she had pledged the rights of bearing the God’s vehicles, affixing the seal, etc., with the descendents of Vēdavyāsa Bhattar for loans.]

Perumāḷ Uttamanambi gave away his son, Periya Tiruvaḍi and his daughter Rangamman to Siranganāyaki in adoption. Siranganāyaki on her part, with great attachment, assigned twenty days to Periya Tiruvaḍi and ten days to Rangamman of the duties of the Taḷāṭyiduvār of the Nācchiyar shrine, which were hers by hereditary right.
Subsequent to the dispute between Uttamanambi and Bhattar Tirumala-charya, Uttamanambi went to the Madura palace and representing that his son was not adopted by the Taiyiduvvar and was not under their dependence, obtained a new seal, which is the unique mudra of the Taiyiduvvar and made it his own, without reference to the Bhattar. Thenceforth the duties of the Taiyiduvvar of the Nacciyar shrine and the Garuda seal are under the control of Uttamanambi. Thus the Garuda seal passed under his control.

The duty of Garudavahana Pandita, viz., offering the medicinal decoction and milk to the Perumal, associated with the Tiruppatiyyar group, is being conducted separately.

The following are the duties of the Bhattal group:

Subsequent to the puja and the recitation of a verse from the Muvayiram by the Arayar and when arulappadu had been announced by the Uljurar, they would wash their hands with the pure water brought by the Tirukkaragakkaiyar in a huge cup. Then they would respectfully receive the prasadam from the hands of the Tirukkaragakkaiyar and then recite the following one by one. Garudavahana Pandita would lead with the Rigveda, Periya Nambi would recite the Yajur and the Sama vedas, the Tiruppaani-saivar the Atharvana veda, the Bhagavata Nambis and Kurrattalvan the puranas, Tiruvangattamudanar, Govinda Perumal, Accan, Pilalan, Ciriyalvan, Nadadur Ammam, and others from various sacred shrines along with their co-preceptors would one by one recite the Itihisas, the Srimanga Mahatmyam, the Aisvalayana sutra, the Apastamba sutra, the Bodhayana sutra, the Mimamsa sutra, the Vyakaran, the Nalayira Prabandam, the Alavandar stotram, the Sribhashyam, the Gitabhashyam, the Gayatrayam, and the Panchangam. First the Vedas, in order: of Suklayajus and Chandosamam, then in order, the puranas,
the Itihāsas, the Sriranga Mahatmyam, the stōtras, etc., are recited by the appropriate persons. In the tirumāṇḍapapāṇam they would recite, in the same order, after the Stānattār had issued aruḷappāṇu. During the ornamental bath of the idol they would recite the Puruṣāsūkta after aruḷappāṇu and after receiving tīrtham from the plates brought by the parīcārakas. During the Tiruadyayanōtsava, they would begin to recite these with the exception of the Nālāyira Prabandam, daily, in the presence of both the God and the Goddess, at the close of the midday worship, and would finish with the Purāṇas, when the Perumāḷ started out for procession. Then they would be offered tīrtham, silk and cotton parivaṭṭams, sandal paste, a single garland, betel, praśādam, and Sri Saṭakāpan in the sanctum. Then the Perumāḷ would appoint the Kovanavar to leave them in their houses taking them in the Brahmaratas along with all the pariyanas. Accordingly they would be taken to their homes. This is an ancient custom. Before Uḍayavar divided the temple servants into so many groups these services were done by Periya Kōil Nambi as the high priest. Then Uḍayavar separated these and assigned the recitations of the Rig veda, the Chandōśāma veda, the Atharvaṇa veda, the Sukla Yajus, the Ekkāyana sākha, the Mimāṁsā sūtra, the Rishi purāṇa, the Bōdhāyana sūtra, the Āśvalāyana sūtra, the Vyākaraṇa sūtra, the Itiḥāsa and the Ālaṃḍār stōtra to those Mudalis, along with their co-students, who had attached themselves to him as his pupils. After some time, when the Sṛībhaṣyam was written, this and two others—the Sṛī Gīta Bhāṣyam and the Gayatrayam were included. The reading of the Panchāngam and the Kaisika Purana and the Brahmarata honours adjunct to it were done in the name of Āḷvān only to signify the fact of his having received the office of the highpriest as a gift from Periya Kōil Nambi. The other duties were assigned to others. Thus the duties of Periya Kōil Nambi, who was
managing the temple priesthood, remaining (all the while) as an outside pilgrim and without attaching himself to any group, were divided among many men, who, since they were not already members of any group, were formed into a separate group, viz., the Bhattāl-kottu, and this is still in vogue. From the time of Bhattar’s succession to the pontifical seat of Uḍayavar, the closing ceremony of these recitations was held in the Kulottunga Chōlan tirumāṇḍapa in the Kulasēkharan enclosure (inhabited by Bhattar), in the presence of the Perūmāl. After the altercation at the temple of Panriyāvān the Upaniṣads are being recited, without any break, at the boundary (between Srīrangam and Jambukēsvaram). Such are their duties, which carry with them various presents and honours. Tīrtham, sandal paste and undissolved sandal are offered to these reciters by the Stānattār at the commencement of the recitation of the Vēdas during the Tiruvaiṃoḷi-tirunāḷ, in the presence of the God and the Goddess and, at the closing of those recitals, in the Kulottunga Chōlan tirumāṇḍapa. When the arūlappādu for the recital of the Kaisika purāṇa is announced they would come holding that book in their hands.

The following are the duties of the Āryabhattāl.

Keeping watch at the southern and northern gateways of the third enclosure ever since Tiruvarangēsanār opened His sacred mouth and assigned their duty; maintaining carefully, with torches in their hands the incomings and outgoings of articles throughout day and night in the first two enclosures and outside the gateway of the sanctum, with the storehouse excepted; guarding the Tōḷukkiniyān placed outside the tirumāṇḍapas after the Perūmāḷ is taken in; holding the rear end of the pole of the palanquin when He is taken in procession during the Adyayanōtsava and at other times until He is taken back to the sanctum; sleeping dur-
ing the night in the verandah by the side of the Āryabhāttāḷ and Rājamahēndram gateways—four in all—and after the decoction and milk had been offered to the Perumāḷ; and opening the doorways at dawn on the coming of the Tirukkaragakkaiyār to do their duties. When they were thus performing their duties they entertained a needless suspicion that their watch should not go without being assigned to a separate seal. A few days later, after Uḍayavar had left this for the west (Mysore country) and subsequent to the demise of Krimikanṭa Chola, his son Kulottunga Chola came to the Srirangam temple along with the Chera and the Pāṇḍya, on hearing of the anarchy that was prevailing there. At that time the Āryabhāttāḷ, closing their doorway, asked these three kings to endow for them, their three seals. The Chera, the Chola and the Pāṇḍya agreed to this and summoning the Āryabhāttāḷ handed over to them a royal seal containing their emblems. According to the saying “We three have engraved (here) the mark of the fish, the bow and the tiger,” they gave to the Āryabhāttāḷ, a ring containing the seal with a fish, a bow and a tiger engraved upon it, and called back Rāmaṇuja. From that time the Āryabhāttāḷ are having this seal as the protecting amulet of their watch. Uḍayavar returned and honoured the son of Krimikanṭa Chola with discipleship at the feet of Mudaliyāṇḍan, obtaining (on behalf of the Sṛvaiṣṭṇavas) the temple as gift, which fact was made to be inscribed on stone, and continued as before, to manage the temple affairs. Uḍayavar and Āṅḍan, on hearing about this seal accepted it as it was considered protective to the temple and as the emblems of the three kings were engraved upon it, though there was no occasion for a royal ‘mudra’ in the temple. From that time they recognised the four seals (existing in the temple).

The following are the duties of the group of Dāsānambis:
The Puṇḍarikas of olden days, with great devotion to Viṣṇu, were doing sacred services connected with flowers in Tiruvellārāi and other places. Later they came to the shrine of Tīruvārangam where they laid many flower gardens and continued to do such services. The duties of these were: laying out flower gardens for the God; holding torches in the presence of the God within and without the gateway of the sanctum; bearing the Sānaimudalīar and the Ten Murtis in procession during festivals; holding a huge torch, the 'dāsari pandam'; decorating the palanquin with flowers in the shape of a chariot; preparing the palanquin for the procession along the seven enclosures; and making varieties of garlands for such procession and bunches of of vagaccal, kīlimālai, kīliccēndu, tanḍaimālai, kottumālai, kuḍamālai, etc. For these duties they would be offered tīrtham, prasādām, pariṇāṭṭam, and a single garland. They rendered such services also in the shrines of the Āḻvār and Uḍayavār. In course of time they were shown greater honours.

The following are the duties of the Ēkāngis:

One Ēkāngi would open the gateway of the sanctum and draw off the screen in front of the amudu manḍapa, on the arrival of the sacred water and when the elephant, the horse, the cow and the devadasi are waiting at the Āḻagiya- manavaḻan tirumanḍapa, and then draw on the screen. The duties of another Ēkāngi are: keeping watch during puja with one door closed; the drawing off of the screen after nivēdanam and helping the devotees according to their qualifications to worship the deity and, at the same time, receiving their offerings; keeping watch during puja, etc., and letting in none but the temple servants; answering the call of the two Stānattārs for the Srīvaiṣṇavas twice when the Perumāḷ is taken into the tirumanḍapas; refusing to
allow anybody to pass beyond the screen; and acting as the guard of the deity in the tirumaṇḍapaspas in the night. Still another ēkāngi would on the one hand provide from the condiments depot provisions like cardamum, frankincense, ghee, jaggery, etc., and perfumery like sandal paste, camphor, kum-kum, etc., for general and special festivities, and on the other, deposit such incoming materials safely into the depot.

The following are the duties of the Sāttādamudalis:

Decorating with flowers the tirumaṇḍapaspas during festivals and the Aḻagiyamanāṉavāḷan tirumaṇḍapa daily; making garlands and offering them for the starting of the procession; raining flowers (on special occasions); proceeding in two rows holding two censers, two folded cloths, eight gold torches and twenty silver torches and waving two pieces of cloth; arranging for the starting of the procession of the Āḻvārs; forming a rear batch, with hands folded, behind the row of hymnists reciting the last two lines of each stanza; bearing the Rāmānujan sword and acting as the bodyguard of the Jiyars and the Srivaiśṇavas.

The following are the duties of the Vēttirapāṇis or mace-holders:

Keeping order with the aid of two gold rods, two silver rods and two canes (bent at the top) during the starting of the procession in the sanctum and when the saṭakōpan is taken to accompany it; keeping watch on the two sides of the screen after the Perumāḷ had been taken into the tirumaṇḍapaspas, the Aḻagiamanavāḷan tirumaṇḍapa excepting; dispersing any gatherings inside the sanctum, when the inner screen is drawn on, on the arrival of the taḷigai; making way for the Śrī Saṭakōpan when it is taken to the row of hymnists after the distribution of prasādam; going before (the procession) and giving warning (to the people); and letting in the
Srivaiśñavas, according to their qualifications to receive the prasādams after distribution to those who are entitled to receive them prior by right or by aruḻappādu. When the Perumāl ascends the palanquin the Stānattār would call for these maceholders, to which they would respond saying ‘Ayya,’ and ‘We are ready,’ twice. Their other duties are: keeping watch and preventing any, including the arcakas, from going in (the sanctum) till the huge garland is offered to the God; making triumphal shouts accompanied by clapping of hands when the procession starts; shouting ‘Silence’ on the special occasions of the Tiruvandikkāppu and the beginning of the prabanda recitations; reciting panegyrics in the Tiruvāimoli-tirunāl; and making way for the row of hymnists attached to the Perumāl.

The following are the brahmin groups: the first group is called the Kovaṇavar, the second the Tiruppaṇisaiyār, the third the Köḍavar, the fourth the Bhāgavata Nambis, the fifth the Uḷḷūrār, the sixth the Taḷaiyiduvār, the seventh the Tirukkaragakkaiyār, the eighth the Viṇṇappam-saiyār, the ninth the Āryabhāttāl, the tenth the Dāsanambis, and the eleventh the Vēttirapāṇis. These eleven groups along with the Bhattāl have all their respective duties. The Bhattāl have no place in these groups.

The following are the duties of the first among the Sudra (non-brahmin or Sāttāda Vaiṣṇava) groups, i.e., the Veḷḷālas:

The duty of the Kālaḷappān (one who measures with the marakkāl) is to measure (grains) in the store-house and measure out the necessary grains required for daily use in the temple. The duty of the Koīl-kāṭta-Perumāḷ (the guard) is to guard the gateway of the Rājamahāndran enclosure. The duty of the Viḷupparaiyān (the accountant) is to maintain accounts. These are the Veḷḷāla servants among the
Sudras. In a particular period, a lord known as Pallavan gave his name to the Viḻupparaiyan (as prefix) with a view to make himself renowned in the temple. From that time the accountant is known as Pallavan Viḻupparaiyan. When Haricaranālayappiriyān of his line was maintaining accounts there arose the confusion due to the invasion of the King of Orissa. When, as a result, the Perumāḷ left Srirangam for a safer place, some servants remained in the temple and appropriated to themselves the income from the temple lands and thus proved false to God. When these were carrying on the temple affairs he (the accountant) too joined them and proved treacherous to the divine cause. Uḍayavar, during his pontificate, wanted to entrust that duty to a brahmin but all the Stalattār requested him to let the Veḷḷālā remain, as of old. Accordingly the temple accountant Viḻupparaiyān was established in his office. Kīranur Kīḷavan was made the ‘Stala Samprati’ and was given the name of Vaṇṣatakopadāsan. Thus he established two offices. Of these, the duties of Pallavan Viḻupparaiyan were writing epistles to the Āḻvār, writing down documents of the Sēnāpati and carving inscriptions on stones. The duties of Vaṇṣatakopadāsan were writing the lease deeds and mortgage deeds and taking copies of the documents of the Sēnāpati and the stone inscriptions. Both had equal jurisdictions with regard to the accounts of the storehouse and the temple lands including the day-book. It was laid down by Uḍayavar that the honours of the vagaccal, the parivaṭṭam and the ‘elephant ride’ were to be done for the service of writing epistles to the Āḻvār. As the Pandya gave his name to Vaṇṣatakopadāsan, he is being known as Pandyan Dēvappiriyān. After some time the office of Pallavan Viḻupparaiyan was merged in the Sribhaṇḍāra (i.e., became extinct), he having left no issue to inherit it. All the honours done for the epistles to the Āḻvār are, with the consent of
the Stalattar, being done to Vaṣṣaṭakopadāsan alias Pāndyan Dēvappiriyan, who wrote down the lease-deed connected with the village of Ālagiyananavālam on the day of Cittirai-tirunāl inaugurated by Viruppaṇa Udayar. Some time after these events, when Uttamanambi became powerful an accountant belonging to a town on the northern bank was brought and established. His duties were to maintain the accounts of the storehouse, write down the epistles of the God and read them in His presence. When the Jiyar, who was at that time away from the temple, returned he fixed the ‘Tiruvālikkal’ (stone with the discus engraved upon it) in the house of that accountant, withdrew his house and drove him away as being unfit to enter the temple. This was accepted as long as the Jiyar continued in his pontificate. Afterwards the accountant that had been dismissed was brought back and given the name of Ālagiyamaṇavāḷappiriyan, and was assigned the accounts of the storehouse. In course of time he got the insignia of his office—the cap and appropriate dress—and was entrusted with the reading only of the divine letters and obtained a written bond to that effect. Under such circumstances Vaṇṣaṭakopadāsan alias Pāndyan Dēvappiriyan refused to receive arulappādu after Ālagiyananavāḷappiriyan. Accordingly Saṭakopadāsan came to be offered arulappādu first. (Hence) it has been customary to inscribe the name of Stalasampratī Vaṇṣaṭakopadāsan first and then that of the local accountant of the village of the northern bank, viz., Ālagiyananavāḷappiriyan. (This was because) Vaṇṣaṭakopadāsan interrupted and hindered the inscribers while inscribing. When Bhaṭṭar, Jiyar and Uttamanambi, among the Ācāryapuruṣas were powerful, the accountant was called Srīvaisṇavappiriyan. Later on, as a result of royal pressure, the accountant was asked to maintain the entire accounts of the inner organisation of the temple and was assigned the cap and appropriate dress—the insignia of his
office—, and was also honoured, as was the previous Veḷḷāḷa Vīḷupparaiyan, with aruḷappādu first. He also came to to enjoy a hereditary title, after Kūranārayana Ḵiyar, in his aruḷappādu. Later on, when Kūranārayana Ḵiyar came to be known as Srīrangānārayana Ḵiyar, the name of this accountant was inscribed along with the other accountants who continued in the place of the Veḷḷāḷa Vīḷupparaiyan. Thenceforward the (former) accountant came to be known as Srīrangānārayanapirān. The accounts of the treasury were being maintained by a brahmin in the name of the descendents of both the lines, with the consent of the temple authorities. Afterwards a Veḷḷāḷa known as Ariya Nainār was in charge of them. In his line many sins and treacherous acts were committed and without his consent the office was annexed to the Sribhanḍāra. From that time the accounts of both are being maintained by a single person.¹

While the Veḷḷāḷa Koil-kāṭṭa-Perumāḷ was keeping watch over the gateway of the Nāligaivaṭṭil, he proved false to the divine cause. Pāṇḍyan, the representative (or agent) of the four functions of the Veḷḷāḷas, viz., measuring grains, Periya Pillai, Pandyā Pillai (their duties) and the watch of the gateway of the Nāligaivaṭṭil, appointed a descendant of Vāṇaṣṭakopadāsan—the temple accountant—to the watch of the Nāligaivaṭṭil gateway as equivalent to Koil-kāṭṭa-Perumāḷ. Thus when, in his place, the watch was being carried on, Uttamanambi played false by saying that guarding of gold should by custom belong only to the treasury, as if it were

¹ The Ananda press edition, which alone mentions the 'kainkaryas' has presented the Sudra kainkaryas in a hopeless jumble. '_female_ _female_ _female_ _female_ ' at the bottom of P. 92 (printed as '_female_ female_ female_ female_ ') should be linked with 'female male female male female' at the bottom of P. 95 attached to the enumeration of the duties of an entirely different group.
the just thing to be done. Accordingly it was appropriated by the Sribhanḍāra.

The following are the duties of the Kaikkōḷamudali known as Seruvaṭṭavan (the piper) of the Sāḷuvar of the second group:

Making a hole, after paring off the fibre, in the tender coconut and offering it to God; keeping watch over the gateways of the Ālināḍan and Akaḷangan enclosures; drawing off the screen when the Perumāḷ leaves the company of His consort; hauling the canopy; holding the pedestal on which the idol is bathed; carefully setting up the circular platform for bathing the idol; cleaning and adorning the horse-vehicle of the Perumāḷ; keeping the ‘ankusā’ and offering it to Him when He starts out for procession, and fanning Him with cāmaras from both sides of the horse; blowing the conch and the trumpets; examining and preparing salt and curry powders; tidying the gateways of the Ālināḍan and Akaḷangan enclosures; lighting lamps with oil fetched from the storehouse; removing the used fuel from the kitchen in the Kulasēkhāran enclosure; bringing plantain leaves from the garden and offering them to make various kinds of parcels of prasādam; offering clay for sealing the locks of doors; offering plates of incense (for the Tiruvandikkāppu) on behalf of the Emberumāṇaḍiyār, when their services are assigned to the supervision of the Koṇaṇavar; and calling for their services. After sometime they came to possess the duty of offering the huge circular fan (Tiruvāḷavaṭṭam) and the tiruveṅcāmarā to the Dāvadāis for use in doing their temple duties, and taking them back. Once Uḍayavar was dissatisfied with his ‘iḷanir kaṅkaryam’ and with the desire to appoint a brahmin in his place, he called

1. The following sentence is added in the temple manuscript.
him and asked him which tree contained the good tender cocoanut (agreeable to the Perumāḷ), to which he replied that the sacred mouth and nose of the Perumāḷ only know it. Uḍayavar was pleased with him and willingly appointed him in that service. Even this service failed on one occasion, when the flag was being hoisted on the flag-staff for the Dvajārohaṇa ceremony. Since the duty of screening was taken up by a Mudali (a Srīvaishnavā), he has obtained the duties of getting up the flag-staff and the lamp-post (to light them) during the Kārtikai festival; and taking the box of jewels behind the arcakas whenever the Perumāḷ bathes outside, and entrusting them back in the store-house—these duties were bestowed upon Kaikkōla Mudali by the arcakas. From that time they are honoured with Parivaṭam offered to the God on the occasion of the Kārtikai dipārādana. They also do the duties connected with the lamp-post in the place of the arcakas during the above ceremony and go behind the box of jewels, as guard.

The following are the duties of the third group, viz., Embērumāṇaṇḍiyār (Devadāsis):

These are the duties of those Devadāsis, who originally belonged to the temple, and those who came along with Uraiyūr-valliyār as her dowry. Later, it was also these who captivated the 'Tulukkan' and thus saved the temple and whose corpses were, therefore, cremated by fire brought from the temple-kitchen. One would bathe herself, at dawn, and

1. ‘नामनाम परसारं विज्ञातिः प्रत्ययित्वा स्वयम् भक्तं नागीन्द्रोरतिः अमृतायु विध्वंसिन्यं’ of P. 97 of the printed edition (printed as...विज्ञातिः प्रत्ययित्वा स्वयम् भक्तं नागीन्द्रोरतिः, should be linked with ‘विध्वंसिन्यं’ of P. 94. This again is wrong for the connected sentence reads: ‘विज्ञातिः प्रत्ययित्वा स्वयम् भक्तं नागीन्द्रोरतिः अमृतायु विध्वंसिन्यं’ etc.'
adorning herself, go to the temple and stand well in sight of the God. She would also bring the plate and exchange the pot for the Tiruvandikkappu during the daily and special festivals. Some others, too, would, in the early morning bedeck themselves and dance and sport before the decorated elephant carrying the sacred water to the temple. During the Tiruvandikkappu they would perform the kinds of dances like ‘malaippu,’ ‘kēlikkai,’ ‘ulāmadal,’ ‘ammānai,’ ‘taṭṭi-kēlikkai,’ etc., during the daily festivals beginning with the starting out of Tiruvaranga Celvanār for procession; and dance in the streets and the tirumanḍapas during special festivals. The Uariyur-valliyār would, after aṟuḷappādu, perform the ‘malaippu’ from behind the Arayar, who would be singing and playing on the vina. On special occasions they would enact the sportive dance of Krishna with the Gōpikas (rāsakrīda). During the Vasantōtsava (spring festival) they would play the appropriate episodes. As initiating their regular dances they would dance according to the Vināyaka tāḷam during the Dvajarōhaṇa ceremony. During the beating of the drum they would dance, in honour of each vehicle.

The following are the duties of the fourth group, viz., the Tiruvelakkārār:

Acting as guards of the room containing the prizes like the umbrella, the drum, the birudas, etc., attached to the storehouse, the vehicles stall, the room containing the canopies etc., in the third enclosure, and the storehouse; acting as watch in the Akaṭāngan enclosure; bringing grains and juicy stuffs from the adjoining villages and depositing them in their proper places1; waiting with the parijanas when the

1. ‘கோயில் வெண்மையால் அய்யவல்லியார்’ of P. 95 of the printed edition should be linked with ‘உருளைப்பாது ராசகிரியா ஏற்றம் கூத்து வெண்மையால் கார்பீசியா’ of P. 92.
Perumāḷ starts out; guarding the grains and other yields of the temple lands; destroying the enemies of the temple lands; bringing grains, etc., to the storehouse—these duties are being done by the Tiruvelakkarar and none else. Subsequent to the confusion of the Panriyāḷvan temple* the duties of the watch of the Akālāngan and other enclosures and, still later the guard of the temple, have also been done by them.

The following are the duties of the sculptor (silpācāri) belonging to the group of artisans (kammāḷas), which is the fifth group.

Painting pictures on the flag of the flag-staff; painting figures on the walls of the tirumāṇḍapās; renovating the damaged gopuras; carving out idols when required; decorating the ‘kalaśa’ on the vimana; doing brickwork and making images of stucco and behaving themselves in conformity with the wishes of the arakas and also according to the ‘silpasāstras’ and the commands of the Perumāḷ.

The following are the duties of the goldsmith of Periyakoil:

Repairing damaged jewels of the deity; making new ornaments; burnishing the sacred jewels often; doing the duties connected with the Jyeṣṭābiṣekam; making the metal coat and polishing the jewels of the God; repairing ornaments of the idol (like the screw for fastening the earrings, etc.,) from the crest-jewel right down to the ornamental pedestal for the divine feet; making the seven ornaments

*This refers to the Muslim invasion and attack of the Srīrangam temple, which was first met at the temple of Varāha-Perumāḷ.

1. The annual ablution ceremony of the procession image performed in the month of Jyeṣṭa.

K. O.—7
individually while the Padiyārram and the dances are being conducted; and playing on the drum standing by the side of the dancemasters.

The other servants were to do their duties involved in the rites beginning with the aubade (or the ceremony of waking up the Perumāḷ in the first hour of the morning) down to the beat of the night-watchman's drum (within the temple) and those beginning with the starting of the procession up to the Perumāḷ's ascending the Cerapāṇḍyan throne (without).

Thus the ten groups of Srīvaisṇavas, ēkāṅgis, Sāttādamudalis, the Kulasēkharattiraivāṅigar (?), the miscellaneous temple servants and the ten groups of Sudra Parijanas, doing their sacred duties in the temple were created and their duties fixed by Udayavar. Conducting the sacred services, the worship, the daily, fortnightly, monthly, annual and the great festivals according to the tenets laid down in the Pāramēsvara samhitā of the Pāncarātra, Udayavar had, thus, all the beautiful celebrations done for the God.*

* The code of regulations laid down by Udayavar was strictly adhered to for nearly two centuries until it received a rude shock from the Muslim invasions of the first half of the 14th century. It may be noted that the Olugu not only mentions the various duties of the groups of temple servants in the time of Udayavar but traces their later history. In each case the Muslim invasion (tulukka-vāṇam) seems to have seriously disturbed the peaceful pursuit of hereditary functions in the temple by hereditary servants. Udayavar's code (Udayavar tiṭṭam), says the Olugu, collapsed utterly when the Vijayanagar chieftains assumed direct control over the administration of the temple and appointed their own officers in charge of the various departments.

The Srirangam epigraph of Māravarman Sundara Pandya I, dated 1225 A.D. (ARE 53 of 1892; S11 IV 500),
Uḍayavar, along with Ālvān, undertook a prolonged tour during which he visited many sacred shrines, bringing their inhabitants into the Srivaishnava fold, offering the devotees the 'Pancasamskāras,' and establishing and conducting in each shrine his 'mutt and mudra'. He performed the ceremony of 'Digvijaya,' planted pillars of victory, and obtained as his devout sīyas the kings and scholars of all countries. Blessed with the title of Bhāṣyakārār by the

which refers to the Pandyan restoration of the Srirangam temple from the Oḍḍa (Orissan) occupation, mentions "the ten persons (the heads of ten groups of temple servants) who were governing the temple from ancient times," who joined the Oḍḍas and collected Oḍḍukkāsu. Out of the ten groups at least five are mentioned by name, viz. the Bhāgavata Nambis, the Viṇṇappam-saivār, the Sripādam-tāṅgum-nambimār or Stānattār, the Āryabhattār and the Bhattār-kottu. This epigraph also mentions the devotees of Emberumānār (Rāmānuja) among others who met in the Rajamahendran tiruvidi to consider the defection of the "ten person," who joined the Oḍḍas. This may be interpreted to provide, in a way, epigraphical confirmation of the Oḷūgu's description of the Uḍayavar-tīṭṭam. After saying that the ten persons were dismissed from the temple, this record adds that the temple servants belonging to the different groups were to be chosen by lot immediately, and henceforth, at the close of every year, were to be replaced by election. This annual election was also to apply to the various committees of the Srivaishnavas. This has reference to a century after Rāmānuja. An inscription of Kulottunga I, dated 1088 A.D. (ARE 62 of 1892; S11 III 70) mentions the Srivaishnava-vāriyam or the committee of the Srivaishnavas and the Sri-Bhaṅgāra-vāriyam or the committee of the treasury. The Oḷūgu does not refer to any committee.

1. The five kinds of ceremonies connected with the consecration of discipleship.
Goddess Sarasvati of the Sāradāpīṭam and that of Kōilaṇṇan by Āṇḍāl to commemorate his having fulfilled Her vow of offerings to Aḻagar of Tirumālirumjōlamalai, he returned to Srirangam, where he was welcomed by Āṇḍān and all the groups of temple servants. He prostrated before a few, embraced certain others and inquired after the welfare of the rest and thus delighted them all. With the permission of Sānaimudaliar and Jaya and Vijaya, he entered the sanctum during the puja hour and was delighted to see the Perumāḷ from head to foot. The Perumāḷ graced Uḍayavar with His divine look and issued the following biruda by the mouth of the aṟaka: “Have you examined our pleasure gardens (i.e., the various Vaiṣṇava shrines) and weeded away all hindrances to the growth of the sprout of Our religious code and have you planted pillars of victory in all the four directions?” Then He favoured him with tīrtham and other honours, and said “Superintending Our domestic affairs you better remain in Srirangam itself” to which Uḍayavar replied “Blessed am I,” and repaired to the mutt. Uḍayavar, then, favourably received Mudaliyāṇḍān and felt immensely pleased at his having maintained the prosperity of Tiruvārangam without diminution or fading, in fact, at his having increased it twofold and glorified the God of Tiruvārangam with various festivities, etc., up to date; and retained him in his office of the manager of the temple affairs. Then Uḍayavar related all the services he had done since his departure with Periyanambi and others, wrote down the Sribhāṣya with the help of Āḻvān, recited it in the Holy Presence and subsequently sent the sacred book of the Sribhāṣya to Sāradāpīṭam through Naḍādūr Ammāḷ, his nephew. The Goddess Sarasvati bearing it on Her head praised it and appointed Naḍādūr Ammāḷ to recite the Sārīraka Bhaṣyam after the Gīta Bhaṣyam during the Vedic recitations. From that time the Sribhāṣyam is included in the Vedic recitations.
At that time a stone mason who had found, during the construction of the cowshed, a toad and a little water in the middle of a boulder and had left his profession, thinking that the selfsame God who had created a living for the toad within the rock would also sustain him, was living in Tirumudikkuṟai without doing any work and relying entirely upon God (for sustenance). Knowing this Aḻagiyaṉamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ carried, every night, the midnight prasādam (offered to Himself) to that sculptor and was feeding him. When, in course of time, he died, Uḍayavar exclaimed “At least from to-day Aḻagiyaṉamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ would be at His ease freed from the need of bearing on His head the parcel of food.”

While Aḻvān and others were reciting the sacred grānthis five times daily, one day, due to heavy rains, Aḻvān was unable to go out for begging alms, and hence kept fasting. That night, his wife Āṇḍāl, on hearing the huge temple bell pealing to signify the mid-night offering to the Perumāḷ, thought thus: “O Perumāḷ! It is amazing that you should take your food with great exultation while Aḻvān is starving.” Immediately a Srivaisṉava brought the mid-night prasādam of the God in a plate and calling Aḻvān, said “I am the servant of Aḻagiyaṉamaṉavāḷan. Under His command I have brought the prasādam which you please accept.” Greatly amazed Aḻvān called Āṇḍāl and inquired what had passed in her mind. Āṇḍāl related what she had thought. Aḻvān, greatly astonished, took a small quantity and sent away the rest thinking that the prasādam brought might have been intended for sale in the Sribhaṅgāra. He gave two parts of the prasādam to his wife and took one part himself. As a result Āṇḍāl conceived and after ten months gave birth to two male children. Uḍayavar, delighted on hearing it, celebrated, with the help of Aḻvān, the ceremonies connected
with the birth of the children. On the twelfth day he went to the house of Ālvān with Embār and with a view to fulfill the desire of Ālavandār, asked him to bring the children. Embār brought them uttering the ‘dhvayam.’ Uḍayarava exclaimed “the dhvayam is spreading sweet,” and gave to one baby the name of Parāsara Bhagavān—the protector of the darsana—and thus fulfilled the three-fold desire of Ālavandār—and gave the other the name of his (Ālvān’s) father, Srirama Pillai.

Thus was Uḍayavār superintending and controlling the temple administration and the Vaiṣṇava doctrine for sixty cāturmāsas in the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam, himself being worshipped by 700 Jiyars, 12,000 ēkangis, 74 Ācārya-puruṣas and innumerable, Vaiṣṇāvas.

During that period the Chola, the king of this part of the country, being a sinner and atheist began demolishing the temples in the various sacred places, and when his son cautioned him that the sacred shrines, guarded by the two walls of the Tiruvāimoḷi and the Sriramāyana could not be destroyed by him, he not only refused to heed to his words but wilfully disrespected him. Directed by the purohit—the bane of the family,—of the same bent of mind, he wanted to receive from the Sribhāṣyakārar, the founder of the darsana, the written statement, viz., ‘Sivāt paratarm nāsti’ (There is no being greater than Siva) and sent the royal servants to Srirangam. When Uḍayavār heard of this he directed Periya Nambi to safeguard the boundaries of the temple with protective amulets and this was done accordingly.

1. Previously Gōvinda Bhattar and cousin of Rāmānuja. 2. Rāmānuja himself wrote the Sribhāṣaya. He commissioned Parāsara Bhatta to write out a commentary on the Sahasranāma. The third wish of Ālavandār was fulfilled when he commissioned Pillīyan (his own nephew) to write out the commentary on the Tiruvāimoḷi.
The royal servants came to the gateway of the mutt of Emberumānār and called out to him to go to the king. Then Ālvān, under the command of Uḍayavar, assumed the robes of a Vaiṣṇava ascetic (the trident staff and red robes) and along with Periya Nambi proceeded to Gangaikondaṇ, following the royal servants.

Uḍayavar donned white robes (the robes of a householder) and started with Mudaliyāṇḍān towards the west, requesting the Perumāl to protect Himself out of His own prowess. He prevented some of the royal servants, who tried to follow him, from proceeding further by strewing mantric sand across their path. They reached the western country and Mudaliyāṇḍān, with the help of the Śripāda tīrtham (water used in washing the feet of the Guru) corrected some non-Vaiṣṇavas while Uḍayavar, as Tiruvanandālvān, with one thousand heads, argued with his religious opponents simultaneously and won over them in controversy. Many lords of the country were offered 'Pancasamskrāras.' The Yādavādri was repaired and reconstructed and the sacred shrine was named Tirunārāyanapuram. He went to Delhi, brought back (the image of) Rāmapriyar and naming Him 'Celva-piḷḷai,' installed Him in the temple. Causing all the Saiva and Baudhā religionists of the place to be ground in the stone oil-press (after defeating them in debate) he lived there as the manager of the benefactions of the temple, conducting all glories for the God with the help of his 52 sīṣyas.

In this part of the country Periya Nambi and Kūrattālvān went to the palace of the Chola and by means of the Vēdas and Sāstras proclaimed the superiority of Viṣṇu. But the misguided enthusiasm of the Chola impelled him to force them to write 'Sivāt paratarm nästi.' Ālvān wrote it down, but immediately below it he also wrote down 'Drōṇamasti tatha param' (meaning there
is the āra that is greater than the siva, thus punning upon the two words siva and āra, which were the names of two measures, the āra being bigger than siva.) When the Chola saw this he became angry and ordered them to be blinded. Unable to bear the pain caused by the plucking out of the eyes Periya Nambi died. Ālvān, thinking that his eyes, which had seen such a sinner should not exist poured 'paccakarpūram' (mediated camphor) into his eyes and lost his sight. He then began to live the life of a recluse. With the help of a Srivaiṣṇava of Madurantakam, he performed the cremation ceremony of Periya Nambi and came back to the Srirangam temple. One day when he went to worship the Perumāl, a servant at the Āryabhāttā ā gateway (directed by the Chola) prevented him from entering the temple on the plea that he was the confidante of Emberumānār. But another pleaded “Ālvān is a great and virtuous person, let him go.” On hearing these words Ālvān closed his ears and thinking “What! should my personal qualifications serve to dissociate me from my Ācārya,” turned back immediately, and going to his house went away to Tirumalirunjalai, the next dawn along with his wife and children, where he lived distressed by the separation of his Ācārya.

On hearing these details, once while he was performing ārgya pradāna, Emberumānār uttered mantras with a view to punish the evildoer (abhiśāra ārgya pradānam). (As a result) the God Tiruvēngadamuṉāyān stabbed the Chola with His discus. Immediately there arose an ulcer in his neck, which without getting healed blackened it very much.

1. Ālvān was aggrieved at the fact that while he was permitted admission by one because of his virtue and learning he was refused admission by another because of his connection with Uḍayavar.
Later on he died. From that time that Chōla is known as Krimikantha (black-necked or canker-necked).

After this, his son greatly repented his father's act and calling together the Chera and the Pandya came to the temple with them. Since the time when Udayavar left Srirangam the temple had fallen under the control of the palace. The store-house, the box of jewels, etc., lost their seal of Udayavar. Only the Āryabhattāḷ watch, the garuda seal and the seal of the conch were in vogue. The Āryabhattāḷ, at that time obtained the Chēra-Chōla-Pāṇḍya seal on behalf of their watch.

The Chōla made consultations with the Chera and the Pandya in the following manner: "The ancients, with the idea that lords and kings should not investigate into the temple endowments and the like, had left them under the control of brahmīns. Even now we have witnessed the sufferings which my father underwent having become a bad old man. Now I shall call back Udayavar, and in your presence, shall give away the management of the temple to him, severing my connection with it." Then after worshipping the Perumāḷ, they sent Māronrillā (the unspotted) Māruthiyāṇān to the presence of Emberumāṇār (to fetch him back) and returned to their respective cities.

Emberumāṇār, after leaving the sacred shrine of Tiruvārangam, was, for twelve years, superintending the repairs and reconstructions and such other services of the temple at Tirunārayaṇapuram. On hearing the affairs of Srirangam related by Māronrillā Māruthiyāṇān he left that place, after installing his own power (devotion — according to the briefer edition) in the form of an idol, so that his fifty-two devotees might subsist. Returning through Tirumalai he installed the image of Tillai Govindarājan at the foot of the Tirumalai. He enlisted some of the Tillai Mūvāyiravār
(3,000 devotees of Tillai), who were suitable to him, as his siṣyas and assigned some temple services to them. Then coming to Tirumālirumjōlai, he took Āḻvān with him and reached the Srīrangam temple. All groups of parijanas of the Perumāl welcomed them with prasādam and brought them to the presence of the Perumāl. The Perumāl, as on a previous occasion, bestowed upon Uḍayavar the mace and other honours and sent him to the mutt. Of the veḷḷai and kurumālai (garlands) presented to him he gave the veḷḷai to Āṇḍān and the vagaccal to Āḻvān, and with great delight repaired to the mutt. Kulottunga Cōla came to Srīrangam and, making obeisance to Emberumānār, entirely parted with his authority over the temple in his favour, giving him the deed of gift and sanctifying it with 'pouring of water.' He then begged that he be enlisted among the siṣyas of Uḍayavar, who willingly attached him to Āṇḍān and made him execute a deed of gift giving away the sacred shrine of Srīrangam to Āṇḍān and caused these details to be inscribed on the Āryabhattal gateway.*

* A discussion of the date of Ramanuja's return to Srīrangam helps us in identifying Krimikanta Chola. According to the Vaiṣṇava tradition as enshrined in the Guruparamparai Rāmānuja, who took refuge from Chola persecution in the Hoysala country, won the favour of Bittiga or Bittideva or Vishnuvardhana, its king, by raising the ghost, which had possessed his daughter. The king was a Jain before and his own Jain priests could not perform the feat of raising the ghost. The king accepted Rāmānuja as his Guru. While searching for the 'white earth' (tirumāṇ, used for purposes of drawing the Vaiṣṇava mark) Ramanuja discovered the image of Tirunārāyana at Melukote. With the help of the king he erected a temple for the God. He also fetched the supplemental procession image of Rāmāpriyar from the Sultan's possession in Delhi. (This was a sheer impossibility as the Muslim invasions occurred only in the 14th century.) There is no direct epigraphical evidence to show that
On hearing the good news of Udayavar's arrival at Srirangam Kandadaiyandhan and other Mudalis returned to that shrine from Perumal Koil, worshipped the feet of Emberumanaar and were thus blessed.

Vishnuvardhana Hoysala (1111-1141 A.D.) was converted from Jainism to Vaishnavism by Ramanuja and that he built a temple at Melukote at his instance. But Ramanuja's stay in the Mysore country and his organization of a Vaishnava mutt at Melukote are well attested. An inscription in the Lakshminarayanaswami temple at Tondanur (Melukote), Seringapatam taluk, assigned to the reign of Vishnuvardhana, records a grant to a mutt of Ramanuja. Another in the same temple mentions one Tiruvarangadasar, who in an inscription of Narasimha I (the son and successor of Vishnuvardhana) at the Krishna temple, in the same place, calls himself a servant of Ilaiyalvar or Ramanuja (ARE 1908 p. 9). A much worn-out inscription in the Ramanujacarya temple at Saligrama (Yedatore taluk) begins with a verse in obeisance to Ramanuja and refers to Embar, Andan and Accan, the well-known disciples of Ramanuja. They are said to have granted certain privileges to the Srivaishnavas of Saligrama (ARE 1913) p. 36. An inscription of Hoysala Ballala II from Melukote (dated 1319 A.D.) refers to the discovery of the sacred white earth by Ramanuja (EC. III Seringapatam 30).

According to the Vaishnava tradition Ramanuja lived in Mysore for twelve years. Following the same tradition and assuming that he converted the Hoysala soon after his accession to the throne his stay in Mysore has to be placed between 1111 A.D. and 1123 A.D. Kulottunga I died in 1122 A.D. two years after having relinquished his throne to his son Vikrama Chola. (The Guruparamparais' date, Saka 1020 or 1098 A.D. for Ramanuja's finding of the image of Tirunarayana at Melukote seems to be too early). Hence the Krimikanta Chola, after whose death Ramanuja returned to Srirangam, has to be identified with Kulottunga I. There is no doubt that the orthodox Vaishnava accounts of Chola persecution are highly exaggerated.
While Udāyavar was conducting the temple administration, with the help of Āṇḍān, as of old, he gave away in gift the sacred house of Ālavandār which is the first house towards the west, in the southern part of the east māṇḍa street

On the Chola side there is no tradition of persecution of Vaiṣṇavas. The Chola monarchs of this period were, as a rule, tolerant and they extended their patronage to Saiva and Vaiṣṇava shrines. However the possibility of this general rule of toleration having been broken on a particular occasion need not be ruled out. Two inscriptions in the Srīrangam temple bear evidence to Kulottunga I's patronage of the Srīrangam temple (ARE 61 and 62 of 1892).

The Olugu's account of the repentent son of Krimikanta Chola is not reproduced in the Guruparamparai. It calls him Kulottunga. He cannot be Kulottunga II (1133-1150 A.D.), who according to the Kulottunga-Sōlan-Ulā of Oṭṭakootar, removed the image of Govindaraja from the courtyard of the Chidambaram temple (in the course of repairs and additions to it). This Kulottunga must be Vikrama Chola, and the Olugu most probably uses the word as a generic name for the Chola. The Olugu's account of Vikrama Chola's connections with the Srīrangam temple has already been examined (p. 14). The inscription referred to by the Olugu, according to which Rāmānuja is said to have received the temple as a gift from the Chola, is unknown to epigraphists. Either it is a fake or it must have been destroyed and lost in the course of repairs to the temple.

According to the Guruparampari Rāmānuja heard of the desecration of the Govindaraja shrine of Cidambaram after he had returned to Srīrangam from Mysore. The Olugu, however, says that he installed the Govindaraja image at Tirupati on his way back from Mysore to Srīrangam. This cannot be true because Rāmānuja returned to Srīrangam about 1123 A.D. and Kulottunga, II, who desecrated the Govindaraja shrine by removing the itals and consigning it to the sea commenced his reign in 1133 A.D. The installation of the Govindaraja image at Tirupati is generally assigned to 1135 A.D. Here again there is no
of the Māḍamāligaisūl-tiruvidi (i.e., the East Chitra street) to the son of Periya Nambi, the house opposite to it to Ālyān and house to its south to Āndān, as tokens of gratitude and executed the Sēnāpatipattayam, as deed of gift at the time of Dānaprakaraṇam¹ during a certain mahōtsava.

Thus Emberumānār lived with the Mudalis for 100 cāturmāsas,² and had the Satābhīṣekam³ celebrated for himself. In the course of exclusive interviews with Rāmānuja, Rāmānujadāsan, his sculptor-siṣya brought out an image of the guru which was his exact replica. The divine power which is an aspect of the guru was installed in the image and the image itself was established by Kandādaiyāṇḍān in Śrīperumbudūr. After obtaining the permission of the Perumāl for his effulgence to depart and after calling together Kandādaiyāṇḍān and Bhaṭṭar and appointing them to look after the interests of ‘Nāmberumāḷ’ and ‘our darsana’ properly, and blessing all the parijanas, he retired to the abode of Viṣṇu.

¹ Direct epigraphical evidence to fix the date of the consecration of the Govinda-raja shrine. According to the Vaiṣṇava tradition of Tirupati as noted down in the Tirumalai Oḻugu, Rāmānuja came to Tirupati thrice. It was on the second occasion, when he had come to help the Vaiṣṇavas of Tirumalai in establishing that the God of Vengadam was Viṣṇu and not Subhrahmanya, that he met the Vaiṣṇavas of Cidambaram bearing the procession image of Govinda-raja and installed it in Tirupati.


1. The occasion of making gifts. 2. The mid-four months of a year during which sannyāsins and others perform their ‘vratas.’ 3. Celebration on completing the austerities of 100 cāturmāsas.
Under the commands of the Perumāḷ, Kandaḍaḻiyāṅḍan, the Śenāpati Durantara, installed the image of Eṭirājan and also his procession idol in the Sundarapāṇḍyan tulāpuruṣa- maṇḍapa, in the south eastern part of the Akaḻangan enclosure. He also made arrangements for the following: Preparation of the taḻigai offerings to Eṭirājan by the Nambis of the Periyasannidi during the thirty days of the month of Mārgaḻi, the procession of Uḍayavar along with the Āḻvār to the divine presence on the Tirumoḻi and Tiruvaimoḻi festivals and also on the day of the Iyaṟṟā, the celebration of his Tirunakṣattara, extended over a week including his procession like the Āḻvār, to the divine presence on that occasion, and his worshipping the Perumāḷ at his own gateway, while the god is being carried by the hand, on the day of the Saptāvarṇa (procession) during the Mahōtsava. He glorified the name of the Perumāḷ in various ways (by conducting festivals etc.)

The various names of Uḍayavar are: (1) Īḻaiḻvār, given by Periyatirumalai Nambi on the 12th day after his birth, (2) Rāmānuja, given by Dēvapperumāḷ, after he assumed the robes of a sannyāsin, (3) Uḍayavar, bestowed by Periya Perumāḷ after he came to Srirangam, (4) Emberumānār, obtained while following Tirukkoṭtiyur Nambi in token of his self-realization, (5) Koilāṉan, given by Kōḍai Sudikkodutta Nācciyār, to commemorate his management of the temple endowments, (6) Sribhāṣyakārar, bestowed by the Goddess Sarasvati of Saradapitam, and (7) Eṭirājan won by his own fame after Satābhiṣekam. Of these seven names only those two given by Dēvapperumāḷ and Periya Perumāḷ, i.e., Rāmānuja and Uḍayavar, are used as titles while issuing arulappādu.
THE GLORY OF BHATṭAR

While, under the commands of Bhāṣyakārara, Bhatṭar* was administering the darsana, the Perumāl, who wanted to continue the tradition of Uḍayavar, offered him the divine honours and appointed him to vanquish Vādānti† in religious disputation and bring him under the Vaiṣṇava darsana. Bhatṭar started with paraphernalia and returned victorious. Vādānti, who found no pleasure in family life, took to sannyāsa and resided in the home of his guru (Bhatṭar). At that time, the wall of the Trivikraman enclosure, which had become very much decayed and ruined, gradually gave way. Virasundarabrahma Rāyar reconstructed it.¹

After this, when Vādānti alias Nanjiyar, Bhatṭar and Arayar were administering the darsana, Bhatṭar helped the recitation of the Tirumanjana slokam, a duty of the Tiruppatiyār alias Tiruvarangavallalar, with various rhetorics, gave out many slokas as well as their commentaries, and wrote out a commentary on the Kaisika purāṇa. On the Kaisikadvādasi of a certain Kārtikai, when the arulappādu was announced for the purāṇa, and the cotton and silk (parivaṭṭams) were offered, Bhatṭar recited the purana with his commentary. Entirely pleased with it, the Perumāl appointed the Kovaṇavar to "take Bhatṭar to his house." Bhatṭar (as on a previous occasion) went to his house, in the

*The son of Kūrattālvān.
†A famous philosopher of his time belonging to Mysore.

1. The Guruparamparai provides further information. While building a wall Virasundarabrahma Rāyar, not following the example of Tirumangaimannan, pulled down the house of Pillai Pillai Ālvaṇ. He also gave much trouble to Bhatṭar, who, as a result, left Srīrangam for Tirukōṭṭiyūr. This was probably a local chief in the region of Srīrangam under the last Chola kings.

K. O.—8
Brahmaratha with all honours. (Wishing to quit this world) he let out his soul by breaking open the brahmarandra in his skull.

Afterwards, his brother Srīrāmapiḷḷai was acting as the high priest and reading the puranas.

**THE GLORY OF KŪRANĀRĀYANA JĪYAR**

While Nanjīyar was administering the darsana one of the Viṇṇappam-saivār became unfit to serve in the Holy presence. Āndāl, the wife of Āḻvān, out of kindness towards him called Kūranārāyaṇa Jīyar, who had sought spiritual guidance at the feet of Āḻvān while the latter was residing at Tirumālirunjolai, and had become a sannyāsin, an aged man well-versed in the profession of his Ācāryas and a mahāmantrica, living in Srīrangam, and said to him, “You had promised to use your mantras in a certain service. Now would you make this Viṇṇappam-saivār fit for doing service to the Perumāl?” Thus commanded Kūranārāyaṇa Jīyar gave out the Sudarsana-satakam and, freeing the Viṇṇappam-saivār from ill-health made him fit for the puja hour*.

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* After the death of Rāmānuja there appeared the split amidst his followers into the Tenkalai and the Vaḍakalai sects, and so there are two guruparamparais, the Tenkalai and Vaḍakalai. According to the Tenkalai version Uḍayavar was succeeded on the pontifical gadi at Srīrangam by Bhaṭṭar (the son of Kūrattāḻvan) and the latter by Nanjīyar, his disciple. Nanjīyar’s disciple and successor was Nampiḷḷai, who was a great lover of the Tamil prabandhas and a patron of the new popular heterodox movement (which blossomed into the Tenkalai sect later). Kandāḷai Toḷappar, the grandson of Mudaliyāṇḍan and manager of the Srīrangam temple, championed the orthodox and traditional prāvacana. The Sēnāpati Durantara and the Ācārya quarrelled but were finally reconciled to one another. Nampiḷḷai was succeeded by his disciple Periyavācān Piḷḷai and the
One of the Arayars of the time became a libertine and, drowning himself in debauch, was wandering in the paraya quarters in the east in the company of a concubine. Not caring for advice or threat and abandoned by his people he was living permanently in the paraya quarters. At that time the Perumāḷ purporting to go to Kīlaiyūr for the latter by Vaḍakkuttiruvidi Pillai, another disciple of Nampiḷḷai. Vaḍakkuttiruvidi Pillai’s son and successor was Pillai Lōkācārya, the contemporary of Vēdāntadēsika. It is known that both these were in Srīrangam when the second Muslim invasion (1323 AD) occurred.

According to the Vaḍakalai version Rāmānuja was succeeded by Tirukkurugaippiran Pillān, who was well-versed both in the Bhaṣya and the Prabandas. He was succeeded by his disciple Engal Ālvān, who in his turn was followed on the gadi by Naḍāḍūr Ammāḷ or Varadācārya, who transferred his headquarters to Kanchi. His lectures on Rāmānuja’s Bhaṣya were written down by his disciple Sudarsanacārya in his well-known work Srutaprakāsika. Naḍāḍūr Ammāḷ was succeeded by Appillār at Kanchi. Sudarsanacārya stayed in Srīrangam as the representative of the Kanchi school. Appillār’s successor was Venkatanātha (Vēdāntadēsika, b. 1269 AD). He came to Srīrangam about 1312 AD or thereabouts to help Pillai Lōkācārya and others engaged in philosophical disputation with the advaitins. Vēdāntadēsika worsted the latter in debate and continued to stay in Srīrangam at the request of Lord Ranganatha.

The Kōil Olugu is not interested in the pontifical succession at Srīrangam or Kanchipuram. After briefly referring to Bhaṭṭar and Nanjiyar it begins a long recital of the achievements and services of Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar (a contemporary of Nanjiyar) to the Srīrangam temple interspersed with hair-raising episodes of his occult powers. He was a private person, a sannyāsi, who had no connection with the pontificate or with the Sēnāpati Durantara. But he was popular and at the request of the parijanas was given some important rights in the temple. He became the founder and
eighth day of the Mahotsava went to the four-pillared manḍapa at the boundary, where He heard the Arayar singing to the tune of the ‘paḷ’ accompanied by the drum (‘paṟai’). The Perumāḷ commanded the vehicle-bearer to fetch the Arayar from the paraya quarters to His presence. The Arayar hesitated to come. The parivāras of all the groups, the Jiyars and the Srivaisṇavas complained. The Perumāḷ, to make known His worth, gave that Arayar the title of ‘Varantarum Perumāḷ-Arayar’ (the Arayar of the Perumāḷ, who grants boons) and graced him with the power to grant, at that moment boons to all in fulfilment of all their desires, and also infused into him considerable wisdom and purity. From that time He desired to hear the music of the ‘paḷ’ and the ‘paṟai’, to the accompaniment of the Arayar, and appointed the Arayar to sing accordingly on the occasions of His return to the temple by walk at the close of the Tiruvūral mahotsava and His procession to the Nacciyar shrine on the seventh day. From that time the Arayar is having the title of Varantarum-Perumāḷ-Arayar also. In all he has four titles.

first occupant of the gadi of the Srīrangamārāyaṇa Jiyar Ādīna at Srīrangam. The Srīrangamārāyaṇa Jiyar Guru-paramparai deals with the pontifical succession of this Ādīna.

Mudaliyāṇḍāṉ, the disciple of Rāmānuja and manager of the Srīrangam temple (Senāpati Durantara), was succeeded by his grandson Kandāḍai Tēḻappar. He was succeeded by his son Kandāḍai Āyi, who parted with some of his rights in favour of the popular Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar. Kandāḍai Āyi was succeeded by Īyān Rāmānuja, surnamed Vādāla Dēsika. The latter was followed by Tirukkōpurattu Nainar and Siddaṅṅar. The son of Siddaṅṅar was Srīranga Rāyan Vāduladēsikan. When he was the Senāpati Durantara (Srīkāryam) of the Srīrangam temple occurred the Muslim invasion of 1323 AD.
While the Perumāḷ was thus favouring the Arayar with His grace, a wicked sannyāsi, directed by the Lord of Srīrangapattanaṁ, made himself invisible with the help of magic collyrium (‘adrucyāñjanam’), which he poured into his eyes and shifted (the image of) Periya Perumāḷ four inches away from His holy couch of Adisesa, by means of mantric power, feeding himself with the prasādam placed on the altar, unseen by anybody, and with a view to taking away (the image of) Periya Perumāḷ to Srīrangapattanaṁ. The Nambis and the Uḷḷūrūr—the servants in the sanctum—on witnessing the change in the position of the image revealed it to all the others. Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyan made a clever investigation and found that the prasādam was disappearing. One day the bali-prasādam was prepared with a mixture of mustard-seed and pepper-corn. The mean sannyāsi, not knowing this, ate the prasādam as usual. The pungent prasādam brought a lot of tears in his eyes in which the magic collyrium dissolved itself and revealed him. Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyan lured him with fine words, and showing him the provisions of the storehouse and captivating his mind by peaceful terms, made him restore the Perumāḷ to His original position through his mantric power. He offered him all the items of vestment and jewels that he desired, from the storehouse, and sent them behind him with servants. He also sent four wrestlers as guides, with suitable instructions. The sannyāsi started with them, and after carefully journeying up to the valley became fearless afterwards. At a time when he was impure the four wrestlers pounced upon him suddenly, killed him and restored to the treasury the robes and vestments.

The Saivas increased in power in Kīlaiyūr (Jambukēsavaram) and were creating hindrances in the way of the Perumāḷ proceeding to the garden of Tirumangaimannar to the north of Uttamasili in the east, washing His sacred feet in the Jambutīratham and meeting Akhilandēsvari, on the
eighth tirunāl, since the days of Krimikanṭha Chola. With the intention of destroying them Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyan made friends with them. After making himself much trusted he announced a Jangamārādana and a Mahēsvara pūja and constructed a huge shed hedged in with stakes of palm leaves on all sides, behind the temple of Kāṭṭalāgiyasingar in the east. In that shed he constructed a kitchen and heated ghee in a huge cauldron. He called together all those Saivas, and when they had sat down for meals, he jumped into the boiling cauldron with the Nrisimhayantra tied to his chest, when all the Saivas were burnt to ashes.

Once when the Perumāḷ was taken in the boat, along the river Kaveri, during a ‘Padinēṭṭām-perukku’ festival He was carried away by the flood from the middle of the river as a result of (somebody’s) cruel and mischievous mantric power. On hearing this Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyan turned the ring of darba grass (‘valaya pavitram’) in his hand to the right. The boat of the Perumāḷ turned against the current and reached its original position. The Perumāḷ and the Nācciyār returned to the temple safely.

Annually when there were floods in the Kāveri, the Tirukkuralappan shrine was drowned and the water even entered the temple. This news was conveyed to the lord of this region. On consultations with Kandādai Tōḻappar, the Sēnāpati Durantara, it was decided to dig a channel, towards the south extending from the commencement of the street of Punnāgatirtham in the west to its end. The brahmins of Chintamani lay down across the trenches and created impediments saying that they would not allow the channel to be dug near their village. In spite of convincing pleadings that it was in the service of the Perumāḷ they persisted. A curse was invoked on these opponents of sacred service. Then the Kāveri was diverted towards the south
and banks were constructed on both sides of the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam, commencing from the eastern side of the gardens of Vipranārāyaṇa in Tirumṇḍikkūṟai. There the Aniyaranga head-sluice was built. When a breach was expected at the south east of Punnagatir-tham, Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar placed his man Karuṅākaradāsan, there, as bali. To its north a kṣhūdradēvata was installed as the protecting deity. The village goddess, Tiruvarangacelvi, was also installed to protect the temple. The eastern part was also made secure. Thus was the defence laid out on all sides, without giving way to the mischiefs of men skilled in black art. A huge tank was, with the permission of Kandadai Tōḻappar, dug to the west of the temple, and arrangements were made for the celebration of the floating festival, therein. Karaiyalgāiyasingar was also installed in front of the Jambulingam of Kīlaiyūr, and His power was made to express itself in all its intensity. A yantra was established in the temple calculated to prevent anybody from living within it. If anybody did he got fever. A tirumaṇḍapa in the east of Rājamahēndran enclosure was reconstructed and figures were carved on its walls, among which was included an illustration of the yuddhakāṇḍa of the Śrī Rāmāyaṇa. Every night battles were fought, since the images were sastric in toto and, at dawn, blood and pieces of flesh were found lying scattered.

He also repaired the shrines of Uraiyūr Kamalavalli Nācciyār, Sāndu Nācciyār and Cērakulavalli Nācciyār in that enclosure, Gopinātha in the yāgasāla, Sankhanidhi and Padmanidhi, and Bhadra and Subhadra outside the gateway of that enclosure. He installed the images of Śrī Varāha-nainār, in the tulāpurūṣamaṇḍapa to the west of the Sēnaiyenrān tirumaṇḍapa in the Kulasekharaṇ enclosure, Vasantagōpālan in the procession path of Tirumangai Āḻvār to its north, Lakṣhminārāyaṇa Perumāl in the Perumāḻdēvan
maṇḍapa, Sarasvati and Hayagriva to the east of the northern gateway, Kuṭalādīna Pillai and Anādi Emberumāṇ in the Sundaraprāṇḍyādēva tulāpurusamaṇḍapa to the east of the Āryabhattachā gateway in the south, Govindan, Vēdavyāsa and Gnanappirāṇ on the bank of the Candrapukṣkaraṇī in the Ālinādan enclosure, a Nācciyār for Eduttakai Alagiya Nainār in the east of the northern gateway of the Akālāganan enclosure, Pārthasārathy in front of Tiruvāliyālvān towards the north of the Etirājan koil and Viṭtalēsvāra in front of Chakravarti-tirumagan.

In these various ways did Kūranārayana ṇ Jiyar, even as a foreign Jiyar (i.e., unattached to the temple), manage the temple and patronise it. Hence some of the parijanas belonging to the temple groups and all the followers of the loving Jiyar desired that such an affectionate Jiyar should be their chief and should attach himself to the mutt. They were on the other hand unwilling to override the appointment of Emberumāṇār. They expressed their desire to the Śenāpati Durantara—Kandādai Tōlappar—who, however, brushed it aside.

While Tōlappa’s sons, Cinna Varadacāryar and Periya Varadacāryar were controlling the temple affairs, one night, they found a blade of grass in the milk that had been offered to the Perumāḷ. When they thought how it might have wounded the divine throat, and how the mind of Āḷāgiya-maṇavālan would then have pained, they were so much struck with grief that they were seized by a swoon and lost all consciousness. They were overpowered by sorrow and their eyes were full with tears. At that time, Āḷāgiyamaņavālan, through the mouth of a possessed person, asked them not to grieve, saying that they were His ‘mothers.’ From that time they are known as Chinnāyī and Periyāyī (younger and elder mother).
During his term Āyi was, once, performing a sacrifice when a certain utsava had just begun. Taking advantage of the rain which had started, the parijanas conceitedly brought the Perumāḷ within the sacrificial shed. The Āyi was much pleased and gave all his wealth to the Perumāḷ. Later on, the Perumāḷ conveyed the deceit practised by these parijanas to the Chola, who was the siṣya of Kandaḍaiyāṇḍan, in a dream. The Chola came to Srīrangam and told the parijanas in great anger, “Even though you may deceive me, (your request cannot be granted because) there has been divine favour towards the family of Mudaliyāṇḍan. Because you all belong to Srīrangam I excuse you this time.”

Then the parijanas carried to the Chola all the property that was offered to the Perumāḷ and pleaded that Kandaḍai Āyi should take back his all and (have them) as ever before. Āyi, on knowing this deposited in the treasury the ‘Sēnāpati paṭṭayam’ given to him by the Perumāḷ, the deed of gift given to him by the Chola and also the remaining property. Then he addressed the parijanas thus: “What made you practise this deceit? If you had desired to install the Jiyar as the head why did you not communicate it to me?” Thus saying he assigned to the Jiyar the mutt of Uḍayavar, the Uḍayavar seal and the ring of the sacred conch all of which were Kandaḍai Āyi’s, being the honours belonging to the Kovaṇavars. Certain services like (supplying) kasturi and tirumanaṭ, the collyrium, the pigment (puḷugu) etc., (for the use of Periya Perumāḷ) were assigned to him. Āyi also arranged for the daily offering of prasaḍām to the Jiyar in front of the Sēnaimudaliṣṭ shrine, for

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1. This was done with the intention that he would give away his all including his office of the Sēnāpati Durantara to the Perumāḷ and thus Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar might be installed in his place. The Anṇan-Tirumāḷigal Olugu gives this episode in detail.
his subsistence. With the consent of Āyi, the parijanas of all groups took Kūranārayana Jiyar to the mutt. After some time, due to the wrath of the king Periyāyi left the shrine and went away to Tirumalaisai, while Kandādai Tōlappar retired to Perumāl Kōil.

From that time Kūranārayaṇa Jiayar, who out of his wondrous devotion began to radiate goodness all over, came to be called Sriranganārayaṇa Jiayar. The following are the duties separated (for his sake) from the Kovanavar, who bearing the mace manage the temple affairs: coming to the gateway of the storehouse after bath and refining the perfumery like the collyrium, to be sent to the Nācciyār shrine, entering the Holy presence and conducting puja, drawing the tridental mark with kastūri and tiruman, on the divine forehead and applying collyrium to the sacred frame, and doing the same duties of kastūri and tiruman and collyrium in the Nācciyār shrine, during puja. Then he would come out, make ready the civet ointment for the God (and investigate into the needs of the mutt from behind the narrow enclosure, as the chief of the Kovanavar).¹

The honour that is done to him is the bestowal of prasādam in front of the Sānaimudaliār shrine. If the Jiayar passed away the parijanas would deposit the vessels of the mutt and the seal in the treasury and, gathering together would elect a new Jiayar. Then with the permission of the Sānapati Durantara, viz., the Kandādaiyār, they would offer to him, in the presence of Periya Perumāl, the signet of the conch and offer worship on his behalf and in the name of Sriranganārayaṇa Jiayar. Then he would be taken to the mutt and prasādam distributed. (This has been the custom).

¹ The bracketed portion is found in the U. G. Press edition only.
After Saka 1249, Akshaya, the year of the ‘Panriyālvān tirumōṭṭumahā kalaham,’ in Saka 1293-on the 17th of Vai-kāsi, Paridapi-, when the ‘kalaham’ was over, the Muham-madans were completely driven out and the Perumāḷ and the Nācciyaṟ were once more installed in the sacred shrine. In the north the Vijayanagar-Ānegondi city became prominent thanks to Vidyāraṇya. A kingdom was established there. During the reign of Harihara Rāyar, Srīranga Rāyar, a landowner (attached to the temple) of Utta-mar Koil, who came 5th in descent in the list was occupy-ing the seat of Srīranganārāyaṇa Jiyar. He was gifted in speech and as chief of the Kovanavar inquired into the needs of the mutt. He is honoured thus: When the Perumāḷ is taken out in procession, and after the procession turns to the west beyond the gateway of the sanctum he is offered tirtham, parivaṭṭam, a garland and the Sṛisāṭakōpan. The presents that used to be offered to the administrative chief—Kandāḍaiyār—at the gateway of the Sēnaimudaliyar shrine are now set aside and the Jiyar is offered these first.*

It has become customary to offer him daily prasādām in the sanctum of Sēnaimudaliyar before the mace-holder is honoured with the same. Likewise on other occasions of distribution of tirtham and prasādām Srīranganārāyaṇa Jiyar was honoured with aruḷ-appāḻu followed by tirtham and prasādām first, in preference to the mace (bearer). Since writing ‘Srīranganārāyaṇa Jiyar—the Sēnāpati Durantara’

1. This refers to the second Muhammadan invasion of Srīrangaṟam. It was at the Varāha Nainār shrine that the first contact with the invaders was made. It is also referred to as ‘Pannirayiram tirmuṭi tiruttina kalābām’.

* (In the briefer edition it simply reads: ‘the administrative chief was offered his presents there and not at the gateway of the Sēnaimudaliyar shrine.)
in letters proceeding from the temple is a novelty only the
name of Kandādaiyār, of old, and not that of the new Jiyar
is adopted in them just as in the dramatised piece of
'Aranganārkātcheyyāde, (a stanza) in the Tirumālail abhinaya-
ym, during the Tiruvāimoḷi festival, wherein the services
of the Kovanavar—the Sānāpati Durantara—are depicted
first.

Since the pontifical seat of Sriranganārāyaṇa Jiyar was
created by the Stalattār and was not an ancient and hereditary
office, on the death of the Jiyar the signet of the Discus and
the mutt (its paraphernalia) were lodged in the Sribhandāra.
The parijanas, after this, appointed a new Jiyar and named
him Sriranganārāyaṇa Jiyar, with the consent of all in the
temple. Then he was offered in the Holy Presence presents
and also the signet of the Discus and taken to the mutt. In
the absence of the Jiyar the office was exercised from the
Sribhandāra.

After the Muhammadan occupation Uttamar Köil Srī-
rangarājar became Sriranganārāyaṇa Jiyar. By means of
his eloquence he created a puja in his name in the mutt.
Since the mutt belonged to the Sribhandāra, he supplied
rice, ghee, castor oil, cow (for milk), bran (for the cow),
etc., from the storehouse for conducting the Srīrangarājar
puja. He also offered in course of time discipleships to the
Sudra parijanas of the temple. From the time of Mudali-
yā ḍān, whom Kulottunga Chola adopted as his preceptor
under the command of Uḍayavar, and who belonged to the
line of Kovanavar of the Srīrangam temple, up to the time of
the 'Panriyālvān tirumōṭṭumahā kalaham' the 'Srīrangasri'
(the prosperity of Srīrangam) was unusually associated with
the name of Kandādaiyār for 190 years. In course of time
'samayavaṭṭil' (tirtham) was offered to the Kandādaiyār,
'aramanai tirtham' to the Jiyar and 'uttaraksiṇi' tirtham
to both. This was in vogue for some time. Afterwards, from the year Īsvara to Vikrama, Vedācārya Bhaṭṭar, the son of Vēdavyāsa Bhaṭṭar, administered the temple affairs, for four years excluding the Kandāḍaiyār and including the Jiyaṛ, with the help of the Durgādipatis.¹ Later on, while Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Jiyaṛ was in the Jiyaṛ’s seat, all the three—Āṇḍān, Bhaṭṭar, and the Jiyaṛ—had equal privileges.² Still later after ruling many cities in the north, for which he (?) had to repent, he escaped to this part of the country and including the Bhaṭṭar that was in the seat of Srīraṅganaṅraṇa Jiyaṛ, the parijanas and the Durgādipatis, (he administered the temple.) They inscribed on the wall of Dharmavarma, to the west of the gateway of the sanctum, the details regarding the division of the temple services into groups according to the custom first inculcated by Uḍayavar, the division into Jiyrars, and ēkāṅgis, and their duties, in the form of a divine epistle.

THE GLORY OF ĪYĀṆ RĀṆĀNUJĀCĀRYAR

After some time, during the term of Cinnāyi and Periyāyi, Karikāḷa Chola incurred the displeasure of the latter. Periyāyi, as a result, left the mutt and went away to Tirumāḷisai in the north while Kandāḍai Tōḷappar went to Perumāḷ Koil. Subsequently Dēvapperumāḷ informed Kandāḍai Tōḷappar, in his dream, through a sloka of six lines, that he would be returning to Srīrangam through the efforts of his third son. Later on, after Karikāḷa Chōḷa, who had blundered while serving Periyāyi, had died and the kingdom of the Chōḷaś collapsed, when Pāncatiruvaḍi Muttukrīṣhnaṅraḷa was reigning, Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ appeared to him in his dream and appointed him to bring

1. Vijayanagar chieftains. 2. The following parenthetical sentence is found in the Ananda Press edition only.
back Íyãn, the son of Tôlappar, who had gone to the shrine of Dëvapperumãl, so that he may look after His affairs, and make the mutt of Mudaliyânãn his. Accordingly he (Muttukrishnarãja) brought him (Íyãn) back, became his sisya, and made the mutt and the like his, as of old. Íyãn Râmanujâcaryar, alias Vâdûladêsikar, reconstructed many gopuras, prâkâras and mañçapas, and conducted for the God the daily, fortnightly utsavas, etc. He also looked after the needs of the deity and managed the temple with wondrous devotion.

THE DËVADÄSI SAVES THE TEMPLE

His son Tirukkôpurattu Nainâr, during the government of Narasimharãja, managed the temple for a long time. Siddhanâr, his second son, in the seat of Vâdûladêsikar, conducted, as the Sânâpati Durantara, all glories for the God and did various services with the help of Pancatiruvaði Kesavarãja. He son Srîranga Râyan Vâdûladêsikan, of intense knowledge, devotion and renunciation conducted many services for Añâgàyamañçavâlan, and all honours and glories (for the temple) with the aid of Pancatiruvaði Virapparãja so that the prosperity of the temple increased without diminution or decline.*

Srîrangarãja Nâyan (Nathan, Râyan) remained childless for a long time and while he was feeling helpless at the thought that he had none to succeed him God favoured him with a son. On the 12th day after birth the child was named Narasimha Dêsikar and was taken to the

* The names of the patrons of the Vâdûladêsika family clearly recall those of the Madura Nayaks and their chieftains, who came to power in the 16th century. Hence their alleged patronage is groundless. It is clear that this part of the Òlugu was written or rewritten during or after the period of the Nayaks.
presence of the God for worship. This was in Saka 1249* (1149 in the briefer edition—wrong date), Akṣaya, when the people of Srirangam heard that the Muhammadans had extended their sway all over Toṇḍaimanḍalam.

Then a lot was cast to ascertain whether the Perumāḷ desired to stay where he was or to leave Srirangam for a safer place. Since Aḻagiyamanavāḷan made known that His desire was to stay, the festival was begun and continued. When the Perumāḷ was seated in the maṇḍapa of sacrificial offerings in the Panriyāḷvān Kōil, it was said that the Muhammadans had crossed Samayapuram. Srirangarāja Nāyan, on hearing it, requested the 12,000 ascetics, who had congregated in the ‘Tiruvōlakkam’ (gathering of hymnists), to keep order, and drew on the screen (of the sanctuary) as if puja were being conducted. Then he seated the idol of the Perumāḷ in a little palanquin and sent it in a southern direction with an arcaka, two paricārakas (Uṟṟurār), the palanquin bearers and also his favourite sīṣyas, accompanied by Pillai Lōkācāryar.†

Entering the temple he sent away a few boxes of jewels and the image of Sriranga Nācciyār in a palanquin along with some temple servants, placed a stone barrier above the Kulasākharan step (the step at the entrance of the sanctum), and placing an idol in the fore (between the two pillars at the

*The Srīranganaśāyana Jiwar Guruparamparaṇai gives the correct date for this invasion, viz., Saka 1245, i.e. 1323 AD.

† The Vāḷakalai tradition, represented by the Prapanṇāmrtaṁ, says that Pillai Lōkācārya and others fled with the images to the south under the direction of Vedāntadesika. (Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: Sources of Vijayanagar History P. 34; JBB RAS, XXIV. P. 304). Dēśika himself managed to escape to Satyamangalam with the single manuscript of the Śrutaprakāśika in his possession and two little sons of the aged Sudarsanacārya.
entrance of the sanctum) joined together its doors. The same procedure was adopted in the Nācciyr shrine and the private organs were covered and concealed. Then he joined the Tiruvōlakkam. The Muhammadans not finding the image of Aḻagiyamaṇavāla Perumāḻ behind the screen (in the shrine of Panriyāḻvān), treated Panriyāḻvān irreverently, and cut off the heads of all the ascetics. Then they entered the temple and destroyed the idol in the Sempovāsal. Ruling the northern and southern banks without any damage to the inhabitants the chief made the Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷam tirumāṇḍapa his abode. One of the temple dancing girls visited him and associating herself with him was able to so fascinate him that he did not destroy the temple as he had desired. Since the Jiyar had established yantras in the temple, however, he was attacked by disease. Thinking that it was the act of God, he wanted to wreak vengeance upon the temple, but the Dēvadāsi cunningly and convincingly (prevented it and) effected the mutilation of the cornices of the gopuras and maṇḍapas as also the idols encircling the temple like the ‘dwārapālakas’, at which he felt pleased. Since the sickness increased day by day, he left his abode, and pulling down the walls (of the temple) built (with them) a fort (for himself) in Kaṇṇanūr. A brahmin, known as Singappirān, who was one of the managers of the temple lands in (the village of Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷam), met the Muhammadan chief through the Dēvadāsi and, acting as his servant at the gateway, was protecting the temple from evil.*

After 1323 A.D. the Srīrangam temple was occupied by the Muslims and worship practically ceased. The brahmans of Srīrangam, however, it would appear tried their best to attend on the sanctum image of Ranganatha—Periya

*Narasimhadeva, a Dravida brahmin, according to the Prapannāmṛtam.
Perumāḷ—by giving him the holy bath and offering oblations without attracting the attention of the Muslims but were continuously harassed by them. A devadāsi of the temple and a superintendent of the temple lands by name Singappirān befriended the general of the occupying forces and saved the temple from total destruction.*

ALAGIYAMANAVĀLA PERUMĀḷ GOES TO TIRUNĀRĀYAṆAPURAM, VIA JYŌTIṢKUḌI, TIRUMĀLIRUNJŌLAI, KŌLIKKUḌU, AND PUNGANŪR.

That night the Perumāḷ went into the thick of the forest with His Nācimār and intimate parijanas. They were followed by robbers who began to seize their property. When they proceeded still further other bands of robbers were often met with, but when they were offered the prasādam they kept aloof knowing that robbery was sin. The Perumāḷ stayed for a month at Jyōtiṣkuḍi, where Pillai Lōkācāryar died.†

* Narasimhadēva according to the Prapannāmṛtam, persuaded the conqueror to remove his headquarters from Srirangam to Kaṇṇanūr. Referring to Srirangam during the period of occupation the Madhurā-Vijayam of Gangadevi says: The “vimāna of Srirangam is so dilapidated that now it is the hood of Adisēṣa alone that is protecting the image Ranganātha from the falling debris.” Referring to Jambukēsvaram she says: “The Lord of Gaḷāraṇya, who once killed an elephant to obtain its skin for his garment, has now again been reduced to the same condition, because he has been stripped of all clothing.”

† According to the Prapannāmṛtam the fugitives first reached Ghōṣṭipura (Tirukkōṭṭiyur, near Tiruppattūr, Ramnad dt.) and from there proceeded to Jyotishkuḍi (Kāḷaiyār-Kōvil, Ramnad dt.)

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After finishing the cremation ceremonies at the close of the ‘adyayana’, the party proceeded to Tirumalirunjolai, (Alagar koil, near Madurai), where they stayed for a year. A well was dug there to provide water for puja purposes. Leaving this they went to the Malayalam country. Protected by various persons in the various places they journeyed on to Kolikkudi, where they stayed for a few days. There they met Nammalvar and other Emberumãns from various sacred shrines, to whom they extended protection. Alagiyamañavala Perumãl placed Nammalvar alongside Himself on His sacred throne. From Kolikkudi He journeyed along the coast in a boat with the Alvar. In the middle, through some mishap, the Alvar fell into the sea. Since the Perumãl was unwilling to remain alone, the boat was turned back and under His commands, the parijanas dived beneath a circling kite, found out the Alvar, and joined Him to the Perumãl. The Perumãl stayed, with the Alvar, in Tirukkaiñambi* for many days, where He gave Him His own circular seat and pearl coat and installed Him. After this He and the parijanas came to Tirunânarayanapuram (Melukote) via Punganûr.

1. The Yatindraprañava-prabhâvam, however, says that Nammalvar stayed at Kolikkudi. Feeling quite unsafe there, He was carried in a south-eastern direction and left into a declivity in the high ‘Mundirippu’ hill (where He was protected by a kite) by means of a chain. With the help of Tirumalai Alvar of Madura, a Töppappar brought out the Alvar, in which attempt he sacrificed himself. The Alvar was finally established in Tirukkiñambi. Tirumalai Alvar, after he became the sisya of Kûràkulöttumadasar, re-established Him in Tirunagarí and renovated the shrine. The Koil Olugu has a different story of His coming to Tirukkiñambi.

* An important Vaisnava shrine in the Gundlupet taluk in the extreme south of the Mysore State.
When the Perumāḻ is seated with the Āḻvār on the same seat, and when the puja of both is conducted through the same vessels, the tirtham offered would be from the Āḻvār-tiruppaṇḍikkam (a bowl in which tirtham is received) and the Saṭṭakōpan would be the Perumāḻ-saṭṭakōpan. During worship 'Tiruppaṇḍikka-tirtham' would be offered to Śrīranganārāyaṇa Jiyyar and other 'adhikāris', at the shrine of Sēnaimudaliyar. After this incident the Sundārapāṇḍyan (bowl) is not carried along the procession of the Perumāḻ.

**THE PERUMĀḻ GOES TO TIRUVĒNGAḌAM**

After thus staying for a long time, in Tirunārāyaṇapuṟam, Āḷagiyamaṇaṉaḷa Perumāḻ came to Tiruvēngaḍam in a pradakshina route. On the Tirumalai he stayed for a long time, celebrated by glorious utsavas.*

**GŪPĀṆA UḌAYĀR PROTECTS ĀṆAGIYAMAṆAṆAṆAṆ AT SINGAPURAM AND RE-ESTABLISHES HIM IN ŚRĪRANGAM**

When the Perumāḻ was, thus, remaining at Tiruppati, the Muhammadan authority had extended upto the Pandya country. Then Vidyāraṇya brought to the fore the city of Āṅegondi, where the kingdom of the Rayas was established. When Harihara Raya was ruling over his kingdom, which corresponded to Tondaimaṇḍalam, Gūpāṇa Uḍayār, his agent (kāryakāra), came to Tiruppati to worship the God enshrined there. [After worshipping TiruvēngaḍamudaiyāṆ he inquired about the details of the arrival of ĀḷagiyamaṇaṆaṆaṆ...]

* According to the Tirumalai tradition the Ranganātha image was housed in the Rangamaṇḍapam and as the God was staying as a guest at Tirumalai tiruvārādanam (puja and offering of food) was done first to Him and certain praban-das considered dear to him were recited in the presence of Śrī Venkatesvara.
maṇavālan and was informed of the presence of the Periya Perumāl there.¹ The Lord of Chandragiri on hearing of the arrival of Gōpāṇa Uḍayār at Tiruppati, invited him to his city and showed him the Perumāl there.²

After remaining there for a few days he went to Singapuram, taking the Perumāl with him. He established the God at Singa (raya) puram and performed the glorious festivals of the Adyayanōtsava, etc. Tirumaṇattūn Nambi, the son of Singappirān, the Kāṇiyāla of Aḷagiyamaṇavālan, came to know of this. He sent Uttamanambi to Čenji, as a spy, to inform Gōpāṇa Udayar of the secrets of the Muhammadans at Srīrangam. Gōpāṇa Uḍayār came with unlimited forces and destroyed the Muhammadans entirely. In Saka 1293 Paridāpi, on the 17th of Vaikasi, Gōpāṇa Uḍayār brought from Singapuram the images of the Perumāl and the Nācciyār to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam, opened the door of the temple, installed them in the company of

¹. There is an impossible belief that Periya Perumāl, i.e., the mortar image of the reclining Ranganatha Himself was removed during the Muhammadan raid (C. S. Srinivasachariar’s ‘History of Gingee and its Rulers’, P. 14) It is said that the image of Ranganātha now at Singavaram was the original Ranganātha image of Srīrangam. But it has been consistently maintained by the Kōil-Olugu and local tradition that it was only the utsava-murti, viz., Aḷagiyamaṇavālan, that was removed during both the raids and not the mūla-murti or Periya Perumāl. We have in addition the unimpeachable testimony of Gōpāṇārya’s inscription which says that he established in Srīrangam ‘Ranganatha together with both Lakshmi and Earth’ (undoubtedly the three main procession images) and there is no mention of any other image. The belief, above mentioned might be the effect of Aḷagiyamaṇavāla Perumāl’s short sojourn at Singapuram.

². The bracketed portion is found only in the briefer edition.
Periya Perumāḷ, conducted puja and inscribed the following ‘taniyan’ in laudation of his achievement on the wall of Dharmavarma, towards the east:

‘Āniyā nila śrungadyutiracita jagadranjanādrē
Scancagrāmādyā kacitsamayamtha nihatyō dhanuṣ-
kānstūrūskān
Laksmikṣmābhya mumbhābhyām sahanijanilaye
stāpayamranganāthham
Samyakvaryām saparyāmkṛuta nijayasādarpanō
gopanāryahā’

‘Having brought (the God) from the Anjanādri (mountain) whose darkish peaks give delight to the world, having worshipped (Him) at Chenchi for some time, then having slain the Tuluskas, whose bows were raised, Gopaṇārya, the mirror of fame, placed Ranganatha together with Lakṣmi and the Earth (Srīdevī and Bhūdevī) in His own town (Srīrangam) again and duly performed excellent worship.’

1. EI. VI. p. 322 ff. According to the Prapannamṛtam this verse was composed by Vādānta Dēsika.

The Oļugu gives two accounts of the sack of Srīrangam, each followed by an exile and restoration. Since in fact there was only one restoration, i.e., the one effected by the Vijayannagar generals in 1371 A.D. and since the temple suffered on both the occasions, the chronicler, perhaps writing long after the events from memory had perforce to relate two restorations. It was seen already that the account of the first restoration effected by a Rajendra Chola is pure fiction (Pp. 32-33). Even then the event is placed some sixty years after the attack, pointing to the restoration of 1371 A.D. The somewhat confused and overlapping accounts of the two exiles and two restorations can, however, be reconciled. The clue is furnished by the Oļugu itself, which says that the people of Srīrangam had forgotten everything about the sack of the temple (by Malik Kafur 1310-11) and the consequent flight of the image and hence refused to recognise the real image when it was recovered from the forest glen at
THE HONOUR (KAṬṬALAI) ORDAINED FOR
THE DĒVADĀSI

[The Muhammadans, while in occupation of the Srirangam temple, created hindrances in the way of devotees coming to the temple. Unable to bear the worries caused by these, and with the intention of driving out the Muhammadans by some means, the Dēvadāsi, one day, attired herself attractively and entered the temple. The leader of the Muhammadans longingly approached her. She also remained in a yielding attitude. The Muhammadan asked her, "Where is your God?". Telling him that she would show

Tiruppati and brought back to Srirangam. (The Koḍavar carrying Aḷaḷiyamāṇavaḷa Perumaḷ did not actually go up the Tirumalai hills to the temple of Sri Venkatesvara probably because it was feared that the Tirumalai temple itself would be an object of Muslim attacks. According to the Olugu the Muslims pursued the fugitive Koḍavar in the region of Chandragiri and even sent search parties up the hills. Hence the Perumāḷ was hidden in a lonely place). From the Olugu it is known that after the first exile of the divine image and after fruitless waiting for a long time a fresh image was cast and installed in the temple by the parijanas. Piḷḷai Lokācārya and others left Srirangam, when it was attacked for a second time (by Ulugh Khan in 1323 A.D.), with this new image, called Tiruvaranga Māḷigaiyar, and reached Tirupati after many hazards. The Tirumalai temple now became the shelter of the refugees most probably because it was known that it had escaped the first Muslim attack. Now it is highly probable that the Vijayanagar generals, who had established themselves in Chandragiri, took both the images, the one from the Tirumalai temple and the other from Chandragiri, whose governor had rescued it and the Koḍavar from their hiding place. The two images raised doubts in the minds of the people as to which was the original and hence the old temple washerman was called upon to identify the original image. This seems to be the best way of explaining the confused accounts in the Olugu.
him the God, she led him up the eastern gopura and showed
him (the image of) Paravāsudēva. When he stooped to look
at the image she pushed him down. Thinking that she
would be haunted by ‘brahmahatti’ she too fell down, but
did not die. Later on, when the other (Muhammadān)
armies had fled, the parijanas, on opening the doors of the
temple, found life still lingering in the body of the Dāsi.1
Immediately they all went to the Perumāl and appealed to
Him (to save her). The Perumāl through the instrument-
ality of an arākaka came to her and with very great satis-
faction, asked her what boon she wanted. She replied
“Whenver any of my creed dies the fire for cremation
should be fetched from the temple kitchen, and to them
must be offered a certain quantity of rice from the store
house, and also tīrtham, garland and pariavāṭṭam.” Accord-
ingly from that day her requests are being fulfilled.

THE BENEFACIONS OF GŌPAṆA UḌAYĀR,
GUṆḌU SĀṆUVAYYAR AND VIRUPPAṆA
UḌAYĀR

On the 17th day of the month of Āni, Gōpaṇa Uḍayār
handed over to Uttamanambi 52 villages worth about 17,000
gold pieces as endowments to the temple.2

1. The bracketed portion is found only in the briefer

2. According to the ‘Uttamanambi-Vamsaprabhāvam,’
Periya Krishnarāya Uttamanambi is said to have invited
Kampana II, the son of Bukka, to pay a visit to the temple.
Kampana made a donation of 16,000 gold pieces for acquiring
lands for the temple, while his pradhāni made another
donation of 1,000 gold pieces for the same purpose. Both
the gifts were handed over to Periya Krishnarāya Uttama-
nambi, who, with this amount purchased 62 villages for the
temple.
The gold flagstaff established by the Pandya in the Aniyarangan courtyard was destroyed by the Muhammedans. In its place Guju Saluvaayar,* who came along with Gopan Udayar, set up a flag-staff of bell-metal. [Under such conditions, while it was the custom for the temple parijanas to go to Vijayanagar and lay before the Rayas the temple accounts, items of expenditure, and receive presents, this Durgadipati, i.e., Guju Saluvaayar, made Uttamarkoil Srirangarajan, the fifth in succession after Sriranganarayana Jiyar, the chief of the mutt and established for him certain honours like the right to receive the divine presents first (agra vegumati) parivaṭam, satakopan, etc. The descendent of Kandada Rangarajarayan informed Gopan Udayar of Cenji about this and appealing to him that from time immemorial and in the time of Udayavar and the Chola, till the last Akṣaya year the right of the Kovanavar to receive the honours first at the gateway of the Sēnaimudaliar shrine was solely their own and that overlooking this fact, that honour was being done to the Jiyar, they took a favourable letter from him and gave it to the Durgadipati. But since that Durgadipati patronised the Jiyar, he overlooked it and kept quiet. The Kandadaivar called Uttamanambi† and pointed to him this iniquity and said that

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* Saluva Guṇḍa, the elder brother of Saluva Mangu, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, P. 32.

†Periya Krishnarāyar Uttamanambi (No. 80 in the Vamsaprabhāvam.) The Vamsaprabhāvam gives the genealogy of the Uttamanambis, who are said to be brahmins of the pūrva-sikha' sect and one of the ancient and important families of Srirangam (EI. XVI. P. 223). This genealogy traces their descent from Periyāḷvar, who immigrated from Srivilliuttur to Srirangam. They were for a long time associated with the administration of the Srirangam temple but seem to have risen to a first rate position largely owing to the close connections built up by them with the Vijayanagar court.
such a state of things was intolerable and that he would try his best to check it. Uttamanambi replied, "The capital of the Rayas is very distant. I would myself go the Raya and, representing that many petty disputes are arising here and that things are going against customary practice, obtain from him the orders that you should receive the honours first, which preference you have been enjoying from days of yore, and also that the Durgādipatis here, should control the temple only under your authority." To this Kandādaiyār consented.*

Previously all the groups of parijanas did their respective duties perfectly and it was their custom to go to Vijayanagar and lay before the Rayas the temple accounts and the income from the lands that are exempt from taxation, and get back their exclusive right to receive certain dues. In course of time under strained circumstances they were unable to go to the palace in Vijayanagar and hence felt worried. The cultivators of the temple lands in this place are of two types—Sōliyar and Kāniyālar. Some of the latter were Tirunārāyaṇa Nambi, Aṇiyaranga Nambi, Tirumaṇattuṇi Nambi, Čelva Nambi, Periya Koil Nambi, Uttamanambi and others. Tiruppāṅkadal Nambi, Srīvilliputtur Nambi and some others belong to the Sōliyar line. Uttamanambi came to these parijanas and said, "Why are you all worried like this?† If all the ten groups of parijanas were to go to Vijayānagar the expenditure for palanquins, etc., would be

* The 'Anānan Tirumālīgai Olugu' says that the Uttamanambi obtained for Kandādai Tōlappa supreme control over the temple.

† The cultivators were probably worried not only over the question of submitting accounts but perhaps more over the question of obtaining royal recognition of their hereditary rights.
enormous. If you would send me I would lay the accounts (before the Raya), reply his questions, and come back receiving the presents." Accordingly a note (kūri ōlai) was issued to him from the Stānapati, under the seal of the temple, appointing him as envoy. He proceeded to Vijayanagar in S. 1294, Pramādica, presented the accounts and received honours.] When, after one or two years, Periyakrishṇarāyar Uttamanambi, continuing this tradition, went to Vijayanagar and saw the Raya, he was commanded by the son of Harīhara Raya, to build a tulāpurusamaṇḍapa to the east of the flag-staff. It was executed by him. The son of that Raya, Viruppaṇa Udayar, came (to Srīrangam) and performed the tulāpuruṣa ceremony.*

With the help of that gold and along with that of Harīhara Raya's tulāpuruṣa ceremony the vimāṇa was covered with gold plates and adorned with nine kalasas. The Dvajārōhaṇa ceremony was conducted in the name of Viruppaṇa Udayar, thus enabling the people coming from all parts of the country to visit the long-missed Perumāḷ to obtain 'sēva.'†

Keeping in mind the help rendered by Tirumaṉattūn Nambi the Raya executed a lease-deed for the village of Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷam, bestowed it upon the temple with all honours, and witnessed the (Cittirai) festival.

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1. The bracketed portion is found only in the Ananda Press edition.

* Viruppaṇa was the son of Bukka I and brother of Harīhara II (1377-1404 AD). Harīhara I died without issue.

† There is a single record of Viruppaṇa, in Srīrangam dated 1383 A.D. (ARE 88 of 1937-38) registering a gift of cows by Somanathadeva, son of Viṭṭappa, a pradhāni of the king. Probably this gift was made while Viruppaṇa was staying in Srīrangam. The association of Viruppaṇa with the Cittirai festival has survived and it is even now called Viruppaṇ-tirunāḷ.
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BOUNDARY

When the festival was thus celebrated, as of old, it was the custom for the Perumāḷ to go to the boundary, enter Ānaikkāval through the Rangavāsal in the north street and after bestowing 'sāva' on Akilāndēśvari, take the juice of the tender cocoanut, have His feet washed in the Jambu tirtham and then proceed to the garden of Tirumangaimannan on the morning of the 8th day of the Mahotsava.*

During other festivals when, in the same manner, the Perumāḷ, after washing His feet, returned through the northern gateway and proceeded to the Kadamba tirtham, which is the residence of Uttamarkoil Āḷvār, the Saivites created a lot of confusion, which dispute dragged on nearly for three years. Subsequently in S. 1297, Nala, on the 8th festival day in the month of Panguni, when the Perumāḷ was taken in a western direction near Ānaikkāval, many armed heretics (Saivites) barred the way. When the Tiruppaṇisai-vār proceeded, as usual, to inspect the streets, the Saivites lost patience. They saw the Koḍavar, 'Vēlāndinaperumāḷ

*The local chronicles. viz., the Koil Oḷugu, the Uttamanambi-vamsa-prabhāvam and the Srīranganārāyaṇa Jiyar Guruparamparai make prominent mention of a boundary dispute between the neighbouring Vaishnava and Saiva temples at Srīrangam and Jambukēsvaram. It was the custom for the Ranganātha idol to be taken, on the 8th day of the Panguni Uttiram festival, from a point on the northern bank of the Kaveri to a mandapa in the Tirumāṅgaimannan garden on the southern bank of the Coleroon along an imaginary boundary line running from the south to the north between the adjacent temples. This ceremony of the 8th day (Eṭṭāmtirunāl) is described in the Lakshmikāvyam. The Oḷugu says that in the course of this procession the God (Ranganātha) used to be taken into Tiruvānaikkāval and His feet washed in the tank there (Jambu tirtham). After this break the procession to the garden of Tirumangaimannan was resumed.
Dasar' and, with the intention of making an end of him struck him down (by means of black art.) Taking him upon the elephant to the side of the Perumāl the Jiyars, the Śrīvaiśñavas, the parijanas of all the groups, including the brave dancers, began to recite the upaniṣads without any break, and with shouts of victory offered, as ever, water (for the feet of the Perumāl) in the Jambu tirtham. After fighting with those heretics and subduing them (the Koḍavar having been offered as the price or bali for the victory) the Perumāl returned as usual. From that time when the Perumāl is taken to the boundary the honour like the cotton and silk (parivaṭṭams) are done to the Tiruppaṇisaivār and the elephant-ride of the God is celebrated in their name. There He is taken upto the northern Kaveri (Coleroon) with the chantings of the upaniṣads and shouts of war, and Saṭakōpan is offered to 'Vēlēndinaperumāl Dasar' ('The Perumāl Dāsar, who bore the Vēl of the Saivaite God') and certain honours are done to the Tiruveṭṭakkārār.

[After this the Saivites went to Vijayanagar along with the injured persons (to plead their case). As Krishnarāyār Uttamanambi had previously gone (to Vijayanagar) as the envoy of the temple, he too was called (by the Raya). The Raya, after hearing the arguments on both sides, called together his Guru Vyāsa Uḍayār, Gopāla Uḍayār, and Raghu Uḍayār and took a statement from both the Stālat-tārs.]

*According to a Madhva tradition Vyāsarāya (1478-1539 AD), who was the minister and guru of Krishnadēva Rāya (1509-1530 AD) arbitrated in this dispute and established a common boundary line. If this tradition is true the settlement of the dispute has to be placed sometime about 1515-20 AD. No reliance can be placed upon the mention of Vyasa-Udayar in the Koil Olugu, for according to it he was the minister of Harihar Raya (II) and not Krishnadēva Raya.
Then he sent them along with Uttamanambi to this place. On the way, the Stalattār of Ānaikkāval made friends with Uttamanambi and, with promises of reward, said, "Yourself and we are relatives; you alone can establish the prestige of our temple." Thus seeking his help they consoled themselves. The Matādipatis inquired about the common ground between the two shrines. The four pillar-ed maṇḍapa with two tiruvālī stones on the bank of the southern Kaveri was pointed out to them. From that point Uttamanambi was asked to run (along) the boundary. While he was thus running, (the Saivites) pitifully begged (for mercy), standing at their gateway with the Ānaikkāval Akilāndēsvari in the fore. Out of politeness Uttamanambi started running in another direction along the wall in the east, leaving the Jambu tīrtham to a side. At this the beholders became angry and questioned whether he could thus make a deviation while he ought to have run due east, breaking through the western wall in Kīḻaiyur circling the Jambu tīrtham.]¹ The neutral Matādipatis appeared and pacified them by good words and went on laying the boundary stones in his track. The Ānikkāval Stalattār requested for a passage for their cattle promising a piece of land in exchange. Accordingly the boundary stone was fixed leaving a passage of ten arm-lengths west of their wall. From that time the Perumāḷ is taken to the boundary on the 8th day and not to the east (i.e., Jambukēsvaram).*

¹ The bracketed portion is found only in the Ananda press edition.

* The Sīrānganārayaṇa Jiyyar Guruparamparai assigns the boundary dispute to Saka 1304 (1382 A.D.). In this dispute Parānkusa Jiyyar, 9th in the list) and a few ekāṅgis are said to have martyred themselves. The next Jiyyar, known as Aḷāgiyamaṇavāḷa Jiyyar, is said to have sought, with the collaboration of Uttamanambi, the intervention of the Raya,
THE SERVICES RENDERED BY PERIYA KRISHNARÄYAR UTTAMANAMBI TO THE TEMPLE

Periya Krishnarāyar Uttamanambi had, thus, resolved the boundary dispute, gone to Vijayanagar 4 or 6 times, and acting according to the wishes of Harihara Rāyar, obtained 13 villages as gifts to the temple from Harihararāyya Mahārāyar, Gōpāna Udayār, Viruppaṇa Udayār, Muddaya Dennāyakkar, Tammaṇa Udayār Pradāṇi, Sōmappar Dennāyakkar, the chieftain Aṇṇar Gōpāṇṇar and others in the course of 15 years, from S. 1304, Rutrotkāri to the following Īsvara. These along with the reconstruction of the Ānaiyērrha mandapa (which had suffered damage during the Muhammādān occupation) are the services of Periya Krishnarāyar Uttamanambi to the temple.*

in resolving the dispute. The Oļugu in another context says that Uttamanambi built the boundary wall in Saka 1355 (A.D. 1433).

* The Kōil Oļugu, here, wrongly identifies the Uttamanambi, who resolved the boundary dispute with Periya Krishnarāyar Uttamanambi (No. 80 in the Vamsaprabhāvam list). From this work it is known that Periya Krishnarāyar Uttamanambi had a famous son called Srīrangacharya Uttamanambi (No. 81 in the list.) From the Lakshmi Kāvya it is known that this Uttamanambi or Uttamanarāya had two brothers, Chakrarāya and Timmarāya. The latter became an ascetic. The Kōil Oļugu gives three titles to this Uttamanambi, viz., 1. Vaḷīyaṭṭaṁainilai-yiṭṭa or ‘he who established his title as hereditary servant (of Ranganatha),’ a rendering in Tamil of the Sanskrit ‘Vamsa-krama-mūla-bhṛitya’ (mentioned in the Lakshmi-Kāvyam), 2. ‘Mei-nilai-yiṭṭa’ or ‘he who established the truth,’ and 3. ‘Ellaikkarai-nilai-yiṭṭa’ or ‘he who established the boundary.’ The Oļugu itself says that Periya Krishnarāyar Uttamanambi was the warden of the Srīrangam temple from S. 1304, Rutrotkāri, to Īswara (1383–97 A.D.), and that Vaḷīyaṭṭaṁainilai-yiṭṭa Uttama-
A gold coating over the copper pillars of the Amudumanaḍapa and the silver plating of the central plank over which the boiled rice-offering is placed are the benefactions of Nāgamangalam Anṇappa Udayar.

Timma Rāguttar, the agent of Sāluva Gopāla Raja removed the (above mentioned) plate (plank) and converted it into a huge silver vessel, and provided the gateway of the sanctum with a gold-coated 'makara' festoon. He also covered the door and the seat of Tiruvaranga Celvanār with gold plates.

On behalf of Harihara Rāyar, Periya Kishna Rāyar Uttamnambi provided a couch in the ivory bed-chamber in the Aḷlagiyamaṇavālān tirumaṇḍapa.

From S. 1318 Ḥisvara to the following Vikrama, the temple affairs were controlled by Vēdacārya Bhaṭṭar.

Vēdacārya Bhaṭṭar, by means of a treaty, transfers to himself the control of the Uḍayavar shrine from the Kandaḍaiyār

While this Vēdacārya Bhaṭṭar was managing the temple the divine presents used to be offered first to the Jīyar and next to himself and thus the right of the Kandaḍaiyār to the first place was disregarded. After the demise of Uḍayavar Etirājan (his image) was installed under the commands of the Perumāḷ in the Sundarapāndyan tulāpuruṣa-mandapa by Kandaḍaiyā dān Āyi, who celebrated for it all festivities. He and his followers built many tirumaṇḍapas and conducted therein many festivities for Uḍayavar. Hence that shrine was left under the control of the Kandaḍaiyār.

nambi was warden from Sarvajit to Pramodūta (1407-50 AD), Tirumalādhīsa, the author of the Lakṣhmi-kāvya was the grandson of the latter Uttamanambi.
The parijanas of this shrine used to offer 'samaya mudra' to those pilgrims who visited the sacred shrine of Tiruvaran-gam during the great Utsava. During the Muhammadan occupation the doors of the temple remained closed and hence the 'samaya mudra' could not be offered by the parijanas of the Udayavar shrine for about fifty years.

Later on, when the Perumāḷ returned and the temple doors were thrown open, the above parijanas joined in the festivities of the car festival of Viruppanā Udayār. Then Vedācarya Bhattar prevented the 'samaya mudra' from being offered in the Holy presence of Udayavar alleging that it belonged to the Sribhandāra (i.e., had lapsed) and, strengthened by royal favour, made his own men offer that mudra disregarding the parijanas of the Emberumānār shrine. Consequently he was treated with disrespect once or twice, when he visited the Emberumānār shrine. From that time he had the image of Eṭirājan installed in the southern room within the shrine of Cakravarti-tirumagan, established by Trivikrama Chōla of old, to which he transferred a few vessels from the shrine of Periya Perumāḷ for certain services to be conducted (for Eṭirājan) in his name. He also gave his own name to the incense-pot and made it current in the shrine. In the Holy Presence he received the honours due to the Sānāpati Durantara himself immediately after the offering of presents to the Jiyar.

When four years passed in this manner, this authority changed. Mai-nilai-yitta Uttamanambi came from Vijayanagar and, according to the command of the Raya, assumed control of the temple affairs. The father of this Uttamanambi was Aḷagiyamaṇaṉavaḷa Nambi, whose ancestors carried out, generation by generation, the services assigned to Gāruḍavāhana Pandita by Udayavar, viz., examining the kitchen, ordering the preparation of edibles that are most suited to
the body (health) and mouth (taste) of Aḷagiyamaṇṇavāḷan, inquiring into its wants, and joining the Tiruppatiyar group at night and offering (to the Perumāḷ) kāṣaya and milk. He was a disciple of Srīrangarāja Nāthan (Rāyan) Vāduladēsi-kar, the chief of the services connected with the temple kitchen. Out of affection born of this connection the parijanas of all groups decided that the command of Uḍayavar should not be overridden. They (then) set aside the Bhaṭṭar (Vēdācārya) and joined to the Sribhāndāra the authority of the Kandāḍaiyār and the rights pertaining to it, since they were fugitives residing outside the shrine. In course of time the Bhaṭṭar, with a view to get the religious and other matters under his control, while (apparently) sailing with the general current, executed the agreement that “We will enjoy (those rights) till the coming of the Kandāḍaiyār,” addressed to Uttamanambi, in the presence of Gōpana Timmarāja, the representative of the Rāya, the agents of the Jīyar and the Stalattār, in the years S. 1340, Vikāri.

“Sriman sakābde navalōka bhāji-vikārini Uttamanambi nāmnah
Vēdāryabhaṭṭo duri Timmarājo vītṛya patram Samayam tatāgrahit.’

‘In S. 1340, Vikāri, Vēdāra Bhaṭṭa gave a document to Uttamanambi, in the presence of Timmarāja, and thereby obtained time (a further lease of office).’

PERIYA KRISHNARĀYA UTTAMANAMBI BECOMES A FOLLOWER OF THE DESCENDANTS OF PERIYANAMBI

Afterwards, Ellai-nilai-yīṭṭa Periyakrishnarāya Uttamanambi rendered many a help to the temple, and, as the agent of the Rāya, included the Rāya-mudra in the temple management and supervised the affairs of the 108 sacred shrines.

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While he was thus prospering he felt sorry that he was growing old without having sought salvation at the feet of a teacher. He did not wish to become the disciple of Bhaṭṭar, because the latter was the enemy of the Kandāḍaiyār. The Kandāḍaiyars, who were his Ācāryas were in exile. When he was thus despairing, a descendant of Periyanambi, much advanced in age and wisdom, returned to Srīrangam, on hearing that the temple had once more attained peace and security, and established himself in the mutt. Uttamanambi became his disciple. This Vēḍācārya Bhaṭṭar is also called Uttaṇḍa Bhaṭṭar.

**UTTAMANAMBI CONTROLS THE TEMPLE ALONG WITH CHAKRARĀYA IN THE TIME OF GAJA-VĒTTAI PRATĀPADĒVA MAHĀRĀYAR**

In S. 1343, Plava, Ellaikkarai-nilai-yiṭṭa Uttamanambi went to Vijayanagar and greatly pleased Gajavēṭṭai Pratāpadēva Mahārāyar* by playing and winning games of chess with him and received from him various presents. For his brother he obtained the Rāyamudra, the name of Cakrarāya, a separate mutt, and all kinds of rights and privileges. Under the orders of the Rāya the two mutts were made distinct from each other. He obtained many birudas, passed through (worshipped) many sacred shrines, whose affairs he supervised, and reaching Srīrangam, he inspected the villages attached to the temple. Thus did he swell the glory of Srīrangam a hundred-fold. In collaboration with the Jiyars, the Sṛivaiṣṇavas, the ākāṅgis and the Ācāryapurūṣas he maintained the established order of things without any slip, and enjoyed the title of ‘Rāya’ and the appropriate birudas. Placing himself at the head of the group of the Tiruppattiyār—the Kovaṉavar—he received the presents due to him, while

*Devarāya II (1426-46 A.D.)*
he obtained for his brother, the right of receiving the presents due to the Sēnāpati Durantara, from the Raya. This state of prosperity continued for both of them without diminution, in the two respective mutts. When this Cakrārāya re-established the image of Chakravarti-tirumagan, the image of Emberumānār installed by Vēdācārya (in the shrine of the former) passed under his control.*

* Uttamanambi (Vaḷiyaḍimai-nilai-yiṭṭa) and his brother Cakrārāya are mentioned in several inscriptions of Dēvarāya I (1406—22 A.D.) and Devarāya II (1426-46 A.D.) in the Srirangam temple. An inscription dated 1414 A.D. registers the grant of a village, Naruvūr (Nerūr in Karur taluk, Trichinopoly dt.), to Uttamanambi, the sthānikā of the Ranga-
nātha temple. From the proceeds of this grant Uttamanambi was to institute a daily service to god Ranganātha, cultivate a flower garden, 120 Kuḷis in extent, and supply garlands for the ‘Padineṭṭāmpadi’-sērvai, build a chatra within the premises of the Srirangam temple and feed therein 12 bṛāhmanās daily with rice, dhal, ghee, four vegetable curries and buttermilk together with betel leaves and nuts, and give four ma of wet land each to four bṛāhmanas rent free. (C. P. No. 27, ARE 1905-6; E.I. XVI. PP. 222-23). A stone inscription of Dēvarāya II records the gift of four villages to Uttamanambi and his brother Cakrārāya (ARE 121 of 1937-38). Another registers a royal order granting two villages to Uttamanambi for conducting worship in the temple (119 of 1937-38). Another inscription states that Uttamanambi received from Praudha-Dēvarāya as presents a pearl umbrella, a pair of kāhalas and another pair of dīpakas, a golden vessel and an ivory shield (84 of 1937-38). Three other inscriptions (80, 82 and 83 of 1937-38; para 63, Pt II, ARE 1937-38) describe the work of repairs and recon-
struction of shrines and installation of images therein done by Cakrārāya. These include the building of two maṇḍapas in the temple and the installation of Narasimha (Kāṭṭalagiya-
singar) in a jungle to the east of the temple, Hanumān and Lakṣmī in the temple and the Daṇḍavatārā images in a temple on the southern bank of the Coleroon in Srirangam.
THE SERVICE OF VAĻIYADIMAI-NILAI-YİŢTA PERUMĂL UTTAMANAMBI PIĻĻAI

Valiyadimai-nilai-yiţta Perumăl Uttamanambi Piḷḷai did the washing of the sanctum and the anointment of the Amudu manḍapa and Aḷagiyaṁanavaḷan tirumanaṇḍapa with pigment as the benefaction of Rāyar Tiruvikkalakkadiṟa Nāyakkar (?

THE BENEFACIONS OF UTTAMARKŌIL SRĪRANGARĀJAR

Uttamarkōil Srīrangarājar, the fifth in succession on the pontifical seat of Srīranganaṟṟayana Jiyar, (re)installed the image of Vasantagopālan, as that established by Kūranāra-yāna Jiyar had suffered damage during the Muḥammadan occupation. As the copper image of Garuḍa, an installation of the Pandya, too had suffered he cast a huge image of Garuḍa, installed it and smeared it with protective civet ointment. The procession-image of Garuḍa was lying

The last is dated 1438 A.D. 50 of 1939, also at Srīrangam, mentions the following as the gifts made by Cakraraya to the Srīrangam temple: a gold dish, a gold pedestal for the goddess, a gold lampstand and a gold pot, each with 1000 kaḷanjuṣ of gold, a gold platter, a pearl garment for the god, and the consecration of the image of Garuḍāḷvān. The date given for thus record, viz., S. 1530 seems to be a mistake. The Oļugu describes more elaborately the benefactions of Cakrarāya in two different places. The installation of Hanumān and Lakshmi is common to both the inscriptions and the description in the Oļugu; the rest seem to be different. The Oļugu and the Uttamanambi vamsa-prabhavam say that in the year Manmata (1415 A.D.) Cakraraya had the 'Sannidhi Garuḍan 'cast and installed in the Aḷagiyaṁanavaḷan-tirumanaṇḍapa. Again, both the works say that he measured out his own bowels to the royal servant who (wrongfully) came to take paddy from the storehouse of the temple.
hidden, before the raid, in the garden to the east of the temple. Later on, when it was exposed, he had that image also installed. On the southern bank of the northern Kaveri he built the ‘ellaikkarai maṇḍapa’ (the mandapa marking the boundary). Before his time the accountant was known as Ālagiyamaṇṇavāḷa Priyan. Bhaṭṭar, during his regime, gave him the name of Srīvaiṣṇavapriyan. Subsequently when Uttamanambi was controlling the temple affairs the power of the accountant increased and he acquired the name of Srīranganarāyanapriyan.

THE BENEFICTIONS OF VIRUPPAṆA UDĀYĀR

In S. 1366, Raktākshi, ViruppaṆa Udāyār built the temple of Sudarsana Perumāḷ and installed the idol of Yantra Narasimha (Hēdisa Narasimha—in the other edition). While this Uttamanambi was controlling the administration of the temple he received the presents due to the ‘Pārpatyakāran’ (i.e., the temple superintendent) after tīrtham was offered to his Ācārya Periyanambi, Bhaṭṭar, the Jīyars and the Srīvaiṣṇavas.*

THE HONOURS CREATED BY PERIYA JĪYAR FOR KANḌĀDĀI AṆṆAN, WITH THE HELP OF UTTAMANAMBI

When things were in such a state, in S. 1347, Periya Jīyar assumed the robes of a sannyāsin and, favoured with the grace of the Perumāḷ, received for himself the mutt in the

*The date S. 1366 (1444 A.D.) is too late for ViruppaṆa. In that date Dēvarāya II, the great-grandson of ViruppaṆa’s brother, Harihararāya, was ruling.
Trivikraman enclosure, wherein he daily expounded the puranas and the holy prabandhas.*

Uttamanambi, the son of Periya Uttamanambi, incurred the displeasure of Periya Jiyar, on a certain occasion, whereon Alagiyamanaval Perumāl appeared to him in his dream in the form of Ādisāśa and revealing to him the secret of the avatar of Periya Jiyar asked him to beg his pardon. Uttamanambi told his friend Anṇan about his dream. Anṇan asked him whether he had offended Periya Jiyar. Uttamanambi told him the truth. Immediately Anṇan took him to the mutt, where, according to the command of the Perumāl, Uttamanambi worshipped Periya Jiyar, who appeared to him as Ādisāśa. As it was midnight they returned (home) and came back at daybreak. Uttamanambi got the pardon of the Jiyar and stood praying for his preceptorship. The Jiyar made him his disciple. [The Jiyar made Uttamanambi the pupil of his favourite siṣya, Varadanārāyaṇa Ācārya, who had obtained the name of Anṇan through divine grace. Varadanārāyaṇa Anṇan was living outside Srīrangam. The descendants of Srīrangarāja Vaduladēsikar also remained outside for a long time, even after the Perumāl had returned to Srīrangam subsequent to 'the raid which took 12,000 heads' ('pammirāyiram tirumuḍī

†Periya Jiyar refers to Maṇavāla Mahāmuni, who came to be looked upon as the head of the Tenkalai sect of Vaiṣṇavas. According to the Vaiṣṇava tradition (Tenkalai) he was born in Kali 4471 (1370 A.D.) in Āḻvār Tirunagari. After visiting Srīvilliputtūr, Tirumālirumsōlai and other places he came to Srīrangam, where he settled down. The Anṇan Tirumāligai Oḷugu gives S. 1327 (1405 A.D.) for his visit to Srīrangam, while the Kōil Oḷugu gives S. 1347 (1425 A.D.) After a period of stay in Srīrangam, he went to Kanchi, in order to equip himself in the Śrībhāṣya, took lessons from Kiḻambi Nāyānār and returned to Srīrangam.
tiruttina kalābām'). Therefore these honours (including those bestowed upon Āṇḍān by Uḍayavar) were lodged in the Sribhaṇḍāra. The Stalattār had heard that they (the descendants of Sriringaraja Vāḍūladesikar) were living in the domain of Vijayanagar in all prosperity. Hence one or two of those honours were given over to Vāḍācārya Bhaṭṭar by means of a compact. Uttamanambi asked Anṅangār to enjoy and exercise the rest of the honours and rights belonging to Āṇḍān—tirtham, Arulappādu, etc. This had also the immediate sanction of Periya Perumāḷ who said (addressing Anṅangār) “You can enjoy in all prosperity tirtham and the Arulappādu of Kandādai Anṅan.” In course of time the Perumāḷ commanded that the recitation of the Divyaprābandhas was, during the Tiruadyayanōtsava, to be conducted daily in the presence of Anṅan. Disgusted with the conduct of his relatives, once, Anṅan prayed for Sannyāsa. Periya Jiyar told him how Uḍayavar, of old, said to Kandādai Āṇḍān, when the latter asked for sannyāsa, ‘the descendants of Āndān need not assume sannyāsa’; how he married the six daughters of Mudaliyāndān—his sister’s son—into six different gotras, and then said to him “in course of time you (i.e., your descendants in the male line) will enter into matrimonial relationships with the descendants of these six gotras”; and, how he, after explaining to him its meaning, established those alliances for him. Everything is carried out as appointed by the Acarya.]1 According to the commands of the Jiyar, Narasimhadesikar, the occupant of the seat of the Vāḍūladesikas, the descendants of Anṅān, is, in his own house, enjoying the honours established for Anṅān, by Uḍayavar. Kandādai Anṅān, with his due place in the line of the Acāryapurūṣās, received tirtham next to

1. The bracketed portion is found in the U. G. Press edition only.
Periyanambi and the Arulappadu of 'Kandadai Annan.'* Under such conditions Annan returned to Srirangam. This order of thing continues up to date. After the Muhammadan occupation the Udayar code collapsed. In course of time Prativadi Bhayankaram Annan and others among the Acaryapurusas enjoyed these honours in succession.

THE BENEFACIONS OF CAKRARAYAR

In course of time Cakrarayar, the brother of Valiyaqimai-nilai-yitta Uttamanambi, repaired the banks of the Candrapuskaraṇi, including the stone festoons adorning those banks, and the frontal tirumandapa and the northern face of the Nammalvar shrine, all of which were damaged during the Muhammadan occupation. He constructed an enclosed mandapa south of the shrine of Vaikunthanathan.

* The Annan Tirumaligai Olugu gives the following genealogy (incomplete) of the Kandaiais.

Mudali Annan (nephew and disciple of Ramanuja).

\[ \text{Kandadai Annan} \]
\[ \text{Kandadai Tolappa} \]
\[ \text{Periya Varadacaryar (Periya Ayi)} \]
\[ \text{Iyan Ramanujacarya} \]
\[ \text{Tirukkopurattu Nainar} \]
\[ \text{Siddanar} \]
\[ \text{Srirangaraja Nathan Vaduladesika} \]
\[ \text{Narasimhadesika alias Periya Koil Kandadai Annan} \]
(Paramapadanāthan). He also smeared (the images of) Paramapadanāthan, the Nāccimār, the Ālvārs and Ācāryas with the protective civet ointment and constructed the frontal maṇḍapa in the south (of the shrine of Paramapadanāthan). Once Sowrirājar of Tirukkanapuram had made that maṇḍapa his residence, but had left it for Kīlaiyur, due to certain differences in the honours done. His other benefactions were: repair of the wall of the Akaḷangan enclosure, a frontal maṇḍapa towards the south of the northern gateway, and the platform in front of that gateway.

THE BENEFACATION OF DENNÄYAKKAR

Uttamanambi, in S. 1354, Paridāpi, built a temple for Hanumantadēvar and installed therein His image as the benefaction of Dakshina Samudrādipati (Lord of the Southern Ocean) Dennäyakkar,* who gave to him the village of Kīlpattu-Puttūr as endowment to the temple.

THE BENEFACATION OF SÅTTÅDA NARASINGADÅSAN

When that temple was entrusted to the Kandādaiyār, his sīṣya Såttåda Narasingadåsan, built a tirumaṇḍapa in front of that temple and installed therein (the image of) Tiruppān Ālvār.

NÅMPERUMÅL GIVES OUT THE LAUDATORY VERSE BEGINNING WITH 'SRISAILESA DAYÅ PÅTÅRAM'

During the close of the ‘Tiruppavittira-tirunāl,’ in the month of Avani of that year (S. 1354), Aḻagiyamaṉavāḷa Perumāḷ called for Periya Jiyar, through the mouth of an

* Lakkaṇa-daṇḍanaṭyaka, a governor under Devarāya.
arcaka and appointed him to expound the Prabandas, etc., daily, in the Periya tirumanḍapam beginning with the Īdu.\(^1\) The next day, after His mid-day meal the Perumāḷ started with His Nācīmār and went to the Periya tirumanḍapam. For a complete year the Jiyar carried on his expositions in the presence of the Perumāḷ, who, on the closing day, appeared in periya-tiruvolakam (along with the Āḻvārs) and gave out the laudatory verse (taniyan) beginning with ‘Srisailēsa daya pātram’ through the mouth of an arcaka, when the Jiyar finished the exposition of the Īdu. The Perumāḷ offered the Jiyar many presents and desiring that such honours should be done and that stanza recited in all the 108 shrines, issued the divine epistle to that effect. From that time, in all the surrounding ‘divya dēsas’ this verse is recited at the commencement of the recitation of the Prabandas.

In that year, a bull from Kīlaiyūr escaped to the Veḷit-tirumuttam and caused considerable damage to the gardens there. Unable to bear this the ēkāngis handled it severely, as a result of which considerable enmity arose between the people of Kīlaiyūr and those of this shrine. Uttamanambi in S. 1355, Paridāpi, pacified both parties and built the boundary wall.

On the day of the Uttiraṭṭādi which is the natal star of Ādityadēva Uḍayār, in the month of Purattāsi of that year, Aṇṇa Aṇḍappa Uḍayār Tirumālai-tandān conducted the ‘dvajārohana’ for the car festival, in the Trivikraman enclosure and endowed the village of Kodiyalam for it.

In the year Rutrōtkari, Aṇṇappa Uḍayār conducted the Kēdākkulī-ṭirunala² of the Vasantotsava and endowed

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1. Though Īdu generally means a commentary on the Divyaprhabandas, the term is specially applied to the comm. of Nampillai on the Tiruvāimoli. 2. This is the festival of ‘sporting in water’ celebrated for the Nācīyār within Her own shrine in a trench of water surrounding the sanctum.
the village of Mallidävan. Puttur for it. On his behalf Uttamanambi built the Kadakkuli mantapa in the west of the Akalangan enclosure.*

The porch of the Parthasarathy temple is the benefaction of Tipparajar.

The construction of the temple kitchen and its interior is the benefaction of Puttur Alagiyamañavāla Perumāl.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF UTTAMANAMBI
AND CAKRARĀYAR

In this manner Vajiyadmai-nilai-yitta Uttamanambi obtained, between the years Sarvajit and Pramodūta, from many persons 100 villages for the temple. His brother Cakrarāya measured out his own bowels to the royal servant who came to take paddy from the storehouse1.

*Anappa Udayar and Anña-Anḍappa Udayar probably refer to the same person. It is likely that he is identical with Anña Chaundappa Udayar mentioned in an inscription at Jambukesvaram, assigned to the date S. 1358 (1436 AD) cf. ARE 143 of 1928-29. An undated inscription at Srirangam (72 of 1939) states that Anṇappan Chaundappa of Velluvadalāsa, made for the god Ranganātha a tiruvāsigai, repaired the 1000 pillared mantapa, gilded the vimāna and provided for offerings during a service.

1. This incident is also mentioned in the Uttamanambi-vamsa-prabhāvam. The Uttamanambi-vamsaprabhāvam says that when a certain Nāyak was ruling the country there was a great famine all over the land and that the Nāyak came to the Srirangam temple with a view to take away all the paddy from the temple store for palace use. The Uttamanambi, the manager of the temple, refused to surrender any paddy. When the Nāyak persisted, he measured out two 'marakkals' of paddy saying 'Tiruvarangam' and 'Periya-kōil', and on the third occasion plunged the 'marakkal' into his stomach and measured out his own bowels and died a martyr in the cause of the temple property. The Nāyak,
THE BENEFACIONS OF GARUDAVĀHANA PANDITA

Gangaidēvar Singaṇa Daṇḍa Nāyakkar, as the agent of Pratāpacakravarti had previously constructed the Ārōgyasāla and its adjacent pathway. These had continued under the supervision of Uḍayavar1. But during the Muhammedan occupation they had suffered considerable damage. This temple (i.e., of Daṇvantri) along with its tirumaṇḍapa, frontal maṇḍapa, wall and gopura was rebuilt by Garudavāhana Pandita. From the days of Uḍayavar, the chiefs of the Ārōgyasāla are known by the honorific of Garudavāhana Pandita. In S. 1385, Rutrōtkāri, Aṇṇappa Uḍayār constructed the wall of Aḍayavalanjān (adiyavalaindān)² and the base of the gateway and gopura.

Nāgarāja Uḍayār built the procession path of the Nācciyyār shrine.

THE BENEFACION OF VALIYĐAIMAI-NILAI-YIṬṬA UTTAMANAMBI

As the wooden structure in the Periya tirumaṇḍapa raised under the supervision of Uḍayavar was consumed by fire during the confusion (of the Muhammedan raid) thus overcome, abandoned his attempt and retired from the Srirangam temple. The Vamsaprabhāvam makes the Utta-
manambi identical with Kūḍal-Cakravāla-Nambi, who figures in the inscription of Garudavāhana Bhaṭṭa dated 1492 AD, while the Koil Oḷugu identifies him with Cakra-
rāya, the brother of Valiyaḍaimai-nilai-yiṭṭa Uttamanambi (1407-50 A.D.). It has to be noted that the Nāyak rule commenced only in the 16th century.

1. It may be noted that Rāmanātha alias Pratāpa-
cakravarti was posterior to Uḍayavar. This is an instance of anachronism in the Oḷugu. 2. The street surrounding the seven walls of the temple.
Uttamanambi constructed the Dēvarājan verandah and a mandapa with a decorated ceiling.

THE BENEFACIONS OF CAKRARĀYAR

The copper image of Garuḍa, an installation of the Chola, in the Periya tirumāṇḍapa was destroyed during the (Muhammadan) occupation. Periya Cakrarāyar cast the Sannidi Garudan and installed it in the Aḷagiyamanavāḷan tirumāṇḍapa. On the wall of Dharmavarma he inscribed the following:

'Manmata varṣe jyeṣṭe ravivāre revatidhāre
Sri Cakrarāya Vibhunā Srimān Garuda: pratiṣṭito bhūtīi.

On a Sunday, in the month of Jyeṣṭa of the year Manmata, Srimān Garuḍa was installed for prosperous ends, by Cakrarāya'.

He reconstructed the shrine of Cakravarti-tirumagan installed by the Chola of old, and established in the same shrine the image of Südikkoṭutta Nācciyār. A kitchen for that shrine was also built by him. On the day of Punarvasu in the month of Tai of that year, he conducted the Bhūpati Uḍayār-tirunāl and the car festival of the Perumāl, for which he endowed the village of Toḷaiyūr. As the Srıvarāha Nainār, installed by Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar in the tulāpuruṣa- maṇḍapa, was destroyed during the Muhammadan occupation, he installed that image anew. He also built the porch of the smaller kitchen and the one in the south eastern corner of the same enclosure (i.e., that containing the Sennai-vēnān tirumāṇḍapa). He cast an image of Aravinda Nayaki and installed Her, laid the western portion of the verandah of Anādi Emberumān, and established an image of Hanumān upon the pillar in the north of that verandah. When the western portion of the procession path in the Sennai-vēnān
enclosure was damaged, he relaid the pavement and re-established the pillar at its northern extremity. As the Ṭṭāl gateway in the Ṣalinādan enclosure was damaged by fire during the Muhammadan occupation he rebuilt it including the construction of the base, the wicket-gate and the lower and upper blocks.

THE BENEFACIONS OF MŪVĒNDIRAIRĀYAR
TĪRVINAITIRTHAN AND
TIRUVĒNGAṆĀMUḌAIYĀN

Later on when this (Ṭṭāl) gopura became old and ruined Mūvendirairāyar Tiraviniatirthār and his brother TiruvēngaṆāmuḍaiyān reconstructed the damaged parts, replaced the broken pedestal, decorated the gopura (with colours), adorned it with various images, installed the ‘devas’ thereon, rebuilt the porch and the wicket gate, and well laid the pavement. They reconstructed the procession path, the sacrificial shed, the maṇḍapa of Nālantigāl Nārāyana Jīyār, etc., in the Rājamahāndran enclosure, the procession path and the Aḷagivamaṇavaḷan tirumaṇḍapa in the enclosure of Dharamavarma, the Sēnaivenrān tirumaṇḍapa, the kitchen, etc.; repaired and plastered the partly damaged buildings within the Ṣalinādan wall; and raised the wicket gate of the sacrificial shed.

THE BENEFACIONS OF TIRUMALAINĀTHA
UTTAMANAMBI

After S. 1366, Raktākshi, Tirumalainātha Uttamanambi* proceeded to Vijayanagar where he collected the endow-

*The grandson of Vāḷīyaḍimai-nilai-yittṭa Uttamnambi and author of the Lakṣmī Kāvya.
ments to the temple (in cash). He also received twenty-two villages as benefactions to the temple from Prauḍhadeva Rāya Mallikārjuna Rāya, and others. In the year Prajōtpatti he returned to the temple and laid the cornice of the Perumāldevan maṇḍapa.*

As the wall to the east of the storehouse running from the south to the north became dilapidated he pulled it down to its foundations, reconstructed it and terraced its top. He also built the hundred-pillared maṇḍapa to the east of the Periya tirumaṇḍapa wherein he performed the ‘Sahasra kalaśābhisāka’ during the Jyeṣṭābhiṣēkam. When Kuḷit-tandal Kamparāja¹ came to Trichinopoly as the agent of the Raya, bearing the Rāyamudra, Tirumalairāja said to him, “Leave these territories to my jurisdiction,” upon which enmity arose between these two. In S. 1380, in the month of Puraṭṭasi of the year Pramādi all the inhabitants including the members of the ‘sabha’ and the ‘nāḍu’ of the northern and southern banks deserted their villages and lived for twelve years in the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa and other places. When in S. 1392, Kara, the revenue collection in Trichinopoly passed under the control of Tirumalairāja, all

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* Mallikarjuna, surnamed Immaḍi Devarāya and Immaḍi-prauḍha-bhūpati (1447—65 AD), has a single copper plate grant in Srirangam dated 1462 AD registering the gift of a village Uttamachēri-kaṭiyūr to the temple. (C.P. No. 28 of 1905—6, E 1. XVI. P. 945). Tirumalainatha Uttamanambi is said to have visited his court and stayed there from 1444 to 1451 AD (Raktakshi to Prajōtpatti) and collected large endowments both in cash and kind.

1. Land revenue collector, assessing the revenue on the basis of the produce of ‘kuḷi’ or 12’ square.
the inhabitants of the northern and southern banks met him and returned to their respective villages.*

After this he (Tirumalainatha Uttamanambi) removed the filth, which had choked the Olugu maṇḍapa. He also removed a lot of mud from the raised ground to the north

* Mallikärjuna was succeeded by Virupāksha (1468-85 A.D.). Both were weak rulers and could not effectively maintain the central authority. The Sāḷuvas, who were governors of the Chandragirirājya, grew in power. The incident mentioned here reflects the growing power of the Sāḷuvas. Their authority seems to have extended as far south as Srīrangam and Trichinopoly. When the revenue official of the Rāya (Kuḷittāndal Kamparāja) came to collect the taxes in the Trichinopoly region Sāḷuva Tirumalairāja alias Gopa Timma is said to have asked him not to encroach upon his jurisdiction. This was in S. 1380 (1458 A.D.). In S. 1383 we find Mallikärjuna making an important donation to the Srīrangam temple (a copper flag-staff covered with 102 gold plates) probably through Kamparāja. The insubordination of the Sāḷuva governor continued. The Olugu indicates that all the cultivators and inhabitants of the region on either side of the Kaveri deserted their villages refusing to pay taxes to Kamparāja and lived in the 1,000 pillared maṇḍapa and other places for 12 years (most probably an exaggeration.) In S. 1392 (1472 A.D.) the revenue collection of the Trichinopoly region is said to have definitely passed under the control of Tirumalairāja, whose benefactions to the Srīrangam temple are related separately by the Olugu.

There are two inscriptions of this Sāḷuva Tirumalairāja alias Gopa Timma, the patron of the poets, Iraṭṭaiyar and Kāḷamēham, in Srīrangam and Jambukesvaram (ARE 59 of 1892; SII. IV. 506, and 67 of 1903), the former dated S. 1385 (1463 A.D.) and the latter in the year Srimukha (i.e., 1453 A.D.). The inscription at Srīrangam registers that the income from the various temple lands in the Trichinopoly region were to be enjoyed and managed, without any external interference, by the Sribhanḍāra of the temple. It also records the gift of certain jewels to the god of Srīrangam.
of the gopura and removed it to a side. He then performed a propitiatory rite and conducted a special festivity for the God in an ornamental pandal, which he erected in the Sāmandanār garden on the occasion of the Sankramam when the Perumāḷ was stationed facing west in the verandah adjoining the elephant stable after procession through the lane to the west of the boundary line on the eighth day of the Cittirāi tirunal.

Over and above these he reconstructed the temple of Lakshminārāyaṇa Perumāḷ on the banks of the Punnāga tirtham. He also had a capra of ivory made for the Perumāḷ. On the night of the third day of a Panguni festival when the Perumāḷ was returning to the temple upon His horse vehicle, it unexpectedly rained. Then the Perumāḷ was seated within the doorway of the house of Uttamanambi. Uttamanambi worshipped the God with his people, gave away all his property to the Perumāḷ, and provided for the image being taken in a palanquin on the third day of the Panguni festival, thence forwards.

THE BENEF ACTIONS OF KRISHNARĀYA UT TAMAN AMBI

His brother Krishnarāya Uttamanambi, in S. 1409, Plavanga, received from Eḻamāṇji Timmappa Nayakkar and others, twenty villages as endowments to the temple. He built the frontal maṇḍapa of the storehouse. He also reconstructed the wall containing the image of Senkamala Nāccheyār, an installation of Nalantigal Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, which had become old and damaged. He strongly reconstructed the second paddy granary, which was crumbling down, (its base

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1. The passing of the sun from one zodiac to another.
2. A wooden platform covered over by a canopy and used in processions to carry the deity.

O. K.—11
being eaten away by bandicoots) laying the inner pavement and erecting a stone pillar.

THE BENEFACtIONS OF KuḍaLSĀRAVAlA NAINĀR

His brother Kuḍalsāravala Nainār* purchased in S. 1413, Virodikrit, a few villages for the Srībhāṇḍāra. As the Rājamahēndran gateway including its frame and facade, was damaged by lightning during the occupation, he had that gateway dismantled up to the pavement and constructed a fresh and strong gateway with the frame and facade well laid out, and with a heavy stone basement and cornice.

Govindarāja constructed the gopura above this gateway with bricks, plastered it, adorned it with carvings and colour drawings, and fixed five gold pots on the top.

Before these (events) in S. 1383, Citrabhānu, Kampa- raja Mallikārjuna Rāyar removed the bronze flag-staff, which had been fixed previously in the Anīyararangān courtyard and, placing it in the big kitchen, erected a copper flag-staff (in its place). He covered it with 102 gold plates containing the figures of the elephant, the yāli, etc., and upon the pillar he mounted a gold-plated image of Periyatiruvaḍi Nainār, i.e., Garuḍa. The gold thus expended

* A corruption of Kūdal Cakrāvāla Nainār Uttamanambi Pillai, who figures with the significant title ‘Irandakāla meḍutta (‘he who revived the past’) in an inscription in Srīrangam (81 of 1936-37; Pt. II, para 49; E.I. XXIV. P. 90 ff.), which registers a gift of land made by Srinivasa alias Srīranga Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa, son of Aḷagiyamaṇavāla Mangaḷāḍarāya, who belonged to the Bhaṭṭāḷ kottu and who reconstructed the Dhanvantri shrine in the time of Irandakālameḍutta’ Kūdal-Cakrāvāla Nainar alias Uttamanambi Pillai.
weighed 1,600 palams. This and various jewels constitute the benefaction of Kamparaja Mallar (Mallikarjuna Rayar).*

When the Dwārapalakas to the south of the Ālinādan gopura were damaged during the Muhammadan occupation Jannaya Nayakar installed the images of Tiruvāḷiyālvan and and Periya Tiruvaḍi.

(The image of) Bhaṭṭarpiraṅn Dāsar is an installation of Appuḷār.

Kampaya Raja† who came to Tiruccirāppalḷīj, in the year Bahudānya, installed the images of Ganga and Yamuna, who were the Dwārapalakas of Gopurangaḷ Nayakkan, as these had been destroyed during the raid.

The wooden covering of the ceiling of the shrine of Nammāḷvār is a benefaction of Āḷvār Jiyar.

The tirumāṇḍapa in front of the shrine of Paravāsudēvār is a benefaction of Āḷagar.

*Mallikarjuna Rayā’s single copper plate grant in Sri-rangam (C. P. 28 of 1905-6 : EI. XVI. P. 345) dated S. 1384, Citrabhānu was referred to above. Giving the same year the Olugu credits him with a copper flag-staff covered with 102 gold plates. The inscription refers to the grant of a village, Uttamacērikiliyūr, out of whose income arrangements were to be made for the daily offering of six complete dishes of food for the God, the maintenance of a water shed perpetually in front of the temple, and feeding of 50 Vaiṣṇavas daily in the Ramanuja kutam, as well as three grand feedings, one in the month of Phālguṇa and the other two in Dhanus.

† Most probably Kujittandal Kamparaja, referred to above. Bahudānya, here is, 1457 A.D.
THE BENEFACIONS OF SĀĻUVA TIRUMALAIRĀJA

As the northern gateway of the Ālināḍan enclosure, which was the benefaction of Cakkaḷavan (a mistake for Cakrarāya) came to ruins, Tirumalairāja, in S. 1392, Kara, reconstructed that gopura. He also built in the east of the Veḷiyalagiān a gopura and gateway (thus creating a passage) through the Ālināḍan wall, leading to the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa. From that time the Perumāḷ comes to the Veḷiyalagiān and from there proceeds to the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa, through this gateway during the Tiruvāimoḷi-tirunāḷ. Before this the Perumāḷ used to start, as soon as the doors of the Paramapadavāsai were opened, and grace the twelve Āḷvārs, who would stand in ‘tiruvolakkam’ inside the Paramapadavāsai, first and honour them with Arulappādu, etc. Then, with the Arayar (singing in delight), He would enter the Akalangan enclosure through the Mukkanvāsai and thus reach the south-side of the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa. There he would enjoy the ‘paṭiyēṟṟam’ and then go in procession in the decorated colonnade. After the ceremonial of the Tiruvandikkāppu He would enter the tirumanaṇḍapa. But now the Perumāḷ, after favouring the Āḷvārs with His benign look, reaches the decorated colonnade through the newly built ‘Taṭṭarai vāsai’ (small or inner gateway). After parading in the colonnade and the Tiruvandikkāppu at its close, He enters the tirumanaṇḍapa. In the tirumanaṇḍapa of Āḷagiyamaṇṇavāḷaṇ Tirumalai Rāja erected a dais of copper. Upon this dais he stationed a capra and a couch made of ivory.

THE BENEFACIONS OF KANDAḌAI RĀMĀNUJADĀSAR

In S. 1411 Kandāḍai Rāmānujan came to Srīrangam and the following are the details of his benefactions:
Vīra Narasinga Rāya gained a victory over Prauḍhādāva Rāya and was ruling from the city of Ghanagiri. His elder brother Rāmarāja, who was well versed in the sastras, renounced all and went on pilgrimage to the sacred rivers. Worshipping Hanumān he went to Ayōddhi, where he obtained Srīrāma's gold coins (1/2 pagodas) and 'sparsavēdhi' (a mythical weapon that destroys at touch). Donning the robes of an ascetic he returned to Ghanagiri, met his brother Vīra Narasinga Rāya and gave him a coin of Srīrāma. (In return) he obtained from him a royal grant and letter declaring that in all the 108 shrines he should be honoured with the 'dēśāntri mudra.'\(^1\) In the temple of Tirumalai-Perumāḷ he offered a coin of Srīrāma, and according to the royal grant, brought under his control all the shrines there. He came to Srīrangam in S. 1411, Saumya, offered a Rāma's coin to the Perumāḷ and became a devout siṣya of Kandādai Aṇṇan. Eminently observing the religious rites and vows, he studied all the sāstras and donned the robes of an ēkāngi. In the presence of Aṇṇan he obtained the 'dāsyānāma' of Kandādai Ramānujadāsar. According to the royal grant he became the chief of the ēkāngis in charge of the various branches of the temple organisations. He obtained, in the Holy presence, the Ānjanēya mudra, which is the 'dēśāntri mudra,' the most superior mudra in the temple. In various sub-shrines of the Perumāḷ he introduced the Ānjanēya mudra, through his men. Making Srīrangam his abode he daily assigned duties, as laid down by Uḍayavar, to ēkāngis connected with the gateway of the sanctum, boxes of perfumery, the condiments store, the gateway of the Āryabhattachāḷ, the gateway of the storehouse, etc., under the authority of the Ānjanēya

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1. The seal that gives certain rights to the visiting ascetic.
mudra, impressed on them. As the Sēnāpati Durantara ('korattu pārpatyakārar') he arranged to receive tirtham and prasādam during 'purappādu' (the starting of the procession), etc., after 'sāva' and before Uttamanamabī recei-
ved the same.

In the year Sarvajit, (1467 A.D.), there were breaches in the Kāvēri and the water flowing, between the central gardens and the shrine of Südikkodutta Nācciyār, joined the northern Kāvēri, at a point west of the boundary wall near Ānaikkāval in the east. This had left a long trench, which he filled up with earth fetched from Tiruvelḷāraśai. He constructed the tank to the west of the Aḍaiyavāḷaṇḍān street and built the 'meyya maṇḍapa'.

Previously, in the year Kara, the right of collecting the revenues of Trichinopoly, etc., were enjoyed by Tiru-
malairāja. After him Kōnēri Rāja became the agent (of the Raya) in this part of the kingdom. When he was once camping in Trichinopoly, he made friends with the people of Ānaikkāval. He allowed them to enjoy the sport of 'scatter-
ing turmeric powder' and to have the 'tirumalai sōlai' as their boundary.¹ He leased the temple lands to co-heirs like Kōṭṭai Sāmandanār and Senṭappa Nāyakkar, took away from the temple a lot of gold in the name of taxes like 'puravari', 'kāṇikkai' 'paṭṭu', and 'parivaṭṭam',² brought much pressure to bear upon this temple and thus created a lot of trouble. (Unable to bear this) two Jiyars and some ēkāṅgis ascended the eastern gopura of the Akāḷan-
gan enclosure * and sacrificed their lives by casting them-
selves down. The troubles, however, continued. Kanda-

¹. The cadjan manuscript reads 'to appropriate the Tirumalaisōlai.' ². The manuscript reads 'pattajarvari, kuḍiyiruppu, paṭṭu and parivaṭṭam.'

*, i.e., The Vellai Gopuram.
Rāmānuja complained of these many a time to Nārāsa Nāyaka, who came to the south with great armies on affairs of state, put down and killed Kōnēri Rāja.*

On the 14th day of the month of Aippasi in the year Nala (1496 A.D.), Nāgama Nāyaka and his son Narasa

* Kōnēri or Kōṇēti Rāja was the Governor of the Trichinopoly region, who succeeded Tirumalai Raja. From his inscriptions it is known that he was governor between the years 1488 and 1492 A.D. and his titles indicate that he was practically independent. His army included a strong elephant corps. The Achyutarāyabhuyadayam describes his defeat at the hands of Nārāsa Nāyaka. The Oḷugu refers to his harrassment and oppression of the Śrīrangam temple and describes the self-immolation of a few persons connected with the temple as a protest. This incident is attested by an inscription in the Śrīrangam temple (ARE 87 of 1936-37, pt. II, Para 78) in characters of the 15th century over a panel containing the image of an ascetic wielding a sickle in his hands, sculptured on the jamb of the Veḷḷai Gopuram. This is dated in Saumya (corresponding to 1489-90 A.D.) It states, that Periyāṉar, the agent (Srikaryam) of Irandakālaṁeṭutta Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷaḍasān, flung himself down from the Gopura and lost his life to show his protest against the withholding of the scale of allowances in the temple and the great irregularities that prevailed in the conduct of worship. The opposite jamb of the same gopura contains two similar figures without any explanatory note. The Oḷugu says that Kandaṇḍai Rāmānuja caused the images and the inscription to be incised to comemmorate the satyagrahis. Two inscriptions of Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Konerideva Maharaja from Śrīrangam dated in the year Paridapi (corresponding to 1492 A.D.) record his benefactions to the temple, viz., a gift of the doors of the Gopura of the 'Sokkappānai Vāsal' and an endowment of three vālis of land in Piccāṇḍārkoil for providing 'musa-rōdaram' (curd-rice offering) to the God in his own name (ARE 115 and 116 of 1937-38). The mention of these gifts in the inscriptions does not necessarily contradict the account in the Oḷugu.
Nāyaka came to worship the Perumāḷ. Kandāḍai Rāmānuja arranged for their worship. Narasa Nāyaka obtained a royal order to the effect that the temple lands and their revenue collecting agencies enjoyed by different people were to be managed by the Perumāḷ from the Sribhaṇḍāra.

The endowments of Narasa Nāyaka were: many jewels like a necklace of pearls and diamonds with a pendent for the Perumāḷ, eating plates, tiruvencāmara, and many varieties of silk cloth, all of which were consecrated in the Sribhaṇḍāra and placed in the storehouse. He also made a permanent provision, in his name, for the maintenance of a hundred maid-servants for pounding and sifting the paddy and other grains in the storehouse. He appointed one Mādhavaiyangār to supply all the requirements for the worship of the Perumāḷ, the adornment of the idol and other provisions that may be required from day to day, and conducted all these festivities for the God without the least blemish.

Subsequent to this he (Kandāḍai Rāmānujadāsar) constructed anew the northern and southern gopuras of the wall of Vīrasundarabrahma Rāyar. As the plaster of the flooring of the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa had become old and dilapidated, he laid the pavement anew with mortar and plastered it. As the eastern gopura of the Akāḷangan wall had become old and had been damaged by lightning before the Muhammadan occupation, he (pulled it down and) laid anew the foundation, raised the structure, constructed the gopura up to the kalasa, built a flight of steps, and at its base sculptured the images of the Jiyars and the ēkāṅgis, who cast themselves down from the top of the gopura, and inscribed lines about them. As the Gōpurangāl Nāyakkan (the structure for the deity guarding the gopuras) had become old and ruined, he rebuilt it, fixed anew the gold
kalasa and built cornices. As the beams of the third, fourth and fifth granaries of the storehouse had become dilapidated and their bases cut by bandicoots, during the Muhammadan occupation, he laid the flooring of these granaries and strongly constructed their ceilings with the help of stout beams brought from the hills. He removed, from the five granaries, earth, pieces of tiles, and filth which had accumulated there since a long time past. He also removed the decayed earth covering the procession path (adjacent to these granaries) to a side and relaid it. He removed accumulations of earth within the porch of the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa, in front of the maṇḍapa in the Veḷiyaḷāgāṇ, and in the Akaḷangan enclosure and relaid the floorings in these places. He reconstructed the Akaḷangan wall, which showed signs of collapse, subsequent to the invasion of the king of Orissa. In the south-eastern part of the Aṇiyarangan courtyard he built an elegant maṇḍapa containing a swing and also conducted the (swing) festival there. He gave a gold coating to the sacred vimana and to the vehicles of the Perumāḷ. Under his direction many vessels and jewels were made for use in the sanctum. He reconstructed the shrine of Viṭṭalēsvara in an elaborate fashion. The Perumāḷ was pleased with his manifold services to the temple and gave him the name of Kulasēkhara Perumāḷ.

From that time are in vogue, among the ‘dēsāntri (foreign) ēkāṅgis’ created by Uḍayavar, the following in the name of Kandaḍai Rāmānujan: the title of Kandaḍai Rāmānujan, a mutt as that of Srīrangānārāyaṇa Jiyaṛ, the worship in the name of Srīrangarājar, branding of the foreign ascetics with the (dēsāntri) mudra, and receiving the cakes and eatables in the temple, as presents belonging to the mutt.

As he was the elder brother of the Rāya, he was honoured with the cap and to suit his asceticism, the sacred
cloth was tied round his head. The same honours are being done to those who succeed to the mutt.*

The number of villages, which had been previously leased to Kōttai Sāmandanār, Senṟappa Nāyakkar and other co-heirs, and controlled by Kōnēri Raja and various other people, now placed under the control of the Sribhaṇḍāra was 61.

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* According to the Koīl Oḷugu Sāļuva Narasimha had an elder brother by name Rāmāraja, who became a saint. He came to Srīrangam in S. 1411 (1489 A.D.) and became a sīṣya of Kandāḍai Arṇan under the ‘dāṣyanāma’ Kandāḍai Rāmānujadāsa. This account is not confirmed by other sources. From inscriptions and literature (Varāhapurāṇamu) it is known that Sāļuva Narasimha’s elder brother was called Timmaraja but he was not a saint and is not known as Kandāḍai Ramānujadāsa. It is not known on what grounds the interesting account in the Oḷugu is based. The Tirumalai Oḷugu refers to Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Ayyangar as a non-brahmin (sattāda) Srivaiṣṇava, learned in the Sastras and one who possessed the ‘sparsa vedi,’ who came to Tirupati and did many repairs, etc., to the temples of Venkateswara and Govindaraja after attending to similar works in Srīrangam and other Vaiṣṇava shrines (108 in number). More than 20 inscriptions in the Tirumalai-Tirupati temples ranging between the dates 1465 A.D. and 1495 A.D. refer to Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Ayyangar (Vols. II and III, T. T. Devasthanams Inscriptions). In these he is referred to as a sīṣya of Ālāgiya manavaḷa Jiyar and manager of the Rāmānuja kutams (catrams) built by Sāļuva Narasimha. He was learned and was revered by the Rāya, who probably regarded him as his guru. He installed Kulasēkhara Āḻvar in a shrine in the Govindarājaswāmy temple in Tirupati. He was appointed manager of the gold-treasury (por-bhaṇḍaram) of the Venkateswara shrine by the Raya, so that he might attend to the repairs and renewals of the jewels of the God. He made rich donations to the temple in cash and carried out many repairs and works like digging channels etc., out of his own funds. He encouraged the non-brahmin Sri Vaiṣṇava servants in
THE TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION PASSES UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE RAYAS

At the time when the Chera, Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms were ruled over by a single king, and later on, when three different kings ruled over the three kingdoms, right up to the year S. 1249, Akṣaya, kings refrained from ruling over the lands that had been granted to temples and brahmans. These donations were left under the control of the brahmans themselves. The kings interfered only to investigate into misdeeds and punish wrongdoers. Afterwards, when the Muhamadans invaded the country and laid waste the endowments to temples and brahmans, the Perumāḷ left Srirangam for various other shrines where He resided temporarily. On the 17th of Vaikāsi in the year Paridāpi, S. 1293, the Perumāḷ returned to Srirangam. After this date all the (southern) the Tirumalai temple (Sāttāda ēkāngi Śrivaīṣṭavaś). The street in which the latter were housed came to be called after him. His ‘ula’ (song in praise) was sung by the ‘emberu-manaḍiyār’ during the summer festivals of Venkatesvara and Govindaraja. His disciple was Mādhava Ayyangar, who succeeded him as the manager of the Rāmānuja kutam in Tirupati. An inscription at Srirangam dated Saumya, S. 1411 (1489 A.D.) registers gift of two villages on the bank of the Pāḷār (in Paḍaivídu sāvaḍi in Toṇḍaimandalam) by Kandāḍai Ayodhya Rāmānujayangār, a ‘sāttāda para ma ēkāngi’ of Tiruvarangam—Tiruppati, who got them from their brahmin owners, for offerings to the God during the ‘Ramanuja—avasaram’ and to feed with the offerings Śrivaīṣṭava brahmans in the Rāmāujayangār—Rāmānuja-kutam situated to the west of the Pallavarāyan mutt in the eastern part of the southern row of the Vikramaśālana tiruvīḍi. (ARE 13 of 1939). Another inscription at Srirangam dated 1500 A.D. mentions Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Ayyangar as the dharmakarta of the Rāmānuja-kutam in Srirangam. His disciple Kandāḍai Mādhava Ayyangar built shrines for Viṭṭalesvara and Madurakavi Āḻvār in Srirangam (ARE 92 and 93 of 1936-37).
kingdoms passed under the control of the Rāya-Narapati. The Rāya and the various Durgādipatis gave many pieces of land back to the temple as gifts. They appointed their own men as accountant and superintendents of the temple, as if it were an item of royal administration from the palace.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE UDAYAVAR CODE

Therefore the code of Uḍayavar collapsed. From the time of Uḍayavar upto the Muhammadan occupation the honours due to the Kovanavar were done without any default and in an unbroken lineage until the days of Rangaraja Nāyan, in the line of Mudaliyāṇḍan. After the Muhammadan occupation, when Srīrangarāyavar of Uttamar-kōil succeeded to the ‘gadi’ of Srīrangana rāyaṇa Jiyar, the first place in receiving tirtham, etc., in the western steps (leading to the sanctum) was given to the Jiyar for a few days, and, for a few days to Vāduladēsikar in disregard of the honour due to the mace (Sēnāpati Durantara, a Kovanavar). On certain other days tirtham was offered to the Jiyar in the second place. On certain days Bhaṭṭar was offered tirtham in the second place, and the Jiyar in third place. After some time all the three were offered tirtham simultaneously. The Arulappāḷu in the name of Vāduladēsikar was stopped. (Some times) plates containing the same quantity of prasādām and (sometimes) plates containing different quantities were offered. The Jiyar and Bhaṭṭar were offered tirtham simultaneously and the same honours were done to both. After a few days the Saṭakōpan was first offered to the Jiyar and then to Aṇṇan. Later the Saṭakōpan was offered to Bhaṭṭar and Aṇṇan on alternate days. Thus the Ādīna of the Kovanavar collapsed. After the days of the Rāyas the form of the address: ‘all groups of pari janas, under the control of the Sēnāpati Durantara’ was abandoned and new forms like ‘all groups of
parijanas coming under stānam, samayam, etc, and 'Sri-ranganārāyaṇa Jiyar and other groups of parijanas' were evolved. From the days of the Rāya the following offices arose as a result of the constant interference of the Durgādipati created under the seal of the Rāya: a 'korattu pārpatyakāra' (supervisor of the inner services), a Srīrangana-nārāyaṇa Jiyar as the head of the mutt, a Uttamanambi, in course of time, who became the 'Iḷankēḷvi' (assistant superintendent), a Cakrarāvar, created again under the Rāyamudra, and Kandāḷai Rāmānujan, exercising authority under the 'Dēsāntri mudra'. Thus the single authority of the Kovanavar split itself into many offices. So also the ten groups of brahmin parijanas in the temple created by Uḍayavar, became diversified into many divisions. The services of certain groups were detached, in various ways, from those groups and lodged in the Srībhaṇḍāra. The groups of Sudra servants too suffered the same fate. Thus the 'kottu maryādai' (groups and services) of Uḍayavar collapsed. The order of things established by Uḍayavar according to the sāstric injunctions enunciated by the Perumāḷ Himself in the Pāncarātra, fell into ruins. Independently and in opposition to the rules arose, in quite a novel manner, various honours due to 'Ācāryapurūṣas', all these groups of temple servants, their division into stānam, samayam, etc., and the presents due to their services.

NAMPERUMĀḷ REMAINS WITHIN SRĪRANGAM

Since S. 1347, when Maṇavāla Mahāmuni came to Srīrangam and worshipped the Perumāḷ, the latter did not find any occasion to quit His pedestal, the Bhūpālarāyan.*

1. The paper manuscript, referred to in the Introduction, begins from here.

*i.e. there was no need for the Perumāḷ to quit the temple for purpose of security.
THE BENEF ACTIONS OF VISVANĀTHA NĀYAK
DONE UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF NARASIMHĀCĀRYAR

In S. 1420* Madura and Trichinopoly passed under the control of Visvanātha Nāyak. Under his beneficence, Narasimhācāryar, the son of Vāduladēsikar † offered the following to the Perumāḷ: the pancapātra and platters in gold, a censer, a vessel to collect tīrtham, the ‘sahasradārāi’ plate and a few jewels. He obtained for himself the honours due to the Kovaṇavar that had been enjoyed by Srīrangarāja Nathan in ‘Tirumudik-kuṟai 12,000’ and had lapsed to the Sribhaṇḍāra. He conducted various other festivities to the God, in which he expended three lacs of gold pieces.

At that time the Perumāḷ, after starting for procession, turned back at the gateway of the shrine of Sānaimudaliar and honoured Him with a garland, and offered another garland as the honour due to the Kovaṇavar to Kumāra Narasimhācāryar, in the line of Mudaliyāndān. The tiruvolakkam of the Ācāryapurūṣas was conducted in the order of Periya Nambi and Kandāḍai Aṅḍan, That tīrtham from the ‘stānavaṭṭil’ was given first to the Jīyar, then to Bhaṭṭar and then to Vāduladēsikar is authentic. So also are the facts that the tīrtham in honour of the Srikāryam was offered to Vāduladēsikar and that tīrtham from the ‘samayavaṭṭil’ was offered to the tiruvolakkam of Periya Nambi.

THE BENEF ACTIONS OF KRISHNAPPA NĀYAK

In S. 1452 Krishnappa Nāyak offered to the God a large number of jewels, constructed a bathing ghat with steps and a maṇḍapa on the banks of the southern Kaveri,

*It may be noted that the following dates of the Nāyaks are ante-dated by about 50 years.
† In the family of Srīrangarāja Nathan Vāduladēsika.
and, with the help and guidance of Kumāra Narasimha Vādūladasīkār, conducted all the beautiful festivities for the God.

THE BENEFACIONS OF KUMĀRA KRISHNAPPA NĀYAK

Later on Kumāra Krishnappa Nāyak offered to the God a diamond shirt, a diamond crown, etc., all worth a lac and fifty thousand (gold pieces) with the help of the above Narasimhadāsīkār.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN UTTAMANAMBI AND BHĀṬṬAR TIRUMALĀCĀRYAR

After S. 1501 in the reign of Muttuvīrappa Nāyak, a Cōliya by name Āḷattivāḷvottavan, a former siṣya of Bhāṭṭar had a Garuḍa seal entitling him to hereditary rights to certain lands in Srirangam. He had lost his wife and was without any male issue. He had borrowed large sums of money as loans from Bhāṭṭar pledging his title deed of ‘mudra’ as security. After some time, his daughter Sīranga Nācciyār became a widow and was without any male issue. When she was contemplating to make over her estates to the Tirumāligai (of Bhāṭṭar), being unable to pay back cash, Uttamanambi approached her, and with pleasing words made her adopt his son and daughter as her children secretly, after creating enmity between her and the cause of Bhāṭṭar. When the followers of Bhāṭṭar knew this and came to reclaim her to their side she disregarded them. Uttamanambi obtained her lands and since the seal was in the hands of Bhāṭṭar, he introduced into the temple a fresh Garuḍa seal of his own. Bhāṭṭar Tirumalācāryar, on his part, continued to exercise the rights of the original seal in his possession. Thus came the inevitable clash. Uttamanambi
took the case to Muttuvirappa Nāyak, brought Tirumalācāryar before him, made his accusations, and had the currency of his seal in the temple stopped.

After sometime, when the Rāya invaded Trichinopoly, the Nāyak called Tirumalācāryar and asked him to lodge all the temple property in his fortress under his control. Bhaṭṭar Tirumalācāryar, however, said that he would gather together the Vaiśṇava devotees and manage the temple without surrendering to the invader and promised that he would subsequently, if necessary, transfer it to his control. Coming to the temple he collected many tridāṇḍins (Vaiśṇava ascetics with the trident staff) and Kāśāyas (Vaiśṇava ascetics clad in red) and also many others, dressed as ascetics and ēkāṅgis, all bearing the Rāmānujan sword. He assigned each house to one devotee and asked them to call out 'Srīmad Rangam mahattāma' (the shrine of Srīrangam is great and magnificent). The Raya came to know of this when his army reached Togūr, and under his orders Raghunātha Nāyak, with his personal servant, carrying the betel-pouch, entered the temple and worshipped the Perumāḻ. Tirumalācāryar said to him, "As you have won so many victories, I will make Srīrangam too yours" and pleased him with such strategic words. Raghunātha Nāyak returned with delight.

At that time Uttamanambi gave to Muttuvirappa Nāyak an epistle purporting to have been written by Bhaṭṭar to the Rāya. The Nāyak began to suspect whether his friend had turned traitor. Uttamanambi further told him that if he would come to the temple as Raghunātha Nāyak had, then he would prove his case. Accordingly the Nāyak agreed to go to the temple and offer worship. Uttamanambi came to Āṇnan and requested him to accuse Bhaṭṭar in the presence of the Nāyak. Āṇnan was not willing, but as Uttamanambi forcibly insisted on it, he agreed to say 'yes' to what all
Uttamanambi said. When the Dorai (i.e., the Nāyak) came to the temple and asked Aṇṇangār (about Bhāṭṭar) he said that Uttamanambi was right. The Nāyak was now convinced of Bhāṭṭar’s defection. He went without curtsying Bhāṭṭar, whom he met at the gateway, and made peace with the Rāya. When he was about to return to the fort Uttamanambi further said to him, “I will recover for you all the dues—more than a lac—from Bhāṭṭar,” and gave him the clue by saying, “This is possible with the help of his sīṣya Gaddivāl Nāyakkan.” The Nāyak called the person referred to and said to him “You should positively do a particular thing for me,” to which the sīṣya replied, “I will not prove false to you. I will bring even my mother’s head if you ask for it.” Then he was ordered to fetch Tirumalācāryar. He collected together many wrestlers and elephants and sent word to the Aiyangār (Tirumalācāryar) that he (his sīṣya) was coming to him. The Aiyangār called him in and both were, for a time, conversing intimately. Uttamanambi had assigned a particular time when the Nāyak was to enter the temple and offer worship. The Nāyak accordingly presented himself to offer his prayers to the Perumāl, while Bhāṭṭar approached the gateway. The Nāyak saw Bhāṭṭar and paid his homage to him. While Bhāṭṭar was standing alone at the gateway, the elephant was made to lie down and upon it he was forcibly seated with the help of wrestlers, who had been told their duty. Under the orders of the Nāyak the captive was imprisoned in the fortress for six months, his house plundered with the help of Uttamanambi, his followers captured, and his mutt transferred to the control of Srīrangam Tāṭācāryar. His family fled to Turaiyūr.

The Reddy of Turaiyūr had him released, by paying a ransom of 20,000 gold pieces, and maintained him in his town for seven years. After this Nāyak, when Tirumalai O. K.—12
Sowri was ruling the country, Bhaṭṭar approached him and said, “All this confusion has arisen because your elders took counsel from Uttamanambi and Aṇṇangār and that is why I am reduced to this position.” On hearing this the Nayak honoured him with many presents and sent him back, restoring all his rights over his mutt, as of old.*

* The death of Venkata II in 1614 A.D. was the prelude to a bloody war of succession at the imperial capital (now Vellore, called in its turn Vijayanagar). The capital became the scene of two rival parties, viz., the party of the rebel Jaggarāya, who championed the cause of a pretender, and that of the loyalists, headed by Yācama Nāyak. Muthu Vīrappa Nāyak of Madura (1609-23 A.D.) took the side of Jaggarāya while Raghunāṭha Nāyak of Tanjore joined the loyalists. According to the O1ugu Utta-
manambi (full name not given) quarrelled with Bhaṭṭar Tirumalācāryār over the possession of a Garuḍa seal, which carried with it a title to hereditary rights to certain lands belonging to the temple. Uttamanambi took the case to the Nāyak of Madura, made his accusations against Tirumalā-
cāryar and had the currency of his Garuḍa seal in the temple stopped. Subsequent to this incident Jaggaraya came with his armies to Trichinopoly to join his ally, Muthu Vīrappa Nāyak of Madura (who had his headquarters in Trichinopoly). Since Yācama Nāyak was also in the neigh-
bourhood (at Toppur or Tōhur, 10 miles from Trichinopoly) expecting the army of his ally, the Nāyak of Tanjore, and since a battle was imminent, Muthu Vīrappa asked Bhaṭṭar Tirumalācāryar to lodge all the property of the Srīrangam temple in the fort of Trichinopoly. The Bhaṭṭar refused on the plea that ‘the property of Arangar (Srīran-
ganatha) will not cross the river (Kaveri).’ He gathered an army of 4,000 ‘tridandin sannyāsins and Srivaiṣṇavas bearing the Rāmaṇujan sword’ to defend the temple. When the loyalist party came to know of this Raghunāṭha Nayak of Tanjore came to the Srīrangam temple with a single servant and offered worship. Tirumalācāryar pleased him with words of friendship. Uttamanambi took this opportu-
Uttamanambi, afraid of renewing the old hostilities, made friends with him. After a few days, the Nāyak, because of his evil temperament, disregarded his Ācārya, Pranadarthihara Vādūladesikar and exiled him out of his country, and, of his own independent resolution, became the sīya of Ayyagaḷayyan, the follower of the Saivite Pāndāram*. Because of this and because he had offended Aṇṇangār, he was refused the mace in the temple. As a consequence, he imbibed a deep hatred against the managers of the shrine, and impelled by the desire for wealth, he caught the hand of Bhaṭṭar and asked him, “Who are your enemies in the temple? Who is the treasurer and who is the manager?” Bhaṭṭar replied “Aṇṇangār and Uttamanambi”. Telling him that he would teach them a proper lesson he came to Srirangam once.1 Aṇṇangār arranged a feast for the Nāyak

nity and accused his enemy, the Bhaṭṭar, of joining the side of the Tanjore Nāyak against his own master, the Nāyak of Madura. Believing his words the latter imprisoned the Bhaṭṭar and plundered his property. The Bhaṭṭar got back his property after the death of Muthu Virappa Nāyak, i.e. at the intercession of his successor, Tirumala Nāyak (1623-59 A.D.). The Oḷugu’s references to the coming of the loyalists to the Srirangam temple, the mention of Raghunātha Nāyak as a partisan of Yācama Nāyak, the attitude of Muthu Virappa Nāyak towards the Srirangam temple on the eve of the battle and the Bhaṭṭar’s reaction to it, the reference to the camp at Toghur are all valuable. Much reliance, however, cannot be placed on the details of the conflict between the two stalattār of the temple, described in the Oḷugu, as it is probable that the account is tinged with rancorous jealousy on the part of the chronicler, whoever he was.

* Ayyagaḷayyan is mentioned in an inscription in Jambukēsvaram (ARE 112 of 1936-37).

1. Here the printed editions end.
in which he displayed numerous silver and gold vessels, which were all of them, excepting those supplied to the Nāyak, really lead and brass vessels coated with silver and gold respectively, at a cost of 100 pons. The Nāyak wondered how, while in his palace there were but a few silver and gold vessels, Ṭiṅangar could command so many of them, and doubted whether his ancestors could have squandered away all the palace property in this sort of benefaction. He called Bhaṭṭar and Uttamanambi and expressed the desire of worshipping the Permāl decked with the diamond shirt, etc., bestowed upon Him by his forefathers. Uttamanambi made consultations with others and was aggrieved at the fact that Tirumalācāryar, the man in charge of the temple jewels and who had been his victim was in close terms with the Nāyak. When again called Uttamanambi said that the man in charge of the ‘dēśāntrī mudra’, the mudra of the ākāngī and the mudra of Vādūla-dēśikar of the Uḍayavar code had gone to distant places. The Nāyak asked him to send for them quickly. At this time Kōḍikaṇṇikādānam Tātācāryar proceeded to Srīrangam with the men bearing the Raya mudra. He wanted that he and his companions should be welcomed by the Stālattar with Saṭakāpan. But he was not so welcomed. He complained to the Nāyak, who kept quiet. Tātācāryar further insisted that the palanquin bearing his family should come up to the Āryabhattāl gateway. But actually his people got out of the palanquin outside the northern gateway of the Nācchiyar shrine and then only could they worship the Perumāl. Tātācāryar accused the Nāyak of incapacity to rule. The Nāyak pacified him by saying that he would deal with the Stalattar properly. This incident only served to increase the hatred of the Nāyak towards this shrine. He again inquired Bhaṭṭar about the responsibility of Uttamanambi and Ṭiṅangar for the temple jewels. Bhaṭṭar took one Rāmā-
krishna Cakkurayar (Cakrarahygar ?), a Nambi of the temple, to the Nayak. That aracka revealed to the Nayak the secrets of all the Stalattar and said that if he could subdue Aṇṇangar he could easily control the temple. At this time a son was born to the Nayak on which occasion Aṇṇangar offered to the baby a gold cradle, etc., worth 2,000 pons. This incident coupled with the previous feast further enraged the Nayak. Under such conditions Aṇṇangar died after an illness, which lasted for ten months. The Nayak established his nephew in his Ādīna. Then he called Bhaṭṭar and asked him what amount he could give him, as he had given to Uttamanambi on a previous occasion, to which he replied that he would give 50,000 (pons) if Uttamanambi were placed in his hands. The Nayak then called Uttamanambi and said to him that unless he paid him fifty thousand (pons) he intended to surrender him to Bhaṭṭar. Uttamanambi however refused to give a single copper. Consequently he was placed under surveillance and Bhaṭṭar sent for. Bhaṭṭar surrounded the house of Uttamanambi with his men on which Periya Tiruvadhi, the son of Uttamanambi, committed suicide. Uttamanambi, on hearing this, preferred paying the Nayak fifty thousand to being placed at the mercy of his enemy, (paid the amount) and received presents (from the Nayak). Then he drew up an inventory of all the temple servants from the Nambis to the lowest menial and offered 10 pons to each providing for a ‘naḷi’ of rice (for a certain period). Later on, however, he obtained and sold away all the offices and hereditary lands belonging to the temple and thus ruined the administration of the temple. He died six months later. Bhaṭṭar tried to secure the rights that had been sold, but failed. Later on he too died. Uttamanambi had unjustly received large bribes from Tiruvānaikkāval. Bhaṭṭar also had joined him and both had collected money in this temple too.
[The temple manuscript (cadjan) gives a slightly different episode. The following is the version of the manuscript:

Uttamanambi, who wanted to obtain for himself the right to hold the umbrella from behind the back of the elephant was defeated in his purpose when it was made over to the Nambi Kesavaiyangar alias Aḷattivāḷvitta Perumāḷ, who had no son to succeed him. He, on his part, made over this right to thirty vaṭṭams of aracakas. His daughter Srīranganāyaki was administering her rights (kāṇiyātci) with help-mates. Uttamanambi approached her (who was without any issue) and saying that the Cōḷiyya line might become extinct made her adopt his son and daughter, Periya Tiruvaḍi and Rangamman. Of her 30 days of Tiruvōlakkanāyagam she assigned 20 days to Periya Tiruvaḍi and 10 days to Rangamman (whom she gave in marriage to the God). When Bhāṭṭar heard of this he sent his men to call Srīranga Nācciyār, but they were turned back by Uttamanambi. Sometime later Srīranga Nācciyār died. Bhāṭṭar, with the original Garuḍa seal, and Uttamanambi, with the new Garuḍa seal, quarrelled and went to Madura. On the production of the mortgage deed executed by Srīranga Nācciyār in his own favour, by Bhāṭṭar, the Nāyak decided that the rights in question belonged to the latter but withheld the seal.

Under these conditions, Raghu Nāyakkar and Dāsappa Nāyakkar invaded Trichinopoly from the east and camped at Tōgūr. Muttuvirappapa Nāyak called Bhāṭṭar and suggested that he and the aracakas, along with the Perumāḷ and His jewels should seek refuge in the (Trichinopoly) fort. But Bhāṭṭar said that the property of Arangar will not cross the river and that he would look after the temple himself. The Nāyak demanded a promise to that effect solemnised by his touching the ‘abhayasta’. Bhāṭṭar gave the promise and returned to Srīrangam. Then he made arrangements to guard the shrine (etc.) Raghu Nāyakkar came to Srīrangam
and threatened to occupy the temple. Then Bhaṭṭar declared that 4,000 Sṛvaiśṇavas would sacrifice their lives if that were done, upon which Raghu Nāyakkar took a promise from Bhaṭṭar that he would on no account surrender the shrine to the fort (Trichinopoly forces of the Nāyak), till the issue of the conflict was known and returned to his camp, after worshipping the Perumāl along with his Sēnāpati and Adaippaikkāran (personal servant carrying the betelpouch). Uttamanambi sent to the Madura Nāyak an ‘olai’ purporting to have been written by Bhaṭṭar to Raghuṇāyakkar promising to make over Sṛīrangam to him if he came to the temple. When the Nāyak asked for proof he said that the arcakas and the Stānikas of the temple would vouchsafe to it. But the Nāyak said that he would accept it only if Aṇṇanagār, his Acarya, said it was so. Uttamanambi returned to the temple, related to Aṇṇangār all about the forged ‘olai’ and requested him to accuse Bhaṭṭar before the Nāyak. Aṇṇangār was forced to agree to it, lest as protested by him, Uttamanambi might die along with his kith and kin by taking poison. The Nāyak, on hearing the allegation of Uttamanambi confirmed by Aṇṇangār asked Uttamanambi how Bhaṭṭar could be brought to his kness. As advised by Uttamanambi the capture of Bhaṭṭar was effected with the help of Gadvāl Nāyakkan. After a refuge of seven years in Turaiyūr Bhaṭṭar made friends with the successor of the Nāyak, and, with his help, obtained equal rights with Uttamanambi in the Nācciyār shrine.

After S. 1507, in the reign of Muttuvirappa Nāyak Kōdikaṇṇikadāṇam Tātācāryar proceeded to Sṛīrangam, after visiting Tiruppati, with the intention of gold-plating the vimāna. Meanwhile an emissary from the Rāya came to the Madura Nāyak with a letter from the Rāya, which said that the Nāyak should meet Tātācāryar along with the Stalattār of the temple, take his wife in a palanquin upto the
Āryabhättāḷ gateway, and act according to his wishes. The Nāyak came to Srīrangam and told Bhaṭṭar of the Rāya’s epistle, at which Bhaṭṭar referred him to Aṇṇangār. The Nāyak requested Aṇṇangār to meet Tātācāryar and welcome him. Aṇṇangār refused to do any such thing. When the Nāyak requested him to do it for his sake, Aṇṇangār roundly declared that he did not need his favour for anything, and announced that if the Nāyak rendered any honour to Tātācāryar, within the temple, many Jiyars and Srīvaiṣṇavās would be sacrificing their lives. The Nāyak, quite petrified, reported the situation to Tātācāryar, who said in great rage, “The Tenkalaiyār of Perumāḷ-Kōil created the same hindrances, but I was able to subdue them. You are a good-for-nothing.” Tātācāryar turned back with the gold plates, which he assigned to the vimānā of Aḷagar-Kōil, and proceeded to the north. The Rāya, on hearing this, sent Krishna Rāyar and Viṭṭala Rāyar along with a few others, and asked them to order for the head of the Nāyak if necessary. Krishna Rāyar and Viṭṭala Rāyar sent a conciliatory reply to the Rāyar, after convincing themselves that both the Stalattār and the Nāyak were not at fault. The Nāyak sent to the Rāya an effigy of his head in gold and some money as tribute. Realising that all the recent difficulties were caused by Aṇṇangar, he renounced his Ācāryaship and received Pancākshara upadēśam under Ayyagaḷayyan of Tiruvā-nil-kāval while at the same time he was learning the Sudarsana mantra as the student of an arcaka in Srīrangam.*

* The Kōil Oḷugu mentions a few important and hitherto unnoticed details about Tirumalai Nāyak (1623-59 A.D.). From the Jesuit letters it is known that he stayed in Trichinopoly till 1640 A.D. (Sathyanathier, Nāyaks of Madura pp. 113-15). During this period he seems to have come into intimate contact with the Vaiṣṇava and Saiva shrines of Srīrangam and Jambukēsvaram. The Oḷugu says that he
Krishna Rāyar and Viṣṭala Rāyar journeying south, reached the Tāmraparāṇi, where they obtained two villages with the permission of the Nāyak, founded two agrahāras, called Krishnapuram and Viṣṭalapuram, and founded two disregarded his own Vaiṣṇava Ācārya, Pranadārtihara Vādūḷadēsiκar (Aṇṇangār) and sought the discipleship of the Saivite Ayyagālayyan of Jambukāsvarām. He became hostile to the Śrīraṅgam temple and its stāḷattār. The break with his Ācārya arose in the following way. Kōḍikannikādānām or Kumāra Tatācārya was the well known preceptor of Venkata II (1585-1614 A.D.) and his successors. From inscriptions it is known that he was learned in the Vedas, was a native of Kanchi, where he lived in royal splendour, and that his activities ranged between 1575 and 1630 A.D. (T. T. Devasthanam’s Epigraphical Report, pp. 310-14). He came to Phāṇipatigiri (Tirupati) in Pramoduta (corresponding to 1630 A.D.) and repaired and rebuilt the vimāna of the Venkatesvara shrine. It may be presumed that he came to Śrīraṅgam the same year or the next. He came with the Rāyamudra and was very much upset when the stāḷattār did not receive him as he wanted. (He was a Vāḍakalai and the stāḷattār were Tenkalais. It may be noted here that in the 17th century sectarian Vaiṣṇavism had taken deep roots). Tirumala Nāyak had requested his Guru Aṇṇangār, the treasurer of the Śrīraṅgam temple and one of the stāḷattār, to receive the distinguished guest with honour, but the former disregarded his request and treated it with contempt. Hence the Nāyak renounced the discipleship of Aṇṇangār.

During this period the political conditions in the capital were still unsettled. Though the loyalists won the civil war of 1614-17 A.D. the prince for whom they fought (viz., Śrīṅgāla II) was murdered within four months of his accession and his son Rāma (Rāma IV) was made king with Yāsama as regent. The death of this Rāma in 1630 A.D. was followed by another civil war. In any case conditions were quite opportune for the assumption of complete independence by the provincial governors. Tirumala Nāyak did not lose this opportunity and his wars with his neighbours
shrines. Then they returned to Srírangam, became the disciples of Aṇṇan and returned to the north endowing the two shrines to the Tirumālīgai of Aṇṇan,

On a certain utsava in Vaikāsi Muttuvira Nāyakkan came to worship the Perumāḷ. As usual Aṇṇangār offered to him two abhayastas. The Nāyak, not following his own previous habit of receiving the abhayastas, after rendering obeisance, with both of his hands, received them with one

amply bear this out. But for theoretical purposes he was not averse to acknowledging the overlordship of the Rāya. Rāma IV was followed by Venkata III (1630-42 A.D.) and the latter by Sríranga III, the last of the Vijayanagar Rāyas. Though weak he was ambitious and with a view to convert his nominal overlordship into a real one he marched against Madura with all his available forces. Only then and not before did Tirumala Nāyak wage war against the Rāya. At first he tried an alliance with the Nāyak of Tanjore, who remained loyal as on the previous occasion (i.e., the civil war). Then he induced the Sultan of Golconda to attack Vellore. (Sathyanathier, Nāyaks of Madura, pp. 126-7). Hence it is not unlikely that Tirumala Nāyak sent an effigy of his head in gold to the Rāya as a kind of atonement for the disregard shown to his Guru (Tātācharya) by his own Guru (Aṇṇangār) at Srírangam and that he renounced his discipleship of the latter and became a disciple of a Saivite teacher of Jambukēsvaram. It is also not unlikely that after this conversion he turned hostile to the Vaiṣṇava shrine in general as described in the Oḷugu. The statement of the chronicler that “he was at the same time learning the Sādarsana mantra as the student of an aracaka at Srīrangam” was written perhaps in an effort to save face.

The temple cadjan mentions Muttu Vīrappa Nāyak II, as the ruler when Tātācāryar came to Srīrangam. Tais Nāyak was ruler only during 1659 A.D., but it is too late a date for Tātācāryar, whose activities, as mentioned above, range between 1575 and 1630 A.D.
hand, standing. Aṇṇan was shocked at this and ere long died smitten by the sorrow of this incident.]*

After S. 1510, in the reign of Cokkanātha Nāyak, Srinivāsa Dēsikar, grandson of Praṇadhārtihara Dēsikar, in the line of Aṇḍān, became famous in these parts for his learning. At this time an Advaitin called Vajrāngi was preaching Saivism in Srīrangam. With Muttu Aḷakādri Nāyak,‡ Acyutappa Nāyak, Krishnappa Nāyak and Vaḷḷappa Nāyak, the four brothers of Cokkanatha, as mediators, a debate lasting for 44 days took place between Srinivāsa Dēsikar and the Advaitin in the garden of Pakshirāja opposite to the shrine of Garuda. Their mediation (which tried to favour the Saivite) failed. On inquiries the chiefs found that the ancestors of Srinivasa Dēsikar were the Ācāryas of their own forefathers, Srīranga Nāyakkar, Visvanātha Nāyakkar, and others, who lived in Garigappādi. Hence they secretly became the fervent disciples of Srinivasa Dēsikar. Four months later Cokkanātha Nāyak too sought spiritual guidance at the feet of Srinivasa Dēsikar, as commanded by God in his dream.

Srinivāsa Dēsikar revealed to the Nāyak how his own ancestors had obtained for the temple large endowments from the Cōla, Visvanātha Nāyak and others. Under his guidance the Nāyak laid out many streets and agrahāras, made a fresh endowment of fifty villages, and made over these along with the newly existing forty temple-villages to the Sribhanḍāra, after executing a deed of gift. Srinivāsa

* Taking this opportunity the temple M/s retr aces the history of the Kandaḍaiyar in a detailed manner, from Aṇḍan downwards (Aṇṇan-tirumāligai Oḷugu.—Cat. Rais. III. P. 394). But this is not complete. The cadjan ends here. Some more leaves are missing.

† Muthu Linga, the younger brother of Chokkanatha.
Desikar obtained all the honours due to Anandan. When Bhatar and his men had for long enjoyed power and mudra and the descendents of Anandan had lost all position, the rulings of Udjayavar were either absent or ill-executed. Srinivasa Desikar rehabilitated these regulations and saw that they were given effect to. He collected together a hundred Vaisnava preceptors and appointed them to do the services (connected with puja, etc.) in the sanctum, and form a congregation of Vedic reciters, under his own direction. He also laid down that non-Vaisnavas need not enter the temple.*

* Chokkanatha Nayak (1659-82) transferred his capital to Trichinopoly from Madura in 1665 (Nayaks of Madura P. 160-61). His earliest inscription in Srirangam is dated 1666. (ARE 109 of 1937-38). It records the gift of a village to the Srirangam temple. Following the footsteps of his father and grandfather he was a Saivite, but the Oluugu says that he became a Vaisava and adopted Srinivasa Desikar, grandson of Pranadartihara Desikar, as his Guru. A few inscriptions dated 1669, 1671 and 1674 (102, 104, 108 and 110 of 1937-38) refer to the benefactions to the Srirangam temple by Nayak officers and generals, viz., Ajjagiri Nayaka, Basavappa Nayudu and Cinna Bommaya Nayudu. An inscription dated 1680 register s gift of land, by purchase, by Vaduladesikar for offerings to God Ranganatha on several occasions (ARE 9 of 1936-37). The Oluugu says that this Vaduladesikar (i.e., Srinivasadasesikar) revived the regulations of Udjayavar, carried out a few repairs with the help of the Nayak and gave, of his own accord, jewels to the God worth four lakh pons. Chokkanatha Nayak is stated to have made a fresh endowment of 50 villages and made over these along with the already existing 40 villages to the temple treasury along with a deed of gift. This is confirmed by a copper plate grant of Cokkanatha dated S. 1595 (1673 AD), which records his gift to the Srirangam temple of 96 villages, mentioned by name, situated on either bank of the Kaveri. This inscription appears as an appendix to the Uttamanambi-vamsaprabhavam published by S. Narasimhacharyar of Sriran-
He also repaired (with the help of the Nayak) many mandapas and prakaras, built a four-pillared mandapa (wherein Tiruvandikkappu might be performed) to the north of the Nammugan gopura (now called the Kambar mandapam)* and endowed a few villages for a festival to be conducted therein, removed the ‘Jalayantra’ deposited (in the tank) by Kuranarayana Jiyan and thus removed a source of affliction to the temple, offered, of his own accord, jewels to the God worth four lacs (of pons) representing virtue, wealth, devotion and ‘moksa,’ inspected secretly the temple treasures of old, reorganised the accounts of Periya Pillai and Pandya Pillai into four categories and examined and arranged all the valuables (stores and jewels) of the temple, in their proper places and prepared a list of them. In this manner these two men rendered many services to God.

Srinivasa Desikar included (into the ‘Gosti’) Bhattar,

gam. (Hoc & Co. 1912). These villages were left under the management of Uttamanambi Pillai Srinivasacaryar, the manager of the temple. These are stated to be what remained of the temple villages after the appropriations made by polegars and other petty chieftains.

*This disproves the traditional account, which says that the Ramayana of Kamban was approved by an assembly of pandits in Srirangam, presided over by Nathamuni. The image on one of the pillars of the so called Kambar mandapam, which is pointed out to the passing traveller as that of Kamban, is only a typical Nayak image and perhaps represents Chokkanatha himself. Nathamuni came at least a century and a half earlier than Kamban and hence the two could not have been contemporaries. According to the same tradition Kamban composed a centum on Nammaiyr, called the ‘Satakopa-andadi,’ to please god Ranganatha before he could obtain His approval for the Ramayana. This authorship of the ‘andadi’ is a disputed point.
whom he honoured with the first Saṭakopan, the Jiyar, whom he honoured with tīrtham from the Stānavaṭṭil, and also, Periya Nambi. He reserved for himself the tīrtham from the Samaya-vaṭṭil. Thus these four persons worshipped the Perumāḷ on the western steps together ignoring the preferential honours at the gateway of the Sānaimudaliar shrine. The arrangement of the tīrtha honours which he made for others was as follows: among the Ācāryapurūṣas Srīranga-nātha Jiyar and Vāduladēsikar received tīrtham equally. Next to them Periya Nambi Aiyangar, Kandāḍai Anṉāngar and Bālūr Aiyangār received tīrtham. He created for the temple another eleven tīrtha honours paying 10,000 pons into the royal treasury. Out of these eleven two were assigned to Bhaṭṭacāryar and Kandāḍaiyār (again) and the remaining nine were assigned to the most deserving nine of his relatives.

The maṇḍapas surrounding the altar, the eastern and the western steps (leading to the sanctum) and the Nācciyār shrine including its frontal maṇḍapa and the various maṇḍapas in the outer prakaras are the benefactions of the brothers of Cokka Nāyak.

After S. 1600,* Siddhārṭi, in the reign of Muttu Aḷakādri Nāyak, the brother of Cokkanātha Nāyak, the following were offered the to God: a gold sūryaprabha a golden umbrella, a diamond shirt, a golden throne, a diamond crown, a diamond ornament for the head (turāi), and innumerable jewels and vessels. In great devotion Muttu Aḷakādri did these benefactions under the guidance of Kumāra Srīnivasa Dēsikar, the son of his Ācārya. This Kumāra Srīnivāsa Dēsikar, of his own accord, built a tank

* This is the first correct date given by the Olugu in its history of the Nayaks’ relations with Srīrangam.
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in the northern bank and a mandapa, wherein a festivity for 
the God was conducted by him."

Later Sundararaja Vāduladēsikar was in charge of the 
Srikāryam for some time.

Misled by one Tiruvenkatanātha Aiyan, an officer of 
state, the Nāyak came down to Srīrangam, surrounded the 
house of his Ācārya, captured his sons and prepared to 
torture them. The aged Srinivāsa Dēsikar, unable to bear 
this, showered filth on him and cursed the Nāyak with a vile 
death in six months. The Nāyak was frightened, released 
his victims, and returned to his capital after seizing all their 
property. Srinivāsa Dēsikar died after a fast of forty days. 
Subsequently his two sons, along with their wives and 
children, crossed the Kāvēri and sought refuge in the Cola 
country. The Nāyak killed a third brother (of Srinivāsa

* Muttu Aḷakādri (also called Muttu Linga Nāyak) was 
the younger brother of Cokkanātha. Failures in war and 
famine conditions made the latter unpopular and in 1678 he 
was deposed on the pretext that he was mad and his younger 
brother enthroned. But conditions did not improve. Muttu 
Aḷakādri himself was overthrown by Rustam Khan, a general 
of the Nāyak's cavalry forces. Cokkanātha got back his power 
and throne in 1680, when the Mysoreans attacked Trichinopoly. Muttu Aḷakādri was king during 1678-79. According to 
the Oḻugu Muttu Aḷakādri, gave in Siddharti (corresponding 
to 1679 A.D.) a series of valuable gifts to god Ranganātha. A 
Telugu copper plate record from the Rāghavēndrasvāmī mutt 
of Nanjangud dated S. 1602, Siddharti, (Mysore Archaeo-
logical Report, 1917, p. 57 ; summary given on p. 360, ' The 
Nāyaks of Madura ' by Sathyanather) says that Muddalā-
gādri Nāyaka made a grant, on the bank of the Candraṇaṣ-
karani in Rangakṣētra, of a village on the bank of the 
Tambraparni and a stone building to the west of the southern 
gopura in the Citra street of Srīrangam to the Raghupati 
treasury of Yōgindra-tirtha-sripāda-Oḍeyār, the son of 
Rāghavēndra-tirtha-sripāda-Oḍeyār.
Dēsikar) and many of his agnates. Mangammāl, unable to bear the traitorous conduct of her son, quitted the country on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Sētu (Rāmēsvaram). In the third month (after the curse) the Nāyak contracted ulcers all over his body. (Maddened by the disease) he wandered, daily upon his horse, in the regions of Tanjore, Uḍaiyār-pāḷaiyam and Srīrangam, destroying flocks of sheep. Once, he met a wood-cutter, who had reserved some of his earnings for his guru. The Nāyak wondered how there could be a guru for the wood-cutter when the latter told him that excepting the Nāyak all had their own Ācāryas. The Nāyak at once realised his mistake and became petient. But the disease killed him before he could recall his Ācārya.*

When Mangammāl began to rule the country she recalled the Ācārya, obtained his pardon, restored to him his previous rights and position. After the demise of Kumāra Srinivāsācāryār, his son Sundararāja Vādūlādēsikar was controlling the Srīkāryam. His uncle (father’s brother),

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* The Nāyak, who, according to the Oḷugu, persecuted the family of the Vādūlādēsika has to be identified with Rangakrishna Muttu Virappa or Muttu Virappa Nāyak III (1682-91), the son of Mangammāl. From a Jesuit letter he is known to have died of small pox. (The Nāyaks of Madura P. 203). These is a single record of this Nāyak in the Srīrangam temple dated 1691 A.D. (ARE 106 of 1937-38; para 77, Pt. II). This confirms the date given in the Maduraittalavaraḷārū for the death of the Nāyak (Sathyanathier, following the Mṛyunṭajaya manuscripts, adopted the the date 1689). This record registers the restitution of certain rights and privileges in the Ranganatha temple (i.e., tirtha and other honours) to Kumāra Vēṅkata Varadācārya, son of Varadācārya and grandson of Ācci Srīranga Nārāyaṇācārya of the Gārgya gotra. These rights had been in the enjoyment of the family from the days of Udayavar but had lapsed when some of his ancestors went to the north to participate in religious disputations with the Saivas.
Srirangarāja Vādūladēsikar, usurped the position of his nephew and drove him away, and as the Ācārya of Mangammāl, became famous as Dorai Rangācāryar. With the help of the queen Srirangarāja Vādūladēsikar offered to God a huge pearl necklace, a diamond medal (worn in the God's chest) and a diamond crown. In Prājōtpatti (1691 AD) she performed the tulabhāra ceremony and offered a huge treasure to God. At this time many people belonging to the Vaisya class came to the temple and did a few repairs to the Näcciyār shrine, the wall surrounding the Sūryapusṭakarāṇi pond, etc. Mangammāl, further, offered to God seven kinds of jewels for the seven days of the week and many gold vessels for puja. Srirangarāja Vādūladēsikar, of his own accord, offered some jewels, a pearl ear ornament, and a palanquin for the Näcciyār and constructed a maṇḍapa to the west of the stand of the Cittirai car, wherein he conducted a festivity for the Perumāl.*

After S. 1629, in the reign of Vijayaranga Cokkanātha, Srinivāsa Dēśikar, the son of Rangācāryar, offered to God, with the help of the Nāyak, the following: pancapātra and

*Mangammāl, the mother of Muthu Virappa III, was the regent of the latter's son and successor, Vijayaranga Chokkanātha, who was a child at the death of his father. Her regency lapsed from 1691 to 1706 (the year of her death). The Srirangam temple contains two of her inscriptions. One of these, dated 1696 AD (100 of 1936-37) states that Sāmavādi Rāmaiyyangār alias Sriranga Kalyāna Rāmānuja-Rāmaiyyangār, the nephew of Periya Kalyāna Rāmānujasivāmin, succeeded the latter in the supervision of the affairs of the Dasaśatāra temple in Srirangam. The other dated 1697 (102 of 1936-37) records the confirmation of the title of 'Jiya of the Tirumangai Aḻvār sannidhi' on a certain Rāmaiyyangār under the name 'Nārāyana Jiya'. His duties were specified. The Olugu speaks of Mangammāl's restoration of the Vādūladēsika and of her benefactions to the Srirangam temple.

O. K.—13
plates, one pot-like vessel, one tirtham-container, an ornamental seat and various other paraphernalia of puja, all in gold, many jewels, a crown, and diamond and gold shirts for the Perumāl and the Nāccimār. He constructed the ‘kaṇṭa-diyaṟṟai’ (mirror-room) and the procession path beginning from the Tirupparavittira maṇḍapa to the west of the Periya tirumaṇḍapa. He had many other services done for the God.

After S. 1619, in the year Sarvajit, Vijayaranga Cokkanāyak, the Lord of Trichinopoly and Madura, with the desire of making a permanent endowment in his name, in the temple, offered the following eight courtesans, who had practised dancing in his Natakasāla, viz., Candraavadana, Hamsaramaṇa, Lakṣmī, Sīta, Jaganmohini, Ranganāyaki, Venkaṭacalam, and Nārāyaṇi, for service in the presence of Ranganātha, with the permission of the Stalattār and the parijanas. He also made an endowment of 10,000 pons for a ‘kuḍamurai’ ¹ of fifteen days of the nine temple dancing girls of the east street, viz., Nāgaratnam, Ramāmaṇi, Nacciyār, Alamēlumangamma, Ranganāthamāṇikkāttāl, Venkatācalam, Muttu Lakṣmī, Aḷagammāl, and Ambujavalli. For both the groups he assigned the west street and created a number of rights, honours, and services in the temple. These continue ever since.

After S. 1642, Vēdavyāsa Bhaṭṭar Raghunāthācāryār collected together, ostensibly for a religious gathering, a large number of people and defied royal authority by plundering the shops and closing the gates of the temple. Iruḷappa Nāyak, after a futile siege of two months, captured him by deceit and took him to the king. The Nāyak ordered all the rebels to be blinded. Raghunāthācāryar was spared, on the intervention of Kumāra Srinivāsācāryār,

from the blinding order, but was made to suffer a twelve year imprisonment at the hands of the Toṇḍaimānār. He (Vijayaranga Cokkanāyak) further offered to the temple many gold pots and silver pots, 300 pittāmbaras for Kaisika (dvādasi day), a thousand copper pots for the Periya tirumānjanam and many varieties of provisions necessary for the temple, constructed many manḍapas and well conducted the daily and fortnightly festivals.*

In S. 1650 the Carnātic kingdom (Karunāṭagam) collapsed and many rulerships arose. The temple services and festivities were frittered away and the temple was faced with many difficulties. After S. 1651, Plavanga, Candasāheb came with an army and captured the Trichinopoly fort.† While his army was camping in the country the Perumāḷ did not quit the Bhūpālarāyan. In his three years’ rule he

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* Vijayaranga Cokkanātha (1706-32) was weak as a politician but, like Vijayarāghava Nāyak of Tanjore, was always concerned with religious tours and gifts to temples. Local tradition regards him as the most magnificent bene¬factor of the Srīrangam temple of modern times. The Vēdapārāyaṇa-manḍapa (in the third enclosure of the temple) was built by him as testified to by a Telugu label engraved on its beam (ARE 1936-37. Pt II. P. 88). A Copper plate grant records his gift of land for the conduct of a charity at Srīrangam. (C. P. No. 50 of Sewell’s list, Telugu). The Ōlugu refers to his many costly gifts and other services to the Srīrangam temple. Two life-size statues in ivory of himself and his wife, Minakshi, are kept in the second enclosure of the temple.

† Posing as the supporter of Minākshi against her enemies Candāsāheb gained control over the administration and the fort of Trichinopoly. He swore upon the Koran that he would safeguard her interests. He broke his plighted word and imprisoned the queen in her own palace. She was driven to commit suicide (1736).
tried to attack Srîrangam in the year Raktâkshi and pressed the Stalattâr to pay tributes. Under the mediation of an agent of the Râya, Parâsara Bhaṭṭar, Vâdûladesikar, Uttamanambi and others agreed to pay Candâsâheb a lac of rupees if he refrained from attacking the temple. With the help of some jewels of the temple and money raised by levying taxes like ‘kâñivari’, ‘manai vari’, ‘âdîna vari’, etc., in Uraiûr, the ransom was paid and the temple saved.

In all the confusion of the Mahraṭṭa invasion and rule for the next three years, again, the Pêrumâl did not quit the Bhûpâllarâyân.*

Later, the Nizam invaded the country with a great army. All the Stalattâr met him in Samayapuram with their birudas, honoured him with tîrtham and prasâdam, and befriended his officers. Thenceforwards the Muhamma-

* After making himself master of Trichinopoly Canda-

saheb proceeded against Madura and Tanjore. Bangâru Tirumala, the father of Vijaya Kumara, the adopted son of Minakshi, and Sayâji Rao of Tanjore, together appealed for help to the Mahraṭṭas at Poona (under Peshwa Baji Rao I, 1720-40). The latter at once sent a large force under Râghuji Bhonsle, who defeated and killed the Nawab of Arcot, Dost Ali (father-in-law of Canda-saheb) in the battle of Dâmalcheru Pass (1740) and forced Canda-saheb to surrender Trichinopoly (1741). The latter was taken to Satâra, where he remained a prisoner for seven years. Râghuji Bhonsle appointed Murari Rao Ghorpode, at the head of 14,000 soldiers as the commander of the Trichino-
poly fort. The Uttamanambi-Vamsprabhâvam says that Korappatti Murari Rao granted 57 villages as jagir to the Srîrangam temple, 14 to the Jambukesvaram temple and 9 villages to the Tâyumânaswâmî temple at Trichinopoly and that he appointed Srîrangâcârya Uttamanambi (No. 88 in the list) as jagirdar of these 80 villages.
dans spread their sway everywhere. Nevertheless the Perumāl did not quit the Bhūpālarāyan.* Five or six years later the Ūnāl (Yavanās) became powerful in Puducēri, spread their aggressive armies everywhere, entered Srīrangam and began to harass its inhabitants. The inhabitants of both the banks took refuge in the temple and closed its gateways. The Ūnāl, however, entered the Citra street and the Uṭātirai vidi, plundered the temple and were contemplating to harass the whole population when Aḷāgiyamaṇāvaḷa Perumāl, taking pity on the people brought the sense of sympathy towards the ancient shrine and its helpless inhabitants in the mind of an aged ‘parangi’ and, through him, in the minds of others of his class, and thus saved the temple. The men of Puducēri continued in Srīrangam for two years troubling the people, but in the third year suffered heavy losses and fled. The temple continued to flourish in spite of subsequent minor disturbances.†

* Nizam-ul Mulk, the Nizam of Haiderabad, proceeded to the south in 1743, with an army of 200,000 foot, to re-establish his authority there. He appointed Anwar-ud-din as Nawab of Arcot and when he threatened to besiege Trichinopoly Murari Rao evacuated the fort and soon “quited the Carnatic with all his Morattoes.”

† It is well known that during the Carnatic Wars the French took the cause of Candasaheb against Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, who had shut himself in the fort of Trichinopoly. Candasaheb and his French supporters occupied the Srīrangam temple in 1751 and though the former was caught and beheaded by his enemies in 1752 the latter continued in Srīrangam till 1758, with breaks, along with their allies, the Mysoreans. The occupying forces converted the outer three enclosures into a military camp barricading the gateways and mounting guns on the walls. A contingent of 1,000 Rajaputs belonging to the army of Candasaheb undertook upon themselves, it is said, the sacred duty of
After S. 1703, in the month of Âni of Plavanga, Haidar marched with a lac of soldiers, occupied Tondaimanâdalam and Coîlamanâdalam, destroying the country through which he passed, and surrounded Srîrangam. A crore of inhabitants could not contain themselves in the temple. Alagiyamanaṉavaḷa Perumâḷ again intervened, and acting as Sâmayyan, the letter-bearer of Haidar, obtained a ‘kavul’ or lease-deed from the latter, making over Srîrangam to Himself, through the chief accountant of Haidar, who was a Srîvaisṣṇava, and thus saved the temple. Haidar, who had stationed himself in the temple for six days suffered heavy losses on the seventh (on which day he had intended to plunder the temple) and ran away.*

protecting the inner precincts. They refused to allow even the victorious English to approach the sanctum (Robert Orme, Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan. Vol. I., P. 241). The Oğugu says that the Unâḷ of Puduceri (the French) occupied the outer prâkârâs for about three years and harassed the inhabitants. Though details are lacking it was believed at Pondicherry that Jacques Law (the French commander) misconducted himself at Srîrangam. Ananda Ranga Pillai too notes in his diary that “it was by their own evil deeds that the army was swallowed up and they (Law and others) fell into the enemy’s hands.” From the same source it is also learnt that Crillon, the French commander, who attacked Srîrangam suddenly in November 1759, ruthlessly plundered two streets of the town after his assault. (‘Ananda Ranga Pillai,’ by C. S. Srînivasaachari, P. 230).

* The Oğugu gives the correct date for Haidar’s attack on Srîrangam. While advancing against Madras he suddenly attacked Trichinopoly in 1781 AD. The fort was not prepared to stand a siege. When it was about to surrender he raised the siege and marched north to meet the English forces under Eyre Coote.
After S. 1712, in Sādāraṇa, Tippu Saheb, of the most cruel temperament, the son of Haidar, invaded with a huge army and destroyed the country alround. When he entered Srīrangam, Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ again intervened and as a result Jiyar, Bhaṭṭar, and Vādūladēsikar obtained a ‘kavul’ from his hands. The Perumāḷ did not find occasion to quit the Bhūpālārāyan. For six days he (Tippu) remained in the temple and received many presents. On the seventh day he called Vādūladēsikar, Rangācāryār and Bhaṭṭar and asked for a lac of gold piece for his army expenditure. Bhaṭṭar agreed while Srīrangarāja Vādūladēsikar refused to pay. Tippu became wild at which all the inhabitants thought there was an end of them. Again Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷan interfered and, as a result, Tippu was pacified through laudatory addresses made by Srīrangarāja Vādūladēsikar. In the same year, Sādārana, Cinnayya Mudali came to the store house of the temple to take paddy for the palace use. Srīrangarāja Vādūladēsikar and others made huge protests at the gateway of the store house and declared that they would sacrifice their lives, at which the paddy was not taken. The Mudali did many repairs to the walls and conducted an abhiṣēka for the God.*

In the month of Āni of Paridāpi Srīrangarāja Vādūladēsikar and Kurattāḷvān Jiyan died. The country was being ruled by the Muḥammadans. In the month of Āḍi of Pra-māḍi, Kottavāl Jiyan became Srīranganaṭha Jiyan and was

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* The date of Tippu’s attack on Srīrangam is also correctly given by the Oḷugu, viz., S. 1712 (1790 A.D.) Tippu descended on the Carnatic towards the end of 1790. Though he threatened Trichinopoly he did not actually lay siege to it. He occupied Srīrangam and put the countryside to fire and sword. When an English army approached his camp he evacuated Srīrangam and retreated in a northern direction pillaging and plundering on his way.
creating confusion in Srirangam. The contemporary An̄nangār, who was leading a bad life and who had stolen much of the temple property, was dissatisfied with the honours of Arulappādu and tīrtham done to him after Periya Nambi, as laid down by Maṅavāla Mahāmuni, and, impelled by his wealth, desired to occupy the seat of Vādūladēsikar. He tempted the ruler to effect the transfer with an offering of 5,000 Rupees, but the Muhammedan king did not yield. Thus defeated in his purpose he began to accuse Vādūladēsikar, the Bhaṇḍāris, the Āryabhattāḥ and others belonging to the Ādīna of Vādūladēsikar of theft from the temple of property worth 30,000 rupees, and kept them in custody. This created an uproar in the town. The Nawab interfered and had An̄nangār and his men arrested and demanded a large sum of money as tribute. Gōpāla Rāyar, the diwan of the Nawab, brought peace in the shrine by pacifying the Nawāb after obtaining for him a large ransom, and having the prisoners released. When Gōpāla Rāyar lost his position, however, the An̄nangār again played mischief and this time was able to get half of the Ādīna of Sriranga Vādūladēsikar by means of bribery. He disregarded Kumāra Sṛṇīvāsa Vādūladēsikar and, assisted by many bad persons, plundered the temple property and kept the Bhaṇḍāri, the Āryabhattāḥ, the Stānattār, Tātācārī, and others attached to the Ādīna of Kumāra Sṛṇīvāsa Vādūladēsikar in custody. He thus harassed the shrine for a year beginning from the month of Āni of Plavanga. In Kārtikai of Kālayukti, ‘Nizāmulk,’ the brother of ‘Imāmulk’ succeeded to the kingdom. He took the advice of Gōpāla Rāyar, released all and reinstated Vādūladēsikar Srirangacāryār in his former position doing him all the appropriate honours. He then asked him whether he knew anything about the losses in the temple to which Vādūladēsikar replied that while his (Nizāmulk’s) brother, Imāmulk, was ruling the kingdom An̄nangār had kept him-
self and his people in custody for nearly thirty months, that during that time Anangar once announced to the public that none should stir out (in the streets) for a period of five ‘nalis,’ during which time many lacs of pons were stolen from the temple, and that he knew not what were the exact items that were stolen. Nazamulk said that he could enjoy his Adina thenceforward. Vaduladesikar then referred to half of his Adina having been made over to the Anangar by his brother to which the Nawab replied, “My brother was misled by evil advisers. Now I am restoring all to you according to his own wish. Our uncle (who is equal to both) will vouchsafe to it.” Thus saying he sent Vaduladesikar to the mutt along with Divanjî and others with all honour.

Four months later, Nizam-ul-mulk, who succeeded to the throne separated half of the Adina of Vaduladesikar and assigned it to Anangar. After this Vaduladesikar and Parasara Bhattachar refrained from going to the temple.*

* This quarrel over the tirtha honours in the Srirangam temple was between two members of the same family (the family of Annan). It was seen above that Srirangacarya Vaduladesikar, the uncle of Sundararaja Vaduladesikar, the lineal descendant of Mudaliyanandan, usurped the status of his nephew and patronised by the queen, Mangammal, became famous as Dorai Rangacarya. His son by name Srinivasa Desikar was patronised by Vijayranga Cokkanatha. The descendants of these two lines, viz., Vaduladesikar and Anangar (the latter in the line of Dorai Rangacarya) referred their dispute to the reigning Nawab Nizam-ul-Mulk (Umdat-ul-Umra). After hearing both sides the Nawab decided in 1796 that both the disputants should share the temple honours equally. One of the Mackenzie manuscripts is ‘The Nawab’s decision in the case of Anangar vs Rangacari.
In Āni of Durmuki, 1 Nizāmulk conducted a rigorous investigation, with the help of Arunācalam Pillai into the affairs of the shrine and found out that Aṇṇangār had stolen forty seers of gold and pealed the gold plates off the ‘ṭoḷuk-kiniyān,’ ‘tiruvāsi,’ the bathing seat, etc. Araikkaṭṭalai Singam Pillaiyappan, Bhaṇḍāri Rangappan, and Sāttāda Arangan gave out that they had themselves given him those articles. In the presence of the Nawāb Aṇṇangār confessed the crime, on which he was fined 1,200 gold pagodas and exiled.

In the month of Ādi, the Muhammadan rule came to an end and the country passed under the control of the Company. John Wallace made inquiries with the help of his ‘writer’ Gajendra Rāyar and his dubāsh, Sēshācalam Aiyar, reverted the order of Nizām-ul-mulk and bestowed upon Vāduladēsikar Srīrangācāryār the ‘māmul’ that was in vogue five years earlier. The temple and its belongings passed under the control of the Government and Wallace laid down a ‘tittam’ according to which a sum of 41,000 rupees (31,000 as the revenues of the temple and 7,000 from the votive offerings of pilgrims) was to be annually given over to the temple from the treasury.

In the year Rutrōtkāri arose the dispute between the Tenkalais and the Vaḍakalais and for three months paccai, 2 the recitation of the Tiruvāimolī, and Srīcūrnaparipālānam 3 had stopped in Srīrangam. All the Stalattār gathered in the Garuḍa maṇḍapa to find a way out. Then Wallace issued an order stating that the custom of the last two years

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1. This must be a mistake for Dunmati (1801), in which year the Carnatic passed under the control of the Company. 2. Offering of cereals from a dead man’s house. 3. An item of ceremonial obsequies performed after death and conducted by Tenkalai priests.
of the Company's rule should be strictly followed and also commanded Vēlappa Mudali of the Dēvasthānam to send him a weekly report. This was announced by 'tom tom' in the town. Still the Vaḍakalais were creating troubles in opposition to Wallace's order. Then Wallace summoned both the Stalattār and the Vaḍakalais to court. The Vaḍakalais represented the following as their case: "We are 500 householders here, while the Tenkalais have only 200 houses. The Tenkalais have newly installed an idol of Maṇavāla Mahāmuni on the gopura above the gateway of His shrine. They have begun reciting the 'Sri Sailēsa dayā pāṭram' within the Āryabhaṭṭāḷ gateway only recently. We too had joined in the Prabandic recitations, which we are now prohibited from. Lastly the Stalattār have newly added the 'pādam' to the 'tirumaṇ' at the entrance of the Vēdāntācāryār shrine (i. e., they have converted a Vaḍakalai nāmam into a Tenkalai one.) If these four points were properly settled we would be satisfied." The Stalattār represented their case as follows: "The administration of this shrine is exercised solely by the Tenkalais. The Vaḍakalais have nothing to do with it. The houses of the Tenkalais outnumber those of the Vadakalais. The idol of Maṇavālā Mahāmuni is immemorial and not new. Arayar, Vēdavyāsa Bhaṭṭar, Tiruppaṇi-saivār, Pulḷacci Vādyār and Amudanār,—these five have been reciting the 'Sri Sailēsa dayā pāṭram' on all festive occasions within the third enclosure for a long time past. In the Prabandic recitations the Vaḍakalais had joined as the disciples of Tenkalai preceptors and not in the capacity of Vaḍakalais. Since the 'tirumaṇ' of the Vēdāntācāryār shrine was newly drawn we added the 'pādam' to it as is the case everywhere else in the temple." Writer Gajēndra Rāyar said that everything could be ascertained from his 'book' in which had been entered the accounts, etc., of the Stalattār of the temple. Referring to it he said that Srīranganātha
was a Tenkalai God. Then Wallace asked the Vaḍakalais themselves to which creed belonged the following: Vādavyāsa Bhaṭṭar, Vāḍulādēsikar, Parāsara Bhaṭṭar, Periyānambi Aiyangār, Kandāḍai Aṇṇangār, Bālūr Aiyangār, Embār Aiyangār, and the other Ācaryapurūṣas, the Sāttu Srivaiṣṇavas, Kandāḍai Rāmānuja, Uttamanambi, the adyāpakas (or the reciters), the arcakas, the Bhaṇḍārī, the Stānikās, the Tiruppaṇi-saivār, Amudanār and the Sāttadāvāl (the non-brahmin Srivaiṣṇava servants). The Vaḍakalais said that each in turn was a Tenkalai. Ultimately Wallace declared that when the entire temple was manned by the Tenkalais the Vaḍakalais could not claim any connection with it. He also laid down that according to ‘māmūl’, the ceremonies of paccai, the recitation of the Tiruvāimoḷi, and the Srīcūṟṇa paripālanam, etc., should henceforward be conducted by the Tenkalais in the houses of the Vaḍakalais, who should pay them their customary dues. Whoever went against the ‘māmūl’ was to be severely punished in the chief court and exiled out of the shrine. At the same time he punished two such offenders.*

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*This decision was not accepted as final and the dispute was revived frequently by enthusiastic adherents of the sects entailing lawsuits, sometimes carried upto the highest court available on appeal. The Adaulat courts, as a rule, upheld the Tenkalai side and offences against their ceremonial and custom were very severely dealt with. One Ranga Aiyangār who put the Vaḍakalai nāmam over the entrance to the Nathamuni shrine was fined a 1,000 rupees in 1863 by W. Nisbet, the Head Assistant Magistrate of Trichinopoly. The case was heard on appeal next year by J. T. Frere and Holloway of the Madras High Court. They upheld the decision of the lower court and in the course of their judgment declared, “The act in the place in which it was done, precisely resembles the act of a zealous protestant who
This is the account of affairs up to the month of Aippasi of S. 1725, Rutroṭkāri (1803). Velappa Mudaliar brought to the notice of Wallace all the Olugus that existed in the town and at the desire of the latter had the Olugus rewritten along with the events up to the days of Wallace and placed a copy of the same bearing the seal of the five (Stalattārs), in the ‘teṅku kallāgaś’ (southern stone room) of the temple.

A list of Nāyak kings is furnished at the end of the temple manuscript:

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<td>Minākshiyamma</td>
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should be rash or wicked enough to scrawl ‘no popery’ in a Roman Catholic church, situate in the midst of the excitable and not highly instructed population of an Irish county.”
The days of the Company begin from 1722, Dunmati.*

* The following are the dates of the Nayaks of Madura (c.f. ‘The Nayaks of Madura’ by Satyanathier).

Visvanatha Nayak C 1529-64
Krishnappa Nayak I 1564-72
Virappa Nayak 1572-95
Krishnappa Nayak II 1595-1601
Muttu Krishnappa Nayak 1601-09
Muttu Virappa Nayak I 1609-23
Tirumala Nayak 1623-59
Muttu Virappa Nayak II 1659
Chokkanatha Nayak 1659-82
Muttu Linga (Alagadri) Nayak 1678
Muttu Virappa Nayak III 1682-89
Mangammal 1689-1706
Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayak 1706-32
Minakshi 1732-36.
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